



**A National
Overview of
Prostitution and
Sex Trafficking
Demand Reduction
Efforts**

Final Report

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Executive Summary

Project Background and Objectives

To combat prostitution and human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, criminal justice interventions and collaborative programs have emerged that focus on reducing demand for commercial sex. In a prior study, Abt Associates found that the use of anti-demand approaches was more widespread throughout the United States than previously thought. We also found that little research or descriptive information was available about the vast majority of interventions. It was also evident that communities attempting to address demand had usually done so with little guidance from the collective experience of others; consequently, some initiatives had struggled or failed when faced with problems that had been solved elsewhere.

In October 2008 the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) awarded a grant to Abt Associates Inc. to conduct a study, entitled *A National Assessment of Sex Trafficking Demand Reduction Efforts*, intended to fill these gaps. The project was designed to develop a descriptive overview of anti-demand tactics employed throughout the United States and to provide practitioners with actionable information to assist them in starting, improving, or sustaining initiatives.

To share what has been learned, the project has generated several key products, one of which is the present report, *A National Overview of Prostitution and Sex Trafficking Demand Reduction Efforts*, which summarizes the research activities and presents findings. Others include a website, entitled *DemandForum.net*, designed to expand upon the overview provided in this report and to provide assistance to practitioners and others in the form of information about the range of models and program structures implemented, obstacles faced, and how they can have been overcome. The website launch is planned for May, 2012. In addition to these products, we have engaged in a number dissemination activities such as conference presentations and policy leader briefings. After the project has been completed, we will continue distributing information via the website and submission of manuscripts for publication in appropriate outlets.

Purpose and Structure of this Report

This report is designed to provide a descriptive overview of initiatives targeting the demand for commercial sex in the United States. It describes the process of gathering the information in this (and other) reports, discusses specific initiatives, and highlights selected communities to illustrate how and why their members have endeavored to address prostitution and sex trafficking by combating demand. The report is intended to serve as an introduction for those considering applying anti-demand tactics in their communities, and for those at the state government level who are considering policies, statutes, and infrastructure investments supporting local efforts.

Those wishing to take more concrete steps toward planning, implementing, or improving existing programs will find additional information on the website, where they can select from a wider range of information that best fits their specific needs. The website is the best means of disseminating to practitioners and policymakers the voluminous and varied information collected. Websites have well-known advantages over static reports in terms of flexibility, currency, the ability to convey large amounts of information in a way that does not overwhelm users, and allows users to access just the content of interest to them.

We begin the present descriptive report with a discussion of prostitution and sex trafficking, the problems they pose for individuals and communities, and why a growing number of communities have elected to address these problems by focusing on the buyers of illegal commercial sex. We provide an overview of commercial sex markets, and the role of demand in driving both prostitution and sex trafficking. We describe the steps taken to gather data about anti-demand initiatives, and then present a typology and an overview of prevalence, key features, and history. We then present descriptions of several communities and their efforts to launch and sustain initiatives designed to reduce or eliminate prostitution and sex trafficking by combating demand. A number of appendices provide supporting documentation and more detail about important points. The website will expand the presentation much further, and will include checklists and capsule descriptions of the over 825 cities and counties known to have used anti-demand tactics, along with documentation and third-party reports relevant to each community's efforts.

The research described in the report was sponsored to contribute to an ongoing process of gathering information on practices targeting demand for commercial sex. The intent was to develop for the first time a national picture of current and historical practices that will lay a foundation for further inquiry, and to gather and disseminate actionable information for practitioners. While the reports are necessarily static and will become dated, the website is a "living document," frequently refreshed as additional information is acquired. Input from the field of practitioners, advocates, policymakers, and researchers will be actively encouraged.

Given that the study's scope is broad, the National Assessment project necessarily included examination of many topics, but could not report exhaustively on every topic studied in a single report. Not all of the issues worthy of attention could be covered sufficiently in this report if the length was to be reasonable, but we expect information to continually accrue and will make it available on the website. For this report we prioritized practices that are: (a) established as (or approaching the status of) evidence-based practice; (b) being implemented or actively considered by many communities; (c) controversial and the subject of debate among policymakers and practitioners; or (d) represent innovations or variations on basic models of demand reduction initiatives. Guided by these criteria, we have emphasized reverse sting operations, shaming, and john schools in our research and reporting, although we also describe in detail the full range of practices we encountered. For each type of tactic, we describe not only the basic models, but variations and innovations, and present available evidence of effectiveness.

Data Collection

To assemble the information necessary to pursue the project objectives, we utilized a number of data collection activities, beginning with compiling a preliminary typology of interventions and a list of cities and counties identified as having some form of sex trafficking or prostitution demand reduction activity. We then conducted a survey and phone interviews with program and agency staff and stakeholders, and site visits that included program observations and in-person interviews. The steps involved, and the data collected, included:

- *Reviews were conducted of research and evaluation literature (including books, journal articles, and technical reports); news reports; program descriptions and other materials.*
 - Web searches for reports about interventions used to combat demand were conducted daily for over three years.

- The reviews resulted in the collection of over 4,000 source documents.
- Program documents were collected about all known types of demand reduction interventions. Documents include: Tactical plans for reverse stings; city ordinances; memoranda of understanding; program agendas; john school curricula; speaking points for public education presentations; the text of decoy advertisements used in web-based reverse stings; program summaries and reports; agency press releases; and prostitution exclusion zone maps.
- ***Questionnaires were sent to 500 sites.***
 - Of these sites, 121 were targeted for more intensive follow-up.
 - The sites were flagged as being of particular interest for any one of several reasons, such as being a pioneer in the use of a tactic, or having innovative or high-profile programs that have served as models for other sites. We also targeted sites to ensure our sample contained communities of various sizes, and to ensure we interviewed people at sites with each of the types of tactics identified.
- ***Completed questionnaires were received from 241 respondents at 199 sites.***
- ***Two hundred twenty-two interviews were conducted with respondents at 75 sites.***
- ***Through questionnaires and/or interviews, information was gathered from 274 respondents having the following breakdown of affiliations:***
 - 194 police and sheriff's departments
 - 20 city and county prosecutor's offices
 - 17 NGOs focused on prostitution and human trafficking
 - 13 NGOs providing broad-spectrum social services and support
 - 6 private counseling practices
 - 6 public health departments
 - 5 city/county government (e.g. mayor's offices, city services departments)
 - 5 neighborhood organizations
 - 11 "other" (community courts, probation departments, universities, Weed & Seed programs)
- ***Eleven site visits were conducted:***
 - Atlanta, GA; Cook County, IL; Indianapolis, IN; Kansas City, MO; National City, CA; Norfolk, VA; Phoenix, AZ; Portland, OR; San Diego, CA; Tucson, AZ; Worcester, MA
- ***John schools were observed at five sites:***
 - Indianapolis, IN; Norfolk, VA; Phoenix, AZ; San Diego, CA; and Worcester, MA.
 - Observations of a sixth john school - First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP) in San Francisco, CA - were conducted for a prior Abt Associates study, and this report contains some coverage of what was learned about that program.
- ***At the time this report was drafted, a total of 826 U.S. cities and counties had been identified as having employed at least one kind of anti-demand tactic at some point in time.***
 - New sites are identified periodically; for an updated list of sites, please visit the Demand Forum website.
- ***Information was gathered on over 3,200 reverse stings resulting in over 33,000 arrests.***

Key Findings

Findings from Literature Review

- **Market Forces.** The illicit markets of prostitution and sex trafficking are, like any other markets, driven by demand. Wherever demand occurs, supply and distribution emerge. While it may be an oversimplification to say that demand is the sole cause or influence on markets, and that there are feedback mechanisms and interactions among these three main components, it is indisputable that removing or reducing demand reduces or eliminates markets. The need for people to provide a “supply” and for pimps and traffickers to “distribute” the supply to buyers would not exist without demand. The historic emphasis on interfering with supply and distribution systems has been ineffective at producing substantial and lasting reductions in illegal commercial sex markets. Given that people are the commodity exploited, supply is difficult to contain. Distribution is also difficult to contain: since the markets are highly profitable, arrested traffickers and pimps are soon replaced. Distribution requires relatively little skill, and supply is plentiful and easily acquired, presenting few barriers to entry or startup costs for pimps and traffickers.
- **Limitations of Focusing on Supply.** Efforts to reduce prostitution and sex trafficking by constraining supply have not usually been successful, aside from temporary effects or displacing markets to other areas. Where demand is strong, interfering with supply chains usually results in shifting to other sources or other means of distribution. The “service gap” is too great to close by addressing supply only. Conservative estimates of the number of victims of sexual exploitation and sex trafficking are in the tens of thousands nationwide, while fewer than 100 beds in residential treatment or shelters are known to exist that are designed specifically to serve survivors of prostitution or sex trafficking. Massive increases in victim services would still leave the majority of survivors un-served. While it is necessary and just to assist survivors, and expansion of those services is acutely needed, the interventions are not designed to prevent or reduce the occurrence of exploitation.
- **Difficulty Addressing Distribution.** A very small portion of pimps and traffickers are ever arrested, due in large part to reliance upon frightened and/or reluctant survivors to make cases against their abusers. The rare instances where pimps and traffickers are taken out of action may cause short-term interruptions, but they are likely to be replaced as long as demand remains strong and there is profit to be made.
- **Demand Reduction is Primary Prevention.** Primary prevention refers to stopping negative events before they occur, ensuring that people do not become afflicted rather than addressing the symptoms of the afflictions that have occurred. The majority of effort to confront prostitution and sex trafficking in the United States has been devoted to tertiary or secondary approaches (trying to stem the progression of a problem, or recover from an affliction after it has occurred); while relatively little investment has been made in primary prevention (attacking consumer-level demand).
- **Evidence of Effectiveness of Interventions Targeting Demand.** When compared to evidence of the effectiveness of interventions addressing supply and distribution in curtailing commercial sex markets, evidence supporting the impact of demand-reduction initiatives is relatively strong. There is very little in the way of an empirical case for

supply- or distribution-focused interventions produce more than temporary suppressions or displacement. Evidence that anti-demand tactics (or comprehensive approaches that include addressing demand) can effectively suppress commercial sex markets is slowly accumulating and is robust in relation to evidence of the effectiveness of other approaches. However, formal evaluations are still confined to evaluations of a few anti-demand approaches implemented in a few locations. While the logical case for the efficacy of addressing demand and the historical record of intervening in other illicit markets (e.g., illegal drugs) lends credence to the accumulating data and anecdotal accounts from the field, it is premature to make broad conclusions about the value of most tactics or program models.

Brief summaries of several studies and field reports addressing anti-demand initiatives – or those including a demand component - are provided below. The main types of evidence that have been produced are: (a) formal program evaluations with quasi-experimental designs, (b) assessments of key descriptive indicators using pre- and post-intervention designs, and (c) informal observations of effects of interventions. Of these three types, the first is generally the strongest, the last is usually the weakest and is best characterized as anecdotal, and the middle option usually falls in between quasi-experimental and anecdotal methods in terms of producing credible evidence.¹

There are several general limitations that are important to consider in reviewing the research and anecdotal evidence regarding the effectiveness of interventions aimed at reducing demand. One of the key limitations is that some of the interventions are multifaceted, making it difficult to isolate whether any observed effects were produced by the anti-demand components of the program, or by other program activities. Some of the interventions address supply as well as demand, so that when a positive finding is observed one cannot be certain which of the two components were responsible. Another limitation is that most of the studies and reports based on police tracking data summarized below address have not controlled for other influences on prostitution or trafficking markets, making it difficult to assess whether any observed effects were produced by the programs or by something else. It is possible that the positive results of most of the interventions listed below could have been artifacts resulting from other events unrelated to the interventions, the result of facets of the interventions other than those that addressed demand, or could be due to displacement. An exception is the evaluation of San Francisco's FOPP, which examined the influence of a focused demand-reduction intervention and could account for exogenous influences and potential displacement effects (Shively et al., 2008). Another exception is the Weisburd et al (2006), which was a tightly-controlled field experiment that accounted for displacement effects and exogenous influences; however, that study addressed supply as well as demand. While there is strong evidence that the experimental program produced an effect, inferences about the tactics addressing demand are confounded by the simultaneous interventions addressing supply.

¹ These are general statements about the strength of evidence produced by categories of study designs. There can be great variation in the quality of information produced by studies within each type, and quality is dependent upon a number of factors. Stronger types of research designs can produce weak evidence if (a) they are executed poorly, (b) the design does not fit the data, program assessed, or the research questions, (c) the available data are of insufficient quality to support the research design, or (d) the data are not analyzed using the statistical methods appropriate for the data, design, and research questions. Assessing the credibility of study findings must be done on a case by case basis.

It is important to keep such limitations in mind when reviewing the evidence of effectiveness, and not to assume that any of the aforementioned positive results represents unassailable, definitive evidence of a positive impact. Bearing in mind those limitations, positive findings were found in several formal evaluations and in reports from police agencies relying on tracking data.

Results from Formal Evaluations:

- ***San Francisco john school reduced recidivism by over 40%.*** In an NIJ-sponsored evaluation of the FOPP, it was found that the annual one-year recidivism rate for arrested johns fell from 8.8 percent to 4.5 percent after the program began operating (Shively et al., 2008). The shift was immediate and was sustained for the subsequent decade. The impact could not be attributed to the effect of arrest, since all those in the “treatment” and statewide “comparison” groups were arrested. The impact could not be attributed to displacement to other cities, since the data allowed the research team to detect subsequent arrests anywhere in the state. The impact was also not attributable to a larger trend, since no substantial trend was observed in the statewide rearrest data. Finally, the impact is unlikely to be attributable to johns moving their activities online. While it is true that commercial sex solicitation has been shifting from the streets to online venues, the shift to online solicitation has been gradual rather than abruptly occurring in one year, and has been widespread rather than occurring only in San Francisco in 1995.
- ***A comprehensive approach including reverse stings reduced prostitution by 75% in controlled experiment in Jersey City, New Jersey:*** In a rigorous field study, Weisburd and colleagues (2006) found a 75% reduction in observed and reported prostitution from a comprehensive approach that included combating demand through reverse stings. The evaluation design tested for displacement effects, and the researchers concluded that the reductions were not attributable to simply pushing the problem to other areas of the city. However, the comprehensive nature of the intervention prevents attributing the positive effects to the demand piece or any other single component of the program.
- ***Comprehensive effort including “kerb crawler” arrests and a john school reduced prostitution in Ipswich, England by 40% to 80%.*** A study by Poland and colleagues (2008) concluded that a large reduction in street prostitution in Ipswich, England resulted from an intensive and multifaceted intervention. The program featured enforcement and education aimed at demand (arresting “kerb crawlers” and having them attend the “Change Course,” or john school), and a social service/therapeutic (rather than punitive) approach for providers of commercial sex. The study found 40% to 80% reductions in calls for police service and the number of persons involved in prostitution (Kendall, 2008; Poland et al., 2008).
- ***Enactment of Swedish law that focused on demand has reportedly reduced street prostitution by 50% to 75%.*** In 1999 Sweden passed national legislation decriminalizing the sale of sex while simultaneously criminalizing the purchase of sex. The innovation of the “Swedish Model” law was in place in the entire legal burden for prostitution on the buyer rather than the provider. An evaluation of the impact of the law found a 50% to 70% reduction in street prostitution through focusing on demand (Swedish Government Report SOU 2010:49, 2010).

Police Reports and Anecdotal Accounts:

- ***In St. Petersburg, Florida, a comprehensive approach emphasizing arresting and shaming johns was associated with a 24% reduction in calls for police service.*** Concluding that arresting women involved in prostitution was ineffective in reducing the illicit business and the crime and disorder surrounding it, the city focused on a multifaceted effort that featured tactics aimed at demand. Reverse stings were conducted in 1993, and a letter that included information about sexually transmitted diseases was sent to the home address of all arrested johns. Prostitution-related calls for service from police decreased 24 percent between 1993 and 1994 (Minor, 1997).
- ***In Raleigh, North Carolina, a comprehensive approach emphasizing arresting and shaming johns was associated with a 38% reduction in calls for police service.*** In response to persistent prostitution-related problems in the city, a study of prostitution was conducted, which concluded that police and other agencies city should prioritize arresting customers and addressing the service needs of providers (Weisel, 2004). An initiative - Operation Dragnet - featuring those elements was launched. Among other outcomes, over 85% of the citizens surveyed were aware of the anti-prostitution effort, and citizen-initiated calls for service initially increased due to increased awareness, and then declined steadily by 38% compared to the pre-intervention baseline.
- ***Reduced street prostitution in Salt Lake City in 1971 and 1976 attributed by police to reverse stings.*** A three-month effort in 1971 to combat prostitution through concentrating on male buyers led police to conclude that nearly all of the 75 known street prostitutes appeared to have left town.² In the crackdown on demand, 139 men were arrested during reverse stings. Subsequent reports stated that through 1976 the reverse sting program had arrested 1,129 johns, and that prostitution in the city had declined by approximately 50% soon afterward.³
- ***In Buffalo, New York, a 60% drop in 911 calls was associated with a comprehensive approach emphasizing arresting johns and sending them to a john school.*** From 1996 to 1997, the city increased john arrests 85 percent. Arrested men were sent to a john school program modeled after the one in San Francisco. Arrested women involved in prostitution were referred to an organization for support and treatment. To assess the impact of the initiative, 911 calls and arrest data were analyzed, and interviews were conducted with community members. They found that 911 calls fell 60% from 1996 to 1997, police observed fewer women engaging in street prostitution, and community members interviewed reported less prostitution activity.
- ***Reverse stings and shaming reportedly removed Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania from a domestic trafficking circuit, and reduced the number of women engaged in street prostitution locally by 75%.*** In interviews conducted for the National Assessment, police department staff said that Wilkes-Barre had been a stop on a domestic sex trafficking circuit operating in upstate New York and central

² The Deseret News, Page B-1, September 20, 1971.

³ Miami News, June 17, 1976.

Pennsylvania. Through the mid-1980s, traditional interventions had been tried and found ineffective: arresting prostituted women accomplished little (trafficked women soon left for the next stop on the circuit, and local women simply returned to the streets), and prosecution of pimps had been attempted, but never successfully. In 1986, Wilkes-Barre police tried a new approach, conducting large-scale reverse stings coupled with publicizing the identities of arrestees. In each of the first several operations, they arrested from 50 to 100 men who were issued citations and ordered to pay fines. Arrestee identities were included in press releases which ran in the local Sunday newspaper. After two years of these efforts, police concluded that Wilkes-Barre had been taken off the “pimp circuit.” The number of women known to engage in street prostitution fell from 20 to five, with the rotating circuit survivors gone and the remaining five being local women suffering from severe substance addictions. The existence of the domestic trafficking circuit and the level of police reverse sting activity in the 1980s and 1990s were corroborated by news archives and interviews with police from other cities on the circuit. However, the stated impact on the number of street-level survivors could not be confirmed due to a lack of data from the time period (e.g., arrest data were not kept by the police department beyond seven years).

Findings from National Assessment Data Collection

There are more than a dozen distinct types of interventions that have been developed and implemented to combat demand, and variations within each type. The basic typology we have developed is outlined below, along with the number of cities and counties in the United States that are known to have ever employed each type, as well as some key details of each type of intervention and variations on the basic models.

- **Reverse stings, street-level (occurring in over 826 cities and counties)**
 - Police officers pose as women engaged in street-level prostitution.
 - Average support team is about seven officers for each decoy.
 - Smaller departments may borrow female officer from another department if they don't have enough officers to serve as effective decoys.
 - *Variation:* Some police departments conduct reverse stings at venues such as truck stops and events that draw large numbers of men.
 - *Variation:* Some police departments have used decoys who are not police officers.
- **Reverse stings, web-based (n=286)**
 - Police post decoy advertisements online, set up reverse sting at hotel or apartment.
 - *Variation:* Police respond to real online ads, replace prostituted persons with police decoys, and continue taking calls from johns on the survivor's phone.
 - *Variation:* Women police decoys respond to online ads placed by johns seeking sex with prostituted persons.
- **Reverse stings, brothel-based (n=13)**
 - Police investigate brothels, make arrests, replace brothel staff with decoys, and continue fielding calls and walk-ins from johns in order to make arrests.
- **Shaming – publicizing identities (n=484)**
 - Publicizing identities of arrested johns, via news outlets, police websites, billboards.

- **Shaming – “Dear John” letters (n=40)**
 - Letter sent to address of registered car owner, alerting owner that car was seen in area known for prostitution.
 - *Variation:* Letters sent to arrestee’s home address.
 - *Variation:* Content may also include warnings about health risks, detriments of commercial sex to communities and survivors.
- **Seizing autos used to solicit sex (n=120)**
 - Autos used in commission of crime are seized.
 - To retrieve autos, john must pay an impound fee, tow fee, and/or fines ranging collectively from about \$500 to \$2000.
 - *Variation:* Some communities allow for seized vehicles to be forfeited and sold at auction as part of the penalty for the offense, or as the result of failure to pay the fees and fines necessary to reclaim vehicles.
- **Suspending driver’s license (n=19)**
 - In some jurisdictions arrestees may have their driver’s license suspended if they used a vehicle in the commission of a crime; nineteen communities have been known to apply this to men arrested for soliciting women police decoys.
- **Geographic restraining orders or exclusion zones (n=83)**
 - Johns prohibited from visiting areas with known prostitution activity, and/or the vicinity of their arrest.
 - Also called “Stay Out of Areas with Prostitution” or “SOAP” orders.
- **Public education and awareness programs (n=67)**
 - Proactive efforts to educate men and boys about prostitution and sex trafficking, encouraging them not to contribute to sex trafficking and sexual exploitation by purchasing sex.
 - Can also include targeting audiences in addition to actual and potential buyers, attempting to indirectly affect demand by lower social tolerance or encouragement of buying sex and enlisting community member support in efforts to combat demand.
- **Neighborhood action (n=115)**
 - To be counted for this study, neighborhood action must be a community-led initiative that is organized and formalized as a program or process, rather than being an ad hoc occurrence.
 - Some programs involve forwarding tips to police; citizen patrols; citizen-led blogs; billboard campaigns; participating in community impact panels or making presentations in john schools.
- **“John school” education or treatment programs for arrestees (n=51)**
 - Can be structured as a sentencing option, and coupled with other criminal sanctions, or a diversion program, resulting in dismissed charges.
 - Can be structured as one-day classes versus multiple-session counseling models.

- Average fee or fine is about \$400. This income normally fully covers program costs and often produces excess revenue used to fund survivor recovery programs.
- A typical curriculum includes presentations on:
 - health consequences
 - impact on communities
 - impact on survivors (survivor testimony)
 - victimization risks and other negative outcomes for johns
 - legal consequences
- *Variation:* A video john school, a DVD presented by Cook County Sheriff's Office that is shown to arrested johns in various locations.
- *Variation:* A "roadside" john school in Tucson, Arizona, involving officers delivering a short set of speaking points and providing a handout to men suspected of soliciting.
- *Variations:* Class content can include many other topics, including anger management, domestic violence, STI testing, sexual addiction, healthy relationships, substance abuse, human trafficking.
- **Community service programs for arrestees (n=50)**
 - Like community service programs for any offenders, arrested johns can be ordered to perform community service to meet conditions of a diversion protocol or a sentence.
 - Arrested johns often ordered to clean streets where prostitution is known to occur.
 - For most johns, community service obligations range from four to 40 hours, and are coupled with other sanctions such as fines, fees, and/or john schools.
- **Surveillance cameras (n=67)**
 - To be counted as a demand-focused tactic in this study, cameras must be used to detect or provide evidence used against johns.
 - *Variation:* Some cameras are used as a deterrent, with signs posted that alert johns to their presence.
 - *Variation:* Some cameras are used covertly as a tool for gathering evidence for prosecutors.

History of Demand Reduction Approaches Pursued in the U.S.

- **The history of interventions used to combat demand for commercial sex in the United States is longer than is commonly reported.** For example,
 - While there were scattered occasions where male buyers of sex have been arrested dating back to the 1910s, *the use of modern "reverse sting" operations began in the mid-1960s*. The first reverse sting operation we could identify occurred in Nashville, Tennessee in 1964. The first web-based reverse sting we found occurred in Everett, Washington in 1995.
 - *Some cities and counties arrested more male "customers" than female "providers" of prostitution as early as 1973* (e.g., Los Angeles, California). In 1975-1976, St. Petersburg, Florida applied some of the basic principles that were much later featured in the "Swedish Model" law, shifting away from the traditional punitive approach targeting providers and a lenient approach toward buyers. St. Petersburg spent the majority of their police resources devoted to prostitution toward arresting male

customers in an effort to undermine the market by reducing demand, and shifted toward a primarily therapeutic/social service approach used for those engaged in selling sex.

- *While the FOPP in San Francisco began in 1995 and is often cited as the first john school, we identified at least five education or treatment programs for arrested sex buyers that preceded it.* The first known john school program was the “The John Group,” which began operating in Grand Rapids, Michigan in 1981. From 1988 to 1992, john schools were launched in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota (1988); Rochester, New York (1988); West Palm Beach, Florida (1991); and Kansas City, Kansas (1992).
- *The following table presents the location and year of the first known use of each type of demand-focused intervention:*

Demand Reduction Tactics	1 st Known Use	Site
Law Enforcement & Post-Arrest Interventions		
Reverse stings (street operations)	1964	Nashville, TN
Reverse stings (web-based)	1995	Everett, WA
Shaming: Names and/or photos publicized	1975	Eugene, OR
Shaming: “Dear John” letters sent home	1982	Aberdeen, MD
Auto seizure	1980	Roanoke, VA
Driver’s license suspension	1985	Tampa, FL
Geographic exclusion zones	1975	Beaver Falls, OR
Community service	1975	Miami, FL
Surveillance cameras targeting prostitution	1989	Horry County, SC
John schools	1981	Grand Rapids, MI
Public Awareness/Education Campaigns		
Neighborhood Action Targeting Johns	1975	Knoxville, TN

- While we found more sites than expected to have used reverse stings or other anti-demand tactics (n=826), and efforts to combat demand have a longer history than expected, it remains true that *the majority of efforts to address prostitution and sex trafficking are still aimed at supply and distribution, rather than demand.*
- *Most communities that have targeted demand report doing so because they did not see positive results from their efforts to address prostitution or sex trafficking by focusing on supply (arresting providers) or distribution (arresting pimps).*
- *The majority of reverse stings (at least 71%, and probably over 90%) are conducted in response to complaints that police departments receive from residents and businesses.*

Key Innovations

When reviewing the numerous efforts to combat demand across more than 826 U.S. cities and counties, it is clear that there are several fundamental approaches used and that some of those basic models are relatively straightforward and well known to practitioners. For example, the planning and execution of basic reverse stings are simple and within the skills and staffing capacities of most law enforcement agencies. Many of the other post-arrest interventions are also well known to police and the courts, since they are basic criminal justice interventions applied to one particular type of offender – men who buy sex. Community service, geographic exclusion zones, auto seizure, and driver's license suspension are all basic sanctions applied to other kinds of offenders, and these sanctions are sometimes applied to buyers of sex.

However, most communities are unaware of the range of variation in how these interventions can be configured and execute. This is critical since the variations and innovations have evolved to solve problems and overcome challenges that prevent or limit the implementation of initiatives addressing demand. For example, many small communities rarely conduct reverse stings due to limited number of female officers to serve as decoys, and some do not implement john schools because they erroneously believe they are costly or must be structured as diversion programs.

We have gathered information attesting to the range of extant interventions and alternative models that provide innovative solutions to real and perceived challenges to basic approaches, as well as evidence contrary to erroneous assumptions. For example, many john schools are structured as mandatory conditions of a sentence, most recover all of their costs through fees or collected, and many small communities exchange or borrow female decoys or entire reverse sting teams to solve their local capacity problems.

A number of variations on basic models have been developed to meet particular challenges or to take advantage of opportunities. Some of these were listed above in the summary of the typology, and several examples are described in more detail below.

- ***Reverse Stings: Replacing prostituted women with police decoys.***
 - In web-based reverse stings, the basic model involves police posting a bogus advertisement on websites used to transact prostitution, and to place a female police decoy and support team in a hotel room or apartment for appointments with johns. This requires substantial planning, obtaining a phone for police to use that is not detectable as a police phone, constructing a realistic ad, and can pose challenges in getting hotel or apartment space. A variation used that is designed to solve some of these challenges is to have police search real web ads for prostitution; they respond to the ad, remove the survivor, and install a police decoy who continues making appointments with johns on the survivor's hotel or cell phone. A similar concept is used in storefront brothels, where the staff and survivors are removed and replaced with police officers who continue to make appointments and arrest johns.
- ***Reverse Stings: Borrowing decoys from other police departments.***
 - Many police departments, particularly smaller ones, have had trouble staffing reverse stings due to a shortage of women police officers who can serve as decoys, or because the decoys become too well-known to potential buyers to be effective. A solution to this problem used by some police agencies is to borrow staff from other departments. For example, the small cities of Bluefield and Princeton, West Virginia have borrowed or shared decoys and sometimes other members of reverse sting teams. Similarly, Wilkes-Barre Pennsylvania and communities such as Reading and

Allentown have exchanged staff, and the Pennsylvania State Police has developed the capacity to assist communities throughout the state in conducting reverse stings.

- ***John Schools: Variations on the basic model.***

The most well-known and frequently emulated john school is the aforementioned FOPP in San Francisco, which is structured as a criminal justice diversion program that involves a one day, eight-hour class. Paying a fee and completing the class leads to dismissal of charges. Variations on this basic model include john schools that are structured as programs where participation is court-ordered, rather than voluntary, and where participation does not result in dismissal or charges or reduced sentences. In addition to john schools being structured as diversion versus sentencing options, there is a wide range of program intensity, from very brief presentations (about 15 minutes, in two programs), to one-day classes of anywhere from one to 8 hours, to multiple-session programs that span up to 15-20 hours distributed over four to 10 weekly sessions. Some of the variations on the FOPP model are summarized below.

- ***Sentencing option.*** There have been objections to the diversion element of the FOPP structure, with some seeing it simply as a way to allow men to “get away with” exploiting women without serious consequence, and others objecting to such an option being available for men but equivalent diversion options not always being available for women involved in providing prostitution. However, not all john schools are diversion programs; in fact, 44% of the more than 50 john schools that have been initiated in the U.S. have been structured so that the program is (or can be) a condition of a sentence, and are neither voluntary or result in dismissal of charges.
- ***Counseling format.*** Rather than a one-day session of up to eight hours of classroom instruction, some john schools are structured as multiple-session counseling programs, in either individual or group formats, that span days or weeks. For example, the john school in Salt Lake City involves 10 weekly sessions in a group counseling format.
- ***Video john school.*** The vast majority of john schools are financially self-supporting, with fees or fines covering the costs of the classes. Even so, some communities have resource limitations that make managing and running the classes more burdensome than they are prepared to accommodate. To address such limitations and also to provide a consistent set of educational and awareness messages, the Cook County Sheriff’s Office (Illinois) has recently developed a Video John School, which covers the basic curriculum components commonly found in conventional john school programs: health and legal consequences, impact on survivors and communities, safety risks, and discussion of the links between prostitution and human trafficking. The video is shown to all arrested johns as they are being processed, and has been distributed to other cities for use in a variety of settings.
- ***“Roadside john school.”*** John schools are dependent upon police making arrests in order to supply the programs with participants. However, reverse stings are among the most labor-intensive and costly anti-demand tactics. The leadership of the Tucson, Arizona Police Department’s vice unit believed that to reduce prostitution and collateral crime and disorder, it was important to deter johns. They also believed that to do so, education would be an important tool. However, scarce resources limited the number of reverse stings they could conduct (the department had severely reduced and then eliminated the vice crimes unit), so the typical john school model of educating only arrested sex buyers would leave the educational intervention beyond

the reach of the vast majority of men buying sex in the cite. Patrol officers and those working other details would consistently see men “cruising” and picking up women known to be involved in prostitution, but such observations are rarely sufficient to make an arrest (the evidence necessary to make solid cases for prosecution is developed almost exclusively through reverse stings). In an attempt to convey information to the majority of johns they observed but could not arrest, the department developed the Safety Through Deterrence (STD) program, known informally as the “roadside john school.” Police officers would detain men suspected of attempting to buy sex, deliver a 10 minute lecture on the negative consequences of prostitution, and provide a four-page handout containing similar information.

Costs of Interventions

- ***Most anti-demand interventions cost little:*** Most of the tactics used to combat demand are not costly, many are essentially cost-neutral, and some generate net revenue through fees and fines that can be used to support survivor programs or law enforcement efforts. For example,
 - ***Shaming.*** There are several ways to publicize the identities of johns, including billboards and placing ads in news outlets, which can incur costs. However, the methods of shaming used most often cost little. The most common method is for police departments to issue a press release, which is then carried or summarized in local news outlets and/or posted on a police department or city government website. The means of dissemination is cost-free, although staff time is necessary to write a release - perhaps an hour or two for civilian staff to gather the information from the officers and compose the release.
 - ***Auto Seizure.*** Most state criminal statutes allow for the seizure of automobiles used in the commission of a crime, and many cities have municipal ordinances similarly supporting auto seizures. The costs of towing and of processing the paperwork associated with seizures are usually covered by impound and towing fees and fines which average over \$1,000 collectively.
 - ***“Dear John” Letters.*** Cities that send letters to the homes of arrestees have typically produced form letters, with contact information and perhaps the date, time, and location of their observed activity or arrest, to be filled in. As criminal justice interventions go, Dear John letters are inexpensive, requiring just the initial drafting of the letters, and then perhaps 15 minutes per letter to complete and less than \$.50 per letter to mail.
 - ***John Schools.*** John schools required a resource commitment to deliver properly, but they also generate the income necessary to be self-sustaining. The curriculum, eligibility criteria, agendas, MOUs and other material must be developed. Producing those materials is a one-time investment with some updating and maintenance. The classes themselves require staffing: (a) usually an hour or two of staff time to register and check in participants; (b) instructors (usually two to six, depending upon the curriculum and the capabilities of available instructors); (c) translators may be necessary, although the majority of john schools function without them. While the cost of holding a john school class can be from no direct costs (if instructor time and meeting space are donated) up to \$3,500 for a full-day class staffed by several compensated

presenters and translators, most fines and program fees are calibrated so that they cover all of those costs. Many john schools not only cover the cost of the class, but produce excess revenue used to fund survivor programs (e.g., Nashville and San Francisco john schools) and to reimburse police for reverse stings and the courts for their time in processing offenders (Portland, San Francisco, Tacoma). For example:

- ***The total fee revenue generated during the life of the FOPP in San Francisco is well over \$3 million.*** The revenue from the FOPP has been approximately evenly split among the San Francisco District Attorney's Office (SFDA), San Francisco Police Department (SFPD), and a nonprofit organization, Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE), with each of the three partners receiving over \$1 million since 1995. The fees have:
 - Covered all of the direct costs of the john school classes.
 - Covered all FOPP administrative costs incurred by SFDA, SFPD, and SAGE.
 - Covered most (88%) of the SFDA's costs for processing arrestees referred to the program.
 - Covered about one-third of the costs of the SFPD's reverse sting operations.
 - Generated over \$1 million in fee revenue has been generated to support programs for women and girls involved in prostitution. Almost all (94%) of SAGE's share of the FOPP fee revenue is used to support survivor programs.
- ***Community service.*** Some communities require johns to perform community service, and this usually requires supervision. However, consistent with community service programs covering other types of offenders, programs for johns (e.g., Norfolk, Virginia) require participants to pay a supervision fee, often of approximately \$40 per day, which covers the supervision costs.

Need for Improved Access to Information

The research conducted during this project has confirmed the basic assumption driving the study: that there is a large pool of experience in designing and implementing interventions targeting demand for commercial sex, and this experience could benefit communities implementing or planning initiatives with a similar focus. Our research has confirmed that little of the information about these interventions is circulated broadly, and thus remains a resource untapped by others. Practitioners are often unaware of anti-demand interventions developed and implemented in other communities. The reason for this is simple: there is no central source or effective means by which practitioners can access the information.

Other Key Findings

- There are over 240 programs and organizations in over U.S. 100 cities and counties that specialize in providing *assistance to survivors* of prostitution or sex trafficking. Staff and clients from these programs can be (and often are) partners in initiatives that target demand. A list of such programs identified during the course of this study, and the communities they serve, is provided in Appendix J of this report.
- Several cities and counties have established “*prostitution courts*” that offer diversion or sentencing options for survivors that parallel those offered to male buyers through john school programs (e.g., Dallas, TX; Hartford, CT; Phoenix, AZ). Such programs can provide gender and role balance to the penalties and opportunities within a city that are provided to those selling and buying sex.
- *Reductions in police funding* since the mid-2000s has resulted in cutback or elimination of vice crime units (e.g., San Francisco, CA; Tucson, AZ; Vallejo, CA), fewer reverse stings, and fewer arrests of johns. This has resulted in fewer participants in john schools and other post-arrest programs.

Additional Information Available on DemandForum.net

The systematic gathering of information and its dissemination are the primary objectives of the present National Assessment project. A website is the only practical way to manage the volume of information collected, and to make it readily accessible. It is evident that there is great interest and need for information about effectively combating the demand for commercial sex. Information exists that could be immediately helpful to practitioners and policymakers, and to make it available to those with an interest in using it, a web-based infrastructure has been developed to: (a) gather information and source materials, (b) compile, screen, and organizing the information and materials, and (c) provide a means of dissemination. The website is also intended to facilitate communication among practitioners; anyone interested in a particular initiative or site can contact the website staff for local contacts. The majority of the information gathered in the present study is only summarized in this report, and will be presented in full on the website where the technology can accommodate the volume of documentation.

Structure of the Website

At the DemandForum.net website there are two primary ways to search for and access information:

- **By location**
 - From a map, one can choose a city or county and be led to information about the types of anti-demand tactics employed there. When selecting a city or county, a check-box summarizing the kinds of tactics that have been used there is presented, along with a narrative summary of relevant site characteristics, interventions that have been implemented, and references or links to supporting documentation and other resources.
- **By type of intervention**

- One can choose from a list of tactics to find a description of the type of intervention, along with references to sites that have employed that tactic and links for supporting documents.

The types of program documents provided at the website include tactical plans for reverse stings, john school curricula and agendas, the text of decoy ads for web-based reverse stings, and drafts of “Dear John” letters sent to arrested johns. Links are provided to reports and studies, including topics such as the effects of reverse sting operations on reoffending and crime displacement, and studies profiling characteristics of johns. Summaries and links are provided for advocacy groups, NGOs, and programs that address demand, and a list of organizations that support survivors of prostitution and sex trafficking is also provided, since such groups are (or can be) valuable partners in efforts to combat demand.

Acknowledgments

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For this report, a team of Abt Associates researchers and collaborators assembled information from a wide range of sources, and with the assistance of numerous individuals, agencies, and organizations. Much of this report’s content was supplied or shaped by those we interviewed or surveyed who work in a variety of fields to combat prostitution and human trafficking: criminal justice, public health, city and county government, neighborhood organizations, social service agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

We are indebted to survey respondents, interview subjects, those who provided us with documents, and who helped us conduct site visits. To preserve confidentiality, we will not list them by name, but wish to acknowledge their invaluable contributions and thank them for taking time out of their days to help us conduct this study. We received input on issues related to the implementation of anti-demand efforts from 274 experts from law enforcement, public health, city government, and human services agencies, as well as neighborhood organizations and nonprofit organizations devoted to combating sexual exploitation and human trafficking. In our survey we received 241 completed questionnaires from practitioners in 199 cities and counties. We then conducted 226 interviews at 75 of those sites, and visited 10 cities and counties in order to observe program activities.

We also wish to thank the numerous researchers, reporters, and practitioners who have published and posted reports and research on prostitution, human trafficking, and related subjects. For the project we reviewed thousands of sources in the research and practice literature, news outlets, and agency and organization reports and websites. The sources are cited and described in the Final Report and the authors listed in the bibliography.

We thank Dana Nurge, Associate Professor of Criminal Justice in the School of Public Affairs at San Diego State University, who observed the john school program in San Diego. Some of her observations appear in this report and will be available on the website.

1. Introduction

“I took only one course in business management and economics, but it seems pretty basic to me. Without customers, you don’t have any business and you will fold... Police have attacked prostitution with the wrong method. They’ve gone after the prostitutes. I think the focus should have been on the customer.”

Chief Pierce Brooks, Eugene (Oregon) Police
Department, 1978⁴

To combat prostitution and human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, criminal justice interventions and collaborative programs have emerged that focus on reducing demand for commercial sex. In a prior study, Abt Associates found evidence that the use of anti-demand approaches was more widespread than previously thought. It was also found that little research or descriptive information was available about the vast majority of interventions. Communities attempting to address demand had often done so with little guidance from the collective experience of others; consequently, some initiatives had struggled or failed when faced with problems that had been solved elsewhere (Shively et al., 2008).

To fill these gaps, Abt Associates received support from the National Institute of Justice to develop a typology and a descriptive overview of anti-demand tactics employed throughout the United States, and to provide information of practical value that could assist communities in starting, improving, or sustaining programs and practices. A secondary objective was to assess the feasibility of evaluating demand-reduction interventions. The project has generated several key products, one of which is this report which provides an overview of initiatives targeting the demand in the United States. It also describes the study’s process of gathering information, discusses specific initiatives, and highlights selected communities to illustrate how and why their members have addressed prostitution and sex trafficking by combating demand.

The report is intended to serve as an introduction for those considering applying anti-demand tactics in their communities, and for those at the state government level who are considering policies, statutes, and infrastructure investments supporting local efforts. Additional information is available at the main product of the project, the website scheduled (*DemandForum.net*) to be launched in March, 2012. The site allows for the presentation of a far greater number of case summaries, examples, supporting documents, than is possible in the present report, and has flexibility in updating and accessing content.

The report is organized around the following components:

- A discussion of prostitution and sex trafficking, the problems they pose for individuals and communities, and why a growing number of communities have elected to address these problems by focusing on the buyers of illegal commercial sex.

⁴ The Eugene Register-Guard, July 8, 1978.

- An overview of commercial sex markets, and the role of demand in driving both prostitution and sex trafficking.
- Steps taken to gather data about anti-demand initiatives.
- A typology of interventions, as well as an overview of their prevalence, basic traits, and history.
- A number of appendices provide references, supporting documentation, and more detail about key points.

Based on the assumption that most readers of this report will be more interested in the study's findings and less concerned about details of the methods used to acquire the information, detailed discussion of the study's research design and data collection procedures is placed in two appendices: Appendix B contains a description of the research design, and Appendix C contains the survey and data collection instruments. The website expands the presentation of information collected in the study, and for all cities and counties will include checklists of tactics used and capsule descriptions of communities known to have used anti-demand tactics, along with links to any available program documentation and third-party reports relevant to each site.

The research described in the report was conducted to contribute to an ongoing process of gathering information on practices targeting demand for commercial sex. The intent was to develop for the first time a national picture of current and historical practices. This provides a foundation for further inquiry, and for gathering and disseminating actionable information useful to practitioners. While this report is necessarily static and will become dated, the Demandforum.net website will remain a "living document," frequently refined and updated as additional information is acquired. Input from the field of practitioners, advocates, policymakers, and researchers will be actively encouraged, and contact information for individuals and organizations that hold information of value to practitioners will be provided.

Not all of the topics worthy of attention and consideration could be covered sufficiently in this report, but we expect information to continually accrue on the website. Given that the study's scope is broad and comprehensive, the National Assessment included examination of many topics, but could not report exhaustively on every one. We prioritized practices that are: (a) established as - or may be approaching the status of - evidence-based practice; (b) actively being implemented or considered by many communities; (c) controversial and the subject of debate among policymakers and practitioners; or (d) represent innovations and attempts to solve challenges faced by traditional practices or standard models. Guided by these criteria, we have emphasized reverse sting operations, shaming, and john schools in our reporting, and in describing not only the basic models of each, but variations, innovations, and evidence of effectiveness.

2. Prostitution, Sex Trafficking, and Demand

“As long as there’s a demand, there’s going to be a supply.”

Chief W.L. Harman, Princeton, West Virginia Police Department, 2010⁵

“We really need to look at who's making the money: the pimps and the traffickers. But where are they getting the money? They're making money off men who are willing to pay.”

Suzanne Keopplinger, executive director of the Minnesota Indian Women's Resource Center, 2010⁶

“Pimping and trafficking are the same thing. What they both come down to is sexual servitude. Whether someone is being moved from state to state, country to country, or street corner to street corner doesn't make any difference. It's about compelling women and girls to sell sex and then taking their money.”

Interview with investigator, Atlanta Police Department Vice Unit, 2010

“The crime of prostitution clearly impacts our businesses, our neighborhoods and the quality of life in our city. Operation Reveal [a shaming initiative targeting johns] recognizes that we can't solve this issue simply by dealing with the prostitutes. Customers also are contributing to the problem, so we need to focus our efforts on them as well.”

Mayor Ashley Swearingin, Fresno, California, 2011⁷

“It’s like we have this triangle – the pimps, the women and the johns. The johns go out and break the laws, but they’re untouchable.”

Jeri Williams, survivor & program coordinator for Portland, Oregon’s Office of Neighborhood Involvement, 2010⁸

“If there were no customers there would be no sellers. It is not much of a deterrent if the customer is not going to be prosecuted.”

Florida State Representative George Sheldon, 1975⁹

The reasons that communities have chosen to focus on combating demand for commercial sex are straightforward, and evidence supporting the use of anti-demand tactics is accumulating (although

⁵ <http://bdtonline.com/local/x359239592/Police-Prostitution-making-way-toward-Bluewell-Brushfork>

⁶ <http://www.myfoxtwincities.com/dpp/news/targeting-demand-in-prostitution-stings-sept-2-2010>

⁷ <http://www.thebusinessjournal.com/government/10664-city-officials-announce-crackdown-on-prostitution>
<http://www.fresno.gov/Government/DepartmentDirectory/Police/OperationReveal.htm>

⁸ http://www.portlandtribune.com/news/print_story.php?story_id=128035454437234300

⁹ United Press International, appearing in the Palm Beach Post, Nov. 7, p. D-18.

still underdeveloped). An overview and citations for the logical and empirical case can be summarized as follows, and are then presented in detail:

- Prostitution and sex trafficking¹⁰ present a wide array of problems for providers and consumers of illegal commercial sex, and for communities in which it occurs.
- Most police response to prostitution is driven by complaints from residents and local businesses.
- The primary cause of prostitution and sex trafficking is consumer-level demand for commercial sex.¹¹
- To combat demand, it is not necessary (or practical) to separate prostitution from sex trafficking, because:
 - a. The distinction between people selling sex who are versus are not compelled by a third party is usually invisible to buyers – particularly since most buyers are motivated to believe that providers are involved voluntarily. Market incentives and fear of reprisals from pimps and traffickers motivate providers of commercial sex who are trafficked to present themselves as if they participate voluntarily, and most johns cannot (or choose not to) see otherwise.
 - b. It is not feasible to develop separate interventions for men buying compelled sex and for those buying sex from people who are not compelled by a third party.¹² The only practical approach is to combat all purchasing of sex.
 - c. Prostitution is the “front door” to sexual slavery and trafficking for law enforcement and other responders, since cases usually present first as involving prostitution, then some are reclassified as involving slavery or trafficking when evidence emerges attesting to the participation in commercial sex being compelled by third-party force, fraud, or coercion (or by finding the survivor to be a minor).
- The only practices for combating prostitution and sex trafficking that are demonstrated to be effective are those that include combating demand.
 - a. There is evidence that anti-demand interventions can be effective in reducing the activity of illegal commercial sex markets; there is no firm evidence that interventions focusing on “supply” and “distribution” reduce the prevalence or incidence of sex trafficking.
- There are two primary ways to directly affect actual and potential buyers of commercial sex:

¹⁰ The term “prostitution” is used when commercial sex involves adults and when no third-party force, fraud, or coercion is present. “Sex trafficking” is used when commercial sex involves children and/or when it is compelled by a third party using force, fraud, or coercion.

¹¹ The term “prostitution” is used when involving adults when no third-party force, fraud, or coercion is present, and “sex trafficking” is used to refer to commercial sex involving children and/or compelled by a third party using force, fraud, or coercion.

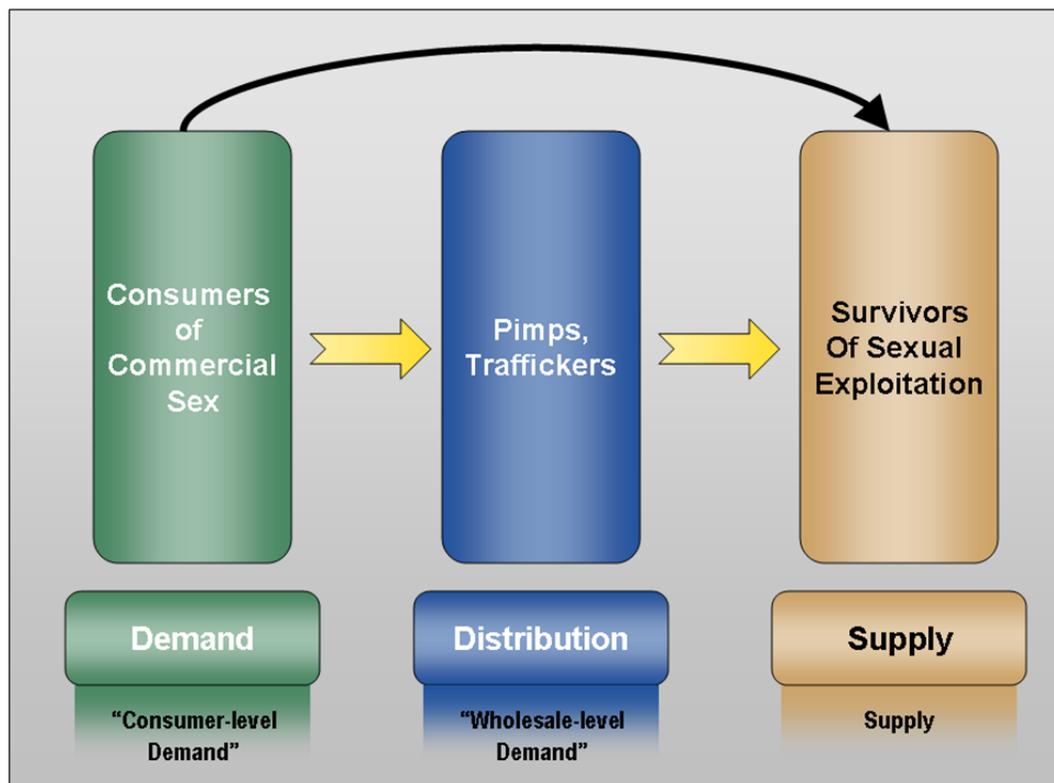
¹² An exception to this rule is that it is possible to form separate laws that provide penalty enhancements for men who buy sex from trafficked persons. It is also important to clarify that there are already separate laws for commercial sex with children, which is always human trafficking.

- a. Education of actual and potential buyers of commercial sex, and
- b. Law enforcement interventions aimed at deterring men who might buy sex, and punishing those that do.

Illegal Commercial Sex Markets

Like the market for any commodity or service, the illicit commercial sex market is a function of supply and demand. Like the market for any good or service (illicit or otherwise), demand is the key (but not the only) driving force, and the other components follow. When there is demand, supply will be found or produced, and distributors (in this case, pimps, traffickers, or those acting as their own distributors) work to ensure that the two shall meet. The stronger the demand, the greater the economic motivation to obtain and deliver a supply. A simple model of the core dynamics of commercial sex markets is presented in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: A Flow Model of Commercial Sex Markets



The figure illustrates the relationship between supply, demand, and distribution in commercial sex markets. Markets originate in consumer-level demand, and supply and distribution are responses to demand. Of course, as a model, this is an oversimplification of market forces. Any market has complex interactions and feedback mechanisms between supply, demand, and distribution. But the model does illustrate something difficult to dispute: without demand, there is little need to generate and distribute a supply. The model also depicts how distributors (either pimps or traffickers) can be bypassed where demand can make direct connection with supply. In commercial sex markets, it is not always true that there are third parties brokering (or forcing) exchanges between those providing

commercial sex and the consumers of commercial sex. For people engaged in providing commercial sex who do not have pimps or traffickers compelling them, one can consider providers to serve as their own distributors.

Until relatively recently (and in many communities, presently), criminal justice system attempts to suppress street prostitution have focused largely on interrupting supply by arresting and sanctioning the providers. But they have usually ignored the individuals creating demand. While arresting women engaged in street prostitution may temporarily clear an area of visible activity, driving it to other neighborhoods or indoors, experience shows that this strategy alone produces few lasting benefits.¹³ Prostituted people cycle through the criminal justice system often and rapidly, typically returning to the streets within hours of being arrested. Moreover, women and girls arrested for prostitution are rarely provided with services to help them address the issues that make them vulnerable to further sexual exploitation.

This situation began changing in the 1960s and 1970, and the pace of change gained momentum in the 1990s when communities, frustrated by the lack of positive results from focusing on supply and distribution, began implementing anti-demand tactics. For example, “john school” programs, which seek to change the behavior of sex buyers through education or treatment, generally proceed from the assumption that some of the men who solicit prostitutes are amenable to treatment or education, and will change their behavior in response to new information. Some subsets of sex buyers may be unresponsive to such intervention. The proportion falling into the “amenable” and “intractable” groups is unknown, but it is not crucial to know precisely: As long as there is a group of men drawn into the program that is amenable to change, the programs have a chance to make a difference as long as they are conducted properly. The john school model also assumes that a brief educational program is likely to do no harm. The programs are often designed as an option for diverting people from normal adjudication, but in doing so expose the public to no additional risk since traditional sanctions for misdemeanor prostitution offenses require offenders to spend little—if any—time segregated from the public. In addition, there is very little opportunity cost for investing in the programs, since the modest program expenses are covered by fees paid by participants.

“The prostitutes aren’t themselves the problem. The johns are the problem.”

Bernie Audette, Coordinator of the Blackford’s Grove
Neighborhood Association, Evansville, Indiana, 1982¹⁴

Demand: Men’s Decisions to Buy Sex

Like the market for any commodity or service, the illicit commercial sex market is driven by demand.¹⁵ Both prostitution and sex trafficking (commercial sex provided by those compelled through force, fraud, or coercion) arise from a common source: men’s decisions to buy sex.

¹³ E.g., Ayala & White, 2008; DeMuth & Steffensmeier, 2004; San Bernardino County Sheriff’s Department, 1993, 1999; Scott, 2003.

¹⁴ Associated Press. Appearing in the Williamson Daily News, October 20, 1982, p. 2

¹⁵ Hughes, 2004; Lederer, 2006; Malarek, 2009; Sanders, 2008.

Studies of male consumers of commercial sex find that buyers are similar to the general population in most regards, and quite unlike most populations of criminal offenders,¹⁶ although the population of johns also contains some dangerous criminals and sociopaths.¹⁷ A substantial portion of men in the U.S. admits to having purchased sex at some point in their lives, with most surveys finding between 10% and 20% to admit to this crime.¹⁸ The rates found in the U.S. are similar to those found in Australia and Europe (see reviews by Sanders, 2008; Weitzer, 2007). With one out of every five or six men admitting to purchasing sex, patronizing commercial sex is unlikely to be primarily the result of rare deviance or pathology. While not extremely rare, most men do not purchase sex, so the behavior cannot be considered a normative or intractable problem beyond the reach of intervention.

A comparison of men who had been arrested for purchasing sex to nationally representative samples of men¹⁹ found that those who had purchased sex were more likely to have attended college, and were just 15% less likely to be married (41% for arrested johns versus 56% in the national survey; Monto, 1999). Shively et al., (2008) found that a large proportion of the men in San Francisco's "john school" program were well educated, employed, and married, and few had extensive criminal histories. Similar results have been found in other studies.²⁰

Many studies have examined men's motivation for buying sex,²¹ and found that there is a wide range of reasons for procuring sex from prostitutes (see review by Sanders, 2008). The distinct motivations identified in these surveys can be categorized into a few main types: (1) seeking intimacy (i.e., a way to approximate intimate relationships they are unable or unwilling to develop); (2) seeking sex without intimacy (a way to get sex without the investment and compromises needed for intimate relationships); (3) seeking variety (fulfilling a desire for sex with women of various "types," based on ethnicity, size, age, hair color, etc.), (4) thrill-seeking (being drawn by the "thrill of the hunt" and the illicit nature of prostitution); and (5) pathology (drawn by compulsion, addiction, or by forms of sociopathy, psychology, or misogyny where the intent is to control and harm).

While men who solicit prostitution are not necessarily atypical demographically or in terms of criminal history, they are measurably different in terms of a range of attitudes toward women, relationships, and commercial sex. For example, Monto & McRee (2005) found that consumers were less likely to have sexually liberal attitudes (e.g., to view premarital sex, sex among minors, and homosexuality as acceptable), and to think about sex more often. Commercial sex participants were also less likely to have been sexually molested as children, or to report having forced women into sexual acts. The differences between samples were not large, but were statistically significant.

¹⁶ E.g., Kennedy, 2004; Lever and Dolnick, 2000; Monto, 1999.

¹⁷ E.g., Holzman and Pines, 1982; Reichert, 2004; Sawyer et al., 2001.

¹⁸ E.g., Michael et al., 1994; Monto, 1999; Sullivan and Simon, 1998.

¹⁹ I.e., male respondents of large-scale national surveys; see Monto, 1999; Monto & McRee, 2005.

²⁰ E.g., Kennedy, 2004; Lever and Dolnick, 2000.

²¹ E.g., Bernstein, 2001; Durschlag & Goswami, 2008; Farley, 2007; Farley et al., 2009; Hoigard & Finstad, 1992; Holzman & Pines, 1982; Lau et al., 2004; Lever & Dolnick, 2000; Mansson, 2006; McKeganey & Barnard, 1996; Monto, 2000; Peng, 2007; Stein, 1974; Winick, 1962; Xantidis & McCabe, 2000.

"Johns are everybody. They're wealthy. They're poor. They come from every single background. There's no one set 'MO' for a john."

Jeri Williams, survivor and a Program Coordinator for the City of Portland, Oregon, 2010²²

Many studies have examined men's motivation for buying sex,²³ and found that there is a wide range of reasons, and the relationships between prostitutes and their "customers" can become quite complex (see review by Sanders, 2008). Research has found that the reasons men hire prostituted persons include:

- To engage in sex acts that few other women are willing to engage in.
- To experience sex with women with a variety of physical traits.
- To satisfy the desire for sex and/or intimacy that they are unable to meet in other ways.
- To satisfy a need for emotional support that they are not receiving from others.
- To provide them with sex that requires little or no emotional involvement.
- Because they are attracted to the excitement of the illicit nature of prostitution.
- Because they have difficulty meeting women conventionally (e.g., feeling shy or awkward approaching women).
- Because they feel that most women find them unattractive.
- Because they do not have the time nor desire the responsibility of a conventional relationship.
- Because it provides a less risky means of mimicking extreme or illegal fantasies, such as incest or rape.
- Because they desire being "in control" or dominating women when having sex.

Many people who have studied the problems of sex trafficking and prostitution, including practitioners who have worked in the field to assist survivors and prosecute traffickers, have independently concluded that mitigating or eliminating sexual exploitation requires attacking it at its source: consumer-level demand. Without the demand for commercial sex, there would be no market forces producing and sustaining the roles of pimps and traffickers as "distributors," nor would there be a force driving the production of a "supply" of people to be sexually exploited. Supply and distribution are symptoms; demand is the cause.

Currently, the weight of the evidence suggests that most men in the United States do not illegally buy sex. But it is not universally condemned, with a least one out of six men buy sex and similar portions

²² <http://www.kptv.com/yourvote/24436864/detail.html>

²³ E.g., Bernstein, 2001; Farley, 2007; Farley et al., 2011; Hoigard & Finstad, 1992; Holzman & Pines, 1982; Lau et al., 2004; Lever & Dolnick, 2000; Mansson, 2006; McKeganey & Barnard, 1994; Monto, 2000; Stein, 1974; Winick, 1962; Xantidis & McCabe, 2000.

of some populations saying they have sold sex larger portions saying they believe it is victimless and should be decriminalized.²⁴ A national survey of over 13,000 U.S. children in grades seven through 12 found nearly four percent to have exchanged sex for drugs or money, which extrapolates to 650,000 teenagers who have engaged in commercial sex.²⁵ A substantial portion of the U.S. population believes that prostitution is a harmless vice and should be decriminalized or legalized.²⁶ This indifference, tolerance, or support can be a major impediment to institutional and individual commitment of resources to combat commercial sex.

The forces that contribute to commercial sex are found in concentrated form when examining the historic relationship between the presence of the military and prostitution. A great deal of attention has been paid to the role of military personnel in fueling demand for prostitution and sex trafficking worldwide (e.g., Allred, 2006; Zimelis, 2009), throughout history and across nations.²⁷ Where there is a large military presence, usually one finds high levels of prostitution (e.g., Daranciang, 2010; Stensland, 2008). In the United States, for example, histories of civil war army camps discuss “travelling brothels” that follow troop movements (Krick, 2002). Contemporary reports describe how the presence of thousands of U.S. military personnel near the border of North Korea creates a robust market for commercial sex, and that women are trafficked from abroad to serve this market.²⁸ A brief discussion the historic correlation between the military, prostitution, and sex trafficking is provided in Appendix D.

Prostitution, Sex Trafficking, and Harm

There are long-running debates about the level of harm resulting from illegal commercial sex, and its proper legal status. At one end of the spectrum is the position that prostitution is inherently harmful and should be treated as a crime.²⁹ At the opposite end are arguments that prostitution involving adults is victimless and should be legal and regulated like other businesses, and that commercial sex workers choose to exchange their time and services for money, as in any legitimate employment arrangement.³⁰

Evidence can be marshaled in support of either position, and sometimes the same evidence is used to support opposing conclusions. For example, prostitution opponents point to drug abuse, community deterioration, and ancillary crime that invariably accompany street prostitution as evidence supporting criminalization. Those supporting legalization argue that these same dysfunctions are driven not by prostitution itself, but by the criminal status of the enterprise, much like alcohol prohibition fosters black markets, organized crime, and street crime. Legalization proponents generally assume that prostitution cannot be stopped, and argue that legalized prostitution would allow commercial sex to

²⁴ E.g., Michael et al., 1994; Monto, 1999; Sullivan and Simon, 1998; see reviews by Sanders, 2008; Weitzer, 2007.

²⁵ Edwards, 2006; see also estimates by Estes and Weiner, 2001; Shared Hope International, 2009.

²⁶ E.g., Cotton et al., 2000; General Social Survey, 1996; Gallup Poll, 1991.

²⁷ Capps, 2002; Jeffreys, 2007; Kane, 1993; Krick, 2002; Malarek, 2003; Malone et al., 1993; Moon, 2009; Ringdal, 2004.

²⁸ E.g., Enriquez, 1996, 2005; Macintyre-Tongduchon, 2002; Malarek, 2002; O’Sullivan, 2004.

²⁹ Audet, 2002; Coulter, 2007; Davis, 2000; Farley, 2004; Raymond, 2003, 2005.

³⁰ See *The Economist*, 2004; Kempadoo, 2005, 2007; Klinger, 2003; Kuo, 2002; Liberator, 2004; Sanders, 2005; Sex Workers’ Outreach Project, 2005; Weitzer, 2007, 2010.

be taxed and regulated, and the conditions for prostitutes improved by the same kinds of oversight and legal protections provided in other workplaces.

However, substantial empirical evidence finds sex trafficking and prostitution to be damaging, and that deregulation and legalization do not ameliorate those harms for more than a small portion of providers of commercial sex. The negative consequences of prostitution and sex trafficking for all parties directly and indirectly involved are well documented. Those working in the illicit sex trade, their “customers,” and residents and businesses in areas in which prostitution occurs all suffer tangible harm.³¹ Sexually exploited persons typically enter the illicit sex trade as minors,³² are frequently coerced or forced to engage in prostitution by pimps or traffickers (e.g., Chapkis, 2003; Farley et al., 2003), and are frequent victims of violent crime committed by pimps, traffickers, and sex buyers.³³ Although they are often the perpetrators of violence, the customers of commercial sex (“johns”) are also vulnerable to being victimized³⁴ and are at elevated risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases.³⁵ Businesses are harmed when prostitution is visible, and residents suffer from the vast array of felonies and community blight that invariably co-occur with prostitution nearby.³⁶ The market forces of prostitution also drive demand for victims of human trafficking (e.g., Hughes, 2001; Mameli, 2002).

Stratification of the Commercial Sex Industry

Understanding that the commercial sex “business” is highly stratified and segmented is a key to resolving the conflicting portrayals conveyed by proponents and opponents.³⁷ They make the least money, are more likely to be drug addicted, subjected to violence, and otherwise distressed; those who are pimped have the least control over their workload, choice of “clients,” and the money earned. Somewhat better conditions are generally (but not always) available to those working indoors in brothels, massage parlors, and clubs.³⁸ Operating at the highest levels of the commercial sex business are elite escort services, which some have referred to as serving the “luxury prostitution” market (e.g., Ringdal, 2004). The images of commercial sex portrayed by proponents of legalization best fit the conditions of women working as self-employed escorts or in the higher-end, more professionally run brothels and clubs (e.g., Elkind, 2010). In those market segments, some researchers and advocates argue women are less vulnerable to violence, drug addiction, and sexually transmitted diseases, and are more likely to have greater control over their “careers,” to be more selective about clients, and to make (and keep) more money.³⁹ Many anti-prostitution initiatives target street prostitution, and are

³¹ Campbell et al., 2003; Newman, 2006; Nixon et al., 2002; Walker, 2002.

³² Edwards, 2006; Estes and Weiner, 2002; Farley et al., 2003; Shared Hope International, 2009.

³³ E.g., Baldwin, 2003; Miller & Schwartz, 1995; Potterat et al., 2004; Urban Justice Center, 2003; Zimmerman et al., 2008.

³⁴ E.g., Flowers, 1987; Miller, 1993; Sterk & Elifson, 1990.

³⁵ E.g., Fernandez et al., 2005; Gil, 1996; Remple et al., 2007; Simonsen, 1988.

³⁶ E.g., Associated Press, 2009a; Ayala & White, 2008; San Diego Police Department, 1994; Wichita Police Department, 1996.

³⁷ E.g., Chapkis, 2000; Lowman and Fraser, 1996; Porter and Bonilla, 2000). By all accounts, street prostitutes occupy the lowest rung on the commercial sex ladder (e.g., Sanders, 2005; Scott and Dedel, 2006.

³⁸ E.g., Albert, 2001; Church et al., 2001; Sanders & Campbell, 2007; Whittaker & Hart, 1996.

³⁹ E.g., Albert, 2001; Brents & Hausbeck, 2005; Jeal & Salisbury, 2007; Sanders & Campbell, 2007.

not structured to address prostitution occurring at various indoor venues, arranged online, or provided by escorts.⁴⁰

Human Trafficking and Prostitution

The links between street prostitution and both domestic and international trafficking have been confirmed by dozens of studies,⁴¹ with the market forces of prostitution driving demand for human trafficking of women and girls.⁴² Estimates of the overall magnitude of human trafficking into and within the United States are the subject of debate and are derived from data and methods with substantial limitations (e.g., Clawson et al., 2006), but most researchers agree that a substantial portion of trafficking is for the purpose of commercial sex (Ugarte et al., 2003; Wilson & Dalton, 2007). One of the objectives pursued by advocates for change in how prostitution is addressed in the U.S. has been convincing law enforcement, social service providers, and policymakers to view prostitution as part of a much larger system of commercial sexual exploitation,⁴³ rather than merely a local, low-level street crime. Another objective is to change the perception of pimps as either harmless or glorified business managers to having them seen as traffickers who use force, fraud, and/or coercion to compel service and to sexually exploit for profit.

There is currently no firm answer to the question of what proportion of prostituted persons in any given area in the U.S. have been trafficked internationally or domestically, pimped locally, or are engaging in prostitution independently. While these distinctions are crucial for those involved in prosecuting pimps and traffickers, or serving the providers of commercial sex, the distinctions are relatively unimportant for attacking demand for street prostitution. People engaged in prostitution independently or because they are pimped or trafficked serve the same market, and if that market is weakened by reducing demand, there will be an impact on both trafficking and prostitution.

Vulnerable Women and Girls Drawn Into Prostitution

Most studies find the average age of entry into prostitution to be between 12 and 16,⁴⁴ and the vulnerabilities leading girls and young women into commercial sex often conspire to keep them there. Women and girls drawn or forced into prostitution typically are economically and emotionally vulnerable, with most having been scarred by childhood sexual and physical abuse and other forms of

⁴⁰ The arrests of virtually all john school participants result from “reverse stings” in which female police officers pose as street prostitutes. Nothing else about the program would preclude it from serving male customers of escorts or brothels, or commercial sex arranged online. Police operations supply john schools with participants, and the range of their operations dictates the types of offenders and types of prostitution that are addressed. In the U.S., this has limited the program primarily to serving men seeking street prostitutes, and nearly all of them men arrested have solicited adult police decoys posing as street prostitutes. None of the john schools accept men arrested for soliciting sex from children. Such men would be ineligible, and are never referred also because the pool from which john school participants are drawn is men soliciting sex from adults in reverse stings.

⁴¹ E.g., see reviews by Farr, 2005; Leidholt, 2003; O’Connor & Healy, 2006.

⁴² E.g., Farley, 2003; Hughes, 2001; International Human Rights Law Institute, 2003; Joe-Cannon, 2006; Marneli, 2002; United Nations, 2006.

⁴³ Bales, 1999; Farr, 2005; McGill, 2003; United Nations, 2006.

⁴⁴ Boyer et al., 1993; Estes and Weiner, 2002; Farley et al., 2003; Shannon et al., 2009; Silbert and Pines, 1982.

dysfunction in the home.⁴⁵ For example, Farley et al. (2003) found that 63% of the prostituted women they interviewed in nine countries had been sexually abused as children, and 57% of the U.S. respondents also reported childhood physical abuse. Similarly, McIntyre (1999) found the majority of prostituted persons have a history of sexual and physical abuse (82% and 75%, respectively).

Traumatic childhood experiences contribute to prostitution via homelessness and a lack of economic self-sufficiency. Sexually and physically abused children are at an increased risk of running away,⁴⁶ and women and girls who are unable to sustain themselves financially are highly vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Providers of commercial sex are found to have high levels of childhood truancy, poor education, poor employment skills, and debt (e.g., Crime and Misconduct Commission, 2004; Walker, 2002a; Weisberg, 1985). Studies repeatedly find that among the most important predictors of prostitution are running away from home and homelessness.⁴⁷ The Minnesota Attorney General's Office (1999) found that many youths are approached for sex within 48 hours of becoming homeless. Many runaway and homeless youth are too inexperienced, unskilled, drug involved, traumatized, and/or young to maintain legitimate employment, and may turn to prostitution to survive.

“I was raped and sexually abused before I was three years old, and it never stopped. I was having sex before I even knew what it was, before I even knew the language, or had words to describe it. By the time I was a teenager and started developing my own sexuality, I had no idea what real intimacy was. I was promiscuous and started selling sex – why not get paid for it? Then the pimps noticed me, and I had to do it for them. Much later I realized I was acting out, trying to hide the pain deep inside me. I was trying to forget what I couldn’t remember. I covered it up with sex, drugs, looking for love but not knowing how, or what it looked or felt like. I thought I loved the pimps, but they just used me. It was so easy to manipulate me – I was lost. At the time, I did not even remember what happened to me as a small child, or thought of it as wrong. I was too young to know what it was, but it was all I knew... since I was a baby, I was there to provide sex to men, in my family or anyone else.”

Trafficking survivor, speaking in San Francisco FOPP
“John School” class, 2007

Impact on “Providers”

Once drawn into commercial sex, prostituted persons are at high risk for many kinds of additional trauma.⁴⁸ One study found that the vast majority of women and girls trafficked internationally are physically (95%) and sexually (59%) abused while being trafficked (Zimmerman et al., 2008). A U.S. study of nearly 2000 prostituted persons followed over a 30-year period found them to have

⁴⁵ Earls & David, 1989, 1990; Janus et al., 1987; Nandon et al., 1998; Michaud, 1988; McCarthy, 1995; McClanahan et al., 1999; Seng, 1989; Simons & Whitbeck, 1991; Sullivan, 1986; Tremble, 1993; Webber, 1991; Walker, 2002; Weisberg, 1985.

⁴⁶ E.g., McCarthy, 1995; McClanahan et al., 1999; McNaughton & Sanders, 2007; Michaud, 1988; Webber, 1991; Widom & Ames, 1994.

⁴⁷ Bittle, 2002; Crime and Misconduct Commission, 2004; Farley et al., 2003; Greene et al., 1999; McClanahan et al., 1999; Nandon et al., 1998; Stark & Hodgson, 2003; Walker, 2002; Sullivan, 1986; Weisberg, 1985.

⁴⁸ Brewer et al., 2006; Campbell et al., 2003; Farley et al., 2003; Newman, 2006; Nixon et al., 2002; Romero-Daza et al., 2003; Scott and Dedel, 2006; Shannon et al., 2009; Walker, 2002.

mortality rates almost 200 times greater than those found among other women with similar demographic profiles (Potterat et al., 2004; see also Spittal et al., 2006). The most common causes of death were, in order: homicide, suicide, drug- and alcohol-related problems, HIV infection, and accidents. The homicide rate among women actively engaged in prostitution was seventeen times greater than the rate for age-matched females in the general population (Potterat et al., 2004). After reviewing the literature and analyzing nine different data sets, Brewer and colleagues (2006) concluded that prostituted women "...have the highest homicide victimization rate of any set of women ever studied."

"It put me in a place where it was really easy for someone to come in and victimize me. It was probably about 1,200 dates. Twelve hundred opportunities to catch AIDS (and) 1,200 opportunities to get killed."

Jeri Williams, survivor and a program coordinator for the City of Portland, Oregon, 2011⁴⁹

Numerous studies have found that the majority of prostituted persons become victims of violent crime committed by customers, pimps, and/or traffickers.⁵⁰ Surveys in the United States have found 73% to 92% of prostituted women to have been raped while providing commercial sex, and 59% of victims to have been raped more than five times (Farley, 2003; Parriot, 1994; Williamson & Flagon, 2001).

Involvement in prostitution is also linked to a variety of health problems, including tuberculosis, HIV, STDs, anemia, and hepatitis.⁵¹ Rates of infectious disease are from five to 60 times higher among providers of commercial sex than in general populations (Jeal and Salisbury, 2004). In a national survey of U.S. school children, twenty percent of the girls who were prostituted reported that they had had a sexually transmitted infection, compared with four percent of girls in the group who had never exchanged sex for money or drugs (Edwards et al, 2006). The physical traumas resulting from commercial sex often lead to psychological distress, including Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder.⁵² Non-assaultive commercial sex can also be traumatic, especially for underage girls newly involved in prostitution. For example, one study found that 90% of a sample of prostituted women and girls had lost their virginity in an act of commercial sex (Silbert, 1984).

Although some work independently, studies find that up to 80% of samples of women and girls serving as prostitutes had been coerced or forced to engage in prostitution by pimps or traffickers.⁵³ In a comparison of female prostitutes with pimps to those without, Norton-Hawk (2004) found that pimp-controlled victims of sexual exploitation were more likely to have an inadequate education, to be chronically unemployed, and to have been younger when they first had intercourse, tried drugs, and engaged in prostitution. Women with pimps usually have financial quotas to meet, and are subjected to many forms of manipulation and abuse designed to keep them under control and

⁴⁹ <http://www.kptv.com/yourvote/24436864/detail.html>

⁵⁰ Baldwin, 2003; Hunter, 1994; Miller, 1995; Miller & Schwartz, 1995; Nixon et al., 2002; Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Schissel & Fedec, 1999; Urban Justice Center, 2003; Valera, 2000; Walker, 2002.

⁵¹ E.g., Campbell et al., 2003; Farley et al., 2003; McDonnell et al., 1998; Nixon et al., 2002; Walker, 2002a; Wood et al., 2007.

⁵² E.g., Campbell et al., 2003; Farley et al., 2003; Roxburgh et al., 2006; Valera, 2000; Walker, 2002a.

⁵³ Chapkis, 2003; Farley et al., 2003; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002; Raymond et al., 2001.

generating money.⁵⁴ Prostituted persons often keep little of the money they generate: Scott (2002) reports that pimps take an estimated 60% to 70% of the money earned, and substance-involved persons often spend much of the remainder toward satisfying addictions. Prostituted women in Nevada's legal brothels keep less than half of their earnings after paying half to the brothel, paying various fees and charges for food and supplies, tipping support staff, and paying pimps (Albert, 2001).

“When I was in the back seat of your car and you were on top of me, when I was giving you [oral sex], I couldn’t use my own voice to tell you what I really felt. But when you touched me, my skin crawled. I hated it. I hated it. I was scared. I was in pain. I felt violated. I didn’t care about you. I just wanted one more hit of crack so I didn’t have to feel like I felt when I was 12 years old. This isn’t a victimless crime. I haven’t turned a trick in 15 years and I am still healing.”

Survivor speaking in Worcester, Massachusetts john school class, 2009

Studies have found that most women engaged in prostitution want to exit “the life,” but the emotional and physical harm resulting from commercial sex, compounding pre-existing vulnerabilities, can make leaving difficult. Farley & Barkan (1998) found 88% of a sample of female providers of commercial sex in San Francisco reported a desire to leave prostitution. Compromised health, addiction, PTSD, and a lack of employment skills can narrow options for developing financial self-sufficiency, and this creates dependency upon prostitution as a means of support, and perpetuates dependency upon pimps. After years of manipulation and exploitation, women who have been controlled by pimps and traffickers can have difficulty separating (e.g., Kramer, 2003). Pimps and traffickers will use combinations of force, manipulation, and intimidation to maintain control of what, for them, is simply a financial asset.⁵⁵ Raymond and colleagues (2001) found more than half of the women who tried to leave prostitution were threatened, stalked, abused, and/or forcibly returned.

“I had been going to juvenile halls, jails, psychiatric hospitals, emergency rooms and drug treatment programs since I was 12. No one ever asked me about my life, about prostitution, being beaten, raped or kidnapped. I was just a whore, a criminal. How could I get out? No one ever treated me like a person. No one asked me if I hurt or why. I experienced sexual abuse including child prostitution... I had been brutally assaulted... I had been homeless... I suffered severe symptoms of PTSD and I desperately wanted to get out of prostitution and a life that made no sense to me.”

Norma Hotaling, sex trafficking survivor, 2002⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Albert, 2001; Hoigard & Finstad, 1994; Kennedy et al., 2007; Maher, 1996; Miller and Schwartz, 1995; Royal, 1998; Schwartz et al., 2007; Sterks, 2000; Williams, 2007; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002.

⁵⁵ E.g., Kennedy et al., 2007; Maher, 1996; O’Connor, 2004; Royal, 1998; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002.

⁵⁶ Presentation to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice, December 13, 2002. Available at: http://www.sagesf.org/html/info_briefs_speech.htm

Pre-existing conditions, subsequent traumas, and market forces converge to keep women and girls involved in commercial sex. Those who were not initially addicted to drugs often become addicted soon after becoming involved in prostitution (Chapkis, 2000; Kramer, 2003). Drug addiction and poverty serve to keep prostituted women and girls destabilized and dependent. Substance abuse is a factor in both the initiation and persistence of prostitution.⁵⁷ The trauma experienced by prostituted persons can result in greater dependence on drugs (Romero-Daza et al., 2003; Silbert et al., 1982), both as a means of self-medicating (Hwang & Bedford, 2004; Kramer, 2003) and to support a drug habit (Nixon et al., 2002), sometimes through exchanging sex for drugs (O’Leary & Howard, 2001). Interactions among prostitution, abuse (physical, sexual, and emotional), addiction, compromised health, diminished self-sufficiency skills, and other dysfunctions can send the lives of survivors in a downward spiral from which exit becomes progressively more difficult.

"People say it's a victimless crime, but what's victimless about it? You got a girl beat up or drugged into becoming a prostitute, or who did it because her mom was a prostitute. There are drug debts... Most girls aren't happy about what they do. And pimps beat them up if they don't make enough. Is it really victimless?"

Sgt. Anthony Bejaran, Stanislaus County, California,
Sheriff's Department, 2008⁵⁸

Impact on “Consumers”

While the providers of commercial sex suffer the most serious consequences, the consumers are also negatively affected. Although they are more often the perpetrators of violence, johns are also vulnerable to being victimized. Their involvement in a criminal act makes it unlikely that they will report victimization that occurs while they are with prostitutes. Prostituted persons and pimps are fully aware of this and some take advantage of the opportunity by “setting up” johns for robbery and assault (e.g., Ayala & White, 2008; Flowers, 1987; Miller, 1993). For example, Sterk & Elifson (1990) found that two-thirds of prostitutes in Atlanta and New York admitted to having robbed johns; Arnold and colleagues (2001) found 56% of the prostituted persons they studied reported having assaulted clients for reasons other than self-defense.

In addition to criminal victimization, johns are at elevated risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases.⁵⁹ Johns frequently seek and pay a premium for unprotected intercourse and oral sex (e.g., Jeal and Salisbury, 2004; Strathdee et al., 2008), which greatly increases the risks of contracting and spreading STIs, HIV, hepatitis, tuberculosis and more.⁶⁰ Surveys of prostituted women find that those insisting on always using condoms face income losses of up to 79%, because most customers prefer

⁵⁷ Hwang & Bedford, 2004; Farley et al., 2003; Campbell et al., 2003; Kramer, 2003; Maher and Daly, 1996; McClanahan et al., 1999; Potterat et al., 1998; Romero-Daza, Weeks, & Singer, 2003; Silbert, Pines, & Linch, 1982; The Urban Justice Center, 2003; Walker, 2002a.

⁵⁸ <http://www.modbee.com/2008/01/06/171676/nights-on-ninth-street.html>

⁵⁹ E.g., Fernandez et al., 2005; Gil, 1996; Remple et al., 2007; Rolfs et al., 1990; Simonsen, 1988; Ward et al., 2005.

⁶⁰ E.g., Decker et al., 2008; Fernandez et al., 2005; Gil, 1996; Remple et al., 2007; Simonsen, 1988.

sex without condoms (Rao et al., 2003). Between 35% and 55% of samples of prostituted women said they had engaged in unprotected commercial sex, and 10 to 35% never use condoms while engaging in commercial sex.⁶¹ Disturbingly, surveys have found that just 47% of prostituted women know whether or not they are HIV-positive, less than half had health screenings in the prior year despite having sex with an average of 17 different men per week, and 45% were infected with hepatitis C (Jeal and Salisbury, 2004; Rhode Island Family Life Center, 2009). Other research has found clients of brothels to have unprotected sex with both the women in brothels and their wives and other sex partners, providing an infectious disease “bridge” between commercial sex markets and the general population (e.g., Decker et al., 2008; Gomes do Espirito Santo & Etheridge, 2005).

“I’ve seen johns who have also been the victims of ADW [assault with a dangerous weapon], stabbings, shootings and robberies. A lot of johns tend to get robbed both by potential prostitutes and by people who victimize both the prostitutes and the johns because they feel they are easy victims who are not going to report their crimes to the police.”

Lt. John Haines, Washington, DC Metropolitan Police,
4th District, 2010⁶²

“Both sides of the coin — whether it is the girl who is getting robbed or the john getting robbed — are vastly underreported because you’ve got an awkward situation. How [are] you going to explain it to the police; how [are] you going to explain it to your loved one?”

Lt. Terry Pasko, Akron, Ohio Police Department vice
squad, 2011⁶³

Impact on Communities

Prostitution is associated with higher crime rates and other forms of community degradation.⁶⁴ Among the immediate safety problems are used condoms, syringes, and other health hazards left in public areas where prostitution occurs (see review by Scott & Dedel, 2006). A survey in Hudson County, New Jersey found that 23% of respondents said that they live in an area in which prostitution is a problem (NJ.com, 2008). Surveys of business owners and community organizations find that street prostitution negatively affects local businesses and lowers the quality of life within communities (e.g., Russell, 2006; see also Associated Press, 2009a). Collaborative problem-solving efforts over the past 20 years have repeatedly determined prostitution to be among the higher-priority problems plaguing communities throughout the nation (Sampson & Scott, 1999). For example, Web searches and literature reviews conducted by our evaluation team have identified more than 30 communities that have targeted prostitution as a focus of their “Weed and Seed” initiatives.⁶⁵ A study by the Justice Research and Statistics Association found that 32% of the 19 Weed and Seed sites

⁶¹ E.g., Hong-Jing, 2004; Jeal and Salisbury, 2004; Peralta et al., 1992; Rhode Island Family Life Center, 2009; Strathdee et al., 2008.

⁶² <http://www.wusa9.com/news/local/story.aspx?storyid=107960&catid=187>

⁶³ <http://www.ohio.com/news/local/online-prostitution-ads-popular-in-akron-1.252768>

⁶⁴ Ayala & White, 2008; San Diego Police Department, 1994; Wichita Police Department

⁶⁵ “Weed and Seed” is a community-based strategy sponsored by the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ), featuring proactive problem-solving and comprehensive multiagency approaches to law enforcement, crime prevention, and community revitalization. <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/ccdo/ws/welcome.html>

targeted prostitution as a focus of their local initiatives (O’Connell et al., 2004). More than a dozen nominees and winners of Goldstein Awards from the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing⁶⁶ have named prostitution as a high priority issue, sought grant support, and have developed collaborative responses. In our National Assessment, we found that at least 68% of police operations leading to prostitution arrests are driven by community complaints, which include female residents and business customers not involved in prostitution being solicited by johns (sometimes aggressively); used condoms and syringes on doorsteps and lawns; and fights between pimps, johns, and/or people selling sex. In addition, research on adult-oriented businesses such as strip clubs or adult books and video stores has found crime rates to increase when such businesses open, and to decrease when they close (e.g., McCleary, 2008).

“Prostitutes were stopping cars and blocking traffic, asking if the male drivers wanted a date. Collateral crimes, including theft, robbery, assaults, and ‘john rolling’ caused a significant draw on police resources. Complaints were received from local merchants, citizens and members of the city council, making this problem the number one priority for enforcement action by the Champaign Police Department.”

Chase Leonhard, police officer in Champaign, Illinois, 1999⁶⁷

Burden on Law Enforcement and Other Public Services

Most crime statutes in U.S. states as well as abroad categorize common street prostitution involving adults as a low-level misdemeanor, public nuisance crime. Advocates of legalization of prostitution view it as a victimless crime, while others see the community where soliciting occurs as the “victim” because prostitution negatively affects neighborhoods and attracts other criminal activity. These perspectives have led many cities to enforcement policies oriented to accomplishing short-term goals of cleaning up particular street corners and business districts; cities often tolerate prostitution activity confined to restricted locations. Frequently, enforcement activities involve arresting prostitutes followed by short-term punishment and no provision of services. Thus, police departments and district attorneys’ offices process a large number of recidivist prostitutes with unaddressed service needs, but prosecute few johns.

Prostitution places a substantial burden on the criminal justice system and on providers of public health and social services. One study conducted in the 1980s found that 16 U.S. cities each spent an average of \$15.3 million in one year for prostitution control (Pearl, 1987), adjusting expressed in 2010 dollars. More recently, Allard and Herbon (2003) estimated that prostitution arrests in 2001 cost the city of Chicago over \$10.6 million (in 2007 dollars).

Those involved in prostitution are typically in need of other public services. As discussed, prostituted persons are often sexually assaulted, and victims of sexual assault present an array of service needs ranging from the need for employment; refuge from abusers; child care; and legal advocacy to

⁶⁶ See <http://www.popcenter.org/library-goldstein-application-07.htm> for a list of Goldstein Award nominees and winners.

⁶⁷ <http://www.popcenter.org/library/reading/PDFs/5Tackling.pdf>

addressing psychological problems resulting from sexual violence.⁶⁸ They also are at high risk for a host of physical and mental health problems, including drug addiction, STD infection, PTSD, and injuries from violent crimes.⁶⁹ Those supporting themselves exclusively through commercial sex are usually uninsured, and seek costly, reactive health care services at emergency rooms and public health care providers. Since many prostituted women and girls have children, they also are high-end users of the foster care system and child protective services.

“Some of the areas in the city where we have the greatest number of calls for service are the same areas where we have the greatest level of prostitution activity.”

Lt. Mark West, Rockford, Illinois Police Department,
2010

Challenges in Constraining Supply & Distribution

Most of the communities that pursue strategies focusing on demand have arrived at that position because they have found sanctioning “providers” to be ineffective,⁷⁰ and because they have difficulty successfully prosecuting “distributors” (pimps and traffickers). Attempts to identify and prosecute pimps are particularly difficult. Women involved in prostitution are typically reluctant to cooperate with police in investigations of pimps or traffickers, or when police investigate violence against them by johns or pimps (e.g., Killan, 2008). Reasons for this reluctance include having destructive experiences with officers who have abused them (e.g., Thukrul & Ditmore, 2003), and protecting their pimps or traffickers due to “trauma bonding” or “Stockholm Syndrome” (e.g., Graham et al., 1994; Lloyd, 2011).

While the basic exchange of money for sex has occurred throughout history, the methods used to solicit and arrange commercial sex (and for evading law enforcement efforts to combat it) are constantly evolving and presenting new challenges. As new communication technologies have emerged, they have been used to transact commercial sex and present new obstacles for law enforcement. With the advent of web-based solicitation, sexual exploitation is becoming more decentralized. Over the past decade, police departments nationwide have noticed a sharp increase in the use of the Internet for soliciting prostitution.⁷¹ It is unknown whether this has expanded the sex market, or simply caused a shift from one segment (street) to another (online). In San Francisco, for example, vice unit officers argue that there has been a shift in prostitution from the street and toward the web, which has resulted in fewer solicitations made through contact on the street.

⁶⁸ Baskin & Sommers 1998; Brownstein et al. 1995; Parriott, 1994; Ritchie 2000; Spunt et al. 1994.

⁶⁹ E.g., Crime and Misconduct Commission, 2004; Council for Prostitution Alternatives, 1991; Dunlap et al., 2003; Lowman, 1991; Schissel & Fedec, 1999; Mansson & Hedin, 1999; Nandon et al., 1998; Nixon et al., 2002; Stark & Hodgson, 2003; Widom & Kuhns, 1996; Walker, 2002.

⁷⁰ E.g., Ayala & White, 2008; DeMuth & Steffensmeier 2004; Norton-Hawk, 2001; San Bernardino County Sheriff’s Department, 1993.

⁷¹ E.g., Booth, 2007; Hughes, 2003; LaPeter, 2005; Roane, 1998; Ross, 2005; Sanders, 2008.

Aside from Backpage and other online versions of classified advertisements, there are other web-based avenues used for the business of selling sex. Recent reports suggest that Facebook is quickly becoming an important tool for transacting commercial sex, particularly for escort services with stable client bases (e.g., Venkatesh, 2011). One report we encountered suggests that online gaming systems provide other web-based avenues for transacting commercial sex.⁷² Prostitution is reportedly being solicited through Xbox's Microsoft Live, a video game and social networking site tied to Microsoft's gaming system. What makes the platform attractive for online solicitations is that Xbox Live can be linked to most other social networking services. Users can access Twitter and Facebook accounts and can also communicate directly with other users.

In addition to providing an avenue for solicitation, the Internet is also used by consumers of commercial sex to communicate with one another and interfere with law enforcement efforts (e.g., Albert, 2001; Sanders, 2008). Dedicated websites cater to customers of the sex trade (e.g., bigdoggie.net; usasexguide.info; nvbrothels.net; see discussion by Shaffer, 2008), including posting tips on how to avoid arrest and sharing information about police decoy operations (e.g., Holt et al., 2007). San Francisco Police Department (SFPD) vice officers have monitored commercial sex websites while reverse stings are occurring on city streets, and have seen johns post warnings describing the undercover officers and the location of the operation (Shively et al., 2008). SFPD officers report that alerts about reverse stings are posted within an hour of the start of an operation.

Another relatively recent development is the "quick hit" brothel that leverages mobile phone technology and the web (e.g., Jeffreys, 2010). The basic concept is that space can be rented for a temporary brothel, and text messages, tweets, or calls can go out to regular "customers," alerting them to the location and the short timeframe of the brothel's operation. Before police have time to receive tips or otherwise detect them, the brothel has run its course and moved elsewhere. Another related system is the use of pimps or "pimp assistants" working in the taxi or hotel industries. In New York City, for example, pimps use cab drivers as assistants, taking customers to women engaged in prostitution.⁷³ This mobile and flexible form of operation appears to be better suited to evading police than fixed locations such as nail salons and other storefront brothels.

Such innovation in developing methods of evading law enforcement is common in any illicit market where demand is strong, and where large profits can be made. Our interviews with law enforcement and survivors are consistent with the research and anecdotal evidence cited above. There are also lessons to be drawn from experience dealing with other illicit markets. There is a vast body of research on U.S. and international efforts to combat the illicit drug trade, and the weight of the evidence clearly points to one conclusion: enforcement efforts focusing on supply and distribution can produce temporarily, marginal, and or localized impacts on drug trafficking, but the drug trade thrives nonetheless and problems surrounding these efforts may be exacerbated by them, rather than ameliorated.⁷⁴ While there are modest benefits and tactical victories, the overall magnitude of the

⁷² <http://www.tmrzoo.com/?p=14599>

⁷³ <http://www.metro.us/newyork/local/article/1050818--brothels-on-wheels-drivers-to-be-penalized>
<http://www.wnyc.org/blogs/wnyc-news-blog/2011/dec/14/debate-over-how-dismantle-sex-trafficking-puts-focus-car-services/>

⁷⁴ See studies and reviews by, e.g., Anderson, 1998; Dave, 2007; The Drug Policy Alliance, 2010; Felbab-Brown, 2010; Goode, 1997; Grossman et al., 2002; MacCoun and Reuter, 2001; McBride et al., 2009; National Research Council, 2001; Reiman, 1990; Sharp, 1994; Walker, 2005.

drug trade and harms caused by addiction and collateral crime remain robust, after decades spent pursuing a strategy of aggressively attacking supply and distribution and de-emphasizing reducing demand. Evidence abounds showing that attacking demand for narcotics is effective and cost-effective (e.g., Basu et al., 2007; Wood, 2010).

"It is an open secret that delivery [of customers to women engaged in prostitution] has become a preferred method for promoting prostitution in New York City, as seen clearly in the advertisements from this morning's Spanish language newspapers."

Lori Cohen, senior staff attorneys, Sanctuary for Families, 2011⁷⁵

"Three or four people might move into town literally on a weekend and engage in some of this business and then move out. As they come into town they post their ad, they do their business and then they take it down and they leave."

Olmsted County Attorney Mark Ostrem, 2011⁷⁶

The experiences of law enforcement in addressing prostitution and sex trafficking, as well as other illicit markets such as those for illegal drugs, indicate that little lasting, substantial impact results from strategies heavily focusing on supply and distribution. If law enforcement were suddenly to increase its commitment to arresting pimps and traffickers, and if it began to have greater success against them, it is likely that traffickers would adapt by changing tactics or replacing those arrested as long as demand for their “product” remained strong. If enforcement efforts were enhanced, the less organized and less competent small-time pimps may be the first to succumb to law enforcement, but may be replaced by more highly coordinated human trafficking, drug trafficking, or organized crime networks. Alternatively, the same pimps and traffickers could change tactics to avoid whatever was working for police. We have encountered no evidence to suggest that tightening enforcement against distributors of commercial sex will solve the problem, although it is a necessary complementary piece within a comprehensive strategy.

Our observation about the limited impact likely to be achieved through efforts to curtail supply and distribution does not mean we are advocating less enforcement. The point we are making is that those efforts will be most effective when coupled with rigorous enforcement and education activity focusing on demand.

⁷⁵ <http://www.wnyc.org/blogs/wnyc-news-blog/2011/dec/14/debate-over-how-dismantle-sex-trafficking-puts-focus-car-services/>

⁷⁶ <http://kaaltv.com/article/stories/S2237365.shtml?cat=10219>

3. Tactics Used to Combat Demand in the United States

“We’ve been picking the girls up, but all they do is leave town and others take their place. We’re trying to dry up the source of their income.”

Deputy Chief Jack Cousins, Erie, Pennsylvania Police Department, 1977⁷⁷

“If nobody’s around to pay for it or solicit it, then we wouldn’t have as many girls in the business. That’s why we decided to go after the johns.”

Chief Gerald Merritt, Fort Pierce, Florida Police Department, 1977⁷⁸

“It became apparent that traditional methods just weren’t having that much of an impact on the problem.”

Chief Walter Krasny, Ann Arbor, Michigan Police Department, explaining why they had conducted the city’s first reverse sting operation in 1978⁷⁹

“This problem [prostitution] is much bigger than most people realize. A coordinated, proactive effort is needed to address it.”

Interview with Chief of Police in a city in Kansas, 2009

“The crime of prostitution clearly impacts our businesses, our neighborhoods and the quality of life in our city. Operation Reveal recognizes that we can’t solve this issue simply by dealing with the prostitutes. Customers also are contributing to the problem, so we need to focus our efforts on them as well.”

Mayor Ashley Swearingin, Fresno, California, discussing the city’s new “shaming initiative, 2011⁸⁰

A Typology of Demand Reduction Programs and Practices

While they can be combined and categorized as education programs and law enforcement interventions, there is a wide array of specific tactics that have been developed to address demand, and there are many overlapping categories in our strategic framework. Among the demand reduction strategies employed are public education campaigns (e.g., Los Angeles, CA; Madison, WI; Oakland, CA; Phoenix, AZ); vehicle seizure and driver’s license suspension programs (e.g., Anchorage, AK; Cincinnati, OH; Springfield, IL; and more than a dozen communities in California⁸¹), geographic exclusion zones (e.g., Everett, WA; Fort Lauderdale, FL; Knoxville, TN); community service

⁷⁷ Kentucky New Era, March 19, p. 4

⁷⁸ The Palm Beach Post, November 29, 1977.

⁷⁹ The Argus Press (Ossowo, MI), May 23, 1978, p. 5

⁸⁰ <http://www.thebusinessjournal.com/government/10664-city-officials-announce-crackdown-on-prostitution>
<http://www.fresno.gov/Government/DepartmentDirectory/Police/OperationReveal.htm>

⁸¹ On July 26, 2007 the California State Supreme Court overturned the city of Stockton’s ordinance that allowed autos to be seized from those arrested for soliciting, causing the practice to be discontinued or suspended throughout the state while city ordinances are being reviewed or revised. Previously, Washington DC had an auto seizure program that was declared unconstitutional and suspended in 2003.

programs (e.g., Akron, OH; Indianapolis, IN; Norfolk, VA); “shaming” offenders by publicly posting their names and photos (e.g., Baton Rouge, LA; Chicago, IL; New York, NY); and sending letters to arrestee’s homes (e.g., Arlington, TX; Raleigh, NC; Worcester, MA). There are at least twelve distinct types of interventions that have been developed and implemented to combat demand, and variations within each type. As an overview, the basic typology we have developed and some key details about each type are outlined below. These interventions are examined in greater detail in the remainder of the chapter.

- **Reverse stings, street-level**
 - Police officers pose as women engaged in street-level prostitution.
 - The average support team consists of about six officers for each decoy.
 - Smaller departments may borrow female officers from other departments if they do not have enough officers to serve as effective decoys.
 - *Variation*: Some police departments conduct reverse stings at venues such as truck stops and events that draw large numbers of men.
- **Reverse stings, web-based**
 - Police post decoy advertisements online, and set up reverse stings at a hotel or apartment.
 - *Variation*: Police respond to real online ads, replace prostituted persons with police decoys at the hotel or apartment, and continue making appointments with johns using the survivor’s phone.
 - *Variation*: Women police decoys respond to online ads placed by johns seeking sex with prostituted persons.
- **Reverse stings, brothel-based**
 - Police investigate brothels, make arrests, replace brothel staff with decoys, and the decoys continue fielding calls and serving “walk-in” johns in order to make arrests.
- **Shaming – publicizing identities**
 - Police publicize identities of arrested johns via news outlets, police websites, and billboards.
 - *Variation*: Citizen-initiated websites publicize identities of arrested johns, or those suspected of being johns through citizen observations of street activity.
- **Shaming – “Dear John” letters**
 - Letters are sent to addresses of registered car owners, alerting owners that their car was seen in area known for prostitution, and warning them about legal and other consequences of engaging in prostitution.
 - *Variation*: Letters can be sent to arrestee’s home address, in addition to other penalties.
- **Seizing autos used to solicit sex**
 - Vehicles used in the commission of crime can be seized, usually pursuant to municipal ordinances allowing auto seizure.
 - To retrieve vehicles, johns must pay an impound fee, tow fee, and/or fines that range (collectively) from about \$500 to \$2000.
 - *Variation*: Some communities allow for seized vehicles to be forfeited and sold at auction as part of the penalty for the offense, or as the result of failure to pay the fees and fines necessary to reclaim vehicles.
- **Suspending driver’s license**

- In some jurisdictions, arrestees may have their driver's license suspended if they used a vehicle in the commission of a crime, including soliciting sex from women police decoys.
- **Geographic exclusion zones** (also called "Stay Out of Areas with Prostitution" or "SOAP" orders)
 - Arrested johns are prohibited from visiting areas with known prostitution activity, and/or the vicinity of their arrest.
- **Public education and awareness programs**
 - These initiatives are proactive efforts to educate men and boys about prostitution and sex trafficking, usually encouraging them not to contribute to sexual exploitation by purchasing sex.
- **Neighborhood action**
 - To be counted for this study, neighborhood action must be a community-led initiative that is organized and routinized as a program or process, rather than being an ad hoc occurrence.
 - Examples of neighborhood action include programs for forwarding tips to police; citizen patrols; citizen-led blogs; or billboard campaigns.
 - **Variation:** Some neighborhood organizations participate in community impact panels or make presentations in john schools.
- **"John school" education or treatment programs for arrestees**
 - The fundamental component of john school programs is an education intervention for men arrested for soliciting sex
 - The most common john school model is structured as a diversion program, resulting in dismissed charges, and the education is delivered in a one-day, one-time class.
 - The average fee or fine for a john school is about \$400, providing revenue that normally fully covers program costs and often produces excess revenue used to fund survivor recovery programs.
 - A typical john school curriculum includes sections on:
 - health consequences
 - impact on communities
 - impact on survivors (usually including presentations by survivors)
 - impact on johns, including crime victimization risks
 - legal consequences
 - **Variations: Number of sessions.** Some john schools are structured as multiple-session classes, or as a set of group or individual counseling sessions.
 - **Variation: Sentence versus diversion.** About one-third of U.S. john schools are structured to be a condition of a sentence, rather than a diversion. Participation is mandatory rather than voluntary, and does not result in dismissed charges.
 - **Variation: Video john school.** The Cook County Sheriff's Department (Illinois) has produced a "video john school," a DVD presented to arrested johns as they are being processed and in other locations.
 - **Variation: Roadside john school.** The Tucson Police Department (Arizona) implemented a "roadside john school" for two years. The Safety Through Deterrence (STD) program featured police delivering a set of speaking points and handouts to men suspected of soliciting sex from women engaged in prostitution.

- **Variations: Educational content.** The class content varies widely across programs, and can include many topics in addition to those in the basic curriculum outlined above, e.g.: anger management, domestic violence, STI screening and counseling, sexual addiction, healthy relationships, substance abuse, human trafficking, policing prostitution.
- **Community service programs for arrestees**
 - Like community service programs for any offenders, arrested johns can be ordered to perform community service to meet conditions of a diversion protocol or a sentence.
 - Arrested johns in community service programs are often ordered to clean streets where prostitution is known to occur.
 - For most johns, community service obligations range from four to 40 hours, and are coupled with other sanctions such as fines, fees, and/or john schools.
- **Surveillance cameras**
 - To be counted as a demand-focused tactic in this study, cameras must be used to deter men from soliciting women involved in prostitution, or to provide evidence used against johns
 - Some cameras are used as a deterrent, with no effort to conceal them and signs posted that alert johns to their presence.
 - Some cameras are used covertly, as a tool for gathering evidence for prosecutors

The Prevalence and First Known Use of Demand Reduction Tactics in the United States

From our interviews, literature, and web searches in news archives, we have compiled lists of sites in which demand reduction tactics have been employed. A summary of findings is presented in Table 3.1. As can be seen here, the most widespread demand reduction strategy is the police decoy operation, or reverse sting. We have identified over 826 sites in the U.S. that have conducted reverse stings.⁸² A complete list of sites with a tally of the anti-demand approaches that have been employed in each is presented in Appendix E.

Demand reduction efforts have operated in the District of Columbia and 49 states (Vermont is the only exception). Table 3.2 presents the number of cities and counties within each state that have conducted reverse stings, and most of those have employed at least one other demand-reduction tactic.

Prostitution and sex trafficking are not strictly urban problems (and with the advent of web-based solicitation, are becoming even more decentralized), and many small towns had a need to address prostitution that was substantial enough devote the resources necessary to conduct police decoy operations targeting johns. Seventy-one towns with populations under 10,000 have conducted reverse sting operations (including one town, Jefferson, WV, with a population of under 600), and 449 communities with populations under 75,000 have targeted johns in that manner. For the set of 724

⁸² Since the data are frequently changing, we had to “freeze” the data at the end of September, 2011 so it could be analyzed and tallied in such a way that the numbers would be consistent across tables and calculations. During October and November, we have learned about additional sites and reverse stings. Up to date tallies will be kept on the Demand Forum website.

cities and towns identified as having conducted reverse stings (the remaining 102 sites were counties), the median population was 55,322. The median population of counties that have conducted reverse stings was 376,405. A grouped frequency distribution for communities that have conducted decoy operations is presented in Table 3.3, and the smallest cities known to have conducted reverse stings are presented in Table 3.4.

Table 3.1: Number of U.S. Cities and Counties Identified as Having Used Each Tactic

Demand Reduction Tactics	U.S. Sites Identified
Arrest Operations and Post-Arrest Sanctions	
Reverse stings (street operations)	826
Reverse stings (web-based)	286
Shaming: Names and/or photos publicized	484
Shaming: "Dear John" letters sent to homes	40
Auto seizure	120
Driver's license suspension	19
Geographic restraining orders or exclusion zones	83
Community service	50
John Schools (current)	50
Surveillance cameras in active prostitution zones	67
Public Awareness/Education Campaigns	67
Neighborhood Action Targeting Johns	115

Table 3.2 Number of Cities and Counties within Each State That Have Used Each Type of Tactic

State	Number of Sites Using Each Tactic									
	Reverse Stings	Web Stings	Shame	Auto Seizure	Comm. Service	SOAP Orders	Public Educ.	Neigh. Action	Letters	John School
Alaska	3	3	1	1	1	1	1			
Alabama	17	1	6	2						
Arkansas	11	6	7		1	1	1	1		
Arizona	7	4	3	1	2	3	2	2	1	2
California	107	37	47	19	3	12	9	13	3	4
Colorado	10	2	5	1	1			1		1
Connecticut	16	5	12	5	1		1	2	1	1
Washington DC	1	1		1		1	1			
Delaware	6		4							
Florida	85	23	47	12	3	9	4	9	6	1
Georgia	16	5	7			2	3	2	1	
Hawaii	7	6	3			1	1	1		
Iowa	9	4	6					1	1	
Idaho	1	1								
Illinois	33	15	23	17	2	2	4	8		2
Indiana	8	1	3	3	1	2	2	3	2	1
Kansas City	13	9	4	2	2	3	3	3		4
Kentucky	7	3	3			1		1	1	
Louisiana	14	4	12		1	1				
Massachusetts	32	16	24	4	1		3	2	1	1
Maryland	21	3	14		3		3	3	3	
Maine	3	2	2					1		
Michigan	20	3	6	11	2		1	4		2
Minnesota	18	12	11	5	1	2	3	3	1	3
Missouri	9	6	1				1		1	1
Mississippi	6	1	5							
Montana	2	2	2							
North Carolina	28	7	19	1	2	3	2	2	4	2
North Dakota	1	1	1				1			
Nebraska	2	2	2					1		
New Hampshire	5	3	4			1		1		
New Jersey	19	1	13	2					1	
New Mexico	1	1						1		
Nevada	2	2	1			2	1	1		1
New York	54	11	38	5	3	1	1	7	3	5
Ohio	29	9	20	5	4		3	7	2	4
Oklahoma	4	4	3	1		2	1	1		
Oregon	10	5	5	1	2	2	1	1	1	1
Pennsylvania	32	6	24	3		2	1	4	2	1
Rhode Island	7	1	5	1	1		1	1		
South Carolina	22	3	17	1		1		1		
South Dakota	1									
Tennessee	12	7	10	3	4	2	1	7		1
Texas	38	8	26	3	3	4	4	9	2	2
Utah	11	9	3		1	1				2
Vermont										
Virginia	24	10	12	4	2	4	1	4	1	2
Washington	23	13	7	4	3	16	4	5	1	5
Wisconsin	8	5	7	2		1	1	2	1	1
West Virginia	10	6	8				1			
Wyoming	1	1	1							
Total	826	286	484	120	50	83	67	115	40	51

Table 3.3: Grouped Population Distribution of U.S. Cities and Towns That Have Conducted Reverse Stings

Population	N
Less than 1,000	2
1,000 – 9,999	69
10,000 – 24,999	130
25,000 – 49,999	134
50,000 – 74,999	114
75,000 – 99,999	67
100,000 – 149,999	71
150,000 – 249,999	62
250,000 – 499,999	39
500,000 – 999,999	25
1,000,000 or more	11
Total	724

Table 3.4: Smallest U.S. Cities and Counties Known to Have Conducted Reverse Stings

City or Town	Population	County	Population
Jefferson, WV	555	Jackson County, KS	13,348
Idlewild, MI	685	Dodge County, MN	19,552
Ocean View, DE	1,114	Siskiyou County, CA	44,634
Nassau, NY	1,119	Richmond County, NC	45,923
Mantorville, MN	1,149	Fremont County, CO	47,331
St. Francisville, LA	1,481	Coffee County, TN	51,734
East Hazel Crest, IL	1,527	Kauai County, HI	64,529
Buena Vista, CA	1,766	Darlington County, SC	67,031
Harlan, KY	1,880	Lewis County, WA	74,132
Pearson, GA	1,955	Platte County, MO	84,722

When we began this study, our knowledge of the academic and professional literature on enforcing prostitution and sex trafficking laws led us to believe that there were very few communities that had conducted reverse stings prior to the 1980s. In this project, the review of news archives revealed that reverse stings had been conducted in several cities in the 1960s, the first of which occurred in Nashville in 1964. We also learned that the average year of first use was 1989, among the 347 cities and counties in which we could establish dates for the first occurrence of reverse stings. We were also surprised by how early the other kinds of interventions had been employed. The year of first known use of each tactic, and the sites where each occurred, are listed in Table 3.5. The early applications of these tactics will be discussed in descriptions provided on the DemandForum.net website.

Table 3.5: Sites with First Known Use of Each Tactic

Demand Reduction Tactics	1 st Known Use	Site
Law Enforcement & Post-Arrest Interventions		
Reverse stings (street operations)	1964	Nashville, TN
Reverse stings (web-based)	1995	Everett, WA
Shaming: Names and/or photos publicized	1975	Eugene, OR
Shaming: "Dear John" letters sent to homes	1982	Aberdeen, MD
Auto seizure	1980	Roanoke, VA
Driver's license suspension	1985	Tampa, FL
Geographic restraining orders or exclusion zones	1975	Beaver Falls, OR
Community service	1975	Miami, FL
Surveillance cameras in active prostitution zones	1989	Horry County, SC
John Schools	1981	Grand Rapids, VA
Public Awareness/Education Campaigns	1980	Roanoke, VA
Neighborhood Action Targeting Johns	1975	Knoxville, TN

As we've discussed elsewhere in this report, a reverse sting is the entry point for most of the other types of interventions that have been developed to focus on male buyers of illegal commercial sex. Johns must first be arrested in order for john schools, community service programs, geographic exclusion zones, and several other tactics to be applied. The means by which the vast majority of johns are arrested is through reverse stings, which have been established as the primary method of producing the evidence necessary to satisfy criminal justice requirements that the illegal purchase of sex has occurred. Table 3.6 presents the percentages of cities and counties that employ post-arrest tactics. Shaming, or publicizing the identity of arrestees, occurs in nearly 60% of arrests. Other sanctions or programs are applied relatively rarely.

After the decision to cite or arrest is made, offenders in jurisdictions with criminal justice diversion programs for johns are issued a citation and informed of their responsibility to call the prosecutor's office for processing (either a city attorney's office when johns are cited for violating municipal ordinances, or the district attorney's office when johns are arrested for committing a penal code violation).

Table 3.6: Percentage of Sites That Conduct Post-Arrest Interventions

Post-Arrest Tactic	% of Sites Employing Tactic
Shaming	59
Auto Seizure	15
SOAP Orders	10
John School	6
Community Service	6
“Dear John” Letters	5
Driver’s License Suspension	2

Public Education & Awareness Programs

For the purpose of gathering information about public education and awareness programs addressing demand for commercial sex, we have defined the terms broadly. We have counted as an awareness program any broadly-targeted attempt to focus attention on the role of the buyers of sex in contributing to problems associated with prostitution and/or sex trafficking. In some communities, such efforts involve posting signs or billboards informing johns about police activity or penalties for buying sex. For example, Rochester, New York put up billboards reading, “*Dear John, you're not welcome in our community.*” In Cleveland, there was a neighborhood-initiated campaign targeting johns in which residents took turns carrying signs in troubled neighborhoods stating, “*Dear Johns, your plate number is being recorded. Yours truly, the neighbors.*” This kind of approach is designed to deter buyers, and secondarily, to send a general message to the public about police action to address the problem, rather than to educate about demand to any real depth.

Another approach is to aim awareness efforts at the general public, rather than to actual or potential johns. This usually involves placing signs or posters for the public to see, or brief presentations about demand at meetings of community groups. We have considered an education program to be a more intensive and sustained effort to convey a larger amount of information. An example would be a curriculum developed to teach high school students or employees of a company about how buying sex drives prostitution and sex trafficking, and the negative consequences.

While most experts agree that public education and awareness are critical to combating prostitution and sex trafficking, there are relatively few examples of programs designed specifically to address demand for commercial sex, when compared to the number of programs addressing supply and distribution. We have found some form of anti-demand awareness or education activity to have occurred in at least 67 cities and counties. The earliest known efforts, which were awareness efforts rather than more intensive education programs, occurred in the 1980s (Table 3.7). The primary means of raising awareness and providing education include:

- Posters
- Billboards
- Brief presentations at community meetings
- Interviews appearing in print and electronic media
- Education programs, involving a curriculum and a sustained presentation to target audiences that conveys substantial amounts of information

Year	City or County	State
1980	Roanoke	VA
1982	Portland	OR
1985	Tampa	FL
1988	Pawtucket	RI
1988	Miami	FL
1995	San Francisco	CA
1995	Oklahoma City	OK
1996	Wichita	KS
1997	Tucson	AZ
1998	Kissimmee	FL
1998	Athens	GA
1999	Orlando	FL
2000	Baltimore	MD
2000	Fitchburg	MA
2000	Travis County	TX

The best-known and most ambitious public awareness campaign focused on demand is the “Dear John” campaign implemented in the greater Atlanta area, and discussed in detail below. Most other communities have engaged in less extensive campaigns, and have used simpler methods. For example Rochester New York put up billboards reading, “*Dear John, you're not welcome in our community.*” In Cleveland, there was a neighborhood initiated campaign targeting johns in which residents took turns carrying signs in troubled neighborhoods stating, “*Dear Johns, your plate number is being recorded. Yours truly, the neighbors.*” In San Antonio, a neighborhood-initiated campaign involved residents taking photos of johns in cars, recording license plate numbers, and sending the photos and information to police.

Of the cities and counties that we know have engaged in some form of education or awareness intervention targeting demand, the vast majority are designed to raise awareness. There are very few efforts that would meet more rigorous standard of programs with substantial educational content. A set of curricula or “toolkits” developed by the Chicago Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation (CAASE), and a program developed by the U.S. Department of Defense are among the few true education programs we have found. These programs are discussed below.

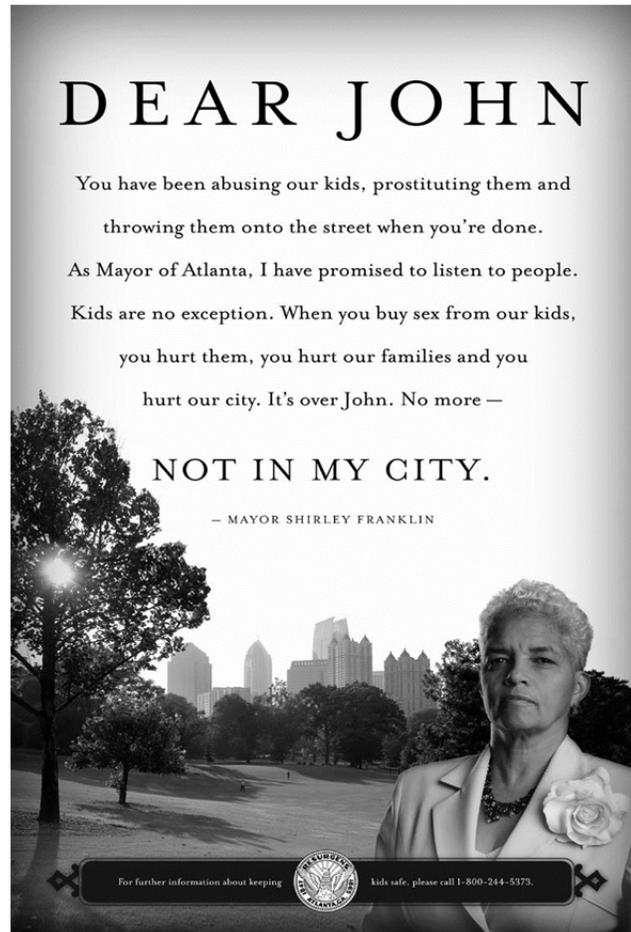
Example: Atlanta’s “Dear John” Public Awareness Program

The best-known and most ambitious public awareness campaign addressing demand is the “Dear John” campaign implemented in the greater Atlanta area. The involved a series of professionally-produced public service announcements and print media images that were circulated via the web, television, in print media, and signs posted in public areas (such as buses) in Atlanta.

The “Dear John” campaign was initiated by the Mayor’s Office of the City of Atlanta and was designed to provide a platform to raise public awareness on the issue of commercial sexual exploitation (of children in particular, but also more broadly). The objective was to generate public and political pressure to spur state and local agencies (as well as nongovernmental organizations, such

as faith based organizations and nonprofit) into concrete action against prostitution and sex trafficking. The substantive focus of campaign was on the buyers of sex and reducing demand.

Figure 3.1: Main Print Media Message for Atlanta’s “Dear John” Public Education and Awareness Campaign



The idea for a public education and awareness campaign focusing on demand was built into recommendations of a study of prostitution and sex trafficking in Atlanta (Priebe & Suhr, 2005). After the study’s release in 2005, the Mayor’s Office reached out to a public relations firm (Edelman), which agreed to assist the city in developing the “Dear John” campaign, pro bono. The Edelman firm and the Mayor’s Office developed themes and text for print media messages, and a nonprofit organization, Atlanta Women in Film, produced three 30-second public service announcements (PSAs), pro bono. The campaigns products were released to the public in 2006. A PSA featuring the mayor was taken to local television stations that ran it for free during slow media times, and was also available on the city’s website. “Dear John” print ads were placed without charge

in several local publications. Links to the PSAs are provided in this footnote⁸³, and print messages used for paper ads, billboards, and elsewhere are presented in Figures 3.1 and 3.2.

The national press discovered and featured the campaign, and the “buzz” helped the city to secure \$100,000 from a private foundation to extend the reach of Dear John to paid advertising in the city’s major publications. In 2007, one of the public service announcements won an Emmy award for “Best PSA,” which allowed the city to leverage another summer of free air time with public service directors at the three major networks in Atlanta. In 2007, Atlanta was awarded the top prize from the World Leaders Forum in the Law and Order category for the “Dear John” campaign.

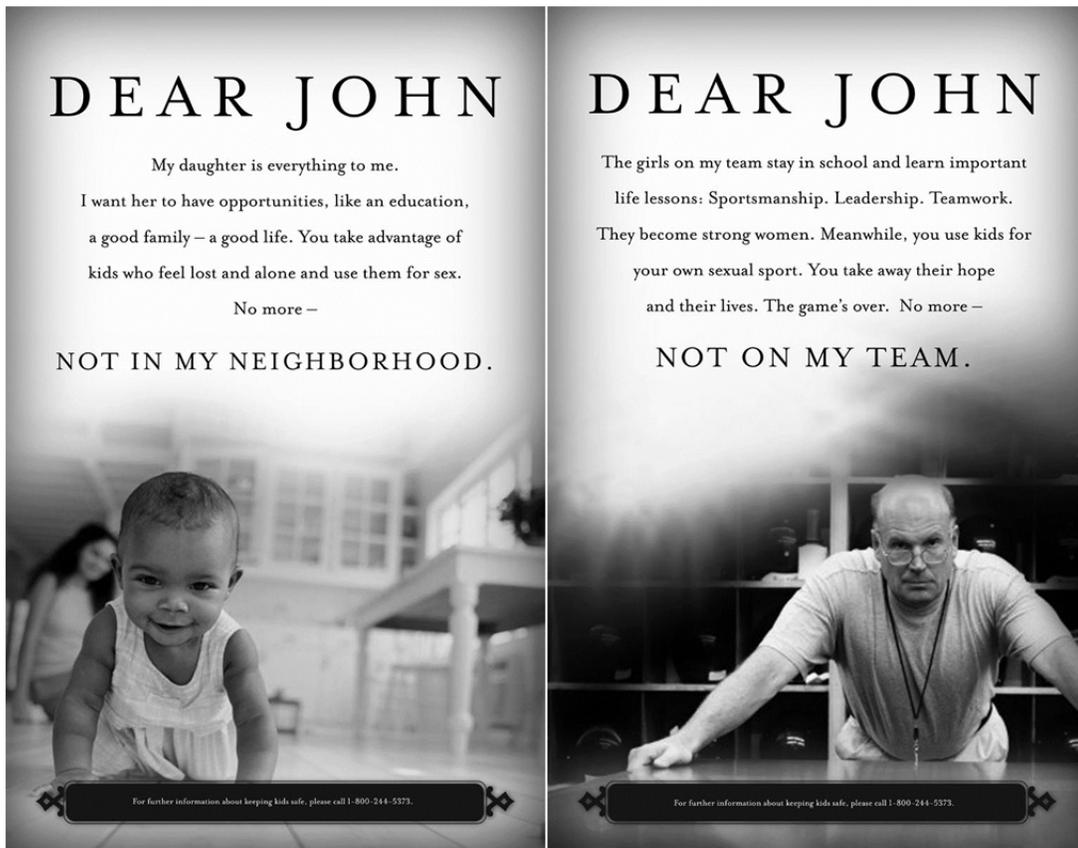
The main thrust of the campaign occurred in 2006 to 2008. Most of the initial activity and investment occurred in the first year, when materials were developed and placements were made in electronic and print media outlets. The national attention and awards received by the campaign extended the program's peak activity into 2007 and 2008 by having the materials publicized and circulated by the media, and referenced by other organizations fighting prostitution and human trafficking. The campaign did not have a formal end to date, and could be regarded as still under way since the educational materials remain available online.

The Dear John campaign was not formally evaluated, so its impact on the demand for prostitution or on sex trafficking in Atlanta is unknown. The main stated goal of the project was not to directly impact the behavior of actual or potential johns, although it was hoped that the messages would resonate with them. Instead, the key goal was to inspire action among those in government and nongovernmental organizations who could do something to combat demand for commercial sex. The level of activity in planning and implementing demand-focused interventions in the city increased after the campaign began. Of course, without an evaluation it is difficult to determine whether the activities would have occurred without the campaign, and at this point there is no way to make such a determination. Those who were interviewed in Atlanta for the National Assessment pointed to the “Dear John” campaign being an important element in overcoming inaction or resistance on the part of key players in the city, who later became partners in planning and implementing initiatives focusing on demand. For example, after the campaign was launched many meetings took place and initiatives began making progress that had not previously occurred. Among the initiatives that were launched during the main thrust of the two year campaign included the development of a john school, reforming state criminal codes regarding soliciting prostitution, and conducting a study of male buyers of sex.

City government support for anti-demand efforts appeared to wane after Mayor Franklin left office in 2008. However, activity by NGOs has continued. Studies of sex buyers have continued without government support, through the funding of an NGO “A Future Not A Past” (AFNAP) and executed by The Schapiro Group.

⁸³ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5O9erzIB1W4>; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fRso6g21hU>;
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1TzUyySQPlk>

Figure 3.2: Additional Print Media Messages for Atlanta’s “Dear John” Public Education and Awareness Campaign



A new campaign was recently announced to revive the pursuit of many of the goals of the original “Dear John” campaign in Atlanta. In 2012, AFNAP intends to focus on deterring men who buy sex with underage girls, and is planning to launch a media campaign called “Take a Stand to End Demand.”

Example: Education and Awareness Programs in Chicago and Cook County

Over the past several years, the area would be highest level of activity focused on combating demand for commercial sex is, arguably, the Cook County and Chicago areas of Illinois. An “umbrella” organization or coalition called End Demand Illinois (EDI) is comprised of over a dozen partner organizations that have launched a wide range of initiatives targeting demand. Some of these organizations had been in focus initiatives in place before EDI existed, and some of the activity has been collective action organized or facilitated by EDI. For illustrative purposes we will discuss some initiatives of a few of the key partners of EDI. More information about EDI’s composition and activity, and of its key partners, is available through the links in this footnote⁸⁴

⁸⁴ The website for EDI is: www.enddemandillinois.org. Key partners include the Women’s Services Department of the Cook County Sheriff’s Office and the Chicago Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation (CAASE): www.cookcountysheriff.org/womens_justice_services/wjs_HumanTrafficking.html

EDI has engaged in a number of education and awareness activities in the past few years. For example, a collaboration of Chicago Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation (CAASE), the Women of Power Alumni Association (WoPAA), the Polaris Project, the Voices and Faces Project (Voices), and the Schiller DuCanto and Fleck Family Law Center of DePaul University College of Law (Schiller), and the Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault, launched a new website and coordinated events in the Fall of 2009. For example, an EDI volunteer (Katie Feifer, also affiliated with the Voices and Faces Project) of San Francisco-based research group KGF Insights, conducted 31 interviews with a group of Illinois residents to gather feedback about statistics, beliefs and slogan statements, and the philosophy and messaging employed by EDI's public education efforts. The conclusions and recommendations from the study served as the basis of campaign outreach materials. At the same time, Larissa Malarek, a volunteer documentarian, conducted 23 on-camera interviews with policymakers, law enforcement officials, service providers, and survivors throughout the state about prostitution, sex trafficking and demand in Illinois. These interviews were conducted to form the basis of the production of short documentary vignettes used for EDI public education initiatives. An initial clip of the documentary was released at EDI's launch event in September, 2009.

CAASE, a Chicago-based nonprofit organization that is a member of EDI, is one of the few organizations in the United States with demand reduction as a primary focus. Many of the organization's activities are designed to prevent prostitution and sex trafficking by increasing public awareness and knowledge about of the risks and negative consequences inherent in commercial sex. CAASE has created educational curricula designed to encourage boys and men not to participate in, and to work against, sexual exploitation. The organization has also developed toolkits for nonprofits, faith-based groups, schools, businesses, and other communities and organizations to provide methods people can use to prevent sexual exploitation. Their descriptions of some of these awareness and education tools are presented in Figure 3.3.

Example: U.S. Military Program to Combat Sexual Exploitation and Trafficking

There is a long history of the military contributing to prostitution and sex trafficking (e.g., Bolkovach, 2010; Malarek, 2009). Relatively recently, the U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) has taken substantial action designed to reduce or eliminate the historic contributions (whether government agencies, large corporations, or others) of military personnel to prostitution and sex trafficking. Their approach is multifaceted, and features a focus on combating demand for commercial sex. While the scale of the military and the level of control over personnel are atypical of most organizations, the objectives and basic steps they have taken can prove instructive to other large organizations or agencies.

Figure 3.3: CAASE Descriptions of their Education Resources**For Parents and Guardians:**

“Engaging High-School-Age Sons to Stop Sexual Harm” is a resource for families, role models, and any other person involved in the lives of young men. It provides background information on issues surrounding sexual exploitation, tips on initiating conversations about the issues, and other resources for parents and guardians.

For High School Coaches:

Coaches often play a key role in helping shape the behaviors and attitudes of the young men they work with throughout the sports season. Understanding the significance of the coach/student relationship, CAASE and Coach for America created five short lesson plans that coaches can use with their athletes. Each plan is ten minutes long with an optional writing assignment.

For High School Teachers:

This toolkit offers activities and resources for educators of high school students. These activities focus on the pressures your students may face to engage in sexually exploitive acts or sexual activities that make them feel uncomfortable. The three main topics are gender roles, sexual exploitation, and human trafficking. The goal of this activity guide is to provide assignments, ideas, and classroom discussions to help educators facilitate interactive, informative, and moving interpersonal and peer-group discovery about the difficult issues their students may be facing.

The U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) has taken substantial action over the past decade designed to reduce or eliminate the historic exacerbations of prostitution and sex trafficking due to the actions of military personnel. Their approach is multifaceted, and features a focus on combating demand for commercial sex. While the scale of the military and the level of control over personnel are atypical of most organizations, the objectives and basic steps they have taken can prove instructive to other large organizations or agencies.

The military code of justice and policies have been strengthened, clarifying the language and imposing substantial penalties on any military personnel (including civilian staff and contractors) engaging in commercial sex. The Law Enforcement Policy and Support office of the DoD has established the Trafficking in Persons Program, which has developed a series of trainings for military staff. A key component of their effort is training about commercial sexual exploitation and human trafficking, and a key message in the training materials addresses demand.

Most of the following is taken directly from the DoD training materials, available online.⁸⁵ One of the training presentations required of all service members before deployment begins with survivor anecdotes, photos, and an overview of how human trafficking is a large, global criminal enterprise. It says that the “bad guys” are “not just the people who operate the trafficking enterprise – they are also

⁸⁵ Source: http://www.combat-trafficking.army.mil/documents/training/TIP_20Feb09.ppt

their customers,” who can be contractors, government civilians, or military personnel. They stress the message that there is “zero tolerance” in the Armed Forces of contributing to commercial sexual exploitation or trafficking, and that involvement in trafficking jeopardizes their careers:

- In 2002 the President signed a National Security Presidential Directive mandating a “zero tolerance” policy toward trafficking among members of the US armed services, civilian employees and civilian contractors.
- In 2004, the Deputy Secretary of Defense expressly forbade involvement with trafficked people by U.S. troops, government civilians and defense contractors, and called for commanders at all levels to ensure their units are trained to understand and recognize indicators of this serious crime

The training contains definitions and several messages about the nature of human trafficking, and includes a focus on an anti-demand messages, such as: “Don’t assist the perpetrators: You aid and encourage trafficking in persons without engaging in it directly by:

- Hiring prostitutes
- Attending nightclubs or strip clubs
- Patronizing businesses that are heavily guarded
- Not reporting cases of suspected trafficking
- Patronizing establishments that use forced labor”

Military personnel are informed of the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) Military Personnel Legal Prohibition on Prostitution. Trainees are also told that DoD Contractors are subject to the Defense Federal Acquisition Regulation (DFAR) TIP rule. Contractors have a trafficking clause in their employment contracts which stipulates they are responsible for following UCMJ prohibitions on buying sex, and that this responsibility applies to any and all subcontractors of a given company working for the DoD.

We have included this brief discussion (and additional detail in Appendix D) about the DOD training for a number of reasons. First, the change in the DoD’s approach is a sign that organizations that have historically tolerated (and sometimes encouraged) men buying sex can adopt an aggressive, proactive approach to education designed to combat demand. This suggests that here is little reason to believe that change cannot also occur in corporations, universities, other government agencies, and elsewhere.

Second, the DoD training is example of an educational intervention that it is not simply a generic “awareness” exercise, reciting the horrors of human trafficking and urging unspecified action. The DOT training specifically focuses on the root cause of sex trafficking – consumer-level demand for commercial sex – and urges very concrete action: not buying sex or tolerating others doings so.

Third, the general outline of the content can serve as a model for corporations or organizations wishing to develop a training program. Obviously, non-military organizations would not train about the military code of justice, etc., but the basic outline is probably transferable. The training starts with general issues and definitions, then quickly focuses on actions that individuals can and must take, and why. It makes the general appeals that are made in virtually all “john school” programs: (a)

an appeal to self-interest, discussing the consequences for them personally if they are caught engaging in prostitution, and (b) an appeal to altruism, discussing the harm to those providing commercial sex in hopes that empathy will serve as a deterrent.

One of the reasons for communities to be interested in implementing public education and awareness programs is that they are among the few types of interventions that are designed to be truly preventive, rather than to react to known offenders. As can be seen in the typology we have presented about tactics used to combat demand, most are directed toward arresting men attempting to buy sex, and then applying post-arrest interventions such as community service or john schools. Such tactics are necessary and can be considered efficient because they expend energy only on those known to be involved in commercial sex. However, in the words of many people interviewed for this project, there is a need to intervene “further upstream,” before men become sex buyers. That is where broadly targeted education and public service announcements come into play.

Reverse Stings

The most commonly used tactic to address demand for commercial sex is usually referred to as the “reverse sting.” These police special operations feature one or more women officers serving as a decoy (or decoys), posing as a prostitute to await being approached by those attempting to purchase sex (e.g., Dodge et al., 2005; Jetmore, 2008).

The term “reverse sting” is an artifact of the historic gender inequity in the enforcement of prostitution. Until relatively recently, the vast majority of police attention devoted to prostitution was focused on arresting providers of commercial sex. The most common police tactic to combat commercial sex has been using plainclothes male officers use to elicit offers of commercial sex from prostituted persons. These operations were known as “stings.” Beginning in the 1960s, but not becoming widespread until well into the late 1980s, were operations focusing on buyers rather than providers of commercial sex. To distinguish those operations from the more traditional stings, the term “reverse stings” evolved into common usage, and implies that those operations that are something other than the typical or default tactic.

The term is somewhat controversial particularly for advocates of approaches in which the majority of police attention is focused on buyers rather than sellers sex. It has been proposed by many that the movement to eradicate sexual exploitation should promote the use of the term “sting” to apply to operations aimed at johns, and not to arrests providers of commercial sex at all. Since this report may address broad audiences and the term “reverse sting” is still the most common usage, we will continue to use it.

Street-Level Reverse Stings

In our observations of reverse stings, and in descriptions gathered from interviews with police and reviews of the literature,⁸⁶ we found the following to be typical. Areas of the city known to be active for street prostitution are selected, and a tactical plan is either discussed or written and submitted for a supervisor’s approval. Usually, five or more officers are used in a street reverse sting. In addition to the female officer or officers, there are usually several additional undercover police in supporting roles. The operations often consist of one or two male plainclothes officers on foot, posing as

⁸⁶ Jetmore, 2008; Newman, 2007; Nolan, 2001; Scott, 1999; Spruill, 2009

pedestrians, at least one unmarked car carrying plainclothes officers, and at least one police patrol car with officers that may be in uniform. There are usually other officers who support the operations by processing arrestees and their vehicles. In some cases, police use a van serving as a mobile booking or screening station, and in other instances processing occurs in nearby police stations or substations. In the latter circumstance, the operations require more on-site officers so that there is less “down time” between arrests. At least two officers are usually required to transport each arrestee away from the site of the arrest: at least one escorting the arrestee, and another driving the arrestee’s vehicle (when applicable). In our research we found that at least five police officers are usually deployed for each decoy used in a reverse sting.

A supervising Sergeant is usually in charge of the reverse stings. Decoys are escorted to drop-off locations near where the operations will occur. An unmarked police van serving as a mobile screening or booking station is usually parked nearby, but out of sight of the street operation. In some locations, police stations or substations are nearby, so a mobile unit is not necessary. The decoy officer usually has a hidden recording device and a cell phone (the first to collect evidence, the latter for safety, in case she is abducted). Some police departments videotape the reverse stings surreptitiously from an unmarked police car.

The decoy always tries to remain in visual contact with the other officers. When potential “clients” speak with the decoy, the supporting officers track her until she makes a pre-arranged signal indicating a “good case,” which is when the man has made an offer of money in exchange for sex and has committed an “*act in furtherance*” of that offer. An act in furtherance is any overt behavior that can be construed reasonably as progress toward consummating the act of prostitution discussed. Such acts, in addition to the verbal exchange, complete the legal requirements for making an arrest. Acts in furtherance can include reaching for a wallet, pointing to money on a bed or a car seat, driving around the block to the area where the sex act was arranged to take place, or opening a car or hotel door so that the decoy can enter.

When the signal for a “good case” is given, the officers on foot or in unmarked cars converge and make the arrest. At this point, the decoy officer enters the police car as quickly as possible and leaves the scene, while the man is arrested and driven to a point where he will be processed. Sometimes he is driven in his own car by a plainclothes officer, and other times they are driven in a police car while another officer drives the offender’s car. Arrestees who are on foot are driven to the van or police station in a patrol car.

The license plate number of the car and the man’s driver’s license number and other identifiers are radioed or sent via computer to a dispatcher, and the determination is made whether to issue a citation and notice to appear in court, or to book the arrestee and take him into custody. If they have identification and no outstanding warrants, they are usually issued a citation and allowed to leave. If these conditions do not apply or if there are concurrent offenses (e.g., possession of drugs or illegal weapons), the johns can be taken into custody.

“We usually have male officers out getting women to proposition them, but that really wasn’t getting at the root of the problem. The men have been just as guilty as the women all along and yet they never get arrested.”

Captain Bob Marshall, vice unit, Knoxville, Tennessee Police Department, 1976⁸⁷

As we’ve discussed elsewhere, reverse stings are the entry point for most of the kinds of interventions that have been developed to focus on male buyers of illegal commercial sex. In order for john schools, community service programs, geographic exclusion zones, and several other tactics to be applied, johns must first be arrested. The means by which the vast majority of johns are arrested is through reverse things, which have been established as the primary way to produce the evidence necessary to satisfy criminal justice requirements.

After the decision to cite or arrest is made, offenders in jurisdictions with criminal justice diversion programs for johns are issued a citation and informed of their responsibility to call the prosecutor's office for processing (either a city attorney's office when johns are cited for violating municipal ordinances, or the district attorney's office when johns are arrested for committing a penal code violation).

In the time it takes the officers to process the arrestee, the decoy officer usually remains in an unmarked car writing notes for her report and (if applicable) checking to ensure that the quality of the tape of the transaction was acceptable. She then removes and marks the tape and inserts a blank in the recorder. She stays out of sight of the arrestee and away from the location where the arrest was made, until it is time to re-set the operation. When reverse stings use multiple decoys, it is possible to keep the street operations going continuously: if one or two of the decoys have made a good case and the men are being processed, there can still be one or more decoys active, provided that there are enough support officers for a safe operation.

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<http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=lhEQAAAIBAJ&sjid=0IwDAAAIBAJ&pg=6887,7621071&dq=prostitution+men+arrest+solicit&hl=en>

Figure 3.4: Cities and Counties that have Conducted Reverse Stings



Table 3.8: Sites with Earliest Known Use of Reverse Stings

Year	City or County	State
1964	Nashville	TN
1967	Grand Rapids	MI
1968	Salt Lake City	UT
1969	Louisville	KY
1970	Detroit	MI
1970	Washington	DC
1971	Dallas	TX
1972	New York	NY
1973	Chicago	IL
1973	Los Angeles	CA
1973	Miami	FL
1974	Baltimore	MD
1974	Columbus	OH
1974	Fresno	CA
1974	New Haven	CT

Table 3.8 presents the years in which 15 cities were known to have first used the reverse sting tactic to address prostitution. As can be seen here, at least five cities had conducted reverse stings in the 1960s, and 10 other cities had done so by 1974. These early operations will be discussed in descriptions of each city on the website. A common theme in the news reports covering these new kinds of tactics were that arresting men was necessary either (a) because of the inequity of only arresting women for prostitution when two parties are involved, or (b) because arresting women “providers” had been ineffective and police leaders felt that addressing demand may be more promising, and (c) complains from the community’s residents and businesses drive police to take action against prostitution. This theme from the 1960s and 1970s has continued to the present, in news reports as well as what we learned in our interviews conducted with police in 2009-2011.

One of the more compelling findings of the study is that several cities in the U.S. had begun to shift their emphasis away from arresting prostituted women and girls, and instead focusing their enforcement efforts on arresting men. Six of these cities had adopted this approach in the 1970s. Table 3.9 presents the cities and the number and percentage of prostitution arrests of men versus women. At least 16 different communities have, for certain periods of time, focused more on combating demand than supply through their arrest practices. Some were balanced, with john arrests accounting for 50 to 60 percent of all prostitution arrests. Others were far more aggressive about demand, devoting the great majority of their enforcement effort on arresting johns.

Identifying these sites demonstrates that the idea and implementation of applying more punitive measures to buyers rather than sellers of sex are not new, and that some cities in the U.S. had arrived at the conclusion over 30 years ago that the most effective model for combating prostitution is to focus enforcement on men and to take a less punitive approach to survivors of prostitution. We do not intend this to suggest that the model is widespread, that cities using this approach in the 1970s and 1980s did not revert to prior methods, or to overstate that this may be a trend that is here to stay. What this demonstrates is that the approach has been in use in the United States for nearly 40 years, even if only on a localized and perhaps temporary basis.

Frequency, Duration, Staffing, and Arrest Yield of Reverse Stings

We gathered information about *how frequently cities and counties conduct reverse stings*. We were able to obtain counts or estimates of how many times per month reverse stings were conducted in 166 cities and counties. The mean frequency was over nine per month, but that was positively skewed by a few larger cities (e.g., Los Angeles, San Francisco, Brooklyn, Las Vegas, Knoxville) that routinely conducting reverse stings, and arrest hundreds of men (or more) per year. The mode (the most frequently occurring number) was two reverse stings per month, and that provides a more accurate representation of the average level of activity. Also, it is important to note that in most cities the level of reverse sting activity varies substantially over time. For example, at its peak in the late 1990s, San Francisco conducted at least 15 reversals per month, or approximately one every two days. Ten years later, they cut back to one-third of that rate. Other cities may concentrate high levels of activity in one location for a period of time in response to complaints or for other reasons, and then stop or slow down substantially as other priorities emerge.

Table 3.9 Sample of Cities Arresting More Johns than Women and Girls in Prostitution

City	Timeframe	Number of Arrests: Women & Girls in Prostitution	Number of Arrests: Johns	Total	Johns as Percent of Prostitution Arrests
Los Angeles, CA	1973	404	444	848	52
Spokane, WA	1975	191	293	484	61
Spokane, WA	1976	106	296	402	74
Spokane, WA	1982	95	200	295	68
St. Petersburg, FL	1975-1976	92	118	210	56
Inglewood, CA	1976	28	70	98	71
Hawthorne, CA	1978	47	79	126	63
Chicago, IL	1978	41	592	633	94
Chicago, IL	1981	175	876	1051	83
New London, CT	1983	12	23	35	67
Trenton, NJ	1985	70	101	171	59
Trenton, NJ	1986	154	247	401	62
Akron, OH	1986	77	126	203	62
Akron, OH	1987	44	83	127	65
St. Louis, MO	1991	128	200	328	62
South Bend, IN	1991-1993	100	230	330	70
Kansas City, MO	1996-1997	250	666	916	73
Haverhill, MA	2007-2010	10	64	74	86
Taunton, MA	2007-2008	27	29	56	52
Escondido, CA	2008-2010	31	32	63	51
North Charleston, SC	2010	90	178	268	66
Totals		2172	4947	7099	70 %

In addition to frequency, we gathered information about the length of time and the number of officers used in the use operations. We were able to obtain the *number of hours* committed to over 400 separate reverse sting operations. The mean was approximately five hours, and the distribution was not skewed substantially. We also gathered information about the *number of decoys* used in each operation, and learned that the mean was approximately 1.5 and the mode was one. The mean number of decoys was skewed by a small number of reverse things that were very large in scale: about 25 of the 400+ reverse stings used between eight and 30 decoys in large, citywide crackdowns with several teams deployed in multiple locations.

We also gathered information about the *number of officers used in support of each female decoy* posing as a person engaged in prostitution. We were able to obtain the average number of support officers used in reverse things at 50 sites. We also tied the number of support officers to the number of decoys to provide a sense of the staffing requirements for a reverse sting team. The mean number of officers used to support each decoy was 6.7, and the mode was five.

We were interested in learning what the yield was, not only for each reverse sting operation, but more importantly, the *yield of arrests for each decoy/team for each hour that the team is deployed*. The number of arrests without these other considerations (number of decoys and number of hours) is not as meaningful, since arrests will be affected by whether there are multiple versus single decoys, and

by the length of time of the operation. We found that across several hundred reverse stings, the mean yield was approximately 1.5 arrests per decoy/hour, and the mode was one.

"I've been approached on the street right by my house by johns who thought I was a prostitute. I'll get in their face and yell at them, 'No, I'm not a prostitute. Go home to your wife!' Lately, if I walk around at night I try to wear my boyfriend's clothes and put a hoodie on so I'm not mistaken."

Teresa Miller, 30-year-old student and resident of Vallejo, California, 2011⁸⁸

Community Complaints Drive Reverse Stings

One of the issues that frequently arises in debates about whether prostitution should be legalized, decriminalized, or remain prohibited is the contention that it is victimless. The argument against prohibition is the essentially libertarian idea that government should not intervene in commercial sex if it is between consenting adults. The argument for prohibition is that commercial is inherently (or at least usually) harmful to the people directly involved, and also to others who are indirectly affected.

"We just go out when we receive enough complaints from the neighborhood. Always in prostitution, you'll have areas where prostitution will pop up near crack houses, and for us putting female [officers] out, we're trying to get the males to stop from coming into that area."

Chief Ken Swindle, Tuscaloosa, Florida Police Department, 2006⁸⁹

"The kids who get out of school around 82nd (Avenue) are propositioned. [Prostitutes and johns] have sex in parking lots; we find condoms and needles; pimps fight against each other. When you think of how 82nd Avenue's been associated with these crimes, we want to get away from that."

JR Ujifusa, Multnomah County, Oregon Deputy District Attorney, 2010⁹⁰

While our intent is not to settle that debate, we were able to gather information that is relevant in the discussion. During our initial interviews we were struck by how frequently - that is, virtually always - we were told by police officers and other respondents that community complaints are frequently or mostly responsible for when and where police conduct operations intended to combat prostitution. Once sensitized, we began asking routinely, and for those sites in which we conducted at least one interview and asked about community complaints, virtually every site said that community members such as residents and businesses complain about prostitution. In general, these complaints are not simply expressions of moral outrage (although that can certainly be involved) but instead are driven by (or at least accompanied by) complaints of tangible disturbance or harm. Frequently heard were

⁸⁸ <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,2060969,00.html>

⁸⁹ <http://www.tuscaloosaneews.com/article/20060130/NEWS/601300345?Title=Prostitution-sting-nets-arrests>
⁹⁰ http://www.portlandtribune.com/news/print_story.php?story_id=128035454437234300

claims that street prostitution was accompanied by verbal and physical fighting and accompanying noise; sex occurring in public areas such as doorways, alleys, and cars parked on the street; condoms and surrenders on streets or on private property. In addition, in areas where there is street prostitution there are frequent complaints of women and girls not involved in that activity who are solicited by johns, and men who live or work in those areas who do not welcome offers from those engaged in prostitution. A less frequent but serious problem mentioned in several communities (e.g., San Diego, California; Worcester, Massachusetts) was from women whose ethnic or cultural heritage was such that they would face serious repercussions if they were seen to have been solicited by a john, even if a woman or girl did nothing to provoke it, did not welcome it, and did not respond to it.

In response to the information gathered through interviews, we returned to the research literature and news archives to examine how frequently complaints were reported as a reason for the police operations on prostitution. We found that complaints from residents or businesses were cited as a reason for reverse sting or sting operations in over 65 percent of the cities and counties studied. We also noted whether our interview respondents said community complaints drove whether police engaged in reverse stings (95% said “yes”). From the news reports and interviews together, *we found that complaints led to reverse stings in at least 71% of the communities studied.* This figure probably underestimates the overall percentage. News reports make choices about what to report regarding any specific reverse sting operation, and for space or other reasons can choose not to report that reverse stings were in response to complaints from the community. Our finding that over two-thirds of the news reports mentioned complaints, but virtually all of our interviews said they received complaints, suggests that 71% is probably a low estimate and that the portion of reverse stings driven by community complaints may be higher.

Police Units, Agencies, and Multijurisdictional Task Forces Conducting Reverse Stings

A range of law enforcement agencies, and units and departments within agencies, are trained and deployed to conduct reverse stings. Some of the departments or units focus on crimes on the lower end of the crime seriousness scale (measured by the felony/misdemeanor distinction), such as nuisance abatement or neighborhood safety units. Others focus on felonies and higher end crimes, such as multijurisdictional drug task forces that focus on organized crime, felony level drug trafficking, and violent crime. Others fall in between, including regular patrol units. Many police departments, even in large cities, are relatively small (e.g., seven officers for San Francisco) and others have severely downsized or eliminated their vice units (e.g. Tucson, Arizona, and very recently, San Francisco, California), so other divisions or units (such as nuisance abatement or special investigations units) fill the void.

In addition to cross-unit collaboration within departments, there are cross-agency and cross-jurisdictional collaborations. A wide array of state, local, and federal agencies, and multijurisdictional task forces collaborate on reverse stings. Among the configurations of law enforcement collaboration that conduct reverse stings are

- Cross-unit collaborations within a police agency (e.g., patrol and community nuisance abatement)
- Federal agencies (particularly Immigration and Customs Enforcement, or ICE)
- Multijurisdictional task forces
- Multiple municipal police departments
- Municipal police departments and county sheriff’s departments

- State agencies that focus on alcohol enforcement
- State police agencies
- State probation/parole agencies

Table 3.10 presents examples that portray the range of agencies, units, and levels of government that collaborate on reverse stings. As can be seen here, there are many configurations. Of the 16 cities and counties listed here as an illustration, no two had identical sets of partnerships. Of course, these were selected to represent variety, so the point is not to suggest that there are no modalities across sites. The most common scenario is for one city or county law enforcement agency (a city Police Department or a county Sheriff's Department) to conduct an operation within their jurisdiction. However, it is also common to see multi-agency collaborations within cities or counties, as well as multijurisdictional teams. There are roads and areas in which street prostitution becomes institutionalized, and these areas sometimes cross jurisdictions. For example, Mannheim Boulevard stretches across Chicago and several suburban cities and unincorporated towns in Cook County. It is common for County Sheriff's Departments or State Police to collaborate with cities and towns that share areas in which prostitution occurs. As Table 3.10 shows, reverse stings can involve many different kinds of units within an agency, and can involve partnerships among agencies and across all levels of government (city, county, state, and federal).

Variations and Innovations in Reverse Stings

A number of variations on basic models have been developed to meet particular challenges or to take advantage of opportunities. Several examples are described in more detail below.

- ***Replacing prostituted women with police decoys.*** In street operations, police may go to “strips” or “strolls,” arrest women engaged in prostitution, and replace them with police decoys. A similar concept is sometimes used to arrest the customers of brothels. Brothel raids typically focus on investigating whether prostitution occurs and then, if the necessary evidence is gathered, to arresting the women selling sex and the brothel's pimps or traffickers. Usually, the johns are either ignored entirely, or those that are present during the raid or “take-down” may be arrested but no further effort is expended in attempting to arrest additional customers beyond those that happened to be present. However, in some communities police have taken advantage of the opportunity to identify and arrest additional customers. In storefront brothels such as nail salons or massage businesses, the staff and survivors are removed and replaced with police officers who continue to make appointments and arrest johns until the news circulates that the brothel is controlled by undercover police.
- ***Borrowing decoys from other police departments.*** Many police departments, particularly smaller ones, have had trouble staffing reverse stings due to a shortage of women police officers willing to serve as decoys, or because the decoys become too well-known to potential buyers to be effective. A solution to this problem used by some police agencies is to borrow staff from other departments. For example, the small cities of Bluefield and Princeton, West Virginia have borrowed or exchanged decoys and sometimes other members of reverse sting teams. Similarly, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania and communities in the region (such as Reading and Allentown) have exchanged staff. The Pennsylvania State Police have developed the capacity to assist any community in the state in conducting reverse stings by contributing decoys and support officers.

Table 3.10: Examples of Law Enforcement Agencies, Units, and Task Forces Collaborating to Conduct Reverse Stings

City or County	Law Enforcement Departments, Units, Task Forces	Types
Albany, GA	Albany Dougherty Drug Unit	Multijurisdictional drug task force
Albany, NY	Albany Police Department Community Response Unit, Strategic Deployment Unit	Two units of a city PD, neither a vice unit
Alexandria, LA	Alexandria Police Department's Narcotics Division	City PD, narcotics unit
Anderson County, SC	CATCH (Criminal Apprehension Through Community Help)	Sheriff's Department's community collaboration unit
Anniston, AL	Calhoun/Cleburne County Drug and Violent Crime Task Force; Alabama Beverage Control Board; Anniston Police Department	Multijurisdictional drugs and violence task force, state agency, city PD
Anne Arundel County, MD	Anne Arundel County Police Department Special Enforcement Division	Sheriff's Department, special operations unit
Atlantic City, NJ	Atlantic City Police Department Vice Unit	City PD vice unit
Auburn, MA	Worcester County Regional Drug and Counter Crime Task Force	Multijurisdictional drug and crime task force
Baldwin County, AL	Baldwin County Sheriff's Office; Baldwin County Drug Task Force; Foley Police Department; Gulf Shores Police Department	Sheriff's Department, two city PDs, one county task force
Barstow, CA	San Bernardino County Sheriff's Department; Barstow Police Department; California Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control	Sheriff's Department, one city PD, one state agency
Buena Park, CA	Buena Park Police Department; Fullerton Police Department	Two city PDs
Cedar City, UT	Cedar City Police Department; Iron/Garfield Counties Narcotics Task Force, Beaver/Iron Counties Major Crimes Task Force, Iron County Sheriff's Office, Utah Adult Probation and Parole (Utah Department of Corrections)	City PD, two multijurisdictional drug and crime task forces, sheriff's department, state probation and parole agency
Federal Way, WA	Federal Way Police Department; Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)	City PD and Federal agency
Harlan, KY	Harlan Police Department; Kentucky State Police	City PD, State Police
Providence, RI	ICE, Rhode Island State Police; Providence Utah Adult Probation and Parole	Federal agency, state police, city police
Ypsilanti, MI	Ypsilanti Police Department; Washtenaw County Sheriff's Office	City PD, County Sheriff's Department
York, PA	York City Police Department Nuisance Abatement and Patrol Divisions, East-End Neighborhood Unit, & Southwest Neighborhood Unit; York County District Attorney's Office; Springettsbury Township Police Department; Pennsylvania State Police.	Three units of city PD, another city PD, county District Attorney, state police

Web-Based Reverse Stings

The Internet has been used with increasing frequency to transact commercial sex. Ads are posted on websites devoted to commercial sex (eroticreview.com, worldsexguide.com, myredbook.com) or on websites serving as a venue for a broader spectrum of transactions, such as BackPage.com, Yellow Pages, Craigslist.com, and periodicals such as the Phoenix New Times or SF Weekly. It is widely observed that the solicitation of commercial sex throughout the United States has shifted from the streets to online. For example, in San Francisco the average yield of arrests per street-level reverse sting fell by half between 2004 and 2007 (Shively et al., 2008), and the police department's vice unit personnel believed that much of the declining yield was because of the rise of online solicitation - particularly the use of Craigslist through 2009, and Backpage since then. Other factors cited in the decline in street prostitution are the effectiveness of the city's john school program, and the persistence of police in conducting hundreds of reverse stings over the years. Craigslist has eliminated its adult or "erotic services" section that had been a central source of transacting commercial sex (although it is still used for commercial sex, through as posing as massage or other services),⁹¹ but it has been largely replaced by Backpage.com since 2010.

Many police departments throughout the United States have used online ads for commercial sex to their advantage. Approximately one third of all police departments that conduct street-level reverse stings (286 sites had been identified through 2011) have implemented web-based reverse stings since 1995. A list of communities and when they first conducted reverse stings is presented in Table 3.11.

Online reverse stings are easy for police to initiate. The typical procedure is to post a decoy ad, and when potential johns respond with a phone call or an e-mail, the officers pose as prostituted persons or pimps and arrange for a meeting - usually at a hotel that has been prepared for a reverse sting. At the hotel, a female officer poses as a prostituted person, and once the john is face-to-face with the officer, the operation is essentially the same as that used in conventional reverse stings.

"There are clear signs that some revenue and listings are migrating to Backpage and to other sites that specialize in prostitution advertising."

Mark A. Whittaker, AIM Group, 2010⁹²

"Backpage is widely used by local prostitutes and has been for years, and that's no secret. We get prostitutes that will work the street, and the services they would normally get \$40 for in the back of the car or whatever now jumps up to \$150 or up."

Lt. Terry Pasko, Akron, Ohio Police Department vice squad, 2011⁹³

⁹¹ http://www.upi.com/Top_News/US/2010/09/06/Sex-ads-still-appearing-on-Craigslist/UPI-49661283790775/

<http://www.salon.com/life/broadsheet/2010/09/06/craigslist/>

<http://www.10news.com/news/24902665/detail.html>

⁹² <http://aimgroup.com/blog/2010/10/19/backpage-replaces-craigslist-as-prostitution-ad-leader/>

⁹³ <http://www.ohio.com/news/local/online-prostitution-ads-popular-in-akron-1.252768>

Variation on the on the basic web-based reverse sting model. In web-based reverse stings, the basic model involves police posting a bogus advertisement on websites used to transact prostitution, and placing a female police decoy and support team in a hotel room or apartment for appointments with johns. This requires substantial planning, such as obtaining a phone for police to use that is not detectable as a police phone, and constructing a realistic ad. It can pose challenges in acquiring hotel or apartment space, due to the expense of renting and getting hotel or apartment management to cooperate with a police operation that may disrupt their business. A variation on the basic model that is designed to solve some of these challenges begins with police searching real web ads for prostitution, rather than placing their own “decoy” ads. Police respond to the real ads with undercover male officers posing as johns. They remove the woman or girl involved in prostitution or who is being trafficked, and install a police decoy who continues making appointments with johns on the survivor’s phone. Typically, a support team is stationed in an adjoining room.

Table 3.11: Sites with Earliest Known Use of Web-Based Reverse Stings

Year	City or County	State
1995	Everett	WA
1998	Kissimmee	FL
1999	Lexington	KY
2000	Charlotte	NC
2000	Horry County	SC
2000	Kansas City	KS
2000	Oklahoma City	OK
2000	Roanoke	VA
2000	Travis County	TX
2000	Tucson	AZ
2001	Blue Ash	OH
2001	Orange County	CA
2001	San Jose	CA
2002	Lenexa	KS
2002	Portland	OR

Shaming

Shaming is a simple tactic for combating demand: The identities of men arrested for soliciting commercial sex are publicized, typically through police press releases that are carried by local media outlets, or on police websites (Figure 3.5 presents an example). More than half (59%) of the 826 communities in the U.S. that are known to have conducted reverse stings publicize the identities of arrestees.

For many police departments, revealing arrestee identities proceeds from the intent to deliver a punishment which will serve as a specific deterrent. It also pursues general deterrence - sending a message to potential johns that their identities will be revealed if they are apprehended for soliciting sex. For some police departments, publicizing identities does not appear to be programmatic or to specifically target demand for illicit commercial sex. It is instead a matter of routine, whereby

identities of adult arrestees across all offense categories are revealed. For example, the identities of arrestees sometimes appears in local news "crime logs" or "police blotters," with johns' identities revealed alongside those of burglars, vandals, and drunk drivers. However, the lack of a specific intent of reducing demand for commercial sex does not directly affect its potential for effectiveness as a deterrent.

Table 3.12: Sites with Earliest Known Use of Shaming

Year	City or County	State
1975	Eugene	OR
1976	Joliet	IL
1976	Detroit	MI
1976	Atlanta	GA
1977	Fort Pierce	FL
1977	Poughkeepsie	NY
1977	Trenton	NJ
1978	Des Moines	IA
1978	Norwalk	CT
1978	Oxnard	CA
1978	Westport	CT
1978	Harrisburg	PA
1979	New York	NY
1979	Pasco	WA
1981	Newburgh	NY

Note that these earlier instances of shaming are not always programmatic – meaning they are not necessarily a systematic attempt to punish and deter buyers of sex. In many cases, it is simply crime reporting. Police often list the identities of arrestees, regardless of offense type.

The most common method of disseminating identities is through news outlets – both online and in print. Other methods include police websites⁹⁴ (e.g., Alton, IL; El Cajon, CA; Nashville, TN); billboards (e.g., Rochester, NY; Minneapolis, MN); community websites (e.g., "Trick the Johns" in Chattanooga, TN, "JohnTV" in Oklahoma City, OK); and public access television (e.g., New York, NY). Variations on shaming tactics include an effort in Baltimore County, MD in which police inform residents of court dates for prostitution-related cases, encouraging them to appear at hearings and trials. The tactic is intended not only to shame offenders by bringing residents to witness the men being accused in court, but also to encourage judges and prosecutors to follow through with charges and impose fair penalties. Another variation of shaming is letters sent to the homes of alleged buyers of commercial sex, or to the homes of registered owners of vehicles used in known or suspected instances of soliciting commercial sex (these "Dear John" letters are described below).

⁹⁴ http://www.jonesboroplace.com/jpd_news.php?item=69

“The first thing attorneys for these guys say is, ‘What can we do about the picture on the Web site?’ Their clients are willing to do more time and pay bigger fines rather than having their photo [on display].”

Lt. Rick Edwards, Akron, Ohio Police Department,
2005⁹⁵

“I think someone is less likely to engage in prostitution in El Cajon if they know their picture is going to end up on our Web site.”

Gary Kendrick, El Cajon, California, City Councilman,
2007⁹⁶

“Of all the things that we are going to do, [shaming] is the number one deterrent to prostitution in our city. And it's been very effective in other cities as well.”

Police Chief Jerry Dyer, Fresno, California, 2011⁹⁷

Opponents of shaming contend that its deterrence is unproven, that violates due process rights since identities are typically publicized upon arrest and prior to adjudication (American Civil Liberties Union, 2008), and that it negatively affects families of arrestees. Some cities that are strongly committed to combating demand (e.g., San Francisco) do not pursue shaming specifically because of the impact it may have on those associated with alleged offenders, such as the children, spouses, and other friends and family members. Given the prevalence of shaming and the potential for unintended consequences, it is important to determine whether effectiveness justifies its use. So far, the usefulness of the tactic has not been evaluated.

“It sounds really like a stunt. Are they going to have stocks next or paint ‘A’s on people’s foreheads or make them carry a sign? Public humiliation has never been shown to be particularly worthwhile. I suppose that you could argue that lashing people in the town square, as the Taliban do... but I don’t think we want to move in that direction.”

Laurie Shanks, Albany Law School professor and
criminal defense attorney, 2005⁹⁸

“I don't think [shaming] makes anyone think twice. I don't think the men that go out and solicit a hooker are thinking about what's going to happen to them if they get caught. One, I don't think they are thinking about getting caught and two the ramifications are not thought of at the time.”

Tony Capozzi, ABC30 Legal Analyst⁹⁹

⁹⁵ <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/06/22/AR2005062200514.html>

⁹⁶ <http://legacy.signonsandiego.com/news/metro/20071030-9999-1m30copsite.html#>

⁹⁷ <http://abclocal.go.com/kfsn/story?section=news/local&id=8276677>

⁹⁸ <http://blog.timesunion.com/crime/get-caught-with-a-prostitute-in-albany-brace-yourself-for-your-name-in-lights/2817/>

⁹⁹ <http://abclocal.go.com/kfsn/story?section=news/local&id=8276677>

Challenges and variations

Variations of the basic model of publicizing the identities of arrestees have emerged in an attempt to mitigate or prevent negative, unintended consequences. For example, one of the challenges for police in implementing a program of shaming is monitoring whether information about alleged offenders is used inappropriately. Among the inappropriate uses of the information would be targeting the people identified for harassment or vigilante actions. The Wichita, Kansas Police Department suspended posting offender information on their website due to “inappropriate use” of the photos and personal information about those arrested for soliciting. The following message appeared on the Wichita Police Department website:

“For the past two years the Wichita Police Department has used this space [the department’s website] to post photographs and information about individuals who have been arrested and charged with prostitution -related offenses in Wichita. The Department has learned that these photographs and information were being used for purposes that the Department feels were inappropriate. Because of this inappropriate use of information by individuals outside law enforcement, the Department has suspended our practice of posting this information.”¹⁰⁰

Other have objected to shaming tactics on the grounds that they violate the right to due process. This is a serious concern where identities of all arrestees are publicized – shaming is regarded by most to be a punishment, and occurs before conviction in most communities. In response to these concerns, some jurisdictions, such as Minneapolis, post on their police websites identities of men only after they have been convicted of soliciting.¹⁰¹

For cities and counties seeking to address their prostitution and sex trafficking problems, the results of an evaluation attesting to the effectiveness of shaming would be immediately useful. Police and concerned non-profit organizations would be interested in any measured “treatment effects,” while individuals further from the policing operational level would be interested in how any observed effects weigh against due process concerns and potential negative impact on the families and associates of men whose identities are publicized. Passing a risk/reward balance test requires that the tactic has been confirmed to be an effective “treatment” or deterrent.

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.wichita.gov/CityOffices/Police/FieldServices/North/Prostitution+Page.htm>

¹⁰¹ <http://www.ci.minneapolis.mn.us/police/prostitution-convictions/convictions.asp>

Figure 3.6: Cities and Counties that have Employed Shaming Tactics

“Dear John” Letters

A tactic that has been employed in at least 40 U.S. sites is sending letters to the homes of known or suspected buyers of commercial sex. The intention is to make it more difficult for johns to engage in sexual exploitation anonymously, or at least, unbeknownst to spouses or partners. People we interviewed for the national assessment cite as the primary reasons for using this tactic: (1) to alert partners of buyers of commercial sex so that they can protect themselves from contracting infectious disease, given the higher probability that johns may be carriers, and (2) to bring pressure to bear from whomever lives with sex buyers to discourage them from that activity.

There are two main variants of this approach. The first is sending letters to the registered owners of cars seen “cruising” known prostitution strips for the apparent purpose of soliciting sex from prostituted persons. This tactic requires that police acquire the license plate number of the car that is being used in a way consistent with soliciting commercial sex. An example of suspicious behavior would be when a car circles a block repeatedly and then stops so the driver can talk with women who appear to be engaged in street prostitution, and/or have are familiar to police due to prior prostitution arrests. Police sometimes also observe people known to have been prostituted repeatedly entering cars that pull up the curb, and returning minutes later.

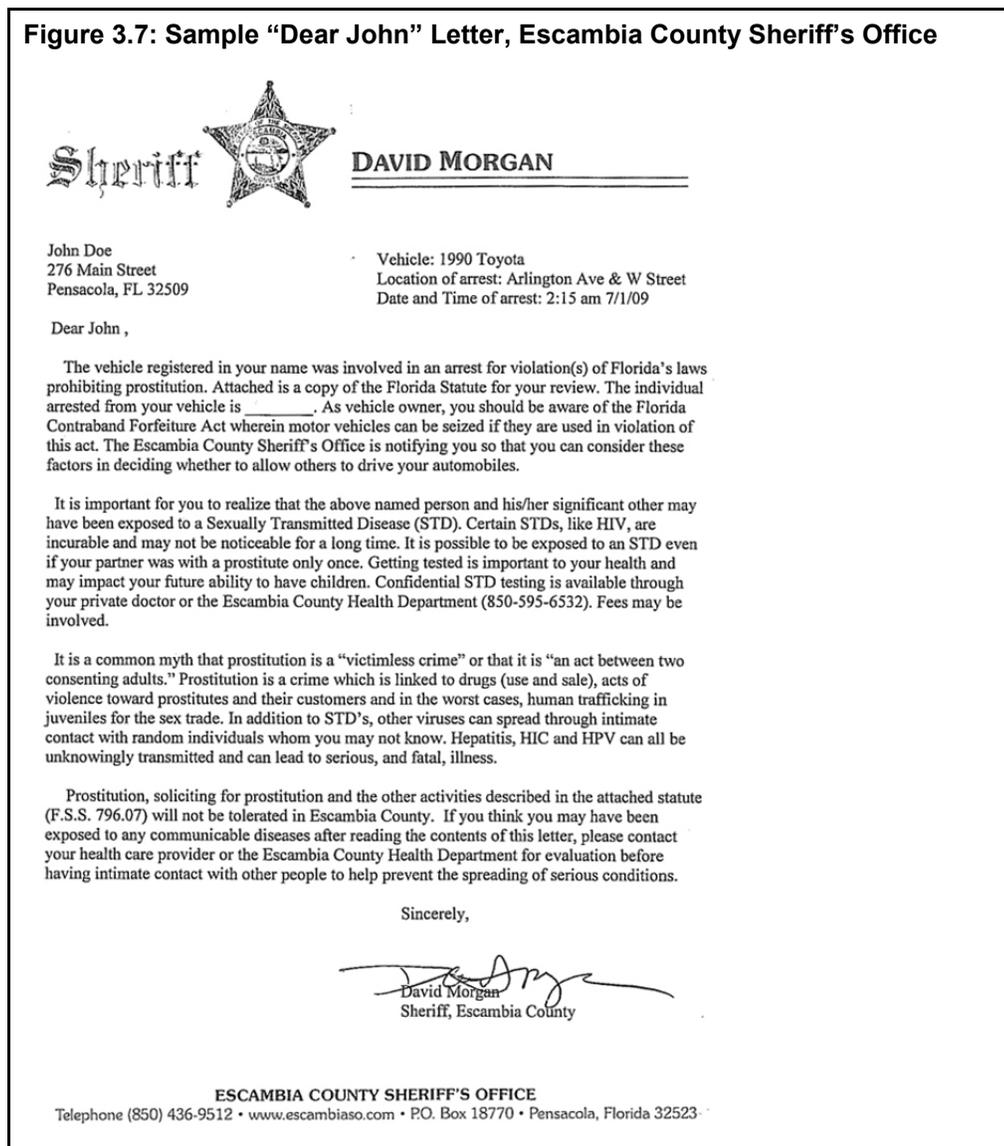
While the purpose of this interaction is apparent on a commonsense level, in most jurisdictions there would be insufficient evidence to arrest the John for soliciting commercial sex, since there is

reasonable doubt about what actually occurred between the two parties. In such circumstances, police in some jurisdictions will record the license number of the vehicle, and later find the address of a registered owner and send them a letter. Sometimes the observation is made not by the police, but instead by members of the community who observed this kind of activity and record the license plate numbers, and make a report to police departments. For example, police in Minneapolis, MN and Des Moines, IA have asked residents to record license plate numbers and descriptions of johns, and to forward the information to police so they can send letters to the alleged offenders. Some police departments have forms for recording the information, which asked members of the community to record the location of the event the time, make model and color of the vehicle, and most importantly, the plate number. Once police have been given this information, they can follow the same procedure as if they had made the observations themselves.

The letters typically strive to make it clear that police do not assume that the registered owner of the vehicle was necessarily driving the car when the suspicious behavior was observed. The letter does not constitute being charged with a crime. Some of the letters explicitly address the fact that the suspicious behavior may have occurred while someone other than the registered owner was driving. The tone may even be friendly, suggesting that the registered owner's vehicle is being used improperly, and that they should take care not to allow others to use their vehicle for such purposes.

Another application of "dear john" letters is sending letters to the homes of arrestees. Such letters do not say that suspicious behavior occurred, but instead that an arrest of the addressee was made for prostitution. A sample letter used by the Escambia County Sheriff's Office is presented in Figure 3.7, and examples of English and Spanish versions of similar letters from Raleigh, NC are presented in Appendix F.

Year	City or County	State
1982	Aberdeen	MD
1982	Boston	MA
1982	Baltimore	MD
1982	Evansville	IN
1985	Portland	OR
1988	Allentown	PA
1988	Newark	NJ
1991	Gordon Heights	NY
1991	Wyandanch	NY
1993	South Bend	IN
1995	Brooklyn Park	MD
1997	Hollywood	FL
2000	High Point	NC
2005	Charlotte	NC
2006	Reading	PA

Figure 3.7: Sample “Dear John” Letter, Escambia County Sheriff’s Office

The use of “Dear John” letters has not been evaluated, so it is not known whether the approach is effective in deterring sex buyers. They also can raise objections similar to those in response to newspaper or website shaming: they can be argued to violate due process protections if they are assumed to be punishments and are applied to people prior to conviction. The letters we have encountered are carefully crafted to avoid these due process concerns, but the objections could be valid if the letters are not properly constructed.

Vehicle Seizure

Most state criminal codes allow for the seizure of vehicles used in the commission of crimes. Often this is interpreted as the use of vehicles in felonies such as kidnapping, drug smuggling, etc., but over 100 communities have seized autos used while soliciting prostitution, a misdemeanor or ordinance

violation in nearly all cities and counties in the United States. In the majority of communities that seize the autos of men attempting to purchase sex, the vehicles are retrievable after paying an impound fee of \$400 or less.

Year	City or County	State
1980	Roanoke	VA
1987	Birmingham	AL
1988	Detroit	MI
1990	Milwaukee	WI
1990	Harrisburg	PA
1990	Portland	OR
1990	Long Beach	CA
1991	Toledo	OH
1991	New York	NY
1993	Bridgeport	CT
1993	South Bend	IN
1994	Waukegan	IL
1995	Rochester	NY
1995	Kissimmee	FL
1997	Hollywood	FL

Auto seizures have been successfully challenged in courts. The basic issues generally are whether the auto seizure constitutes a penalty that exceeds the maximum allowed for misdemeanors, and in other instances, local ordinances may conflict with state law. For example, on July 26, 2007 the California State Supreme Court overturned the city of Stockton’s ordinance, causing the practice to be suspended throughout the state while ordinances were being reviewed or revised. Seizures resumed in several California cities in 2008 (e.g., Riverside, Sacramento). Similarly, a Miami ordinance that was passed by the city council in 1997 was declared unconstitutional in response to a 1999 case, and that decision was upheld on appeal. Washington, DC had a seizure program that was declared unconstitutional and suspended in 2003, and later resumed after revision.

“The vehicle is where most if not all the activity occurs, at least for street-level prostitution.”

Assistant City Attorney Jennifer Cacciapaglia,
Rockland, Illinois¹⁰²

A few communities have instituted forfeiture programs in which cars used by men to solicit sex with prostituted persons could be forfeited, sold at auction, and the proceeds retained by law enforcement to fund their efforts. For example, the Easton, Pennsylvania city council passed an ordinance in 2008 allowing for forfeiture of vehicles within one year of arrest, allowing time for due process. However,

¹⁰² <http://www.rrstar.com/carousel/x414777201/Proposed-ordinance-targets-cars-in-prostitution-fight>

the first set of men arrested in reverse stings who had their autos seized filed suit, challenging the forfeitures as excessive punishment since the penalty of the local ordinance exceeded misdemeanor penalty standards for prostitution violations. Within two months of the ordinance’s passage and the first set of arrests to which it was applied, all of the autos in Easton were returned and forfeitures suspended pending the outcome of the lawsuit. In Genesee County, Michigan johns have been required to forfeit vehicles, and can buy them back for \$900 after a first arrest, \$1800 for a second, and \$2,700 for a third arrest. If they don’t pay, the vehicle is sold at auction.

Driver’s License Suspension

Of the tactics identified to combat demand, driver’s license suspension is the least frequently used. Only 19 communities have been known to suspend licenses of johns. The first identified use of license suspensions was in Tampa, Florida in 1985. Few cities have followed this example.

The concept and execution of license suspensions are simple. There must be an ordinance or a statute in place to support the suspensions for misdemeanor offenses, and if so, judges or magistrates can choose to mete out this punishment for arrested johns. Suspensions are not long, among the small number of cases we could identify. In Casselberry, Florida, the suspension can last up to one year, although it is rare for the maximum suspension to be imposed.

Table 3.13: Sites with Earliest Known Use of Driver’s License Suspension for Johns

Year	City or County	State
1985	Tampa	FL
1989	West Palm Beach	FL
1991	Tallahassee	FL
1995	Delray Beach	FL
1997	Clearwater	FL
2000	Kissimmee	FL
2000	Daytona Beach	FL
2006	Richmond	CA

The objections to license suspensions are similar to those of shaming and auto seizure. Given that many johns are married, in relationships, and employed, some punishments can have a negative impact on significant others and families. For example, a license suspension can pose hardships for children who rely on a father for transportation, and the father may be the only family member with a driver’s license.

Geographic Restraining (“SOAP”) Orders

At least 83 cities and counties have applied geographic exclusion zones or restraining orders to men arrested for buying sex. The court orders for arrestees to avoid these zones are often referred to as SOAP orders (an acronym for Stay Out of Areas with Prostitution). For example, in 1993 a “prostitution-free zone” was established in Portland, OR along a corridor long known to be an area with the city’s highest concentration of street prostitution. The exclusion zone specifications are described in the city ordinance establishing the zone, presented in Appendix G. Essentially, this ordinance allowed judges to order those arrested for prostitution offenses (including johns) not to

enter the restricted area. The ordinance allows for several consequences to be meted out against those who violate the order. Although it was widely regarded as successful locally, budget cuts rendered the Police Department unable to enforce the zone properly, and the City Council allowed the ordinance to expire. Area residents and businesses reportedly soon observed an increase in visible prostitution and related activity, and in 2011 the mayor proposed reviving the prostitution-free zone.

Year	City or County	State
1975	Beaver Falls	PA
1980	Washington	DC
1985	Newport News	VA
1990	SeaTac	WA
1990	Santa Monica	CA
1991	Tulsa	OK
1991	Miami	FL
1991	Tallahassee	FL
1992	Pierce County	WA
1993	Portland	OR
1993	Everett	WA
1994	Tacoma	WA
1995	Oakland	CA
1995	Wichita	KS
1995	Anchorage	AK

Geographic exclusion zones are sometimes resisted by civil libertarians as needlessly and inappropriately restricting the free movement of individuals. However, the practices are seldom successfully challenged, provided that the restrictions are applied only to convicted offenders, or are agreed to voluntarily as a condition of a diversion program.

Neighborhood Action

Throughout the United States there has been a wide array of tactics employed that focus on the buyers of commercial sex that feature residents, businesses, or organize community groups either taking their own action or engaging in partnerships with law enforcement. We have identified 115 cities and counties that have engaged in some kind of neighborhood action directed at demand. For this type of anti-demand tactic, it does not make sense to distinguish a basic model and then to review variations on that model, since the initiatives are highly variable and are customized extensively to suit the local context. Examples of neighborhood action include the following:

- **Chattanooga**, TN has a neighborhood led effort to shame johns (in addition to pimps and prostituted persons), asking for submissions of photos to be posted on an independent website: www.trick.the.johns.com.
- **Baltimore**, MD has the Baltimore John Watch which encourages residents to record license numbers of cars and submitting descriptions of the make, model, and license

numbers of vehicles and descriptions of the driver, and posting them on www.baltimorejohnwatch.blogspot.com.

- **Houston, TX** contains neighborhoods in which residents have placed “no prostitution” signs on their lawns. This kind of activity could also be considered a public awareness program, but is also listed as a neighborhood action since it was driven by the community and not by any agency or official organization.
- **San Antonio, TX** has a neighborhood-initiated campaign involving residents taking photos of johns in cars, recording license plate numbers, and sending the photos and information to police.
- **Lansing, MI** police developed the “hot spot card program” involving distributing cards that encourage residents to record information about known or suspected vice crimes and provide that information to police.
- **Stockton, CA** residents are asked by police to report the date, time, and the license plate numbers of vehicles involved in prostitution, using the Special Prostitution Enforcement Reporting System (SPERS). Police then send letters to the registered owners telling the recipient the vehicle was seen in an area known for prostitution, but not accusing them of committing a crime.

Neighborhood-led initiatives targeting demand were found to have occurred as early as 1975, and at least 15 cities and counties had implemented some form of community-led activity by 1985.

Year	City or County	State
1975	Knoxville	TN
1975	Jackson	TN
1975	Miami	FL
1980	Atlantic Beach	FL
1980	Vallejo	CA
1980	Rochester	NY
1981	Horry County	SC
1982	Evansville	IN
1984	Milwaukee	WI
1985	Erie County	NY
1985	Chattanooga	TN
1985	Newport News	VA
1985	Tampa	FL
1985	Phoenix	AZ
1985	El Paso	TX

The key objection to community-led initiatives is the potential for them to evolve into vigilante efforts that impose on the rights of people who may not be engaged in trying to buy sex. Untrained and unarmed citizens can also place themselves at risk if they confront or are discovered by johns, such as being seen filming a man in a car with a person engaged in prostitution. It is also possible for

community action to interfere with police operations or investigations, or to produce information that cannot be used by investigators.

Surveillance Cameras

While cameras are very widely used for general surveillance purposes, and the growth in their use began decades ago, their use specifically to target men who are (or may be) buying sex has not been widely adopted. Some applications are covert, with hidden cameras used to produce visual evidence that can be used by police and prosecutors. Other uses are overt and designed for deterrence rather than punishment. A few examples of the use of surveillance cameras follow:

- **Tacoma, WA:** Conspicuous surveillance cameras are placed in active prostitution areas with signs saying, “Smile johns, you’re on camera.” A YouTube channel, called StopCrimeOnTacomaAve posts videos of apparent prostitution and drug deals.
- **Rochester, NY:** Surveillance cameras in prostitution areas covertly.
- **Durham, NC:** Thirteen wireless cameras focus on “hot spots” of crime, including prostitution.

Year	City or County	State
1989	Horry County	SC
1990	Harrisburg	PA
1991	Tallahassee	FL
1994	Monroe	NC
1994	Tacoma	WA
1997	Everett	WA
1999	El Cajon	CA
1999	Lafayette	LA
2000	Erie County	NY
2000	Woonsocket	RI
2003	Brockton	MA
2003	Kissimmee	FL
2005	Athens	GA
2005	Dodge County	MN
2005	Kingsport	TN

Community Service

Community service programs are among the less frequently used interventions that target the buyers of sex, although they have a relatively long history of being used in some areas. In most of the 50 cities and counties known to use community service for arrested johns, including the “early adopters” of this tactic listed in Table 3.17, the service programs are not very precisely targeted toward addressing demand, but instead appear to be sanctions applied to misdemeanor’s general and just

happened to apply to the buyers of sex as misdemeanants. However, community service in some locations is programmatic and specifically designed to deal with demand. For example, the Red Zone program in Indianapolis couples a john school intervention with community service specifically designed for them. After four hours of hearing from a community impact panel and a health educator in the john school, the men are required to pick up trash around the streets known to be “strips” with high levels of prostitution activity. Men frequently encounter used condoms and syringes that often accompany street prostitution, and that is by design. Documents regarding the Red Zone program, including instructions for arrestees entering community service, are provided in Appendix H.

The type of service required is more variable in Norfolk, Virginia. In the program of the Norfolk Sheriff’s Office, johns are required to serve eight hours of community service. It usually occurs on a Sunday and begins between 7:30-8:00 AM. The community service program for johns is coupled with the john school, a brief educational intervention that occurs on the previous day. If the john school gets out early on Saturday, then the johns will sometimes pick up trash downtown for an hour or so and then continue the next day. On the full day of community service, johns are added to community service details for other kinds of low-level offenders, and perform a range of jobs such as painting buildings and cleaning public areas.

Table 3.17: Sites with Earliest Known Use of Community Service

Year	City or County	State
1975	Miami	FL
1980	High Point	NC
1981	Grand Rapids	MI
1981	Little Rock	AR
1985	Chattanooga	TN
1991	Eugene	OR
1991	Pawtucket	RI
1992	Kingsport	TN
1993	Coffee County	TN
1993	Palm Beach County	FL
1994	Austin	TX
1995	Santa Cruz	CA
1997	Waynesville	NC
1998	Tucson	AZ
1999	Wichita	KS

John Schools

“John school” is a generic term that is used to describe a wide range of programs that involve an education or treatment component. A useful working definition for john school is: An education or treatment program for men arrested for soliciting illegal commercial sex. To that basic definition, one could add that in order for an education program to be considered a john school, it must cover a range of topics designed to persuade or deter men from buying sex. That criterion would separate john schools from other kinds of court-ordered or diversion program that focus only on health education. There are several education programs in the United States that involve education for arrested johns

that we would not consider to be a john school. For example, at least 10 communities in the United States have a health education session (usually focused on HIV) for prostitution arrestees - including johns - but we would not consider that to be a john school program, since the model's basic intention is to help men avoid infection and not necessarily to convince men to avoid commercial sex because of the harm it causes. The state of Virginia requires health education for anyone convicted of a prostitution offense, and we would not define that as a john school for the male sex buyers who must attend.

A wide variety of programs are often grouped together and labeled john schools. Among the key dimensions of variability are:

- **Number of sessions:** Most john schools are single sessions, but they can arrange up to 10 sessions spaced a week apart.
- **Diversion versus sentencing option:** About two-thirds of john schools in the United States are structured as criminal justice diversion programs, and the remainder are structured as conditions of a sentence. In the former, charges are usually dismissed upon completing the education program; in the latter, they must complete the john school to satisfy the conditions of their sentence, but doing so does not result in their charges being dismissed.
- **Fees or fines:** The average fee or fine for john schools in the U.S. is roughly \$400, and the range is from \$0 to \$1,500.
- **Curricula:** the common denominators of most john schools are that they discuss health and legal consequences for johns if they were to continue engaging in commercial sex, and the negative impact of prostitution on prostituted women and girls and communities. With a common foundation, there is a wide range of topics covered by at least one John school. For example, the Indianapolis "Red Zone" program features a community impact panel, and then has the men spend three hours doing community service by picking up trash on the streets with high levels of prostitution activity. Other curriculum components include discussions of healthy relationships, anger management, sexual addiction, pimping and pandering, human trafficking, and johns' vulnerability to criminal victimization while engaged in commercial sex.

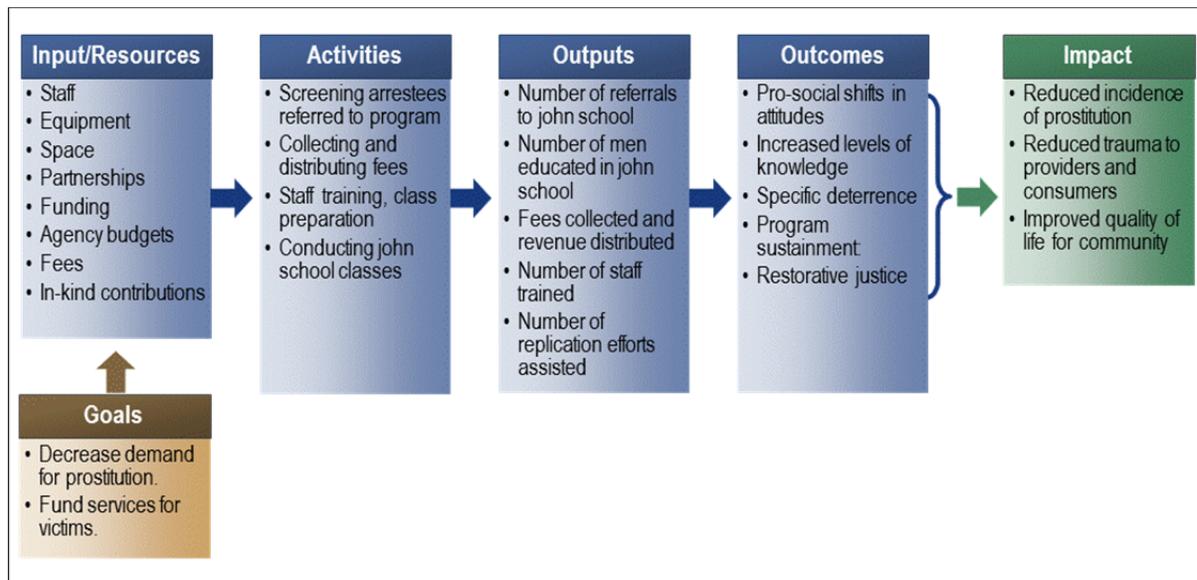
Generic John School Logic Model

Like any program, john schools are grounded in a set of goals. To pursue these goals, programs use resources that support activities intended to produce targeted results—from those results that are immediate and specific, to those that are broader and longer-term outcomes. A logic model is a useful device for illustrating the linkages from program goals, to the resources committed to the program, to activities, to outputs (the direct representation of activities), to program outcomes (the manifestation of the change that activities are seeking to accomplish) and finally to impacts (the indications that the program's broader goals have been realized). The logic model for the most common type of john school (modeled in part on the FOFP) is presented in Figure 3.8.

The ultimate program *goal* is to decrease the demand for prostitution, and hence, reduce the amount of human trafficking and sexual exploitation that occurs. Program goals are pursued by committing *resources* (inputs) that support program *activities* (in john schools, the primary program activity is the

educational intervention for arrestees). The measurable indicators of these activities are the program “*outputs*.” The activities are designed to lead to the aforementioned *outcomes* of knowledge and attitude change: increased awareness of the legal and health risks of engaging in prostitution, and awareness of the negative impact of the behavior on prostitutes, communities, and others. These outcomes are intended to reduce the likelihood that men will continue to solicit prostitution (i.e., the program *impact*).

Figure 3.8: Generic John School Logic Model



Targeting the Educational Intervention

John school directors typically assume that there are several key attitudes and beliefs that cause or allow men to solicit sex, and that the programs reach at least some of the men by countering erroneous beliefs and filling gaps in knowledge. The programs target some or all of the following:

1. The belief that the risk of arrest and legal sanction are low.
2. Denial or ignorance of the risk of contracting STDs or HIV through purchased sex.
3. Ignorance of the risk of being robbed or assaulted by prostitutes or pimps.
4. Denial or ignorance of the negative impact prostitution has on the neighborhoods in which it occurs.
5. Ignorance of the links between street prostitution and larger, organized systems of sex trafficking.
6. Denial or ignorance of what motivates them to solicit prostituted women or girls (e.g., addictions, compulsions, unmet social or sexual needs).
7. Denial or ignorance of the negative impact of prostitution on “providers.”
8. Denial or ignorance of the fact that money is the only reason prostituted persons have sex with them.

9. The mistaken belief that the women they hire care about them, and that they are in some kind of relationship with them.
10. Denial or ignorance of the anger, revulsion, or indifference that many prostituted women have while they are having sex with johns.
11. Ignorance about how to have the healthy relationships that could replace their reliance upon commercial sex.

Men who solicit sex would be correct in assuming that there is a low risk of arrest and legal sanction. On this point, john schools do not seek to confirm this perception, but instead try to elevate the perceived risk from whatever level exists prior to taking the class. Since many of the men in john schools are first-time arrestees, they may be ignorant of the sanctions they may face if arrested a second time, and the program was designed to provide them with this information. On most of the other points, the program managers usually assume that the men are ignorant or in denial about the risks and negative impact of prostitution, and the program curriculum was designed to provide them with factual information and “break down their denial systems” (Hotaling, 2006).

A precondition for a sustainable john school program is a sufficient flow of eligible participants. This requires a proactive approach on the part of law enforcement to conduct operations designed to arrest men for soliciting. Several john school programs have been suspended or discontinued due to an insufficient flow of participants (e.g., Buffalo, Tampa). This flow is determined primarily by whether police have and will commit the resources needed to conduct reverse sting operations. Programs whose fees are used only to support john school classes can survive with very small numbers (as few as 10 to 20 per year, enough for one class per year), but programs that rely upon the fee revenue to sustain programs for women and girls involved in commercial sex must have a reliable and substantial volume of program participants. A serious, current challenge for all john schools is cutbacks in police budgets that have resulted in reducing the frequency of reverse stings.

Prevalence of John School Programs

We have identified at least 58 U.S. cities and counties that have implemented john schools in lieu of, or in addition to, criminal penalties. Approximately fifty have programs that are still operating (Table 3.19), and 11 sites have had john schools that were discontinued (Chicago, IL, Dallas, TX, Dover, DE, Hillsborough County, FL, King County, WA, Madison, WI, Pinellas County, FL, Portland, OR, Santa Clara, CA, Snohomish County, WA, Tucson, AZ). An additional 11 sites have education programs for johns that are restricted to health topics were identified (Chicago, IL, Covington, KY, Fitchburg, MA, Forsyth County, NC, Ft. Lauderdale, FL, Guilford County, NC, Hollywood, CA, New York, NY, Pasadena, CA, Ventura, CA, Virginia¹⁰³). New john school programs have come online at a remarkably steady rate. On average, about four new programs have begun each year from 1997 to 2010.

¹⁰³ Virginia state law requires HIV counseling when arrested for soliciting prostitution.

Year	City or County	State
1981	Grand Rapids	MI
1988	Minneapolis/St. Paul	MN
1988	Rochester	NY
1991	West Palm Beach	FL
1992	Kansas City	KS
1995	San Francisco	CA
1995	Portland	OR
1996	Nashville	TN
1997	Las Vegas	NV
1997	Pittsburgh	PA
1997	Santa Clara	CA
1997	Buffalo/Erie County	NY
1997	Phoenix	AZ
1997	Oklahoma City	OK
1998	Fresno	CA

While there are about 50 cities and counties that are served by john schools, there are approximately 40 separate programs, since some serve multiple communities. For example, the *Cincinnati* john school serves the city of Cincinnati and Hamilton County. *Kansas City*'s program receives men from Kansas City, KS, Kansas City, MO, Lenexa, Prairie Village, Johnson County and Wyandotte County. *Salt Lake City* serves both the city and county, and the john school in *Tacoma* serves that city plus Lakewood, Fife, and Pierce County. The john school in *Toledo*, Ohio serves Lucas County as well as its core city. The "Breaking Free" program in *Minneapolis* also serves the city of Rochester, MN and its surrounding county.

Over time, some cities have had more than one program:

- *Chicago, Illinois* has had two john schools. The first was operated by Genesis House and Chicago Coalition for the Homeless, and was disbanded in 2005. The second is still functioning, and has been operated by Amend and the Chicago Police Department since 2005.
- *Omaha, Nebraska*'s Adult Probation Community Resources Directory and the website of the Nebraska Department of Correctional Services list a Wellspring program that provides "therapy ... for men who solicit sex." The "Men's Own Responsibility, Recovery, and Education" (MORRE) program operated by Wellsprings in Omaha is described by Hughes (2004). We could not confirm whether either program still operates.
- *Portland, Oregon* is currently operating its third john school. The city has had two programs that were each discontinued after two years of operation: (1) The Sexual Exploitation Education Project (SEEP), was implemented in 1995-1997 by the Council for Prostitution Alternatives through an informal agreement with Multnomah County District Attorney and the District Court, and (2) the Portland Prostitution Offender Program (PPOP), was operated in 2003-2005 by the Lola Greene Baldwin Foundation in

conjunction with the Multnomah County Community and Circuit Courts. In January, 2011, the city of Portland and the Multnomah County's District Attorney's Office initiated a third john school program, modeled more closely after San Francisco's FOPP than were its predecessors. As of early 2012, this program is still operating.

Table 3.19: U.S. Sites with John School Programs

1. Aurora, IL	27. Nashville, TN
2. Brooklyn, NY	28. New Hanover County, NC
3. Buffalo, NY	29. Norfolk, VA
4. Charlotte, NC	30. Olmsted County, MN
5. Chicago, IL	31. Orange County, NY
6. Cincinnati, OH	32. Phoenix, AZ
7. Columbus, OH	33. Pierce County, WA
8. Dallas, TX	34. Pittsburgh, PA
9. Dayton, OH	35. Prairie Village, KS
10. Denver, CO	36. Rochester, MN
11. Erie County, NY	37. St. Paul, MN
12. Fife, WA	38. Salt Lake City, UT
13. Fresno, CA	39. Salt Lake County, UT
14. Grand Rapids, MI	40. San Diego, CA
15. Hamilton County, OH	41. San Francisco, CA
16. Hartford, CT	42. Santa Monica, CA
17. Indianapolis, IN	43. Seattle, WA
18. Johnson County, MO	44. Tacoma, WA
19. Kansas City, KS	45. Tampa, FL
20. Kansas City, MO	46. Waco, TX
21. King County, WA	47. Washington, DC
22. Lakewood, WA	48. West Palm Beach, FL
23. Las Vegas, NV	49. Winston-Salem, NC
24. Lenexa, KS	50. Worcester, MA
25. Los Angeles, CA	51. Wyandotte County, KS
26. Minneapolis, MN	52. Ypsilanti, MI

- **Kansas City, Kansas** had a program starting in 1992. The program appears to have been discontinued between 1997 and 2000. Then a new program was established by Veronica's Voice in Kansas City, MO, that serves Kansas City, KS as well as several other communities and counties.
- **Minneapolis/St. Paul, Minnesota** has two programs: The Restorative Justice Program Prostitution Patrons, operated since 1988 by Project Pathfinder Inc., and the Offenders Prostitution Program, operated by Breaking Free since 1999. The latter program was modeled after the FOPP, while the former program pre-dates the FOPP.
- **Tucson, Arizona** has had two programs: (1) the STD Program (Safety Through Deterrence), operated in 2004 by the Tucson Police Department, and (2) Odyssey, operated since January 2007 by the Tucson's District Attorneys and Police Department, Southwest Intervention Services, and Cactus Counseling.

One of the difficulties in counting the number of currently active john schools is determining what it means to be “active.” Some programs meet infrequently, such as the Waco, TX program that meets about once per year. Most programs go through periods of greater and less activity, so may schedule classes monthly or bi-monthly, but postpone them if police activity has been low and the numbers are insufficient. Some programs that had been robust and met frequently have gone through fallow periods of one or two years where no classes have been held (e.g., Buffalo, NY). If the program is still hardwired into the system and the capacity to hold classes remains, but classes have not occurred due to an absence of participants delivered by police, we would regard it as still active. We reserve defining as “discontinued” only those programs that have been explicitly cancelled, or that have not been held for many years and there is no sign of remaining infrastructure or intent to hold another class (e.g., Rochester, NY). Another challenge in keeping current on programs active “now” is that tracking program activity requires an ongoing surveillance system, which requires resources that have not been committed to this task.

Staff at most of the john school programs we have identified said that they used the FOPP as a model, but when we examined these programs’ major features, no other program was found to be structured like the FOPP along all dimensions. For example, most of the other programs collect just enough fee revenue to support the john school classes, and are not designed to generate revenue for survivor programs. The FOPP staff (particularly from SAGE) regards the “*restorative justice*” component as one of the most crucial elements of their program, and believes that it is a serious shortcoming to omit that feature. Other programs are explicitly not modeled on the FOPP, such as the three-day SEEP program that ran in Portland, OR from 1995 to 1997.

“When the Red Zone Program was created it was because we wanted to change these defendants’ behavior. That’s what you really want to instill in a traditional prosecutor; you want them to start thinking about impacting this person’s behavior in low-level cases so that they’re not back in front of us again.”

Deputy Prosecutor Michelle Waymire, chief of the
Marion County Community Prosecution Unit, 2007¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ http://www.courtinnovation.org/sites/default/files/Breaking_With_Tradition1.pdf

Table 3.20: Select Characteristics of John School Programs

Site	Date Began	Diversion or Sentence	Fee/Fine	Format	\$ Supports Survivor Programs
Aurora, IL	2009	Diversion	DK	DK	
Brooklyn, NY	2002	Diversion	\$250	1 class, 5 hrs.	◆
Buffalo, NY	1997	Diversion	100	1 class, 8 hrs.	
Charlotte, NC	2006	Diversion	220	5 group sessions, 10 hrs.	
Chicago, IL	2006	Diversion	500**	1 class, 8 hrs.	
Cincinnati, OH	2006	Either	500	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆
Columbus, OH	2007	Sentence	156	1 class, 8 hrs.	
Dayton, OH					
Denver, CO	1999	Diversion	200	2 sessions, 4 hrs. 20-40 hrs. comm. service	
Fife, WA	2005	Diversion	600	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆
Fresno, CA	1998	Diversion	500	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆
Grand Rapids, MI	1981	Sentence	500	5 sessions, 10 hours	
Hartford, CT	2000	Either	0	1 class, 2 hrs.; 10 days community service	
Indianapolis, IN	1999	Diversion	150	1 class, 3 hrs.; 5 hrs. comm. service	
Kansas City, MO	2000	Diversion	DK	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆
Lakewood, WA	2005	Diversion	700	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆
Las Vegas, NV	1997	Sentence	450	1 class, 8 hrs.	
Los Angeles, CA	2008	Diversion	600	1 class, 8 hrs.	
Madison, WI	2005	Diversion	676	1 class, 2.5 hrs.	
Minneapolis, MN	1997	Diversion	650	4 sessions, 6 hrs.; 40 hrs. comm. service	
Nashville, TN	1996	Diversion	250	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆
Norfolk, VA	2001	Sentence	1,500 ^a	1 class, 1 hr.; plus 1 day com. service	
Orange County, NY	2003	Either	125	1 class, 5 hrs.	◆
Phoenix	1997	Diversion	788	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆
Pierce County	2005	Diversion	600	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆
Pittsburgh	1997	Diversion	348 ^b	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆
St. Paul (John School)	1999	Diversion	325	1 class, 8 hrs.	
St. Paul (Project Pathfinder)	1988	Diversion	650	4 sessions, plus 6 hrs. restorative justice	
Salt Lake City	1999	Diversion	350	10 weekly sessions, 15 hrs.	◆
San Diego	2000	Sentence	200	1 class, 2.5 hrs.	
San Francisco	1995	Diversion	1,000**	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆
Seattle	2009	Either	150	1 class, 7 hrs.	◆
Tacoma	2005	Diversion	600	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆
Tampa	2001	Diversion	350	6 sessions, 6 hrs.	
Waco	2002	Sentence	225	1 class, 8 hrs.	
Washington	2001	Diversion	300	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆
West Palm Beach	1999	Diversion	50	1 class, 4 hrs.	
Worcester	2007	Either	200	1 class, 8 hrs.	
Ypsilanti	2003	Sentence	500	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆

** Fees are on a sliding scale.

a Added to that fine are auto impound fee of \$400 and a community supervision fee of \$30/day.

b Added to that john school fee is \$117.50 for court costs and a \$230 fine.

We have gathered descriptive information on every john school known to have been implemented in the United States. For a few programs we know very little. For example, programs in Rochester, NY in 1988 and South Bend, IN, we know only through single stories in news archives that provided little detail, which we have been unable to verify or expand upon through interviews. No great deal of the other programs, especially the FOFP, based upon our two-year evaluation of the program, and from interviews, site visits and observations of programs in Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Norfolk, Phoenix, San Diego, and Worcester MA. A summary of a few traits of john schools is provided in Table 3.20. Appendix I presents an expanded set of information on all currently active and discontinued john schools in the United States

Community Impact Panels

Several communities have been found to rely upon residents and other representatives of communities to appeal directly to the buyers of commercial sex, in hopes of dissuading them from that behavior. Usually, this occurs in john school programs, since that is often the context in which known buyers of commercial sex are “captive audiences,” accessible to community members and required to listen to their views. In john school classes we observed in Indianapolis, San Diego, San Francisco, Phoenix, and Worcester, community representatives from local organizations discussed a range of negative effects that prostitution has on communities. Among the most common messages conveyed to johns is that where there is prostitution, residents and businesses experience the following:

- Drugs and violence.
- Condoms, syringes, and broken bottles on sidewalks and in parks that children and others can contact.
- Screaming, fighting, and loud cursing late at night.
- “Drunks” and “addicts” sleep in doorways.
- People defecate and perform oral sex in doorways to apartment buildings.
- Pimps “beat up prostitutes.”
- Prostitutes and pimps assault johns.
- In working class neighborhoods, people cannot afford to lose sleep, and should not have to be deprived of sleep just because people choose to commit crimes there.
- There can be repercussions for women and girls who have been propositioned by johns. Anecdotally, it was asserted that women and girls of specific ethnic groups could face consequences from their husbands or fathers if it was learned that they had been propositioned by a john, even if they did nothing to encourage it and it was unavoidable.
- Johns “can do their business there and leave,” but residents have to stay in their neighborhood and deal with the aftermath. In one presentation, the community representative asked whether the men in the class were arrested in the neighborhood in which they lived. None of the 27 men present in the class said they had been arrested in their home neighborhood.

Members of the communities emphasize that johns contribute to the problem, or in fact are the chief cause of the problem, since without “customers” there would be no prostituted persons or pimps.

John School Curriculum Items

John schools curricula vary, as one would expect. The FOPP curriculum has been represented elsewhere (e.g., Shively, 2008), and represents a “baseline” for john school topics covered. To address the informational needs of offenders, the FOPP established a curriculum that was designed to be delivered in one eight-hour day. The outline below captures most of what the program has addressed since its inception. The current curriculum is divided into six main sections, which are outlined briefly here:

1. ***Prostitution Law and Street Facts***, focusing on the legal consequences of subsequent offenses and addressing johns’ vulnerability to being robbed or assaulted while involved in prostitution.
2. ***Health Education***, describing the elevated risk of HIV and STD infection associated with prostitution, and stressing that many STDs are asymptomatic and/or difficult to detect and have long term negative impacts on health.
3. ***Effect of Prostitution on Prostitutes***, focusing on numerous negative consequences for women serving as prostitutes, such as vulnerability to rape and assault, health problems, drug addiction, and various forms of exploitation.
4. ***Dynamics of Pimping, Recruiting, and Trafficking***, featuring discussions of how pimps and traffickers recruit, control, and exploit women and girls for profit, and the links between local street prostitution and larger systems of human trafficking.
5. ***Effect of Prostitution on the Community***, describing the drug use, violence, health hazards, and other adverse consequences that co-occur with street prostitution.
6. ***Sexual Addiction***, focusing on how involvement in commercial sex may be driven by sexual addiction, and where help for this condition can be sought.

Although not listed as a core component of the FOPP curriculum, many of the classes contain a section on *policing prostitution*. The discussions focus on police surveillance of all types of commercial sex (street, brothels, escort services, massage parlors, storefronts, and web-based), and are intended to provide participants with the impression that they will stand a great chance of rearrest if they continue involvement in any type of commercial sex.

Other john schools have been found to have longer programs with more items covered in their curricula, and shorter with fewer items. For example, the Sexual Exploitation Education Program (SEEP) which operated in Portland, Oregon from 1995-1997 was a three-day, 15-hour intervention. Other programs are delivered in a multiple-session counseling format. The most involved of these is the program in Salt Lake City operated by Umoja Training; an outline of their curriculum is provided below.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ <http://umojatraining.com/services.html>

Week 1: Male Socialization

Purpose: to gain understanding of male socialization process and its impact on male-female relationships.

Week 2: Female Socialization

Purpose: to identify differences between male and female socialization; understand how female socialization affects female relationship behavior; and gain insight into personal treatment of women.

Week 3: Sexual Messages

Purpose: to gain perspective about how familial relations, upbringing, religion, peers, and the media impact our sexual relationships and behavior.

Week 4: Prostitute Panel

*Purpose 1: to dispel myths about why women prostitute and educate about prostitution's impact on women.
Purpose 2: to encourage class participants to evaluate their sexual treatment of women and to recognize and respect their sexual partners limits.*

Weeks 5 and 6: Communication

Purpose: to make class participants aware of the relational impacts of different communication styles and to introduce new interpersonal skills.

Week 7: Anger

Purpose: to help class participants identify the way they express anger and the relational impact of their anger style; and increase awareness of alternative anger management choices.

Week 8: Healthy Intimate Relationships

Purpose: to differentiate between healthy and unhealthy interpersonal and sexual relationships.

Week 9: HIV and Sexually Transmitted Infection Prevention

Purpose: to decrease the spread of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections between prostitutes, johns and their partners.

Week 10: Personal Power

Purpose: to encourage class participants to make healthier decisions about their lives.

Other programs are shorter and simpler. For example, the john school portion of the Indianapolis "Red Zone" program covers community impact and health consequences, although other topics will arise in the mediated discussion format. The Norfolk john school program is delivered in one to two hours, and the new video john school produce by the Cook County Sheriff's Office covers the basic elements of the FOPP but in just 14 minutes. An expanded set of information on john school curricula will be provided on the website. The relative impact of the various program models is not known, as most program models have not been evaluated for their impact on reoffending.

"Like some of our other diversion programs, this [Prostitution Offender Program of Lucas County, or john school] is a great way for some of the first-time offenders to really learn the consequences of their actions and to give them an opportunity to examine what may have led to that behavior."

Municipal Court Presiding Judge Michael Goulding,
Toledo, Ohio, 2011¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ <http://www.toledoblade.com/local/2011/04/04/John-School-offers-new-perspective-2.html>

Common Misconceptions about John Schools

The john school paradigm has become controversial, with both advocates and detractors. In our review of the research and professional literature and commentary among advocates involved in the issues of prostitution and human trafficking, it is clear that some of the discussion is based upon misconceptions about the range of variation in john school structure and program content, the types of offenders served by the programs. While information about the real range of programs and the people served by them is presented in this report and on the guide and website, we thought it would be useful to address the misconceptions and misunderstandings about these programs directly. Note that this discussion is not intended to advocate for or against john schools, but instead to help place debates about them on firmer empirical ground.

Misconception #1: *All john schools are, and must be, diversion programs, allowing men who buy sex to avoid prosecution.*

The most common criticism of john schools is that they are diversion programs that allow men arrested for attempting to purchase sex to avoid an arrest record and or criminal punishment. While it is true that the model program that most people refer to when they are speaking about john schools (San Francisco's FOPP) is a diversion program that results in dismissal of charges upon successful completion, the structure of these programs as diversion versus sentencing options is independent of the educational component that is the backbone of the program. In other words, it is mistaken to believe that john schools must be structured as diversion programs.

Attendance in john schools is not at the offender's option in one-third of U.S. john schools: courts sentence men to participate in the program if they feel it is inappropriate treatment or punishment, and in such systems participation is mandatory, and charges are not dismissed for successfully completing the program. Men are sentenced to participate in nearly one-third (29%) of john schools, and another 19% are structured as options for both diversion and sentencing options (some men attend as a condition of a sentence, others other in the same program may attend pursuant to a diversion program). Just 52% of the john schools in the United States are structured exclusively as diversion programs.

Figure 3.21: John Schools Structured as Diversion Versus Sentencing Options

John School Program Structure	Number of John Schools	Percent of John Schools
Diversion	25	52
Sentence	14	29
Either Diversion or Sentence	9	19

For those debating the merits of john schools, it is important to consider whether it is fair or just for men arrested for soliciting to have access to a program that allows their charges to be dismissed and avoid a conviction appearing on their records. In jurisdictions where men arrested for soliciting have the option of diversion, but women arrested for prostitution do not have equivalent options, the inequity is manifest. However, it is not logical to oppose all john schools because one disapproves of diversion programs. The educational component of john schools is independent of being structured as a diversion or sentencing option. Those believing that diversion programs such as the FOPP let men

escape with “a slap on the wrist” should argue against having john school participation be voluntary and allowing participants to avoid criminal charges and conviction. However, those features do not provide a legitimate basis for opposing the john school concept, which is built around educating men who have been arrested for buying sex about the harm of such behavior.

Misconception #2: *John schools accept men arrested for soliciting sex with children.*

Some critics of john school programs argue that it is inappropriate for men who prey upon children to have the option of attending a john school and then have their charges dismissed and escape serious punishment. No rational person would disagree that this would be inappropriate - but the premise has no basis in fact. John schools do not accept men arrested for soliciting sex with children.

None of the publicly available information about john schools suggests that any of these programs are designed for men arrested for soliciting sex from minors. All of the eligibility criteria we have seen exclude men with sex offenses in their criminal history, and stipulate the range of offenses for those who are targeted. In California, for example, the john school programs admit men arrested for penal codes 647.b (soliciting sex) and 653.22 (loitering with intent to solicit sex), both misdemeanors.

The FOPP in San Francisco is the largest john school in the country and has served as the model for nearly all of the 50 john schools that have been launched in the U.S. since 1995. The eligibility criteria for the FOPP exclude anyone with a prior violent offense, sex offense, or domestic violence offenses, and all of the 7,500+ program participants were arrested during police operations using adults as decoys. One can safely say that and none of the participants was attempting to buy sex from a child when they were arrested, nor would they be allowed to participate in the program if they had such offenses in their criminal history. None of the other john school programs in the United States is known to operate differently.

The pathway into john schools begins with arrest. Virtually all of the men who attend john schools in the United States are arrested for soliciting sex from a police decoy during reverse sting operations. All of the police decoys are adults, and none of them present themselves as minors. On occasions when reverse stings are web based, the bogus ads lead to men appearing at prearranged locations where an adult police officer serves as the decoy. It is true that police will conduct reverse stings specifically to find men who sexually exploit children, such as the large-scale operations coordinated by the federal Operation Lost Innocence. However, none of the men arrested for attempting to buy sex from children are eligible for any of the john schools in the United States.

We have no knowledge of a single case of a john school attendee who was arrested for soliciting sex from a child, but it is possible that there are rare exceptions. For example, a few of the john schools in the United States (e.g., Kansas City, one of the Denver programs) accept self-referrals, and it is possible that some of the men who self-refer have serious offenses in their histories. Even in such cases, the serious sex offense against a child would not be the crime addressed by the john school.

Misconception #3: *There is no evidence that john schools reduce recidivism.*

Some john school critics argue that evidence of an impact on reoffending is either absent or inconclusive. There have been few formal evaluations, but the one methodologically rigorous evaluation found a model john school program to substantially reduce reoffending (the other evaluation was inconclusive, but the data were insufficient to make a determination about the program’s impact on recidivism).

At this time, there have been only two formal evaluations estimating the impact of john schools on recidivism rates. The first was a study by Monto and Garcia (2001), who studied a sample of 91 participants in the Sexual Exploitation Education Project (SEEP), a discontinued john school program that operated in Portland, Oregon from 1995 to 1997. The recidivism rates of the SEEP participants were compared to a group of 100 men arrested locally for soliciting sex who did not attend the program. Monto and Garcia found no significant difference in the recidivism rates of the two groups, but the design does not support any conclusion about the effectiveness or lack of effectiveness of SEEP. The chief limitation of the study is that *there were only three recidivists in the treatment and comparison group combined*. There was simply insufficient statistical power to detect any program effect: three offenders could not be distributed in a way that would attest to a treatment effect, or to conclude that there was no effect. Aside from the sample limitations, the SEEP program did not provide a sound basis on which to assess the efficacy of the john school model. The Portland program studied by Monto and Garcia was atypical of john schools in the U.S. (or anywhere else), being a 15-hour, three-day program that was discontinued in 1997 due to disagreements between the program staff and the government sponsors (e.g., Hughes, 2004; Farley et al., 2011), and amid complaints that it was an ideological presentation rather than an educational program (Franzen, 2003).

Whether john school programs ought to be structured as diversion or sentencing options a separate matter from whether education is worthwhile or effective. A model for being both punitive and rehabilitative is the Norfolk john school, which levies a fine of \$1,500, and mandates community service, and charges a supervision fee of \$40 per day while doing community service, and requires attendance at a john school program. Attendance at the john school does not result in dismissed charges. The program provides both an educational intervention and applies relatively severe criminal sanctions – particularly for an offense classified as a misdemeanor, and beyond what we have seen in most other cities applied to those soliciting prostituted persons.

Brewer and colleagues (2007) and others (e.g., Farley et al, 2011) have used the Monto and Garcia (2003) study's results to argue that john school programs do not add anything beyond the deterrent effect of arrest. At the time Brewer and colleagues' research was underway, the prior study of the SEEP program was the only evaluation of a john school's impact on recidivism, and it is true that Monto and Garcia did not find a program effect. However, given the acknowledged limitations of the small-scale, comparison group study of one atypical, quickly defunct john school program (Monto and Garcia, 2003), it was premature for to conclude that the john school approach was ineffective in lowering recidivism. It is also a misrepresentation of the Monto and Garcia results to say they found the program to be ineffective; instead, the data were insufficient to find any program effect, either positive or negative.

Misconception #4: *The deterrent effect of arrest is the real cause of the reduction in recidivism attributed to the San Francisco john school.*

One could argue that the arrest process alone – and not the john school program – could teach men how to avoid recapture. It is virtually impossible for arrest to have produced the decline in recidivism observed. *First*, arrest was a constant across all of the cases in the database used to evaluate the program (Shively et al., 2008). Since all of the 80,000 men in the database had the experience of arrest from 1985 to 2005), something besides arrest must have produced the sharp post-1995 drop in recidivism rates in San Francisco.

Second, the decline in recidivism rates could be the result of FOPP graduates taking their commercial sex activity elsewhere (displacement). This is unlikely to explain more than a small portion (if any) of the observed effect. The data supplied by the California Criminal Justice Statistics Center (the state's central repository for criminal offender data) allowed us to capture rearrest anywhere within the state of California, and can therefore measure recidivism that may have been displaced by the FOPP to areas outside of San Francisco (except that pushed out of state). In addition, one must ask whether the FOPP would produce greater crime displacement than would occur without the program. The FOPP is a voluntary program that allows offenders to have the charges against them dismissed. The participants must see the program as less punitive than tradition adjudication, or they would not choose that option. If so, it is reasonable to ask why the less punitive FOPP would be more likely to displace crime than the more punitive traditional sanctions. A possibility is that the class informs men of the increasingly harsh sanctions they will face for subsequent offenses, and that those men who are either ineligible for the FOPP or who decline the option are not provided with the same information about the more severe consequences of reoffending.

Third, the FOPP may motivate participants to stop pursuing commercial sex on the streets and to use escorts or solicit prostitutes in brothels or via the web. This displacement indoors or online is a plausible explanation and may account for some of the FOPP's effect. Since the SFPD conducts reverse stings almost exclusively as street operations, men who solicit sex online have almost no chance of being arrested in San Francisco. But again, there is no reason to expect that the FOPP would cause crime to be displaced online, beyond whatever displacement may be produced by arrest alone. Since john school presenters tell participants that police monitor prostitution transacted over the web, and this message is not conveyed to men adjudicated normally, we would expect the opposite effect: if affected at all, the participants of the FOPP should be less likely than others to shift their activity online.

Misconception #5: John schools are costly.

One of the recurring criticisms of john schools is that they are costly, and divert scarce resources away from pursuing more serious crime. There is little empirical support for any part of such criticisms. First, john school programs are not costly, and the modest resources that are necessary to support them are normally fully supported by fees or fines that are paid by arrestees. A few of the john school programs that charge smaller fees do not fully support themselves, but still cover most of their costs.

Most of the john schools in the U.S. are one-day programs from 4 to 8 hours in length. Most of the one-day programs meet four to six times per year, and some a few as once per year. Most of the presenters who are not public servants are paid modest stipends of \$50-\$200 per day, and many come and present as volunteers. There are usually one or two people from the Police Department or prosecutors office who stay for the entire session, and sometimes other public servants (e.g., from a public health department) come for one hour or so to make brief presentations. We have not found any john school program to cost more than \$3,500 per class to conduct; and single classes have been found to yield over \$40,000 in revenue.

There is little substance to fiscal criticisms of programs with low annual costs that typically cover all of those costs through participant fees or fines, and can generate additional net revenue used to subsidize police enforcement operations and survivor support programs. The typical john school does not cost taxpayers anything, making them one of the most cost effective offender interventions.

Misconception#6: *John schools are designed to shame.*

John schools have been portrayed as being shame-based, or built around the intent to humiliate or publicly berate men who buy sex. Whether this is true depends upon the john school program, the separate presentations within the program, and what is meant by “shaming.” If one defines shame as the personal feeling of shame about one’s own behavior, then the programs may promote shame. All of the john schools we have observed work hard to convey the message that buying sex is harmful, and that the men – knowingly or otherwise - contribute to a wide array of social ills with their behavior. We have observed individual presenters and community impact panels in john schools in Phoenix, San Diego, San Francisco, Indianapolis, and Worcester (MA) whose style could be regarded as confrontational, and their intent could be to embarrass the men or make them feel ashamed of themselves. However, the empirical record shows that buying sex results in harm, and it is difficult to avoid pointing out the harm in the behavior when pursuing an education agenda. Shame in response to learning that one's behavior harms others may be a prosocial response, and provide motivation to change.

If one defines shame as public censure, or social stigma, then most John schools work in the opposite direction. Since over half of john schools are either exclusively diversion programs, or can be either diversion or sentencing options, diversion from normal prosecution helps arrestees to avoid being publicly shamed. Diverse programs allow arrestees to avoid a conviction by having charges dismissed, making it easier to escape having one's employer, family, or friends learn about the arrest. However, about one-third of the john schools in the United States are structured as conditions of sentences where participation is not optional, and does not result in avoiding conviction. When sentenced to a john school, the program has neither more nor less of an impact on public shame than most other sentencing options, and far less than efforts to purposely publicize identities.

Additional Observations about John Schools

The john school model is one of a handful of tactics that is a programmatic response specifically designed to address the buyers of commercial sex. Most of the other tactics we discuss are standard criminal justice procedures applied to the crime of purchasing sex, such as seizing autos used in the commission of a crime, community service programs, and fines are not tactics developed particularly for combating demand for prostitution. John schools are an innovation specifically designed to intervene with known buyers of commercial sex, attempting to reduce the incidence of reoffending through education or treatment.

John schools have become controversial among those working to address the problems of sexual exploitation and sex slavery. While there are strengths and weaknesses for any sanction or response to crime, many of the objections about the programs appear to be based upon misconceptions or incomplete information. For example, some believe that john schools accept men arrested for soliciting sex from children, and believe that it is inappropriate for men to receive such a mild “punishment” from the criminal justice system for such serious offenses. They would be right the injustice of such a mild sanction, if it ever occurred, but it is not true that john schools accept men who have bought (or were trying to buy) sex with children. ***None of the john schools in the United States accept men arrested for soliciting children***, and to the best of our knowledge, all of the U.S. john schools structured as diversion programs disqualify men with sex offenses in their criminal history.

Objections can stem from legitimate concerns about john schools, but people may reject the whole educational paradigm based on features of one john school program (usually, the FOPP in San Francisco, the model for most john schools) that are not inherent to the model. For example, some object to men being allowed to have their charges dismissed if they attend a john school (e.g., Farley et al., 2011). One third of the john schools in the United States are structured as sentencing options, in which participation is mandatory for men sentenced to attend, and attendance does not result in the dismissal of charges. In this report, we present evidence about the range of configurations of john schools, and discuss common misperceptions about them.

The john school model is one of the few interventions designed to combat commercial sex markets for which there is strong empirical evidence of effectiveness. If communities wish to pursue “what works” and promote evidence-based practices, its leaders and coalition members should be well-informed about such practices.

The john school programs vary substantially, and this variability points out a need to gather and provide information about why alternative models have been developed, and how they operate on a number of dimensions: diversion versus sentenced, partners leading and participating, presenters, content of presentations, structured as brief single classroom sessions versus counseling programs meeting weekly for over up to 10 weeks. Reverse stings, auto seizures, and other standard criminal justice responses are fairly (or at least relatively) uniform over time and across communities, and so they can be described more briefly.

“It’s about time. If anyone is going to be arrested, it should be the man. If prostitution is to be considered illegal, the law must be equally applied to the client and the provider.”

Wilma Scott Heide, Former President of the National Organization for Women, in response to a reverse sting operation in New Haven, Connecticut, 1974¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ United Press International, appearing in the Milwaukee Journal, July 19, 1974. Male Arrests Draw Praise. P. 4.

4. Discussion

This project was designed to gather information that would provide a descriptive overview of initiatives targeting the demand for commercial sex in the United States. The current report describes the process of gathering the information used in this (and other) reports, and discusses specific initiatives, and highlights selected communities to illustrate how and why their members have endeavored to address prostitution and sex trafficking by combating demand. The report is intended to serve as an introduction and as foundational material for those considering applying anti-demand tactics in their communities, and for those at the state government level who are considering policies, statutes, and infrastructure investments supporting local efforts. Those wishing to take more concrete step for planning, implementation, or improvement will find additional information on the website, where they can select from a wider range of information that best fits their specific needs. This final section of the “descriptive overview” report is not a review or summary of its content, but instead is a set of concluding comments and a brief discussion of the implications of some of the key findings.

Description versus Evaluation

An important consideration for any reader of this report is that the overview provided is not an evaluation of any or all of the programs and practices we have identified and discussed. Our study was designed to provide descriptive information, which provides a foundation that can be used to determine what interventions can or should be evaluated. Through our review of the literature we encountered evidence that some of the tactics have been or may be effective. Prior research on a small number of interventions has found the ones evaluated to be effective, but those are conclusions reached from other studies and are not a conclusion that our research directly refutes or supports. While our primary data collection was for descriptive purposes, we did encounter one case where we were able to obtain anecdotal evidence suggesting effectiveness. The evidence was in the form of interview data regarding an effort in Wilkes-Barre, PA that featured a concentrated effort in the 1980s to conduct reverse stings and “shame” arrestees. Interview subjects said that the intervention led pimps/traffickers to remove the city from a domestic trafficking circuit and reduced local street prostitution by 75%. While this finding from Wilkes-Barre is encouraging and consistent with prior studies of effectiveness and the logical argument regarding the potential for demand-focused efforts to impact markets, it is still anecdotal. The finding could not be confirmed due to the lack of confirmation through a formal evaluation, the lack of availability of archival data from that timeframe. Through interviews with police in other cities on the trafficking circuit and news archives we did confirm the existence of the trafficking network and some of the details of the efforts to attack demand in Wilkes-Barre. We have not evaluated the Wilkes-Barre effort or any other program aside from the FOPP in San Francisco, and aside from what was found in prior research and some anecdotal evidence, cannot through this study shed light on whether they produce their intended effects.

Demand-Reduction is Primary Prevention

Primary prevention refers to stopping events before they occur, or ensuring that people do not become afflicted by crime (or disease), rather than treating its symptoms. Secondary prevention refers to early detection, in an effort to minimizing harm, while tertiary prevention addresses recovery from fully realized afflictions. The majority of efforts in the United States described as preventive pursue tertiary or secondary approaches. Very little investment has been made in primary prevention approaches. W

While total elimination of commercial sex markets is unrealistic as a short-term goal, there is no reason to assume that markets cannot be significantly reduced if the root causes are addressed, resulting in fewer victims—and that is the hallmark of primary prevention.

To correctly be considered preventive, it must be demonstrated that the approach reduces the prevalence and/or incidence of sex trafficking or exploitation. Approaches that simply displace crime from one street to the next, from the streets to indoors, from one town to another, or from one set of victims to another, may be considered effective by people at the original locations, but not by the new hosts of sexual exploitation or by the new set of victims. Similarly, programs that help survivors recover from being enslaved or exploited, or punish those who profit from selling sex, cannot be considered prevention programs unless they reduce the size of the overall markets (although we again stress that efforts to help survivors and prosecute traffickers are critically important to restore lives and seek justice, and should be strengthened and expanded).

The only methods empirically demonstrated to substantially reduce the size of commercial sex markets are those featuring a focus on (or including as a component) combating demand. There is a lack of evidence showing that attacking pimps and traffickers or rescuing survivors affects the markets substantially. Sanctioning “providers” of commercial sex is not only unjust and inhumane, but ineffective in curtailing illicit commercial sex markets (e.g., DeMuth & Steffensmeier, 2004; Scott, 2003; San Bernardino County Sheriff’s Department, 1993, 1999), and successfully prosecuting “distributors” (pimps and traffickers) is difficult and costly, and convictions are rare.

Reductions in commercial sex markets should not be expected as long as demand is strong. Efforts to eliminate drug trafficking and drug abuse with an attacking heavily emphasizing supply and distribution have proven enormously expensive and largely ineffective (e.g., Goode, 1997; Sharp, 1994). From an examination of the logic and causal mechanisms of any market, and the history of efforts to suppress illicit markets, one should not expect secondary or tertiary prevention efforts to have a substantial impact, since they address the symptoms more than the cause. Applying these lessons to sex trafficking, one could expect that if every survivor were rescued and every pimp and trafficker were arrested tomorrow, others would quickly emerge or be trafficked to take their places. When demand is strong and the trade lucrative, as in the illicit drug trade, new supplies will be found if current ones are interrupted, and new people will step into the role of traffickers as long as there are profits to be made.

The men who buy sex are often viewed as too inept to obtain sex conventionally, and vulnerable to the enticement of prostituted women. Others view them as driven by the inherently flawed nature of males, who are predisposed by evolution to obtain sex by whatever means necessary, and enabled by patriarchal systems, misogynistic culture, and commodification of sex. In these portrayals, the individual buyers of sex are rarely viewed as the chief cause of all commercial sex and most sexual slavery. Frequently, police will raid brothels or conduct street operations and arrest persons engaged in selling sex, and occasionally arrest a pimp, but simply let the “customers” go without any intervention, or after receiving less serious sanctions than the victims or pimps. The weight of the evidence shows that there is less interest in pursuing the buyers of sex than in helping survivors or prosecuting pimps and traffickers although demand has been identified as a primary driver of commercial sex and trafficking markets.

Combating Demand: Major Needs and Opportunities

Several substantive needs were identified by practitioners working to prevent and respond to sexual exploitation. Across many sectors, *education* was identified as a key need in the effort to combat demand. Specific needs include initiatives designed to: (a) directly impact actual and potential buyers of commercial sex, and (b) influence people who can be mobilized to combat sexual exploitation by implementing interventions for actual and potential buyers, including the general public, teachers, police, businesses, the military, public health professionals, and policymakers. Curricula are needed for programs reaching a variety of populations, resources are needed for training programs, and access to target populations must be acquired—especially access men at risk of (or have engaged in) illegal commercial sex, policymakers, and practitioners in professions combating sexual exploitation.

An issue about which there was great consensus in our interviews and other research is the need to educate boys. While our study found that most interventions focus on arrest and post-arrest tactics, many of those we interviewed felt it was “too far downstream,” and the two really prevent sex trafficking one should go further upstream and attempt to intervene before the buying of sex occurs. There are processes established for how to include new topics such as commercial in school-based curricula. The basic steps of the process are (a) assembling panels of experts in the subject matter, education, and curriculum development, (b) developing a core curriculum, and then fielding the curriculum. Important to include in the process of curriculum development are school boards and textbook publishers. There are past successes in implementing lessons in sex education, civility, bullying, and hate crime in school curricula, and these successes can serve as models. Regarding sexual exploitation and sex trafficking, the CAASE program in Cook County and Chicago has already developed (in collaboration with other local partners) a curriculum that could be helpful in developing a model that could be refined, adapted, and replicated.

One of the major impediments to productive action against sexual exploitation is that in some communities, prostitution is not considered a priority requiring substantial attention of law enforcement. To shift public opinion and generate political will, a small number of communities have developed messages directed to the public, and to distinct segments of the population that can support and lead efforts to combat demand—such as lawmakers, agency supervisors, and practitioners from public health, criminal justice, social services, business, and education. The city of Atlanta has conducted the most high-profile and systemic efforts of this kind, which will be described in the city profile on the DemandForum website.

One of the most important targets for education is prosecutors. Police tend to follow the lead of prosecutors in their enforcement activities, since they don’t want to commit their time to investigating cases that are not carried forward for prosecution, or that result in minimal penalties. Where police know that prosecutors will pursue their cases against men who buy sex, they have incentives to bring those cases to prosecutors. Both prosecutors and police could benefit from training about the definition of sex trafficking/sexual slavery, particular in relation to pimping. In our National Assessment research, we found that most police and prosecutors did not regard women working for pimps necessarily to be sex trafficking victims. However, any reasonable definition of slavery or human trafficking (i.e., service compelled through force, fraud or coercion; lack of compensation beyond subsistence; inability to leave freely) makes pimps traffickers, and women “working” for them to be trafficking victims. Education and training is needed. One of the challenges is that law enforcement is wary of the anti-trafficking movement pushing the definition of slavery into street prostitution, and federalizing what is a local or state crime. The training would have to make it clear

that compelled commercial sex or prostitution is sexual slavery, but that prostitution without a pimp or trafficker (although itself a crime) is not.

In addition to educators, police are on the front lines in the efforts to reduce prostitution and sex trafficking, but most law enforcement agencies are under-resourced and/or do not prioritize sexual exploitation. There is a need for information, peer support, and other resources police require for intervening with the buyers of commercial sex, as well as special programmatic interventions and collaborative community problem-solving approaches designed specifically to combat demand. While there is a need for information sharing, there is also a great reservoir of knowledge and experience among practitioners. Some communities have conducted reverse stings for over 45 years, and have had john school programs operating for nearly 30 years.

There are numerous tactics that can be supported by providing practitioners with *training* and *technical assistance*, generating peer networks and support through conferencing and web-based solutions:

- ***Leveraging existing resources and opportunities.*** There is an existing foundation of resources and opportunities to build upon in trying to increase, expand, or improve anti-demand efforts. For example, existing professional associations and programs with parallel interests could be prevailed upon to add combating demand for commercial sex to their current platforms, e.g., campus date rape training programs, corporate travel policies and human resource protocols, and military training programs could add messages about the harm of buying sex.
- ***Survivor leadership*** has been critical in producing previous successes, such as encouraging police to focus on demand, founding john schools and public education programs designed to generate greater awareness among policymakers, practitioners, and the public about sexual exploitation in general, and the need to combat demand in particular. Survivor-led organizations and/or those providing services to survivors are in place in over 100 U.S. cities (see Appendix J), and are positioned well to assist efforts to combat demand.
- ***Research.*** Whenever possible, it is preferable to have a solid empirical foundation to inform the development of new interventions, and to assess and improve the performance of existing efforts. The key test of any initiative is whether they produce results, and performance measurement systems and evaluations produce the most credible evidence. Research and development is an important support for action and accountability, and includes the gathering of new descriptive information about the range of the current practice and policy, performance monitoring of current and new demonstration interventions, evaluations of programs and practices, basic research on the causes and consequences of sexual exploitation, and disseminating research findings to benefit practice, policy, and effective interventions—including educational and social marketing efforts.
- ***Money.*** While money is certainly not all that is needed, and in some instances is not the most critical need, one cannot avoid concluding that every sector (private, public) at all levels (federal, state, local; policy and practice) would benefit from additional resources. Most NGOs operate with limited resources, and the financial downturn of recent years has reduced their capacity and impaired their work. Similarly, government agencies have had budget cuts, curtailing enforcement of laws and policies, and implementation of prevention programs. One of the frustrations we observed among law enforcement personnel was that many agencies

and organizations have the necessary skills and desire to take action, but are prevented by resource limits from conducting the number or kinds of operations they believe are effective. For example, arresting buyers of commercial sex and educating those who are arrested are evidence-supported practices (e.g., Poland et al., 2008; Shively et al., 2008; Weisburd et al., 2005), when properly executed, and hundreds of police departments across the country have identified the need for reverse stings, have the skills necessary to conduct them, and are convinced they are effective tactics. Yet many police departments have severely cut or have eliminated the enforcement units that conduct reverse stings and other operations aimed at sexual exploitation (e.g., Tucson, Arizona; Vallejo and San Jose, California). In other instances, police departments shift priorities when the community demands it or when other crime problems increase. For example, the Rockland, Illinois Police Department continued to receive an average annual flow of approximately 1,500 community complaints about prostitution in 2011, but during the summer had experienced an increase in armed robberies. The Rockland Police Department cut back on prostitution reverse sting and sting operations, and shifted those resources to address the emerging armed robbery problem, and arrests of johns fell 64% from 2010 to 2011.¹⁰⁸

We have tracked reverse stings for over five years (in this and a previous project), and have seen a sharp reduction in their numbers over the past year. Our interviews with police staff found that budget cuts have led to widespread staff reductions, and department leaders have had to rearrange priorities to stretch scarce resources. Given that prostitution is classified as a misdemeanor crime or a civil ordinance violation, it is easy for police departments to justify de-prioritizing anti-prostitution efforts in order to focus on “more serious” crimes - that is, those classified as felonies. While most police personnel recognize that prostitution both attracts and generates the full array of felonies (e.g., kidnapping, rape, assault, drug abuse, robbery, weapons offenses, organized crime and gang activity, property crimes, and human trafficking), departments have to cut somewhere, and they often choose to de-emphasize pursuit of misdemeanors when faced with staff reductions.

Given how demand drives sexual exploitation, and how prostitution and sex trafficking are magnets for—and causes of—many felonies, many people involved in combating prostitution and trafficking believe that more severe penalties for buying sex are necessary. In addition to education, there is a punitive aspect of law enforcement interventions. Among the other suggestions we heard from police and others interviewed about how to deter men from buying sex were:

- Make the purchase of sex a *felony*.
- Establish mandatory, substantial *jail sentences for first offenses*, and prison terms for subsequent offenses.
- Require those convicted of purchasing sex to *register as sex offenders*.
- *Eliminate diversion options* that allow johns to have their charges dismissed.

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.wrex.com/story/16414527/prostitution-arrests-in-rockford-drop-significantly>

- *Mandate severe fines*, and use the revenue to support “restorative justice” programs for survivors.
- *Require men arrested for buying sex to assist law enforcement* in investigating and prosecuting pimps and traffickers
- *Mandate education* for men arrested for buying sex, without necessarily offering education as an optional diversion in lieu of criminal sanctions.

We have encountered arguments against most of these suggestions, and there are reasons why some of these ideas – particularly the ones about harsher penalties - are unlikely to be realized, or occur only rarely. For example, criminal justice research has established the general concept of court systems (including all participants: judges, prosecutors, and defense attorneys) developing a “work group” understanding of “the going rate,” or a general agreement about what is a fair punishment for each offense type (e.g., Walker, 2006). If the court work group believes a certain level of punishment is fair and just for a specific crime, and new legislation or ordinances require more serious punishment, the group will find a way to work around it – through plea bargaining to other offense categories, or through changing enforcement practices. The more serious punishments may be enacted in locales where there is the political will to pass new laws, but it is unknown how they will be enforced.

A frequent refrain in discussions of attacking pimps and traffickers is that it is nearly impossible to convict them because the testimony of prostituted and trafficked women is needed, and they seldom cooperate (and when they do, it can be at great risk to them). However, there is another source of intelligence that has seldom been pursued, and that is the buyers of sex. Requiring men arrested for buying sex to assist law enforcement in investigating and prosecuting pimps and traffickers is an approach that is not necessarily punitive – and could be less punitive, if they exchange their cooperation for reduced penalties. It has the advantage of opening up an avenue of investigation that has seldom been pursued.

Buyers often interface directly with pimps and traffickers, and they could provide valuable information about the identities of traffickers, particularly if the penalties for johns were severe enough so that police would have leverage in plea bargaining. A type of sting could be utilized that would involve male undercover officers approaching pimps who had been identified through intelligence from customers, and having them try to arrange “dates” with prostituted or trafficked women. Details of such operations would have to be worked out, and it is uncertain how effective these would be, but it is an idea that seems worth pursuing.

Mandating education for men arrested for buying sex could be considered more punitive than having it as a diversion option, but punishment would not be the objective. In addition to its inherently punishing nature, arrest provides an opportunity to educate men about the consequence of soliciting prostitution—particularly about health risks, the trauma experienced by survivors, and the impact on communities.

Appendices

Appendix A: Bibliography

Appendix B: Research Method

Appendix C: Data Collection Instruments

Appendix D: Prostitution, Sex Trafficking, and the Military

Appendix E: Summary of Demand Tactics Employed in Each City and County

Appendix F: Sample “Dear John Letters” from Raleigh

Appendix G: Portland Prostitution Exclusion Zone Ordinance

Appendix H: Documents from Indianapolis/Marion County “Red Zone” Program

Appendix I: Summary of John School Program Traits

Appendix J: Organizations Addressing Demand and Supporting Survivors

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Appendix B. Research Design and Data Collection Methods

Overview

The study was designed to fill current gaps in knowledge about prostitution and sex trafficking demand reduction efforts through nationwide, primary data collection via surveys, interviews, and site visits, and through review of information from secondary sources such as the social science literature and news archives. The purpose is to inform practitioners and policy makers about the range of options that have been successfully - and in some cases, unsuccessfully – employed.

The key objectives of the study were to gather and disseminate practical information about initiatives designed to reduce problems associated with prostitution and sex trafficking through efforts to reduce demand for illegal commercial sex. To do this, we developed and executed a strategy designed to gather as much information from as wide a range of sources as we could, given time and resource parameters. Our two key foci were (1) gathering descriptive information of the kind most useful to practitioners and policymakers who are either planning or implementing demand reduction interventions; and (2) to develop a typology and a national overview of tactics that have been implemented. To pursue these objectives and maximize return on our investment of resources, we did not attempt to field sample surveys designed to estimate prevalence or otherwise generalize beyond our sample. We engaged in purposive sampling and an approximation of “snowball sampling” in order to gather data from a wide range of sites and ensure we had data from each type of intervention in our preliminary and then final typology. Given that we are not estimating for generalizing, we do not focus on response rates for statistical power provided by our sample.

In this appendix we describe the steps taken in conducting our reviews of the professional and research literature, and in reviewing news archives and contemporary news reports. To assemble the information necessary to pursue the project objectives, we engaged in a number of data collection activities, beginning with compiling a preliminary typology of interventions and a list of cities and counties identified as having engaged in some form of sex trafficking or prostitution demand reduction activity. We then conducted a survey and phone interviews with program and agency staff and stakeholders, and site visits that included program observations and in-person interviews. More detail about the decision-making behind the method, and details about the execution of the design are provided below, but as an overview the steps involved, and the data collected, can be summarized as follows:

- **Web searches and reviews of research and evaluation literature**
 - Reviews yielded over 4,000 source documents collected, including books, journal articles, technical and agency reports, news reports
- **Daily web searches were conducted for three years, focusing on news of tactics applied to combat demand**
- **Questionnaires had been sent to 500 sites**
 - Completed questionnaires were received from 241 respondents at 199 sites

- **227 interviews were conducted with respondents at 75 sites**
 - Between a paper survey and interviews, we received input on issues related to the implementation of anti-demand efforts from 274 experts from law enforcement, public health, city government, and human services agencies, as well as neighborhood organizations and nonprofit organizations devoted to combating sexual exploitation and human trafficking.
 - In our survey, we received 241 completed questionnaires from practitioners in 199 cities and counties. We conducted 226 interviews with people from 75 of those sites, and visited 11 cities and counties in order to observe program activities and conduct interviews.

- **Through questionnaires and/or interviews, information was gathered from respondents having the following breakdown of affiliations:**

194	police and sheriff’s departments
20	city and county prosecutor’s offices
17	NGOs focused on prostitution and human trafficking
13	NGOs providing broad-spectrum social services and support
6	private counseling practices
6	public health departments
5	city/county government (e.g. mayor’s offices, community service departments)
5	neighborhood organizations
11	“other” (community courts, probation departments, universities, Weed & Seed programs)
274	Total

- **Eleven site visits were conducted:**
 - Atlanta, GA
 - Cook County, IL
 - Indianapolis, IN
 - Kansas City, MO
 - National City, CA
 - Norfolk, VA
 - Phoenix, AZ
 - Portland, OR
 - San Diego, CA
 - Tucson, AZ
 - Worcester, MA

- **John schools were observed at five sites:**
 - Indianapolis, IN
 - Norfolk, VA
 - Phoenix, AZ
 - San Diego, CA
 - Worcester, MA

- Observations of a sixth john school in San Francisco are also described in the report; for a previous project, we had observed eight sessions of the john school component of the First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP) in San Francisco, CA.
- **Program documents were collected about all known types of demand reduction interventions:**
 - For example, tactical plans for reverse stings; city ordinances; memoranda of understanding; program agendas; john school curricula; speaking points for public education presentations; the text of decoy web advertisements; program summaries and reports; agency press releases; prostitution exclusion zone maps

Literature and Web Reviews

With the goal of identifying communities that have employed tactics to address the demand side of markets for illegal commercial sex, and obtaining information about the interventions, a systematic review of hundreds of documents and web sites was conducted, including obtaining sources describing:

- research on prostitution that examines its etiology and the impact on the all of the parties directly involved and the communities in which it occurs
- whether there are links between prostitution and human trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation
- the motivations of men who buy sex
- sites that have employed anti-demand tactics
- descriptions of programs and practices that have been used to combat demand
- evaluations or other studies of the effectiveness of interventions that address demand
- contact information for those engaged in anti-prostitution and anti-trafficking efforts

We engaged in a multifaceted effort to identify, screen, and collect source materials. From our previous work on prostitution and human trafficking we had accumulated a substantial collection of literature. We built upon our existing library through systematic web searches, as well as through an approximation of “snowball sampling,” examining the sources cited by each of our obtained sources. In addition, we examined publication lists, references, and links to other resources provided by advocacy organizations.

Assessing the Utility of Source Materials

Decision rules were developed and imposed to help manage the great volume of source materials. The rules were designed to help determine the credibility and value of source materials, to guide decisions about inclusion in our review. Our knowledge of human trafficking and prostitution dynamics and interventions led us to many of the obvious and widely known sources: e.g., various Department of Justice publications; the work of prominent scholars and experts in relevant areas; non-government organizations; and state government offices and task forces. We then expanded the search beyond sources of which we were previously aware. When faced with new research source materials, we weighed (1) whether the methods employed appeared sound, when assessing empirical research, and (2) the credibility of the sources, when assessing empirical research as well as opinion, commentary, testimony, and “thought-pieces.” Applying these two criteria often involved additional

steps and the application of secondary criteria, particularly in trying to assess source credibility. For example, a strong indicator of the credibility of a piece of research or legal commentary was whether it was published in a forum involving a review process. Government-sponsored studies and academic journals were regarded more highly than other sources primarily because of relatively rigorous review and accountability processes, at both the research and the publication phases.

Given the nature of our study, news reports were valuable sources. From the beginning of the project, the project staff has conducted daily web searches for contemporary reports of the employment of tactics aimed at reducing demand, such as reverse stings and shaming. We also found news archives an important source of information about the development and earliest uses of anti-demand interventions. We found there were usually limits to what can be learned about the early use of these tactics based upon interviews; given the normal length of careers and staff turnover, most of the people we surveyed and interviewed were unable to provide information on interventions or events that occurred more than 10 or 20 years ago. News archives were used to verify and often to override what was learned through interviews about the history of efforts to address demand in communities.

Some unpublished research manuscripts, editorials, press releases, and other documents are accessible via the web pages of individual researchers and those of associations, advocacy groups, and other private organizations. Unpublished sources were regarded as supplemental at best, and were scrutinized carefully for methodological rigor and for other signs of credibility since they had not passed a peer review process.

On-Line Search Services

Abt Associates began its extensive search of published journal articles using web search engines. For reports on applied research and program evaluations in the field of criminal justice, we used the online capacities of the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS). NCJRS maintains one of the largest repositories of web sites devoted to criminal justice statistics, and is arguably the world's most extensive source of research and statistical information on criminal justice. NCJRS is a central source of information produced by all the bureaus of the U.S. criminal justice agencies, including the Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), the Office of Victims of Crime (OVC), and the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP). The NCJRS search functions also cover research and practice journals, and reports by state and municipal criminal justice agencies. Google scholar was used to expand the search. The web tool supports searches across a broad range of disciplines and sources, including peer-reviewed articles and reports, student theses, books, abstracts and articles, from academic sources, professional organizations, private research, and universities.

To double-check for published articles that may have evaded Google Scholar and NCJRS, we used free online services to search university library collections, and searched the major law and social science journal web pages. In addition, we searched for books on prostitution, sex trafficking, and law enforcement with at Amazon.com. To supplement and double-check for sources that may have been missed through the NCJRS, Google Scholar, Amazon, and library searches, we conducted web searches using Google and other commercial search engines (e.g., Ask, Yahoo). The general searches broadened the search considerably, identifying websites of state and local government agencies, non-governmental organizations, and individuals, blogs, newspaper articles, state and federal laws, and other materials. Some of the source materials found through these search engines were available in

full-text form online and free of charge. Other sources were obtained through local libraries, library duplication and loan services, or were purchased by Abt Associates’ staff.

Table B.1 illustrates the breadth of source materials identified by several of the online search engines¹. While numerous key words and phrases were used, we illustrate using general phrases like “prostitution ” and “sex trafficking.” As can be seen here, a Google search of the full web listed over 39,000,000 “prostitution” and over 4,000,000 “sex trafficking” source materials. Google News searches identified a high volume of entries, with an average of over 6,000 items appearing on “prostitution” and over 300 for “sex trafficking” in a given month. Google Scholar found over 260,000 sources for “prostitution,” and 6,000 for “sex trafficking.” Amazon.com identified over 4,500 “prostitution” and 145 “sex trafficking” books and monographs. The NCJRS abstract search returned over 300 sources for “prostitution” and 25 sources for “sex trafficking.” These figures are provided not to suggest that we examined all of the sources, but to convey the “sampling frame” or broad scope of the pool of resources available on the topics studied.

Table B.1: Sources Identified by Select Internet Search Engines

Search Engine	Phrase Searched	
	“Prostitution”	“Sex Trafficking”
Amazon	4,500	145
Google – Web	39,000,000	4,020,000
Google – News archive, 30 days	6,500	350
Google – News, 1 year	16,800	1,000
Google – News, 5 years	47,400	2,080
Google - Scholar	263,000	6,500
NCJRS Abstracts	315	25

The numbers presented in Table B.1 cannot be totaled due to considerable overlap across types of sources of search functions. For example, many of the books on prostitution identified in the NCJRS abstracts search were also included in the list of sources returned by Amazon, Google Scholar, and Google Web. In some cases, reports on the single study resulting in a research report or monograph would also appear in journal article form, and would be identified in the Ingenta search as well as in Amazon or NCJRS searches. Finally, the numbers returned by the general Google Web and News searches are inflated by repetition and by sources inappropriate for our inquiry, such as listings for television shows, lecture notes for college courses, commentary in blogs and “position statements” by private individuals with no apparent expertise as either practitioners or researchers in the areas of prostitution or sex trafficking.

¹ These numbers are provided for illustrative purposes, to provide a sense of the breadth of material available and the magnitude of the task of reviewing it. These figures were accurate on one day in late 2011, but change frequently as new sources are added and links to some web sites are added or deleted. For example, a Google search on the phrase “prostitution arrest” returned over 10,200,000 listing, but may produce different results at any later point. Given this, the numbers provided in Figure B.1 are not replicable.

The NCJRS search engine was highly effective in identifying relevant reports describing applied and academic research sources and scholarly journal articles. Google Scholar returned many of the same journal articles as those identified by NCJRS, and was useful for expanding the search and identifying articles addressing sexual exploitation published outside of mainstream criminal justice journals (e.g., sociology and psychology journals) and those addressing subjects not tied to the criminal justice system: e.g., those examining causation, victim impact, and community experiences with prostitution or trafficking. Amazon.com was effective in identifying books and monographs not located by NCJRS.

Organization Web Sites

The web sites of organizations addressing hate or bias crime issues were examined for research reports, legal resources, or other references. For example, foundations and advocacy groups such as the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, End Child Prostitution and Trafficking, Polaris Project, and Prostitution Research and Education have made available reports, position statements, news updates, links to other sites, and other materials regarding prostitution and sex trafficking. Web sites of research organizations (e.g., Urban Institute, Police Executive Research Forum, and the Institute for Law and Justice) and of professional associations (e.g., International Association of Chiefs of Police, National District Attorneys Association, American Prosecutors Research Institute) were also examined to find studies and other materials focusing on criminal justice and other government responses to hate crime. Several organizations monitor human trafficking crime law (both statutory and case), and we reviewed their work on the subject (e.g., Polaris Project).

Surveys

Overview of Respondents

In the *first* stage of survey data collection, the first 500 sites identified to have engaged in anti-demand tactics were surveyed. About 400 of the entries on the list of 500 sites were identified prior to the study. Web searches of news reports and archives in the early stages of this study builds the list to 500 and end then beyond. Completed surveys were returned by at least one respondent in 199 sites.² This is a 40% overall response rate. As we discussed, response rates are not very important for this study, as we are not modeling, estimating, or otherwise trying to generalize beyond our sample. Nevertheless, we calculated the rate for those who may be curious. Since the main purpose of the study was to describe tactics used, rather than to model or estimate, the response rate below the standard threshold of 60 or 70%, when used for studies involving estimation or modeling is not considered problematic. Our key concern was getting information about the full range of the kinds of interventions that have been identified.

The *second* step was to select sites of specific interest. They were selected on a number of criteria intended to yield a sample that had representation of small, medium, and larger communities, counties as well as cities, to ensure that each of the tactics was represented by several sites that use those tactics, and to ensure that the sample included sites that have innovative, successful, and pioneering programs. Of the sites targeted, respondents from 142 returned the survey, for a 92% response rate

²

among targeted sites. The “screening” survey instrument and the “second interview” guide are presented in Appendix C.

The *third* step was to select sites for interviews. Survey respondents were asked whether they would agree to be interviewed for the study. Respondents from 193 of the 199 sites agreed to be interviewed (a 97% agreement rate). Seventy-five sites were selected for additional data collection via interview, and 226 interviews were conducted at these sites. The criteria for selection were the same as for targeting sites for the survey: to ensure that each of the tactics was represented by several sites that use those tactics, to capture innovative practices, etc.

The *fourth* step was to conduct site visits.

Site Visits

The principal purpose of the site visits was to document the operations of a variety of prostitution and sex trafficking demand reduction programs in order to prepare the project reports and the Website, offering detailed, practical suggestions for how other jurisdictions can establish, sustain, and improve their own programs.

From the interviews, surveys, and literature review, we gathered site-specific descriptive information, such as years of operation, program goals, structure, activities, and in rare cases, evidence of outcomes and impact. Based on this information we developed a typology of interventions. Criteria for selecting sites to visit and study more intensively were developed to provide a subsample with a range of:

1. longevity and stability
2. organization and structure
3. curriculum content and modes of delivery (for john schools)
4. innovation
5. geographic diversity

We selected some sites in order to provide insight into “best practices” for major types of interventions. To this end, we over-sampled well-established sites that were in operation longest and for which there was evidence of stability and future program sustainment. To provide points of contrast, we studied newer initiatives as well as those that were more well-established. For example, Phoenix, Arizona has a john school that is among the longest running, while Portland, Oregon was preparing to launch a new John school within two weeks of our site visit (as well as having one of the more interesting histories regarding implementing johns schools, with two programs that had been started and then discontinued in the 1990s and 2000s).

While such criteria were anticipated from the study’s beginning, what we learned through experience led us to another criterion for selecting sites to visit: The sites must have something to observe that justifies the investment in conducting a visit. While initiatives might be innovative or exemplary, some types of interventions are straightforward enough that not much is gained in observing them or being on site to interview staff in person. We soon learned that most of the types of interventions are simple and straightforward enough that they could be readily described in a little more would be gained in watching them operate. For example, reverse stings can be captured sufficiently through

description of the number of decoys and support staff involved, the areas in which they operate, and the “rules of engagement” governing how decoys interact with potential and actual arrestees. We did “ride alongs” with police during reverse stings in Cook County, Illinois and Tucson, Arizona, but did not pursue police ride-along as further. Similarly, there was little reason to visit sites in order to study shaming, “dear john” letters, and several other types of initiatives. We observed johns engaged in community service activities in Norfolk, Virginia and Indianapolis, Indiana, but again, learned little by doing so that would be helpful to other communities, so we did not make an effort to observe other community service programs.

We learned that john schools were the kind of interventions that required observation in order to understand them. John schools are comprised of presentations or sessions whose content is part of a curriculum that may be outlined or described, but it's beneficial to observe them to confirm that the content is being delivered as intended, and by whom, and how well. For example, we visited several john schools that all discuss health risks involved with prostitution, but in one program this component occupied nearly two hours of an eight-hour class and was intensely detailed (Los Angeles), while the typical program covered this in about 30 to 40 minutes (e.g., Phoenix, San Francisco), and at the other end of the spectrum were john schools providing coverage of health topics in less than 15 minutes (e.g., Indianapolis).

We ultimately visited 11 sites, eight of which had john schools and at had implemented at least three other kinds of anti-demand interventions. Table B.2. indicates the tactics known to have been employed in each of the 11 sites. The two sites that are shaded do not have john school programs.

Table B.2. Anti-Demand Tactics Employed at the Sites Visited

City or County	State	Rev. Sting	Web Sting	Shame	Cars	SOAP	Pub Ed	Neighb. Action	John School
Atlanta	GA	◆	◆	◆			◆	◆	
Cook County ³	IL	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Indianapolis	IN	◆	◆		◆	◆	◆		◆
Kansas City	MO	◆	◆	◆			◆		◆
National City	CA	◆		◆	◆	◆	◆		
Norfolk	VA	◆	◆					◆	◆
Phoenix	AZ	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Portland	OR	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
San Diego	CA	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆		◆
Tucson	AZ	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆	◆	◆
Worcester	MA	◆	◆	◆	◆		◆		◆

³ The city of Chicago, which resides in Cook County, has had a john school since 2005 that serves men arrested by the Chicago PD. The Cook County Sheriff’s department conducts operations throughout the rest of the county, which includes several incorporated and unincorporated communities. Cook County, did not have a john school when the site visit occurred in 2009. In October 2011, the Cook County Sheriff’s Office released a short video version of a john school, designed to be shown to all men arrested for soliciting while they are being processed. The intervention is a 14 minute DVD briefly addressing the topics typical of most john schools, such as health, legal, and crime victimization risks, and the impact of prostitution on communities and the providers of commercial sex

Overview of Site Visit Activities

Each site visit continued the accumulation and assessment of information about demand reduction efforts at the sites, building upon what was learned through web and literature searches, survey, and interviews. The key activities of each site visit were:

- Site visit planning
- Site visit
 - Observe program activities
 - Collect program documents and information
 - Interview program staff and stakeholders
- Reporting
 - Summarizing the site's program(s), highlighting what is innovative, unique, and/or effective.
 - Integrating the information gathered into the database, final report, and guidance document.

Depending upon what was encountered at a site, completion of the site visit protocol would involve follow-up phone interviews, additional document requests, or additional web searches. Each site visit, as explained below, involved conversations with program contributors and collection of program-related materials. Where relevant and feasible, each visit also involved observation of program operations.

Site Visit Observations and Discussions

In advance of our visits, we worked with each program director or supervisor to identify both the general types of people we wished to talk with as well as the specific individuals. Some interviews were conducted via phone before or after the site visit, but most occurred on-site.

Respondents. The specific types of individuals we spoke with varied with each program, in general we sought to interview:

- program directors (e.g., john school directors; Chiefs of Police; heads of NGOs)
- program supervisors (e.g., head of vice unit; assistant district and city attorneys, judges) and line staff (e.g., patrol officers, detectives, john school presenters)
- staff of contributing agencies and organizations (social workers, neighborhood watch members; members of community-based organizations)
- agency administrators whose support for the program is essential to its existence (e.g., social service agency directors; city council members)
- information specialists (e.g., police department crime analysts, heads of agency information systems)

Interviews generally ranged from twenty minutes for busy participants or those with a less central role, to two hours for program directors or supervisors.

Locations. We met in a variety of venues, e.g., at the program office of NGOs (e.g. Kansas City), churches hosting john schools (e.g., Indianapolis), police stations (e.g., Worcester) and substations

(Cook County), Sheriff's Offices (e.g., Norfolk), city halls (e.g., San Diego) and police vehicles during ride alongs (e.g., Cook County, Tucson).

There were instances where we met with people in groups. For example, in Portland we held a group meeting with eight individuals from the district attorney's office, city council, and several NGOs from Portland, Multnomah County, and Marion County. In Atlanta we held individual meetings in offices of an NGO, held a group meeting in the city hall, and attended a program session for survivors in a jail. While the group settings allowed us to obtain a wide range of feedback efficiently, most of our site visit conversations took place in one-on-one settings so that people did not feel constrained in what they could tell us.

Site Visit Discussion Objectives and Topics. Going into each visit, we learned as much as we could about the site's demand reduction programs through web reviews, the screening survey and additional phone discussions and email exchanges, and from documents we had collected from site staff. The visits were primarily for observation, confirmation, and additional data collection, and follow-up interviews with staff. The precise questions to be asked for each visit varied, since many questions had been asked and answered prior to the visit, and other questions were very site-specific and interview subject-specific, and others arose in response to what encountered during the visits. That said, prior to the visits we anticipated asking questions in one or more of the following general topic areas. The site visit discussion guide is presented in Appendix C.

- **program origins** (e.g., initial “champions,” goals, needs assessment, rationale)
- **program planning and implementation** (e.g., personnel, steps taken, obstacles and challenges encountered, timeline)
- **staffing** (e.g., who, how many, hierarchy, responsibilities, qualifications, recruitment, turnover, champions, meetings, training)
- **collaborating agencies and individuals** (e.g., roles, contributions, staffing levels)
- **coordination** (e.g., lines of authority, meetings, MOUs)
- **operations** (physical location(s) of activities; descriptions of typical programs or operations (e.g., reverse stings, shaming, john school classes [see the attached discussion guide for operational questions specific to each type of demand reduction program])
- **operational challenges and solutions** (e.g., securing resources over time; competing demands on staff and other resources)
- **aggregate description of the johns targeted** (e.g., age, socioeconomic status, marital status)
- **funding** (e.g., annual budget; changes over time; sources; fund-raising strategies)
- **facilities used** (e.g., office space; pre-existing or rented, leased, or purchased for the program)
- **legal issues** (e.g., enabling legislation, legal challenges, case law)
- **evidence of effectiveness** (tracking data, performance measures, evaluations conducted)
- **accountability** (e.g., who is responsible for ensuring that the program is implemented as intended, and how evidence is used to make this determination)

Site Visit Observation Guide and Checklist

When relevant and feasible (in terms of the safety of project staff, privacy concerns related to johns, and confidentiality of program operations), we observed the program “in action.” For example:

- for an educational program (e.g., john schools), we arrange to observe a class
- for a reverse sting, we observe the street-level decoy operations
- for community service, we watched johns performing the required activity

When we learned that observing a program was feasible, we used an observation checklist specific to the particular activity we would observe to ensure that we focused on the actions and dialogue that were pertinent to our report. For john school programs, we used an IRB-approved observation protocol based upon one that Abt Associates had used for the evaluation of San Francisco's First Offender Prostitution Program (the observation protocol is included in Appendix C). The observations allowed us to:

- confirm that the program operates and provides some insight about whether it does so as designed
- learn more about challenges faced by the program, and how they are overcome
- gain a visual understanding of its operation that will assist us in describing the program in our reports or website
- develop a rapport with program staff that can facilitate responsiveness to our information requests
- be physically present, enhancing our ability to collect documents (such as an agenda and handouts for john school classes)

Documentation and Secondary Data Collection

We attempted to obtain as much program documentation as possible before we visited in order to:

- reduce the amount of time we spent on site collecting materials that could otherwise be spent talking with program staff and stakeholders
- gain the best possible understanding of the program before we visited, so that our questions are most relevant
- compare the materials with what participants told us and what we observed about program operations

We collected some materials while on site that program participants preferred to give us in person, or felt required explanation. The following are examples of the materials we attempted to obtain when they existed and could be shared with us (i.e., the materials were open to the public, and there were no privacy or other human subjects concerns or restrictions):

- program proposals or concept papers
- needs assessments
- contracts, interagency agreements, or MOUs among partner agencies and organizations
- staff recruitment information (e.g., brochures, job descriptions)
- statistical reports (e.g., on local economic conditions, criminal justice statistics, public health statistics)
- tactical plans (e.g., for reverse stings)
- decoy ads for web and print media reverse stings

- meeting agendas, notes, minutes, schedules
- current program goals, mission statements, logic models
- quarterly, semi-annual, or annual reports
- financial reports
- reports on formal process or outcome evaluations
- documentation of staff training (e.g., training descriptions, curriculums, certificates, course reviews)
- evidence of reactions from businesses and residents concerned about prostitution
- surveys of the public or other indicators or public reaction to the program
- materials provided to arrested johns about services available to them in the community (e.g., counseling centers, Sex Addicts Anonymous chapters)
- templates for letters sent to johns' homes
- media notices that publicize the identities of arrested or convicted johns
- public education materials (posters, public service TV ads)
- geographic restraining orders
- john school curriculums
- neighborhood action materials (e.g., forms for reporting tips to police; signs warning johns of neighborhood surveillance)

Limitations

An important limitation of this study is that it did not involve a random or representative sampling design. We cannot generalize findings beyond the sample studied, and make no attempt to do so. There are reasons to believe that we have captured a substantial portion of all cities and counties that have conducted a reverse sting where other tactics studied. One indication of this is that the pace of uncovering new sites slowed dramatically over the past year. Part of that decline appears to be a function of fewer reverse stings being conducted due to shrinking police budgets and to competing priorities of law enforcement agencies. But it may also result from our having discovered a large proportion of sites that have engaged in these activities. Substantiating that possibility is the fact that when we find news coverage of reverse stings, they are usually in communities that are already in our sample. In addition, we learned of very few additional sites through snowball sampling; when respondents listed other communities that have employed anti-demand tactics, we usually knew of them already through our literature review and news archive searches. While there are some encouraging suggestions that we have captured in our study most of the sites we sought and types of tactics that have been used, it is likely that there are some communities that have engaged in demand focused interventions that we have not discovered, and tactics that we have not learned about.

Another limitation of the study's design is that the surveys, interviews, and site visits captured information at a point in time, with attempts made to fill in history where possible. Most of the interviews and the surveys occurred in 2009-2010. The information was current at that time, but this study was not and is not a surveillance system – does not capture program features and events in real time, or represent what occurs at each site today. Surveillance systems are ongoing, and far beyond the resources available for our project. The current study was meant to provide an overview and sense of the range and prevalence of tactics, and where possible, their history. More importantly, it was meant to capture information that can be used at sites starting new efforts or seeking to sustain, improve, or expand existing efforts. However, we know from observing changes during the

timeframe of our study that the range of communities and tactics employed are moving targets. Resources, crime trends, and other factors result in community and law enforcement leaders to change focus, and some other communities not listed in our sample may have begun efforts to address demand, and others may have changed their portfolio of interventions or stopped entirely. The website has the ability to keep reasonably current, but the present report will provide a progressively less accurate portrayal of current practices.

Appendix C. Data Collection Instruments and Protocols

I. First Survey: Screener

Efforts to Reduce Demand for Prostitution and Sex Trafficking

Abt Associates Inc.; research sponsored by the National Institute of Justice

INTRODUCTION TO BE READ BY RESPONDENT (online or mailed survey) or INTERVIEWER (telephone survey)

Hello, I am _____ of Abt Associates, and we are conducting a study for the U.S. Department of Justice on law enforcement and related efforts to reduce demand for prostitution and sex trafficking. These efforts include:

- “reverse stings” using female police officers as decoys to arrest “johns”
- publicizing the names or seizing the autos of arrested johns, and
- education programs often known as “john schools.”

Your [agency / organization]) has been selected to participate in this study. The survey will take about 10 minutes. The study is designed to gather information from approximately 500 sites. The purpose of the project is to produce and distribute a “best practices” guide and a practice-oriented website.

The information you provide will be kept strictly confidential: No specific individuals will be quoted or identified in any reports produced from this survey. **Your participation is completely voluntary: you may decline to answer any particular question, or stop altogether at any time.** Your refusal to participate will not jeopardize your relationship with the Federal Government or with your agency or organization.

If you have questions about the study or about your participation in it, information for contacting Abt Associates researchers will be provided (Michael Shively at 617-520-3562, or Dana Hunt at 617-349-2733). Please note that these are toll calls. May we begin the survey now?

If “yes,” skip to next page

If “no” read the following:

Could we talk at a more convenient time, or should we email you a brief questionnaire that you could complete and return to us?

[If “yes” to the email option, provide the following information for returning the completed questionnaire]

Fax: 617-520-3562 email: michael_shively@abtassoc.com

Mail: Michael Shively, Abt Associates, 55 Wheeler St., Cambridge, MA 02138

[If “no” to the email option too, thank them very much for their time and end interview]

SECTION A: INFORMATION ABOUT RESPONDENT, ORGANIZATION, AND JURISDICTION

[for tracking purposes only]

Date: _____/_____/_____

Name: _____

Site (city or county): _____

Agency or organization: _____

Job title or position within this agency/organization: _____

SECTION B: INFORMATION ABOUT LOCAL PROSTITUTION OR SEX TRAFFICKING DEMAND REDUCTION EFFORTS

“Demand reduction” refers to practices or programs targeting “johns” (the “customers” of prostitutes or persons who are sex trafficked).

1. Which of the following demand reduction efforts are pursued in [name of site]

[circle all that apply]

1. Street level reverse stings
2. Web-based reverse stings
3. Shaming (publicizing names and/or photos of arrestees)
4. Other reverse stings (e.g., print media escort ads; CB radio)
5. Auto seizure
6. Driver’s license suspension
7. Geographic restraining orders or “stay-away” zones
8. Public education/awareness campaigns
9. Neighborhood watch programs
10. Surveillance cameras
11. Community service programs
12. John schools
13. Other _____

2. What year did these efforts begin in _____ [name of site] _____ .

[For each type, ask the year it began at this site.]

Year Began or circle DK

- | | | |
|--|-------|----|
| 1. Street level reverse stings | _____ | DK |
| 2. Web-based reverse stings | _____ | DK |
| 3. Shaming (publicizing names and/or photos of arrestees) | _____ | DK |
| 4. Other reverse stings (print media escort ads; CB radio) | _____ | DK |
| 5. Auto seizures | _____ | DK |
| 6. Driver's license suspensions | _____ | DK |
| 7. Geographic restraining orders or restriction zones | _____ | DK |
| 8. Public education and awareness campaigns | _____ | DK |
| 9. Neighborhood watch programs | _____ | DK |
| 10. Surveillance cameras | _____ | DK |
| 11. Community service | _____ | DK |
| 12. John schools | _____ | DK |
| 13. Other _____ | _____ | DK |

3. For each of the following demand reduction efforts reported to occur in this site, how often per year are they conducted?

per year or circle DK

- | | | |
|--|-------|----|
| 1. Street level reverse stings | _____ | DK |
| 2. Web-based reverse stings | _____ | DK |
| 3. Shaming (publicizing names and/or photos of arrestees) | _____ | DK |
| 4. Other reverse stings (print media escort ads; CB radio) | _____ | DK |
| 5. Public education and awareness campaigns | _____ | DK |
| 6. John schools | _____ | DK |
| 7. Other _____ | _____ | DK |

4. Do you know of other communities that engage in any of these demand reduction efforts? [Interviewer: prompt for each]

Communities

- | | | |
|--|-------|-------|
| 1. Street level reverse stings | _____ | _____ |
| 2. Web-based reverse stings | _____ | _____ |
| 3. Shaming (publicizing names and/or photos of arrestees) | _____ | _____ |
| 4. Other reverse stings (print media escort ads; CB radio) | _____ | _____ |
| 5. Auto seizures | _____ | _____ |
| 6. Driver's license suspensions | _____ | _____ |
| 7. Geographic restraining orders or restriction zones | _____ | _____ |
| 8. Public education and awareness campaigns | _____ | _____ |
| 9. Neighborhood watch programs | _____ | _____ |
| 10. Surveillance cameras | _____ | _____ |
| 11. Community service | _____ | _____ |
| 12. John schools | _____ | _____ |
| 13. Other _____ | _____ | _____ |

SECTION C: ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

Is there any additional information about local prostitution or sex trafficking demand reduction efforts that you think is important for us to know? [open ended, record response]

SECTION D: Contact Information for Potential Follow-Up Survey or Case Study

Once we analyze the information from the these brief "screening interviews," we will select a sample of sites for more in-depth interviews.

If [name the site] is selected, would you be willing to do an interview of approximately 30-45 minutes that would ask for more detailed information about your demand reduction efforts?

Yes / No [circle one]

If yes, ask for contact information (email and phone) for themselves and others involved in programs.

Name	Affiliation	Phone #	Email
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

Thank you for participating. The information you provided is very helpful. If you have questions about the study or wish to add information, please feel free to contact us at 617-520-3562 (Michael Shively), or 617-349-2998 (Sarah Jalbert).

II. Second Survey: In-Depth Discussion Guide

Date: ____/____/____

Site: _____

Respondent Name: _____

Job Title: _____

Agency/organization: _____

Hello, I'm _____ of Abt Associates, and I'm calling regarding our project for the U.S. Department of Justice on efforts to reduce the demand for prostitution and sex trafficking. We had contacted you* several weeks ago and received permission to contact you for an interview.

Is this a good time talk, or should we arrange for another time? The discussion should take between 30 and 40 minutes.

Your community has been selected to be one of 150 U.S. sites that we are studying to learn more about different approaches to reducing demand for prostitution and sex trafficking, such as reverse stings, john schools, and publicizing names of arrested johns. The purpose of the project is to produce and distribute a "best practices" guide and establish a practice-oriented website.

The information you provide will be kept strictly confidential: No specific individuals will be quoted or identified in any reports produced from this survey. The only exception to strict confidentiality is that you may choose to be listed as a resource in the guide and website we produce. We will ask you about this later in the discussion, and there is a consent form for those who are interested in serving as a resource.

Your participation is completely voluntary: you may decline to answer any particular question, or stop altogether at any time. Your refusal to participate will not jeopardize your relationship with the Federal Government or with your agency or organization.

If you have questions about the study or about your participation in it, information for contacting Abt Associates researchers will be provided (Michael Shively at 617-520-3562, or Sarah Jalbert at 617-349-2998). Please note that these are toll calls.

1. Confirm the Range of Local Demand-Reduction Initiatives

In our first survey we learned that in this community the following activities occur that focus on the buyers of commercial sex. We want to confirm that we are aware of all of the local demand reduction effort:

Approach	Occurs locally (Yes / No)	Year Began	# Per Year
Street level reverse stings			
Web-based reverse stings			
Other reverse stings (e.g., print media escort ads; CB radio)			
Shaming (publicizing names/photos of arrestees, sending letters home)			
Auto seizure			
Driver's license suspension			
Geographic restraining orders or "stay-away" zones			
Public education/awareness campaigns			
Neighborhood watch programs			
Surveillance cameras			
Community service programs			
Letters to homes ("dear john" letters)			
John schools			
Other			

In the rest of this discussion, we will ask you about

- **The history of these efforts locally:** when they started, how and why they were initiated.
- **Structure and operational details:** e.g., how often reverse stings are run, staffing needed, penalties for arrestees, etc.
- **Program activity and performance:** e.g., tracking data, performance measures, annual reports, program evaluations.
- **Whether the program could be evaluated:** e.g., whether data exist that could support an evaluation, and whether they would be interested in collaborating with evaluators.
- **Collecting and displaying program documents**
- **Interest in participating in further research and evaluation:** e.g., additional interviews, allowing research staff to visit and observe.

2. Program Origins

How the program was planned and implemented? Prompts:

- Why was the program initiated?
- Who was involved in program planning?
- How were the needs for the program determined
 - Was a formal needs assessment conducted?
 - If so, what data were used, and how?
- What specific problems were initially targeted?
- How were these problems identified?
- What challenges occurred in implementing the program.
 - How were these challenges overcome?

3. Program Structure and Operations

3.a. Questions for all program types:

- Who currently runs the program/activity?
- Lead agency, title of project leader or program director, etc.:
- Are there other agencies or groups that participate? Probe for:
 - Police department
 - vice unit
 - other _____
 - Prosecutor's office (city, county, State, Federal)
 - Probation department
 - NGO/CBO
 - Department of public health
- Can you give me a contact person for each of the agencies/organizations and his or her e-mail address and telephone number?
- What contracts or collaboration agreements are in place among program partners?
 - Formal (MOU, interagency agreement, contract)?
 - Informal working arrangement?
 - What does each agreement specify as each party's role and obligations?
- Does the program have regularly scheduled meetings of staff? If so, ask about:
 - how frequently
 - the nature and topics of the meetings
 - who attends
 - whether meeting minutes, agendas, schedules, presentation materials are produced, and if so, whether they could be made available to us.
- What facilities, if any, does the program use?
 - Did they already exist, or were they rented or leased or purchased specially for the program?
- What equipment (e.g., vehicles, clothing, computers, office equipment), if any, does the program use?
 - Did they already exist, or were they rented or leased or purchased specially for the program?

- Is there specialized training of any staff (e.g., the undercover officers in reverse stings; john school presenters)?
 - What topics are covered in training? E.g.,
 - how to avoid entrapment in reverse stings
 - what constitutes a verbal interchange that qualifies as intent to purchase sex in reverse stings.
 - Presenting on health risks in john schools.
 - Who are the training providers?
 - Could training materials be made available to us?

- Does the program have an annual budget? If so, what was it for the last calendar or fiscal year?
 - Has its budget changed over time?
 - What is the money used for? Probe for, e.g.:
 - overtime for officers, other agency personnel
 - stipends or salaries for non-government staff
 - concealed tape recorders, other equipment
 - court time
 - Where does the money come from?
 - Have the sources changed over time, and if so, why?
 - Is the program financially self-sustaining?
 - Has this changed over time, and if so, why?
 - Have there ever been problems securing funding?
 - Has your program ever been financially audited?
 - Do you have any program budgets or audits that you can send me?

3.b. Street-Level Reverse Stings

Can you tell me how you go about conducting reverse stings? Perhaps you can walk me through a typical sting operation from start to finish. Probe:

- How are the target areas selected for the reverse stings?
- Do the undercover “decoy” officers initiate conversation with the johns or wait for the johns to approach them?
- What are the critical elements necessary to make a good case against a john? E.g.,
 - Explicit offer of money for sex
 - An act in furtherance of the crime (reaching for a wallet, opening the door to let decoy in car, etc.)
- How many officers are on the reverse sting team, besides the decoy?
 - ___ plainclothes pedestrians
 - ___ officers in an unmarked car or cruiser
 - ___ officers listening to the wire
 - ___ officers handling background checks, custody, transport, autos.
- Are the officers wired?
- How do the decoys signal that they have a “good case?”
- What happens to the johns after they have been caught?
- Are they always arrested?
 - If arrested, what are the penalties for first, second, etc., offense?
 - Do the undercover officers testify in court?
 - What is the typical punishment?

- If some of them are not arrested, what happens to them?
 - Cited and released; ordered to make contact with prosecutor?
- Are the officers part of the department’s vice unit, or drawn from other patrol or investigative units?
 - Are civilians ever used as decoys?
 - Are decoys ever borrowed from or exchanged with officers from other police departments?
 - If so, what are those arrangements like (e.g., only the female decoy is borrowed, versus the whole reverse sting team)?

3.c. Web-Based and Print Media Reverse Stings

Can you tell me how you go about conducting web-based or print media reverse stings? Perhaps you can walk me through a typical sting operation from start to finish. Probe for the following:

- How are the websites, newspapers or periodicals, or “yellow pages” selected for the decoy ad?
- Who writes the copy for the decoy ads?
 - Are real ads ever used verbatim?
 - Are real ads the model for the decoy ads?
 - What featured make for an effective decoy ad?
 - Are photographs necessary or desirable?
 - How are photos acquired for the ads?
 - From prior actual ads? Photos of police decoy? Other?
- Is approval sought, or notification given, to the website or print media before posting the ad, or is the media outlet/website unaware it is a police decoy ad?
- For commercial websites and papers, how much is spent to place the ads?
- Who handles responding to the web ads?
 - Sworn officers, or civilian staff?
 - Specialized vice unit staff, or other?
 - Do they respond via phone, texting, or email to negotiate meetings with johns?
- Where do the in-person meetings between decoys and johns take place?
 - Hotels, apartments, “outcalls” (johns’ homes, hotels, cars, etc.)
- How are locations for the meetings with johns selected?
 - For hotels, what makes a good location for a reverse sting (e.g., adjoining rooms or suites? Is one room enough?)?
- What arrangements are necessary to do reverse stings at hotels?
 - Pay for rooms?
 - Prior hotel management approval required?
- What are the critical elements necessary to make a good case against a john? E.g.,
 - Are they the same as for street-based reverse stings? If different, how?
- How many officers are on the reverse sting team, besides the decoy?
 - ___ officers in an adjacent hotel room or apartment
 - ___ plainclothes pedestrians
 - ___ officers in an unmarked car or cruiser
 - ___ officers listening to the wire
 - ___ officers handling background checks, custody, transport, autos.
- Are the officers wired?
 - Are other officers physically listening “on site” rather than using technology?

- Remaining questions after the point of the meeting are same as for street-level reverse stings (what happens to johns after arrest, etc.).

3.d. Shaming Approaches

Can you walk me through a typical case from how you first identify the john to posting the photo or sending the letter? Prompts:

For the letters sent to johns' homes, how do you identify the johns? E.g.,

- From arrest reports?
 - Does someone have to look them up, or are their names forwarded to you automatically?
 - How often does this happen?
- From court records regarding convictions?
 - Does someone have to look them up, or are their names forwarded to you automatically?
 - How often does this happen?
- Public initiated tips? If so, via:
 - A tip line (online form or a phone number)
 - Paper form
 - Photos or videos showing license plates
 - Business surveillance cameras showing license plates
- Police surveillance cameras showing license plates
- To whom are the letters addressed: the john, registered owner of auto, spouse or partner?
- Do you include any materials with the letters, e.g., information about referrals for services available in the community?

For the public release of johns' identities:

- How/where are they displayed?
 - Police web page
 - Police press release
 - News outlets
 - TV news, newspapers, online news sites or blogs
 - Where in the publication do they appear—e.g., the local news section of the newspaper?
 - Billboards
 - Public access TV
 - Community-operated websites
- What information do you include in the postings? E.g.,
 - Name, age, gender, town or residence, home address
 - A description of the solicitation effort, its time and place
 - Photos
- Have there been problems getting the publications to agree to print them?
- Have you received objections for doing this?
 - E.g. johns, family members, editorials, defense attorneys, civil liberties groups
 - How have you responded to them?
- Do you engage in follow-up with johns after sending letters or publicizing identities?

3.e. Seizing Autos

Can you describe for me your auto seizure process? Prompts:

- Presumably, you can seize only cars that are used in the commission of a crime, correct?
 - How do you document or establish that the car has been used in the commission of a crime?
- What conditions must be met before a car can be seized?
 - Arrest? Conviction?
- Are seizures always or sometimes done in conjunction with arresting johns that use autos to solicit?
- Are cars towed or driven away?
 - Who does the driving?
 - Does an officer have to be present while the car is towed?
- When is a seized car returned to the owner (what conditions must be met)?
- Do some johns or owners never reclaim their cars?
 - If so, what happens to the vehicles?
- Do you have the ability to do vehicle forfeitures?
 - What proportion of seized cars are forfeited?
 - What conditions must be met before a car can be forfeited? Arrest? Conviction?
 - Do johns show up in court, or hire an attorney, to “prove” that the car was not used in the commission of the crime?
 - What is the statutory language in your State or locality that addresses forfeiture of property that is relevant to these forfeitures? What does the legislation say?
 - How do you go about getting authorization to have cars forfeited?
 - What happens to forfeited cars? Auction? Claimed and used by public agency?
 - Do the forfeitures result in cash being paid for them? If so, who gets the money?
- Does it matter if the owner of the car is not owned by the john? That is, do you still seize the car? Can it still be forfeited?
- Have there been lawsuits challenging seizures and/or forfeitures?

3.f. Driver’s License Suspensions

Can you describe for me your license suspension guidelines and processes? Prompts:

- Can you only suspend license when the john used a vehicle to solicit?
- What statutes or ordinances allow for or stipulate the conditions of the license suspension?
 - May we have a copy of the statute, ordinance, guidelines, and/or requirements?
- Are the guidelines for johns different than for other offenders? If so, how?

3.g. Surveillance Cameras

Can you describe for me how surveillance cameras are used to pursue johns? Prompts:

- Are these cameras placed specifically for addressing prostitution?
 - Are they used specifically to identify johns and/or their vehicles?
- Where are the cameras placed?
- By what process, or using what guidelines, is their placement decided?
- Who “owns” these cameras? (police? businesses?)

- How frequently are the recordings reviewed?
- Are the recordings made in coordination with street reverse stings, or are the cameras recording constantly and reviewed as needed or periodically?
- Are still images used in prosecutions?
- Are vehicle tag photos used to locate registered owners to serve warrants, or to send “dear john” letters?

3.h. SOAP Orders, “Stay-Away Zones”

Can you describe for me your geographic restraining orders or stay-away zones? Prompts:

- What evidence does the court require to issue an order?
- Are they issued in conjunction with an arrest, conviction, condition of sentence, suspended sentence?
- How long do the orders last?
 - Are they renewable?
 - Are they initially temporary orders that can become “permanent”?
- How often do johns challenge them in court?
- What is the penalty for violating the orders?
- How often are they violated?
- How are the zones determined? Are community members involved in establishing them?

3.i. Community Service Programs for Johns

Can you describe for me your community service programs for johns? Prompts:

- At what point is community service imposed—condition of probation? Sentence?
- Who decides whether community service will be requested? Probation officer as part of the PSI (pre-sentence investigation report)? Police if there’s a police prosecutor system?
- Who requests (prosecutor?) and who sets (judge?) the number of hours required?
- Who requests the time frame required?
- What kinds of community services have been used (e.g., cleaning streets)?
- Who sets up the arrangement between the service provider and the john
 - E.g., if it is cleaning up a highway, who works with the highway department to arrange for the john to participate? Or does the court or probation office already have a stable of agencies and CBOs with whom to coordinate?
- Does the agency or CBO charge a fee for supervising the john?
 - If so, who pays? The john, or the court, etc.?
- Who monitors compliance, and how? Probation officer? DA’s office staff? CBO?
- What happens if the john fails to comply?
 - Return to court for another probation hearing or for re-sentencing?
 - How often does this happen?

3.j. Public Education or Awareness Campaigns

Can you describe for me your demand-oriented Public Education or Awareness Campaigns?

Prompts:

- What kinds of campaigns does your community, organization, agency, or program engage in?

- Public service messages
-
- What are the campaigns' messages?
 - what information or warnings do they include?
 - is different information included in different campaigns or modes of communication (e.g., bus posters, radio spots, billboards, town meetings)?
- Who are the target audiences—johns, and/or their family members? affected communities?
- For community meetings:
 - Who are the presenters?
 - Who is the target audience?
 - Who developed the messages or curriculum(s)?
 - What are the venues where presentations or meetings occur?
 - Who selects the venues?
 - Who lines up the venues?
 - How are the presentations advertised?

3.k. Neighborhood Action Targeting Johns

(photographing cars, recording license plate numbers, citizen patrols, posters, websites)

Can you describe for me your neighborhood action programs targeting johns? Prompts:

- How are the neighborhoods selected, or self-select?
- How many members are there in each neighborhood?
- How are community members recruited? Who recruits them?
- To whom is the information reported?
- What happens after it has been reported?
- Is there training for community members? E.g.,
 - how to remain inconspicuous, how to respond to a john who confronts them, or how to report what they see, record, or photograph?
- Are community members ever afraid of johns retaliating?
 - Have there been attempts at retaliation?
- Would we be able to observe neighborhood actions?

3.l. John Schools and Counseling Programs

Can you describe for me your john school program? Prompts:

- Is the program structured as diversion or a sentencing option?
- Is there an aftercare program component?
- Is the john school a one-day class or multiple-session experience?
- If a counseling program, is it a single session or multiple sessions?
 - How many sessions are there, how long is each, and over what period of time are they held?]
 - Is it group counseling, or individual?
- What topics are covered in the curriculum [or counseling sessions]? E.g.
 - health and legal consequences for participants
 - negative consequences for prostitutes and communities
 - sexual addiction
 - healthy relationships

- Who serves as presenters [counselors]? E.g.,
 - police, former prostitutes, johns, public health educators, prosecutors?
- How is the curriculum delivered? E.g.,
 - lecture, handouts, multimedia presentations, discussion groups, one-on-one counseling sessions?
- Would we be able to observe a john school class?
 - Are the classes public criminal justice proceedings?
 - What approvals are necessary (e.g., verbal approval of DA, or written release form)?

4. Acquiring Documents and/or Data

Do you have documents or other printed materials that describe your program? Probe for:

- Documented planning activities, such as needs assessments, initial program outlines, early mission statements
- Meeting agendas, notes, minutes, schedules
- Current program goals, mission statements, and logic models
- Collaboration agreements, MOUs
- Quarterly, semi-annual, or annual reports
- Formal process or outcome evaluations
- Documentation of staff training (e.g., training descriptions, curricula, completion certificates, personnel records, reimbursements)
- Business surveys or other kinds of feedback from businesses
- Public surveys or other kinds of feedback from public
- Reverse sting tactical plans
- Reverse sting after-action reports
- Decoy advertisements/postings for web-based & print media reverse stings
- Materials provided to arrested johns about resources available in the community

Acquiring documents, and permission to disseminate them:

- Would you be able to send me a copy of any or all of these aforementioned documents?
 - Which of these materials could we include in an appendix to our report? If any, we will send you a permission form for you to complete and sign.
 - Which documents could we post on our Web site? [we will send permission form]
 - Which documents could we include in our Guide? [we will send permission form]

Acquiring statistics and/or data:

Please tell us about the existence and availability of data about or related to the program, such as:

- number of johns arrested (if not all johns are arrested)
- number of johns issued citations
- number of “Dear John” letters sent
- arrest and recidivism data
- court dispositions
 - dismissals, pled bargains, convictions, suspended sentences
- number of johns whose cars have been seized and forfeited
- number of SOAP orders issued

- number of SOAP order violations of orders
- citizen complaints about SOAP order violations
- number of johns assigned or sentenced to community service
- number of johns completing program
- fees collected for community service, court costs, supervision, john school, auto impound
- number of calls for service for prostitution-related complaints
- number of tips received via tip lines, hotlines
- number of participants in public education presentations
- readership levels of publications in which materials appear; web hits on equivalent websites
- requests for public education presentations
- number of community member who participate actively in neighborhood watch or action programs
- Statewide and/or local data on offender criminal histories
- mapping (e.g., of arrests, reverse stings, auto seizures, calls for service, SOAP order violations)

Are any of the above data tracked over time?

If so, how often are the measures taken, and when did the data series begin?

Who “owns” and/or controls access to the above data?

How are the data collected—is there a data management or management information system?

Which of the data sets would we be able to acquire?

- If any are accessible, what is the process for acquiring them?

5. Interest in Further Research & Evaluation on Local Programs

After this survey is completed, we will select at least 10 sites for case studies. The case studies will typically involve a member of our research staff visiting the community to:

- observe whatever program activities are publicly accessible (such as “ride alongs” on reverse stings and john school classes).
- collect program information and documents.
- hold discussions with staff to pursue program details not covered during the present survey, or that arise as we learn more from documents or observation.

Would you be interested in participating if your site is selected for a case study?

YES / NO

- Please note that this is not asking for a binding commitment. We are simply trying to gauge willingness to participate, and rule out those sites that are not interested in further participation. If you agree now, you are free to change your mind and discontinue at any time.

Also, if the National Institute of Justice or another agency were interested in funding an evaluation of your program, would you welcome it being evaluated?

YES / NO

- Again, please note that this is not asking for a binding commitment. We are simply trying to gauge willingness to participate, and rule out those sites that are not interested in further participation. There are now plans or funds in place now for an evaluation, so this question is hypothetical.
- Also, please consider that an evaluation would likely involve a site visit by researchers, compiling program information and documents, and perhaps collecting a significant amount of data about your program and the johns.

Thank you for taking the time to talk with me. The information you provided will be very helpful to us in producing a Guide and website, and in selecting sites for case studies.

If you have questions about the study or wish to add information, please feel free to contact me [_____ interviewer name] at [_____ interviewer phone number] or the project direct, Michael Shively, at (617) 349-3562.

III. Site Visit Protocol

Site Visit Observation Guidelines

These observation guidelines are designed to help site visitors pay attention to and record information about important activities for demand reduction programs that are amenable to observation:

- Reverse stings (street operations and web based)
- Physical separation programs (restraining orders or “stay-away” zones)
- Community service programs
- Neighborhood actions targeting johns (photographing cars; recording license plate numbers; patrols and reporting)
- Education programs (john schools)

The following guidelines are for observation; guidance on discussions and collection of program documents are addressed separately.

Street-Level Reverse Stings

In general, record what transpires. Observation will be guided by the following questions or prompts:

- How are the undercover officers dressed?
- Are the “decoy” officers armed (sidearm, pepper spray, baton, taser)?
- Do “decoy” officers carry handcuffs? radios?
- Where do the undercover officers position themselves?
- Are the officers wired?
- Do the undercover officers initiate conversation with the johns?
 - If so, what do they say?
 - If not, do they wait for the johns to initiate conversation?
- At what point does the arrest take place—e.g., what did the john say or do that triggered the arrest?
- What role does the support team of undercover officers (those in addition to the decoy) play during surveillance and arrests?
- What happens to the johns after they have been caught? Are they arrested, cited taken into custody?
 - If the johns are not arrested, what happens to them?
- Does the officer check for outstanding warrants?
 - If there are warrants, what happens? Are they arrested, or released and ordered to make contact with prosecutors?
- Is there a check for previous arrests for solicitation?
 - If there are, does that change what happens next (e.g., citation versus arrest)?
- Are the johns’ vehicles seized? If not, are they allowed to drive them home?

Web-Based Reverse Stings

In general, record what transpires. Observation will be guided by the following questions or prompts:

- Who is the person at the computer?
 - A sworn officer?
 - A civilian from the police department?
 - Other? _____
- Where does the decoy offer of sex for money appear on the Web (what website)?
- What does the decoy offer of sex for money say? (obtain a copy, if possible)
- What is the nature of the interchange that occurs, between police and potential john, and over what time period?
- Does the officer arrange a meeting with the john, to set up an arrest?
 - If so, how is the location selected?
 - If a hotel:
 - What prior arrangements are necessary and what agreements in place between police and hotel?
 - How many rooms are needed?
 - What traits to police look for? (e.g., adjoining rooms or suite)
 - Or, do police go to the john's location?
- How do the individuals (potential johns) describe themselves, so they can be identified by police at the sting location?
- How soon after the parties agree to meet is the rendezvous typically scheduled?
- Do the decoy and john develop a password or signal in advance of the meeting?
- Is a background check made for outstanding warrants before the rendezvous, when a potential john's identity is known?
- Is a background check made for previous arrests for solicitation before the rendezvous, when a potential john's identity is known?
- At what point is a decision made to make an arrest.
 - e.g., what did the john say or do that triggered the arrest?

Geographic Exclusion Zones or SOAP (Stay Away from Areas with Prostitution) Orders

Walk or drive around the entire area (assuming it appears safe). Take note of:

- Type of neighborhood—retail, commercial, office, residential, mixed use
- Amount of foot traffic
- Nature of pedestrians—appear to be tourists, shoppers, commuters, office workers
- Any signage indicating it is a stay-away zone
- The presence of any apparent prostitution and/or soliciting
- Compare area with maps or descriptions of exclusion zone

Community Service Programs

- What is the nature of the work the johns do?
- How do the johns arrive at places where service occurs?
 - Responsible for own transportation?
 - Program staff shuttle participants to areas where they will work?
- How does the supervisor take attendance?
- How late can a worker be in order for the supervisor to consider the person officially tardy?
 - How is the tardiness recorded?
 - What, if anything, does the supervisor say to the person who is late?
- To whom does the supervisor submit his or her report about the johns' attendance and performance?
- Do the johns appear to be doing the work properly, without prompts or threats?
- Do they appear to take the work seriously?
- What does the johns' attitude appear to be as they perform service?
 - E.g., cooperative? hostile? enthusiastic? depressed? resigned? sociable?
- Do others (workers, residents, business owners, passersby) appear to be aware of who the johns are?
 - If so, do they make comments to the johns or their supervisors?

Neighborhood Action Programs

- Where and how do neighbors assemble and patrol?
 - Is there a "briefing" session before it begins?
- How are the locations for observing or photographing determined?
 - What time is it when the observation or photographing begins?
- Are the neighbors observing alone, in pairs, or in groups?
- Are the neighbors observing for johns at specified times of the day or night, or are they taking photos/recording license plate numbers whenever they happen to see suspicious activity?
- Where are they stationed while observing
 - e.g., walking on the sidewalk, from store fronts?
- Do they make efforts to remain inconspicuous?
- Do they confront the johns?
 - Do any johns confront them?
 - Do prostitutes confront them?
 - E.g., whose customers they are driving away?
 - If so, what happens?
- What tips them off that that a car is being driven by a john?
- If in doubt, do they photograph/write down the license plate number anyway—or only if they have convincing evidence?
- How do they go about taking photographs?
 - surreptitiously from a cell phone? In the open? With instant film-developing cameras?
- How many photos of each car do they take?
- Do they focus on capturing the license plates, or driver's face?
- What equipment (e.g., note pads, forms, cameras, laptop computers) are the neighbors using?
- Is anyone "supervising" their activity?
- How do they report what they have seen?
 - By telephone? notepad? text messaging? e-mail?
 - When do they report and how often?

- Do others in the neighborhood show any reaction to the observation and photographing of johns' cars? Do the other people even know their neighbors are doing this?

“John School” Education or Treatment Programs

Date: ___/___/___

Number of Program Participants (johns): ____

List Observers Present (number and affiliation: e.g. media, other police department):

#	_____	Affiliation
___	_____	“ “
___	_____	“ “
___	_____	“ “

Record time registration began: __:__ AM
 Record time course began: __:__ AM
 Record times of lunch break: __:__ to __:__
 Record times of other breaks: __:__ to __:__
 __:__ to __:__
 __:__ to __:__
 __:__ to __:__
 __:__ to __:__
 Record time course ended: __:__ PM
 Record time course evaluation
 & post-class survey ended: __:__ PM

Was a class agenda distributed to participants? Yes / No
 Was a class agenda available for presenters & observers? Yes / No

Collect copy of agenda: ___ yes [check if collected]
 ___ no [check if no agenda was distributed]

[Note to observer: On this page is a guide for each of the topical areas/presentations within a john school class. If a john school has six curriculum elements or separate presentations, then six copies of this page would be taken to the observation and completed by the observer.]

Session # ___: _____ *[title of session]*

Time session began and ended: ___:___ to ___:___

Speaker Name: _____ **Position:**_____ **Affiliation:** _____

Modes of Communication

Lecture ___ Slides ___ Overheads ___
Q&A ___ Handouts ___ (*collect any handouts*)
Other _____

Content of Presentation [main points]

Qualitative Assessments of Presentation

- a. Clarity of presentation (organized, clearly articulated, etc.)

- b. Demeanor of presenter (volume, collaborative versus confrontational, attempt to engage audience in dialogue, etc.)

- c. Audience response
 - a. Did the audience ask questions?
[If so, how did the presenter respond to them?]

 - b. Did the audience appear attentive?

 - c. Were there overt signs of either acceptance or rejection of the presenter's message? [e.g., facial gestures, comments]

Other Observations [e.g., distractions in the classroom, deviations from curriculum, unexpected or noteworthy events]

**Appendix D. A Brief Discussion of Prostitution,
Sex Trafficking, and the Military**

A Brief Discussion of the Military and Demand for Commercial Sex

The forces that contribute to commercial sex are found in concentrated form when examining the historic relationship between the presence of the military and prostitution. A great deal of attention has been paid to the role of military personnel in fueling demand for prostitution and sex trafficking worldwide (e.g., Allred, 2006; Zimelis, 2009), throughout history and across the world (Capps, 2002; Jeffreys, 2007; Kane, 1993; Krick, 2002; Malarek, 2003; Malone et al., 1993; Moon, 2009; Ringdal, 2004). Where there is a large military presence, usually one finds prostitution in high concentrations (e.g., Daranciang, 2010; Stensland, 2008).¹ In the United States, for example, histories of civil war army camps discuss “travelling brothels” that follow troop movements (Krick, 2002). Contemporary reports describe the presence of thousands of U.S. military personnel near the border of North Korea as creating a robust market for commercial sex, and that women are trafficked from abroad to serve this market (e.g., Enriquez, 1996, 2005; Macintyre-Tongduchon, 2002; Malarek, 2002; O’Sullivan, 2004).

By the 19th and 20th centuries, the US military had taken some form of a stance against prostitution (e.g., Krick, 2002; Ringdal, 2004), but mostly to avoid infectious disease and other negative consequences for their armed forces, rather than a concern for women and girls in prostitution or an objection to the injustice of exploitation. U.S. war propaganda and basic training portrayed “promiscuous girls” and prostitutes as the war’s “third peril” (Ringdal, 2004). Until relatively recently, aside from the health risks, involvement in prostitution was often tolerated (if not encouraged) by military leaders, who viewed it as inevitable for robust, young, and single men, or even a healthy diversion and effective means of handling stress. Many have asserted that military establishments globally, including those of the United States, have (and perhaps still do, to some extent) tacitly approved of prostitution as a “diversion” or means of stress management (e.g., Parsons, 2005; Protection Project, 2005; Raymond, 2004; Ringdall, 2004; Talleyrand, 2000).

The role of the U.S. Military in Asia has received particular scrutiny. For example, Japanese and South Korean bars and nightclubs close to U.S. military bases attracts service members (e.g., Hughes et al., 2007; Moon, 1997; 2009), and play a role in domestic and international sex trafficking. Beginning during the Korea War, American servicemen have historically found easy access to prostitution, and several distinct kinds of prostitution involving military personnel as customers became institutionalized. Moon (1997) discusses camp towns whose economies are heavily

¹ To some extent, it may be unfair to focus on the military’s contribution to sexual exploitation, unless similar scrutiny is applied to other sectors. It may be that the critical factor in the historic correlation between military presence and prostitution is the concentration of young men in a largely single-sex environment, and not the military per se. Prostitution has been found to increase around large sporting events such as Super Bowls and soccer World Cups, and business conventions and areas catering to male business travelers. In these environments, the gender imbalance and period of time spent in gender segregated environments are far less than in military environments. That said, the observation that prostitution occurs with greater frequency in areas with a larger military presence is beyond dispute. We focus on it here not to malign the military, but as background information explaining recent, promising steps the U.S. Armed forces have taken to ameliorate the problem. It may be that the DOD is taking a leadership role, and their training on commercial sex can serve as a model for businesses and other sectors.

dependent upon what American servicemen spend in establishments featuring prostitution. Prostitution along the military zone adjacent to the North Korean border contain a lower strata of persons engaged as street prostitutes, to those working in bars and brothels, to a higher strata in which women serve a role as a “camp town wife” or domestic servant expected to provide sex.

“A standing army always contains a significant proportion of a nation’s most vigorous young men, at the phase of their lives when their sexual energy is at its peak. Soldiers live in a controlled environment, with few chances of social or emotional diversion... More than two thousand years of tradition had established as a quasi-scientific “fact” that soldiers need brothels and that the need increases as an Army switches over from passive readiness to active warfare. Discipline and the line of command are strengthened and stress factors expand exponentially. This accentuates the need for diversion among the soldiers, no matter how little free time they have.”

Nils Ringdal, Historian, 2004.

Establishments hosting prostitution that operate near military bases in South Korea are known as “juicy bars” (Rabiroff, 2010). The U.S. Forces Korea currently lists about 60 establishments as off-limits to service members because of prostitution and human-trafficking violations, but there are an estimated 200 juicy bars near U.S. bases (Rabiroff, 2010). Women working at these bars are given with the primary job of flirting with service members in hopes they will buy the women expensive juice drinks in exchange for their company. The bars make money on the sales of drinks. The women at such establishments are often Filipino and working without pay; if they fail to sell the quota of drinks, bar owners may force the women to prostitute themselves to costumers to pay off their “bar fine” (Zimelis, 2009., Rabrioff & Hae-Rym, 2009).

Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, in its report on South Korea (Protection Project, 2005), discussed the military’s influence on prostitution:

“In March 2002, Fox Television broadcasted an undercover investigative report documenting the participation of U.S. servicemen in the South Korean sex industry. U.S. Courtesy Patrol officers stationed near Camp Casey in Tonguch’on shared information with journalist Tom Merriman on the mechanisms used by traffickers to bring women into the country and even offered tips on how to barter for the services of prostitutes. All places of prostitution are off limits to military personnel in South Korea, but according to some, U.S. military commanders condone and even support visits to prostitutes by assigning Courtesy Patrol officers to the bars to facilitate safe access to commercial sex for the servicemen.”

Although solicitation of prostitution is an offense under article 134 of the U.S. Uniform Code of Military Justice, few U.S. servicemen have been prosecuted for this offense (Rowland, 2008). In May 2002, a U.S. senator and 12 members of Congress, alarmed by the Fox Television report, requested a Pentagon investigation into the U.S. military’s role in the trafficking of women and girls to South Korea. The Department of Defense concluded in a 2003 report that soldiers visiting brothels in South Korea may have facilitated sex trafficking in South Korea and surrounding countries (Protection Project, 2005). It has been widely speculated that although prostitution is illegal in South Korea, the

government has tolerated or played a role in allowing a prostitution industry to exist that is geared toward serving U.S. troops (Zimelis, 2009).

The 2010 U.S. State Department Trafficking in Persons Report references juicy bars and describes how U.S. military bases influence the location of prostitution establishments. Singers and bar workers recruited to work in bars near U.S. military bases were often trafficked for prostitution. Advocates in the fight against human trafficking hope the recent mention will spur the Korean government to enforce stricter laws about prostitution near military locations (Rabiroff, 2010).

In the past 10 years there are signs that prostitution and sex trafficking are being regarded as more serious problems, the U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) is taking steps² to ensure that the armed forces do not contribute to the problems (e.g., Casem, 2004; Jelinek, 2004). In 2004, the DOD launched a program to combat commercial sexual exploitation and human trafficking, and has strengthened their policies and established a training program that features educating personnel about the harms of prostitution.

² See article at <http://www.stripes.com/news/next-up-for-172nd-dealing-with-sadr-city-1.54000>, and U.S. Army and DOD materials at:

<http://www.combat-trafficking.army.mil/index.htm>

<http://www.combat-trafficking.army.mil/training.htm>

http://www.combat-trafficking.army.mil/documents/training/TIP_20Feb09.ppt

<http://www.dodig.mil/Inspections/IPO/combatinghuman.htm>

<http://ctip.defense.gov/>

Appendix E. U.S. Cities and Counties Employing Specific Anti-Demand Tactics, Listed by State

City or County	State	Rev. Sting	Web Sting	Shame	Cars	SOAP	Pub Ed	Neighb. Action	John School
Anchorage	AK	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆		
Palmer	AK	◆	◆						
Wasilla	AK	◆	◆						
Anniston	AL	◆							
Athens	AL	◆			◆				
Baldwin County	AL	◆							
Birmingham	AL	◆		◆	◆				
Daphne	AL	◆							
Decatur	AL	◆							
Dothan	AL	◆	◆	◆					
Foley	AL	◆							
Gadsden	AL	◆							
Gulf Shores	AL	◆							
Huntsville	AL	◆							
Jasper	AL	◆							
Mobile	AL	◆		◆					
Montgomery	AL	◆		◆					
Prichard	AL	◆		◆					
Tuscaloosa	AL	◆							
Tuscaloosa County	AL	◆		◆					
Bella Vista	AR	◆	◆						
Benton County	AR	◆	◆	◆					
Bentonville	AR	◆	◆	◆					
Fort Smith	AR	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆	◆	
Little Rock	AR	◆		◆					
Lowell	AR	◆		◆					
North Little Rock	AR	◆							
Pulaski County	AR	◆		◆					
Rogers	AR	◆	◆	◆					
Siloam Springs	AR	◆	◆						
Springdale	AR	◆							
Chandler	AZ	◆							
Glendale	AZ	◆							
Maricopa County	AZ	◆							
Mesa	AZ	◆	◆			◆			
Phoenix	AZ	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Prescott	AZ	◆	◆	◆					
Tucson	AZ	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆	◆	◆
Alameda County	CA	◆	◆						
Anaheim	CA	◆							
Antioch	CA	◆							
Bakersfield	CA	◆		◆					
Banning	CA	◆		◆					
Barstow	CA	◆							
Bay Point	CA	◆							
Bellflower	CA	◆							
Berkeley	CA	◆							
Beverly Hills	CA	◆							
Buena Park	CA	◆							
Castaic	CA	◆		◆					
Chula Vista	CA	◆							

City or County	State	Rev. Sting	Web Sting	Shame	Cars	SOAP	Pub Ed	Neighb. Action	John School
Concord	CA	◆	◆	◆					
Corona	CA	◆							
Costa Mesa	CA	◆		◆	◆				
Desert Hot Springs	CA	◆		◆				◆	
Downey	CA	◆							
El Cajon	CA	◆		◆	◆	◆	◆		
El Monte	CA	◆			◆				
Escondido	CA	◆		◆	◆				
Eureka	CA	◆	◆	◆					
Fairfield	CA	◆	◆	◆					
Fairview	CA	◆							
Fountain Valley	CA	◆							
Fremont	CA	◆	◆						
Fresno	CA	◆		◆		◆			◆
Fullerton	CA	◆	◆						
Garden Grove	CA	◆							
Gardena	CA	◆		◆					
Glendale	CA	◆	◆	◆			◆		
Hanford	CA	◆							
Hawthorne	CA	◆							
Hayward	CA	◆							
Hemet	CA	◆							
Huntington Beach	CA	◆							
Indio	CA	◆		◆					
Inglewood	CA	◆		◆	◆	◆			
Kern County	CA	◆	◆						
La Mesa	CA	◆		◆				◆	
Lake Elsinore	CA	◆			◆				
Lancaster	CA	◆			◆				
Lodi	CA	◆	◆		◆				
Long Beach	CA	◆	◆		◆		◆	◆	
Los Angeles	CA	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Lynwood	CA	◆							
Merced	CA	◆		◆					
Modesto	CA	◆		◆	◆				
Montclair	CA	◆							
Moreno Valley	CA	◆	◆						
Morgan Hill	CA	◆	◆	◆					
National City	CA	◆		◆	◆	◆	◆		
Oakland	CA	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆		
Oceanside	CA	◆	◆	◆		◆		◆	
Orange County	CA	◆	◆						
Oxnard	CA	◆		◆					
Pajaro	CA	◆							
Palm Springs	CA	◆							
Palmdale	CA	◆							
Palo Alto	CA	◆							
Pasadena	CA	◆			◆				
Pittsburg	CA	◆							
Pleasanton	CA	◆	◆						
Pomona	CA	◆	◆	◆					
Port Hueneme	CA	◆		◆					
Rancho Cordova	CA	◆							

City or County	State	Rev. Sting	Web Sting	Shame	Cars	SOAP	Pub Ed	Neighb. Action	John School
Redlands	CA	◆							
Richmond	CA	◆	◆		◆	◆	◆	◆	
Riverside	CA	◆	◆	◆	◆				
Riverside County	CA	◆	◆						
Roseville	CA	◆	◆						
Rubidoux	CA	◆							
Sacramento	CA	◆	◆	◆	◆			◆	
Sacramento County	CA	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆		◆	
Salinas	CA	◆		◆					
San Bernardino	CA	◆	◆	◆					
San Diego	CA	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆		◆
San Francisco	CA	◆	◆			◆	◆	◆	◆
San Jose	CA	◆	◆						
San Leandro	CA	◆	◆	◆					
San Lorenzo	CA	◆							
San Luis Obispo	CA	◆	◆	◆					
San Rafael	CA	◆		◆					
Santa Ana	CA	◆							
Santa Clara	CA	◆							
Santa Clarita	CA	◆							
Santa Cruz	CA	◆		◆				◆	
Santa Monica	CA	◆	◆			◆		◆	◆
Santa Rosa	CA	◆	◆	◆					
Siskiyou County	CA	◆	◆	◆					
Sonoma County	CA	◆							
Stanislaus County	CA	◆							
Stanton	CA	◆							
Stockton	CA	◆		◆	◆			◆	
Sylmar	CA	◆							
Tulare	CA	◆		◆					
Tulare County	CA	◆	◆	◆					
Tustin	CA	◆	◆	◆					
Vacaville	CA	◆	◆						
Vallejo	CA	◆		◆				◆	
Ventura	CA	◆			◆				
Visalia	CA	◆	◆	◆					
Walnut Creek	CA	◆		◆					
West Sacramento	CA	◆		◆					
Whittier	CA	◆							
Wilmington	CA	◆							
Buena Vista	CA	◆		◆					
Adams County	CO	◆		◆					
Arvada	CO	◆							
Aurora	CO	◆		◆					
Boulder	CO	◆		◆					
Colorado Springs	CO	◆							
Denver	CO	◆		◆	◆				◆
Englewood	CO	◆							
Fremont County	CO	◆	◆						
Lakewood	CO	◆	◆	◆					
Pueblo	CO	◆						◆	
Berlin	CT	◆		◆					
Bridgeport	CT	◆		◆	◆				

City or County	State	Rev. Sting	Web Sting	Shame	Cars	SOAP	Pub Ed	Neighb. Action	John School
Enfield	CT	◆							
Greenwich	CT	◆	◆						
Hartford	CT	◆		◆	◆				◆
Meriden	CT	◆							
Naugatuck	CT	◆	◆	◆					
New Britain	CT	◆		◆					
New Haven	CT	◆	◆	◆	◆			◆	
New London	CT	◆	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆	
Norwalk	CT	◆		◆					
Norwich	CT	◆		◆					
Vernon	CT	◆							
Waterbury	CT	◆		◆	◆				
Westport	CT	◆	◆	◆					
Willimantic	CT	◆		◆					
Washington	DC	◆	◆		◆	◆	◆		
Dover	DE	◆		◆					◆
Milltown	DE	◆		◆					
New Castle County	DE	◆		◆					
Ocean View	DE	◆							
Seaford	DE	◆							
Wilmington	DE	◆		◆					
Alachua County	FL	◆		◆					
Altamonte Springs	FL	◆	◆	◆					
Atlantic Beach	FL	◆		◆				◆	
Boca Raton	FL	◆	◆						
Bonita Springs	FL	◆	◆	◆					
Boynton Beach	FL	◆	◆	◆					
Bradenton	FL	◆			◆				
Brevard County	FL	◆							
Brooksville	FL	◆		◆	◆				
Broward County	FL	◆							
Brownsville	FL	◆							
Casselberry	FL	◆							
Clearwater	FL	◆	◆	◆		◆			
Clewiston	FL	◆	◆	◆					
Cocoa	FL	◆		◆					
Collier County	FL	◆		◆					
Coral Gables	FL	◆		◆					
Dania Beach	FL	◆							
Davenport	FL	◆							
Daytona Beach	FL	◆	◆	◆	◆			◆	
De Land	FL	◆		◆					
Delray Beach	FL	◆	◆	◆					
Escambia County	FL	◆		◆					
Fern Park	FL	◆							
Forsyth County	FL	◆							
Fort Lauderdale	FL	◆				◆			
Fort Myers	FL	◆	◆	◆					
Fort Pierce	FL	◆	◆	◆					
Fort Walton Beach	FL	◆	◆						
Gainesville	FL	◆	◆	◆	◆				
Greenacres	FL	◆							
Hillsborough County	FL	◆			◆				◆

City or County	State	Rev. Sting	Web Sting	Shame	Cars	SOAP	Pub Ed	Neighb. Action	John School
Holly Hill	FL	◆		◆					
Hollywood	FL	◆			◆				
Homestead	FL	◆							
Jacksonville	FL	◆	◆	◆					
Key West	FL	◆							
Kissimmee	FL	◆	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆	
Lake Worth	FL	◆		◆		◆			
Lakeland	FL	◆		◆					
Lantana	FL	◆							
Largo	FL	◆							
Lealman	FL	◆		◆					
Leesburg	FL	◆							
Manatee County	FL	◆	◆	◆		◆		◆	
Melbourne	FL	◆		◆					
Miami	FL	◆	◆		◆	◆	◆	◆	
Miami Beach	FL	◆							
Miami Shores	FL	◆							
Miami-Dade County	FL	◆							
New Port Richey	FL	◆		◆					
Newberry	FL	◆							
Ocala	FL	◆		◆					
Okaloosa County	FL	◆						◆	
Orange County	FL	◆		◆					
Orlando	FL	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆		
Osceola County	FL	◆		◆					
Palatka	FL	◆							
Palm Bay	FL	◆		◆					
Palm Beach	FL	◆							
Palm Beach County	FL	◆	◆						
Panama City	FL	◆		◆					
Pinellas County	FL	◆		◆				◆	◆
Pinellas Park	FL	◆		◆					
Plant City	FL	◆		◆					
Poinciana	FL	◆							
Polk County	FL	◆	◆	◆					
Pompano Beach	FL	◆							
Port Salerno	FL	◆		◆					
Port St. Lucie	FL	◆		◆					
Riviera Beach	FL	◆							
Sanford	FL	◆		◆		◆			
Sarasota	FL	◆							
Seminole County	FL	◆							
St. Augustine	FL	◆		◆					
St. Petersburg	FL	◆	◆	◆	◆				
Sunny Isles Beach	FL	◆							
Tallahassee	FL	◆	◆	◆		◆		◆	
Tampa	FL	◆	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆	◆
Vero Beach	FL	◆							
West Palm Beach	FL	◆		◆	◆	◆			◆
Winter Haven	FL	◆		◆					
Zephyrhills	FL	◆	◆	◆					
Albany	GA	◆		◆					
Athens	GA	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆	◆	

City or County	State	Rev. Sting	Web Sting	Shame	Cars	SOAP	Pub Ed	Neighb. Action	John School
Atlanta	GA	◆	◆	◆			◆	◆	
Brunswick	GA	◆		◆					
Clayton County	GA	◆					◆		
Columbia County	GA	◆	◆	◆					
Columbus	GA	◆							
DeKalb County	GA	◆							
Dougherty County	GA	◆							
Duluth	GA	◆	◆	◆					
Gainesville	GA	◆		◆					
Gwinnett County	GA	◆	◆						
Macon	GA	◆							
Norcross	GA	◆							
Pearson	GA	◆							
Savannah	GA	◆				◆			
Honolulu	HI	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆	◆	
Kauai County	HI	◆	◆						
Kihei	HI	◆	◆						
Lahaina	HI	◆							
Lihue	HI	◆	◆	◆					
Maui	HI	◆	◆	◆					
Wailuku	HI	◆	◆						
Cedar Rapids	IA	◆	◆						
Council Bluffs	IA	◆	◆	◆					
Davenport	IA	◆		◆					
Des Moines	IA	◆	◆	◆				◆	
Dubuque	IA	◆		◆					
Iowa City	IA	◆							
Sioux City	IA	◆							
Waterloo	IA	◆		◆					
West Des Moines	IA	◆	◆	◆					
Idaho Falls	ID	◆	◆						
Alton	IL	◆	◆	◆					
Aurora	IL	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Calumet City	IL	◆			◆			◆	
Champaign	IL	◆	◆						
Chicago	IL	◆	◆	◆			◆		◆
Chicago Heights	IL	◆		◆	◆				
Cicero	IL	◆		◆	◆				
Cook County	IL	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	
Danville	IL	◆			◆				
Decatur	IL	◆							
Downers Grove	IL	◆	◆	◆					
DuPage County	IL	◆	◆	◆					
East Hazel Crest	IL	◆	◆		◆				
Elgin	IL	◆		◆	◆				
Elmhurst	IL	◆	◆	◆					
Franklin Park	IL	◆							
Granite City	IL	◆	◆	◆	◆				
Harvey	IL	◆		◆	◆				
Joliet	IL	◆	◆	◆	◆				
Lake County	IL	◆							
Leyden Township	IL	◆		◆	◆				
Maywood	IL	◆							

City or County	State	Rev. Sting	Web Sting	Shame	Cars	SOAP	Pub Ed	Neighb. Action	John School
Oswego	IL	◆		◆					
Pekin	IL	◆	◆	◆					
Peoria	IL	◆		◆	◆		◆	◆	
Rockford	IL	◆		◆	◆			◆	
Schaumburg	IL	◆	◆	◆				◆	
Springfield	IL	◆		◆	◆			◆	
St. Charles	IL	◆	◆	◆					
Stickney	IL	◆							
Stone Park	IL	◆			◆			◆	
Waukegan	IL	◆		◆	◆				
Willowbrook	IL	◆	◆	◆					
Bloomington	IN	◆							
Elkhart	IN	◆		◆		◆	◆	◆	
Evansville	IN	◆						◆	
Fort Wayne	IN	◆			◆				
Hammond	IN	◆		◆					
Indianapolis	IN	◆	◆		◆	◆	◆		◆
Muncie	IN	◆		◆				◆	
South Bend	IN	◆			◆				◆
De Soto	KS	◆	◆						
Jackson County	KS	◆							◆
Johnson County	KS	◆	◆						
Junction City	KS	◆							
Kansas City	KS	◆	◆		◆	◆			
Lenexa	KS	◆	◆		◆		◆	◆	◆
Manhattan	KS	◆		◆					
Merriam	KS	◆	◆						
Overland Park	KS	◆	◆	◆					
Shawnee	KS	◆	◆						
Topeka	KS	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆	◆	
Wichita	KS	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆	◆	
Wyandotte County	KS	◆							◆
Ashland	KY	◆		◆					
Bowling Green	KY	◆		◆					
Covington	KY	◆	◆						
Harlan	KY	◆		◆		◆			
Lexington	KY	◆	◆					◆	
Louisville	KY	◆	◆						
Newport	KY	◆							
Alexandria	LA	◆		◆					
Baker	LA	◆	◆						
Baton Rouge	LA	◆		◆					
Bossier City	LA	◆	◆	◆					
E. Baton Rouge Parish	LA	◆		◆					
Houma	LA	◆		◆					
Kenner	LA	◆		◆					
Lafayette	LA	◆		◆		◆			
New Orleans	LA	◆							
Ouachita Parish	LA	◆		◆					
Shreveport	LA	◆	◆	◆					
St. Francisville	LA	◆	◆	◆					
St. Tammany Parish	LA	◆		◆					
Tillmans Corner	LA	◆		◆					

City or County	State	Rev. Sting	Web Sting	Shame	Cars	SOAP	Pub Ed	Neighb. Action	John School
Auburn	MA	◆							
Boston	MA	◆	◆	◆	◆				
Bridgewater	MA	◆	◆	◆					
Brockton	MA	◆		◆				◆	
Burlington	MA	◆	◆						
Cambridge	MA	◆							
Chelsea	MA	◆		◆					
East Bridgewater	MA	◆	◆	◆					
Fall River	MA	◆		◆					
Fitchburg	MA	◆		◆	◆		◆		
Hampden County	MA	◆							
Haverhill	MA	◆	◆	◆					
Holden	MA	◆	◆	◆					
Holyoke	MA	◆		◆					
Lawrence	MA	◆		◆					
Leominster	MA	◆							
Lowell	MA	◆		◆			◆	◆	
Ludlow	MA	◆							
Lynn	MA	◆		◆					
Methuen	MA	◆	◆	◆					
Milford	MA	◆	◆	◆					
Natick	MA	◆	◆	◆					
New Bedford	MA	◆		◆					
Pittsfield	MA	◆		◆					
Plymouth County	MA	◆	◆	◆					
Rockland	MA	◆	◆	◆	◆				
Seekonk	MA	◆	◆						
Springfield	MA	◆		◆					
Taunton	MA	◆	◆						
West Bridgewater	MA	◆	◆	◆					
Weymouth	MA	◆	◆	◆					
Worcester	MA	◆	◆	◆	◆		◆		◆
Aberdeen	MD	◆		◆					
Annapolis	MD	◆	◆	◆			◆	◆	
Anne Arundel County	MD	◆	◆	◆					
Baltimore	MD	◆					◆	◆	
Baltimore County	MD	◆							
Brooklyn Park	MD	◆							
Cambridge	MD	◆							
Easton	MD	◆		◆					
Elkridge	MD	◆		◆					
Frederick	MD	◆		◆					
Hagerstown	MD	◆		◆					
Howard County	MD	◆		◆			◆	◆	
Jessup	MD	◆							
Laurel	MD	◆		◆					
Lexington Park	MD	◆		◆					
Maryland City	MD	◆		◆					
Montgomery County	MD	◆	◆						
North Laurel	MD	◆		◆					
Salisbury	MD	◆		◆					
Savage	MD	◆							
St. Mary's County	MD	◆		◆					

City or County	State	Rev. Sting	Web Sting	Shame	Cars	SOAP	Pub Ed	Neighb. Action	John School
Lewiston	ME	◆		◆					
Portland	ME	◆	◆					◆	
Battle Creek	MI	◆			◆				
Clayton Township	MI	◆							
Detroit	MI	◆	◆	◆	◆				
Flint	MI	◆			◆			◆	
Genesee County	MI	◆	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆	
Grand Rapids	MI	◆							◆
Houghton	MI	◆							
Idlewild	MI	◆							
Kalamazoo	MI	◆		◆	◆				
Lansing	MI	◆			◆			◆	
Monroe County	MI	◆							
Mount Clemens	MI	◆			◆				
Pontiac	MI	◆		◆	◆				
Sault Ste. Marie	MI	◆		◆					
Warren	MI	◆		◆	◆				
Washtenaw County	MI	◆			◆				
Wayne County	MI	◆	◆						
Westland	MI	◆							
Ypsilanti	MI	◆			◆			◆	◆
Big Lake	MN	◆	◆	◆					
Burnsville	MN	◆	◆		◆		◆	◆	
Cloquet	MN	◆	◆						
Cottage Grove	MN	◆	◆	◆					
Dakota County	MN	◆							
Dodge County	MN	◆	◆	◆					
Duluth	MN	◆	◆	◆	◆				
Hermantown	MN	◆	◆						
Kasson	MN	◆	◆	◆					
Mantorville	MN	◆	◆	◆					
Minneapolis	MN	◆		◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Moorhead	MN	◆		◆			◆		
Olmsted County	MN	◆							◆
Richfield	MN	◆							
Rochester	MN	◆							
St. Paul	MN	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆
Winona	MN	◆	◆	◆	◆				
Woodbury	MN	◆	◆	◆					
Cass County	MO	◆	◆						
Clay County	MO	◆	◆						
Independence	MO	◆	◆						
Jackson County	MO	◆	◆						
Kansas City	MO	◆	◆	◆			◆		◆
Platte City	MO	◆							
Platte County	MO	◆	◆						
Springfield	MO	◆							
St. Louis	MO	◆							
Gulfport	MS	◆		◆					
Hattiesburg	MS	◆		◆					
Jackson	MS	◆		◆					
Pascagoula	MS	◆		◆					
Southaven	MS	◆	◆	◆					

City or County	State	Rev. Sting	Web Sting	Shame	Cars	SOAP	Pub Ed	Neighb. Action	John School
Waynesboro	MS	◆							
Billings	MT	◆	◆	◆					
Missoula	MT	◆	◆	◆					
Asheville	NC	◆	◆	◆			◆	◆	
Burlington	NC	◆		◆					
Charlotte	NC	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆			◆
Concord	NC	◆		◆					
Cumberland County	NC	◆		◆					
Durham	NC	◆	◆	◆					
Elizabeth City	NC	◆							
Fayetteville	NC	◆		◆					
Gastonia	NC	◆							
Goldsboro	NC	◆							
Greensboro	NC	◆							
Guilford County	NC	◆							
Henderson	NC	◆		◆					
Hendersonville	NC	◆		◆					
Hickory	NC	◆		◆					
High Point	NC	◆	◆	◆					
Lumberton	NC	◆		◆					
Monroe	NC	◆		◆		◆		◆	
New Hanover County	NC	◆		◆					◆
Raleigh	NC	◆		◆			◆		
Randleman	NC	◆	◆						
Richmond County	NC	◆		◆					
Rockingham	NC	◆	◆	◆		◆			
Rocky Mount	NC	◆							
Waynesville	NC	◆	◆	◆					
Wilmington	NC	◆							◆
Wilson	NC	◆		◆					
Winston-Salem	NC	◆							◆
Fargo	ND	◆	◆	◆			◆		
Lincoln	NE	◆	◆	◆					
Omaha	NE	◆	◆	◆				◆	◆
Bedford	NH	◆		◆					
Kingston	NH	◆	◆						
Manchester	NH	◆		◆		◆		◆	
Nashua	NH	◆	◆	◆					
Portsmouth	NH	◆	◆	◆					
Asbury Park	NJ	◆		◆					
Atlantic City	NJ	◆		◆	◆				
Bridgeton	NJ	◆		◆					
Camden	NJ	◆		◆					
Edison	NJ	◆	◆	◆					
Irvington	NJ	◆							
Jersey City	NJ	◆			◆				
Lakehurst	NJ	◆		◆					
Millville	NJ	◆		◆					
Morris Township	NJ	◆							
New Brunswick	NJ	◆		◆					
Newark	NJ	◆		◆					
Paramus	NJ	◆							
Passaic	NJ	◆							

City or County	State	Rev. Sting	Web Sting	Shame	Cars	SOAP	Pub Ed	Neighb. Action	John School
Paterson	NJ	◆		◆					
Plainfield	NJ	◆		◆					
Trenton	NJ	◆		◆					
Vernon	NJ	◆							
Vineland	NJ	◆		◆					
Albuquerque	NM	◆	◆					◆	
Las Vegas	NV	◆	◆			◆	◆	◆	◆
Reno	NV	◆	◆	◆		◆			
Albany	NY	◆	◆	◆					
Bay Shore	NY	◆		◆					
Bellport	NY	◆		◆					
Binghamton	NY	◆	◆	◆				◆	
Bronx County	NY	◆							
Brooklyn	NY	◆		◆	◆			◆	◆
Broome County	NY	◆		◆					
Buffalo	NY	◆		◆					◆
Coram	NY	◆		◆					
Elmsford	NY	◆	◆	◆					
Erie County	NY	◆						◆	◆
Gordon Heights	NY	◆						◆	
Greenburgh	NY	◆	◆	◆					
Hempstead	NY	◆							
Holtsville	NY	◆							
Huntington	NY	◆							
Islandia	NY	◆							
Kingston	NY	◆	◆	◆					
Mahopac	NY	◆		◆					
Mastic	NY	◆		◆					
Middletown	NY	◆		◆					
Mount Vernon	NY	◆		◆	◆				
Nassau	NY	◆		◆					
Nassau County	NY	◆	◆						
New York	NY	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆			
Newburgh	NY	◆		◆					◆
North Amityville	NY	◆							
North Bellport	NY	◆		◆					
Orange County	NY	◆							◆
Peekskill	NY	◆		◆					
Poughkeepsie	NY	◆		◆					
Queens	NY	◆							
Queens County	NY	◆							
Riverhead	NY	◆		◆					
Rochester	NY	◆		◆	◆		◆	◆	◆
Rye	NY	◆	◆	◆					
Rye Brook	NY	◆	◆	◆					
Schenectady	NY	◆		◆					
Shirley	NY	◆		◆					
Southampton	NY	◆		◆					
Southeast	NY	◆							
Spring Valley	NY	◆		◆	◆				
Staten Island	NY	◆		◆					
Suffolk County	NY	◆		◆					
Syracuse	NY	◆	◆	◆				◆	

City or County	State	Rev. Sting	Web Sting	Shame	Cars	SOAP	Pub Ed	Neighb. Action	John School
Troy	NY	◆		◆					
Ulster County	NY	◆							
Utica	NY	◆		◆					
West Babylon	NY	◆		◆					
West New York	NY	◆							
Westchester County	NY	◆	◆	◆					
White Plains	NY	◆		◆					
Wyandanch	NY	◆						◆	
Akron	OH	◆		◆	◆			◆	
Ashtabula	OH	◆		◆					
Blue Ash	OH	◆	◆	◆					
Bowling Green	OH	◆	◆	◆					
Brook Park	OH	◆							
Canton	OH	◆	◆	◆	◆				
Cincinnati	OH	◆		◆	◆			◆	◆
Cleveland	OH	◆						◆	
Columbus	OH	◆	◆				◆	◆	◆
Dayton	OH	◆	◆	◆			◆	◆	◆
Hamilton	OH	◆		◆	◆				
Harrison	OH	◆							
Lima	OH	◆							
Lorain	OH	◆							
Mansfield	OH	◆		◆					
Middletown	OH	◆		◆					
North Baltimore	OH	◆		◆					
Norwalk	OH	◆	◆	◆					
Painesville	OH	◆							
Portsmouth	OH	◆							
Ravenna	OH	◆		◆					
Sharonville	OH	◆	◆	◆					
Steubenville	OH	◆		◆				◆	
Toledo	OH	◆	◆	◆	◆		◆		◆
Warren	OH	◆		◆				◆	
Wauseon	OH	◆	◆	◆					
Youngstown	OH	◆		◆					
Zanesville	OH	◆		◆					
Broken Arrow	OK	◆	◆	◆					
Midwest Ctiy	OK	◆	◆	◆					
Oklahoma City	OK	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Tulsa	OK	◆	◆			◆			
Ashland	OR	◆	◆						
Eugene	OR	◆							
Hillsboro	OR	◆		◆					
Lincoln City	OR	◆	◆	◆					
Marion County	OR	◆							
Medford	OR	◆	◆	◆					
Portland	OR	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Salem	OR	◆		◆		◆			
Springfield	OR	◆							
Tigard	OR	◆	◆						
Aliquippa	PA	◆							
Allentown	PA	◆		◆					
Arnold	PA	◆		◆					

City or County	State	Rev. Sting	Web Sting	Shame	Cars	SOAP	Pub Ed	Neighb. Action	John School
Beaver Falls	PA	◆		◆		◆		◆	
Bensalem Township	PA	◆	◆						
Berks County	PA	◆	◆	◆					
Bethlehem	PA	◆		◆					
Bristol	PA	◆		◆					
Brookville	PA	◆		◆					
Carlisle	PA	◆							
Chester	PA	◆		◆					
Clairton	PA	◆		◆					
Coatesville	PA	◆		◆					
Cumberland County	PA	◆							
Easton	PA	◆		◆	◆			◆	
Erie	PA	◆							
Harrisburg	PA	◆	◆	◆	◆			◆	
Lancaster	PA	◆		◆					
McKeesport	PA	◆		◆					
Middlesex Township	PA	◆							
Moon	PA	◆							
New Castle	PA	◆		◆					
Philadelphia	PA	◆		◆					
Pittsburgh	PA	◆		◆					◆
Reading	PA	◆	◆	◆			◆		
Scranton	PA	◆		◆				◆	
Susquehanna Township	PA	◆	◆	◆					
Swatara Township	PA	◆	◆	◆					
Uniontown	PA	◆							
Washington	PA	◆		◆					
Wilkes-Barre	PA	◆		◆		◆			
York	PA	◆		◆	◆				
Central Falls	RI	◆		◆	◆				
Johnston	RI	◆		◆					
Middletown	RI	◆							
Pawtucket	RI	◆		◆			◆	◆	
Providence	RI	◆		◆					
Warwick	RI	◆	◆						
Woonsocket	RI	◆		◆					
Aiken County	SC	◆		◆					
Anderson	SC	◆							
Charleston	SC	◆		◆	◆				
Columbia	SC	◆							
Darlington County	SC	◆		◆					
Florence	SC	◆	◆	◆					
Greenville	SC	◆		◆					
Greenville County	SC	◆		◆					
Greer	SC	◆		◆					
Hartsville	SC	◆		◆					
Horry County	SC	◆	◆	◆		◆		◆	
Loris	SC	◆		◆					
Mauldin	SC	◆	◆						
Myrtle Beach	SC	◆		◆					
North Charleston	SC	◆		◆					
North Fort Myers	SC	◆		◆					
Richland County	SC	◆							

City or County	State	Rev. Sting	Web Sting	Shame	Cars	SOAP	Pub Ed	Neighb. Action	John School
Seneca	SC	◆		◆					
Spartanburg	SC	◆							
Spartanburg County	SC	◆		◆					
Springdale	SC	◆		◆					
Sumter	SC	◆		◆					
Rapid City	SD	◆							
Bristol	TN	◆		◆					
Chattanooga	TN	◆	◆	◆				◆	
Coffee County	TN	◆	◆	◆				◆	
Cookeville	TN	◆		◆					
Gallatin	TN	◆							
Jackson	TN	◆		◆				◆	
Johnson City	TN	◆	◆						
Kingsport	TN	◆	◆	◆	◆			◆	
Knoxville	TN	◆	◆	◆		◆		◆	
Memphis	TN	◆	◆	◆	◆			◆	
Nashville	TN	◆	◆	◆		◆			◆
Springfield	TN	◆		◆	◆		◆	◆	
Abilene	TX	◆		◆			◆	◆	
Arlington	TX	◆	◆	◆		◆		◆	
Austin	TX	◆		◆				◆	
Bay City	TX	◆							
Beaumont	TX	◆							
Brownsville	TX	◆		◆					
Bryan	TX	◆		◆					
Conroe	TX	◆		◆					
Corpus Christi	TX	◆	◆	◆		◆		◆	
Dallas	TX	◆	◆	◆	◆			◆	◆
Dallas County	TX	◆							
Dickinson	TX	◆		◆					
El Paso	TX	◆	◆	◆			◆	◆	
El Paso County	TX	◆		◆					
Fort Worth	TX	◆	◆	◆			◆		
Galveston	TX	◆		◆					
Harlingen	TX	◆		◆					
Harris County	TX	◆							
Horizon City	TX	◆		◆					
Houston	TX	◆		◆					
Irving	TX	◆							
Killeen	TX	◆		◆					
Laredo	TX	◆		◆					
Liberty	TX	◆		◆					
Longview	TX	◆		◆	◆				
Lubbock	TX	◆	◆						
Lufkin	TX	◆						◆	
McAllen	TX	◆		◆					
Midland	TX	◆							
Odessa	TX	◆		◆					
Pantego	TX	◆							
Port Arthur	TX	◆							
San Antonio	TX	◆	◆	◆		◆			
Temple	TX	◆		◆				◆	
Texarkana	TX	◆		◆					

City or County	State	Rev. Sting	Web Sting	Shame	Cars	SOAP	Pub Ed	Neighb. Action	John School
Texas City	TX	◆							
Travis County	TX	◆	◆		◆		◆	◆	
Waco	TX	◆		◆		◆			◆
Cedar City	UT	◆	◆	◆					
Layton	UT	◆	◆	◆		◆			
Midvale	UT	◆	◆						
Ogden	UT	◆	◆						
Orem	UT	◆	◆						
Provo	UT	◆	◆						
Salt Lake City	UT	◆	◆						◆
Salt Lake County	UT	◆							◆
Sandy	UT	◆	◆						
South Salt Lake	UT	◆							
St. George	UT	◆	◆	◆					
Alexandria	VA	◆	◆		◆			◆	
Charlottesville	VA	◆							
Chesapeake	VA	◆		◆					
Chesterfield County	VA	◆	◆	◆					
Fairfax	VA	◆							
Falls Church	VA	◆	◆						
Fredericksburg	VA	◆		◆					
Hampton	VA	◆	◆	◆	◆				
Henrico County	VA	◆		◆					
Loudon County	VA	◆	◆	◆					
Lynchburg	VA	◆							
Mount Vernon	VA	◆		◆					
Newport News	VA	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆
Norfolk	VA	◆	◆					◆	◆
Petersburg	VA	◆				◆			
Portsmouth	VA	◆							
Prince William County	VA	◆							
Richmond	VA	◆		◆		◆			
Roanoke	VA	◆	◆		◆	◆	◆	◆	
Stafford County	VA	◆		◆					
Sterling	VA	◆	◆	◆					
Suffolk	VA	◆	◆	◆					
Tysons Corner	VA	◆							
Virginia Beach	VA	◆							
Bellingham	WA	◆		◆					
Bremerton	WA	◆		◆		◆			
Des Moines	WA	◆	◆			◆			
Everett	WA	◆	◆			◆		◆	◆
Federal Way	WA	◆	◆			◆			
Fife	WA	◆				◆			◆
Kent	WA	◆	◆		◆	◆	◆	◆	
King County	WA	◆				◆			
Lake Forest Park	WA	◆				◆			
Lakewood	WA	◆				◆			◆
Lewis County	WA	◆	◆	◆					
Lynnwood	WA	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆		
Pasco	WA	◆		◆					
Pierce County	WA	◆	◆		◆	◆		◆	◆
Renton	WA	◆							

City or County	State	Rev. Sting	Web Sting	Shame	Cars	SOAP	Pub Ed	Neighb. Action	John School
SeaTac	WA	◆	◆			◆			
Seattle	WA	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆		◆	◆
Snohomish County	WA	◆				◆			
Spokane	WA	◆		◆			◆		
Tacoma	WA	◆	◆			◆	◆	◆	◆
Tukwila	WA	◆	◆			◆			
Wenatchee	WA	◆	◆						
Yakima	WA	◆							
Appleton	WI	◆		◆					
Howards Grove	WI	◆	◆	◆					
Lake Delton	WI	◆	◆						
Madison	WI	◆		◆			◆		◆
Milwaukee	WI	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆		◆	
Racine	WI	◆		◆	◆			◆	
Wauwatosa	WI	◆	◆	◆					
Wisconsin Dells	WI	◆	◆	◆					
Beckley	WV	◆	◆	◆			◆		
Bluefield	WV	◆		◆					
Charleston	WV	◆		◆					
Fairmont	WV	◆		◆					
Huntington	WV	◆		◆					
Jefferson	WV	◆							
Kanawha County	WV	◆							
Princeton	WV	◆		◆					
Weirton	WV	◆	◆	◆					
Wheeling	WV	◆		◆					
Casper	WY	◆	◆	◆					

Appendix F. Sample English and Spanish “Dear John” Letters

[Sample Letter Sent to Registered Owner of Vehicles Seen in Areas Known for
Street Prostitution]

RALEIGH POLICE DEPARTMENT

Jane Perlov, Chief of Police

110 S. McDowell Street
P.O. Box 590
Raleigh, North Carolina 27602

[DATE]
[FIRST_NAME] [LAST_NAME]
[ADDRESS_1] [ADDRESS_2]
[CITY], [STATE] [ZIP_CODE]

Dear Mr./Ms. [LAST_NAME]:

On [DATE] at approximately [TIME], a [MAKE] [MODEL] registered in your name with North Carolina license plate [LICENSE_PLATE] was observed at [STREET_BLOCK], which is an area where residents have expressed concerns about crimes that affect their quality of life, including prostitution and drug dealing. The police department is actively addressing these chronic problems in the community through surveillance, patrols, and Neighborhood Watch programs. For the public's safety, we encourage everyone to be aware of his or her surroundings and to report any suspicious activity to 911. If you no longer own the above vehicle or if this notice was sent in error, please disregard it.

The Raleigh Police Department is working closely with citizens to improve the quality of life in our neighborhoods. If you have any questions or would like more information about our efforts to reduce crime, fear and disorder in Raleigh, please call Captain Al White, District 24 Commander, at (919) 857-4455.

Sincerely,

Chief Jane Perlov

Source: Raleigh Police Department's Operation Dragnet - 6/28/06 26

RALEIGH POLICE DEPARTMENT

Jane Perlov, Chief of Police
110 S. McDowell Street
P.O. Box 590
Raleigh, North Carolina 27602

[DATE]
[FIRST_NAME] [LAST_NAME]
[ADDRESS_1] [ADDRESS_2]
[CITY], [STATE] [ZIP_CODE]

Estimado/a Sr./Sra. [LAST_NAME]:

El [FECHA], aproximadamente a la(s) [TIME], un [MAKE] [MODEL] registrado bajo su nombre, con placa de Carolina del Norte [LICENSE_PLATE] fue visto en [STREET_BLOCK], la cual es una área cuyos residentes han expresado preocupación por los crímenes que afectan su calidad de vida, incluyendo prostitución y tráfico de drogas. El departamento de policía está atacando activamente éste problema crónico en la comunidad, a través de vigilancia, patrullaje, y el programa de Vigilancia Comunitaria.

Por razones de seguridad pública, estamos recomendándole a todos, de que estén conscientes de sus alrededores, y de reportar cualquier actividad sospechosa al 911. Por favor descarte ésta carta, si usted ya no es dueño de éste vehículo, o si ésta carta fue enviada por error.

El Departamento de Policía de Raleigh está trabajando muy de cerca con los ciudadanos para mejorar la calidad de vida en nuestros vecindarios. Si usted tiene alguna pregunta, o si le gustase obtener mas información acerca de nuestros esfuerzos para reducir el crimen, el temor y el desorden en Raleigh, por favor comuníquese con el Capitán Al White, Comandante del Distrito 24, al (919) 857-4455.

Sinceramente,

Chief Jane Perlov
Jefe de la Policía de Raleigh

(Source: Raleigh Police Department's Operation Dragnet - 6/28/06)

**Appendix G. Portland Prostitution Exclusion
Zone Ordinance**

Portland, Oregon Prostitution-Free Zone City Ordinance

Source: <http://www.portlandonline.com/Auditor/index.cfm?c=28528>

Chapter 14B.30 Prostitution-Free Zones

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-Note

(Replaced by Ordinance No. 179996, effective April 14, 2006)

14B.30.010 Prostitution-Free Zones.

A. For the purposes of this chapter, the following definitions apply:

1. Arrest: to place a person under actual or constructive restraint or to take a person into custody for the purpose of charging that person with an offense.

2. Essential needs: food, physical care, and medical attention.

3. Reside: to occupy one's principal dwelling; including transient occupancy in a hotel or motel.

4. Travel: the movement on foot or within or upon a vehicle within a prostitution-free zone from one point to another without delay other than to obey traffic control devices.

B. Prostitution-free zones are those areas of the City as designated by the City Council under Chapter 14B.30 of this Code, which are areas where the number of arrests where there was probable cause to believe a person has committed any of the offenses enumerated in Section 14B.30.030 for a twelve (12) month period within the eighteen (18) months preceding its designation is significantly higher than that for other similarly sized geographic areas of the City that are not located within a prostitution-free zone.

14B.30.020 Designation of Prostitution-Free Zones.

(Amended by Ordinance No. 180885, effective April 11, 2007.)

A. If the City Council designates an area meeting the criteria of Section 14B.30.010 of this Code to be a prostitution-free zone, Council shall do so by ordinance. The designation shall be valid for a period of three (3) years.

B. The office of the Chief of Police of the Portland Police Bureau is directed to report to City Council at least ninety (90) days before the end of the period referred to in section 14B.30.020 A., as to whether there is a need to re-configure the prostitution-free zones enumerated in 14B.30.070.

C. This Chapter, and the procedures and exercise of exclusion authority it contains, are valid until September 30, 2007.

D. The office of the Chief of Police of the Portland Police Bureau is directed to report to City Council at least ninety (90) days before the expiration of this Chapter as to whether there is a need to re-authorize this Chapter.

14B.30.030 Civil Exclusions.

A. A person is subject to exclusion under the process described in this chapter for a period of ninety (90) days from any public right of way and park within a prostitution-free zone designated in Code Chapter 14B.30 if that person has been arrested and either cited to appear in court for charging or lodged in jail for presentation to a magistrate for charging based upon probable cause to believe that the person has committed any of the following offenses within that prostitution-free zone, unless the offense was committed entirely within a private residence:

1. Attempted prostitution, in violation of ORS 161.405;
2. Prostitution, in violation of ORS 167.007;
3. Attempted promoting prostitution, in violation of ORS 161.405;
4. Promoting prostitution, in violation of ORS 167.012;
5. Attempted compelling prostitution, in violation of ORS 161.405;
6. Compelling prostitution, in violation of ORS 167.017;
7. Loitering to solicit prostitution, in violation of Portland City Code 14A.40.040; or
8. Unlawful prostitution procurement activity, in violation of Portland City Code 14A.40.050.

B. A one (1) year exclusion from any public right of way and park within a prostitution-free zone shall take effect upon the day after conviction for any of the offenses enumerated in Subsection A. of this Section if that offense was committed within that prostitution-free zone and the person was both given notice prior to the exclusion that the City would impose a one-year exclusion upon conviction and notified of the right of appeal and the process for initiating an appeal.

C. A person excluded from a prostitution-free zone under authority of this Section may not enter that prostitution-free zone except to travel to and from and be present at the events and locations listed below:

1. Attend a meeting with an attorney;
2. Attend a scheduled initial interview with a social service provider;

3. Comply with court-or corrections-ordered obligations;
 4. Contact criminal justice personnel at a criminal justice facility;
 5. Attend any administrative or judicial hearing relating to an appeal of:
 - a. the person's notice of exclusion; or
 - b. the denial, revocation, or amendment of the person's variance;
 6. Travel through that prostitution-free zone on a Tri-Met vehicle;
 7. Travel through that prostitution-free zone on the I-5, I-84, I-205 or I-405 freeways within its boundaries;
 8. Reside in a dwelling or facility;
 9. Satisfy, or attempt to satisfy an essential need by accessing a public or private place that provides an essential need or service when the essential need cannot reasonably be satisfied by the excluded person without entering the prostitution-free zone;
 10. Obtain social services when:
 - a. the excluded person is in need of social services;
 - b. the social services are sought for reasons relating to the health or well-being of the excluded person; and
 - c. the social services agency has written rules and regulations prohibiting the unlawful use and sale of controlled substances by their clients.
 11. Obtain education by:
 - a. Enrolling as a student at an educational facility; or
 - b. Attending school at an educational facility.
 12. Work as the owner, principal, agent or employee at a place of lawful employment;
 13. Perform work directly related to lawful employment;
 14. Be present at any place or event as specified by a variance issued by the Chief of Police or designee pursuant to 14B.30.060 B.
- D.** An exclusion is valid only if the person to be excluded received actual notice of the exclusion as required by 14B.30.050; including notice of the limitations of the exclusion contained in 14B.30.020.

14B.30.035 Violation of an exclusion - penalties.

A. It is unlawful for a person to enter or remain in a prostitution-free zone in violation of an exclusion imposed pursuant to this Code. For violation of this subsection, a court may impose a fine of no more than \$500 or imprisonment of no more than 30 days, or both.

B. A person who enters or remains in a prostitution-free zone in violation of an exclusion issued pursuant to this Code is subject to arrest for Criminal Trespass (ORS 164.245).

14B.30.040 Issuance of Exclusion Notices.

The Chief of Police and/or designees are the persons in charge of the public rights of way and parks in the prostitution-free zones for purposes of issuing notices of exclusion in accordance with this Chapter.

14B.30.050 Procedure.

A. If a person is arrested and either cited to appear in court for charging or lodged in jail for presentation to a magistrate for charging based upon probable cause to believe that the person has committed any of the offenses enumerated in Subsection 14B.30.030 A. within a prostitution-free zone, the Chief of Police and/or designees may exclude that person from that prostitution-free zones. Every person excluded shall be provided a notice of exclusion and variances substantially similar to Exhibit C attached to Ordinance No.179996. Additions to the notice of exclusion that increase the scope of the exclusion from that described in Exhibit C render the notice and the exclusion invalid.

B. At the time a person is issued a notice of exclusion from a prostitution-free zone, the Chief of Police and/or designees may discuss with the excluded person whether the person has a plausible need for a variance and may issue a variance pursuant to the process described in 14B.30.060 B.

C. The notice of exclusion shall be in writing and a copy delivered to the excluded person. The notice of exclusion shall include the following:

- 1.** A description of the area designated as a prostitution-free zone in Section 14B.30.070 from which that person is excluded;
- 2.** Information concerning the right to appeal the exclusion to the Code Hearings Officer as provided in Chapter 22.10 of this Code; and
- 3.** Notice that conviction of the offense for which the person was arrested and excluded will result in a one-year exclusion and information concerning the right to appeal a conviction-based exclusion to the Code Hearings Officer as provided in Chapter 22.10 of this Code.

14B.30.060 Appeal, Review and Variances.

A. A ninety (90) day exclusion shall take effect at 12:01 on the 22nd calendar day following issuance of the notice of exclusion if the person issued the notice of exclusion has not filed an appeal as provided in this Chapter and a Code Hearings Officer has reviewed a police report documenting the exclusion notice and has found that the report presents credible evidence that supports probable cause to believe the person:

- 1.** committed any of the offenses enumerated in Subsection A of Section 14B.30.030, and ;
- 2.** received the notice required by 14B.30.050 A.

B. If a person issued a notice of exclusion files an appeal as provided in this chapter, imposition of a ninety (90) day exclusion shall be stayed pending a final, enforceable decision upholding the exclusion.

C. APPEAL. A person to whom a notice of exclusion is issued shall have a right to appeal as follows:

- 1.** Appeals shall be made to the Code Hearings Officer of the City of Portland. Any hearings regarding such appeals shall be conducted in accordance with Chapter 22.10 of this Code.
- 2.** Copies of documents in the City's control which are intended to be used at the hearing shall be made available, upon request, to the appellant.

- 3.** An appeal of a ninety (90) day notice of exclusion must be filed, in writing, by 5:00 p.m. of the fifteenth calendar day following issuance of the notice of exclusion.
- 4.** An appeal of a one (1) year conviction-based exclusion must be filed, in writing, by 5:00 p.m. of the fifth business day following the date of conviction.
- 5.** An appeal of:
 - a.** a denial of a request for a variance; or
 - b.** a denial of a request for an amendment to a variance; or
 - c.** a revocation or amendment of a variance must be filed, in writing, by 5:00 p.m. of the fifth business day following the action regarding the variance.
- 6.** A ninety (90) day exclusion shall not take effect during the time that an appeal of the ninety (90) day exclusion is pending.
- 7.** A one (1) year conviction-based exclusion shall take effect at 12:01 a.m. on the calendar day following the date of conviction and, notwithstanding an appeal of the exclusion, shall remain in effect unless the Code Hearings Officer issues a contrary decision.
- 8.** At the hearing on an appeal of a ninety (90) day exclusion, the City shall have the burden to show by a preponderance of the evidence that the appellant committed any of the offenses enumerated in Subsection 14B.30.030 A., and that the conduct supporting the exclusion occurred within a prostitution-free zone.
- 9.** At the hearing on an appeal of a one (1) year conviction-based exclusion, the City shall have the burden to show by a preponderance of the evidence that the appellant was convicted of any of the offenses enumerated in Subsection 14B.30.030 A., and that the conduct supporting the conviction occurred within a prostitution-free zone.
- 10.** At the hearing on an appeal of a denial of a request for a variance as provided in 14B.30.060 C.5.a., the City shall have the burden to show by a preponderance of the evidence that the denial was in accordance with this Section.
- 11.** At the hearing on an appeal of a denial of a request for an amendment to a variance as provided in 14B.30.060 C.5.b., the City shall have the burden to show by a preponderance of the evidence that the amendment was in accordance with this section.
- 12.** At the hearing on an appeal of a revocation or amendment of a variance as provided in 14B.30.060 C.5.c., the City shall have the burden to show by a preponderance of the evidence that any of the conditions enumerated in this Section supporting revocation or amendment existed at the time of revocation or amendment.
- 13.** At the hearing on an appeal of a ninety (90) day exclusion, the following shall be prima facie evidence that the exclusion was based on probable cause to believe that the appellant committed any of the offenses enumerated in Subsection 14B.30.030 A.:
 - a.** A determination by a court having jurisdiction over the offense that forms the basis for the exclusion, that probable cause existed to arrest the person to whom the initial ninety (90) day notice of exclusion was issued for violation of any of the offenses enumerated in Subsection 14B.30.030 A.; or
 - b.** An accusatory instrument charging the person to whom a ninety (90) day notice of exclusion was issued, for violation of any of the offenses enumerated in Subsection 14B.30.030 A.

14. At the hearing on an appeal of a one (1) year conviction-based exclusion, a judgment of conviction for any of the offenses that formed the basis for the exclusion, as enumerated in Subsection 14B.30.030 A., shall be conclusive evidence that the described conduct occurred but, absent a finding of fact by the court of conviction, is not conclusive evidence that the conduct occurred in a prostitution-free zone.

D. VARIANCES. Variances modify an exclusion, and shall be granted, denied, amended, or revoked in accordance with the following provisions:

1. All variances shall be in writing and shall state the purpose for which they are granted and the period of time during which they are effective. A variance that does not describe its period of effectiveness is effective for the duration of the exclusion. A variance allows relief from an exclusion only for travel to and from specified locations, activities or events, and presence at specified locations, activities and events within a prostitution-free zone.

2. All Police Bureau Precincts shall receive and process requests for Drug-Free or Prostitution-Free Zone variances during regular business hours if they are otherwise open to the public. This capability will be maintained at the main precinct station or at a sub-station.

3. Variance. The Chief of Police and/or designees may, for any reason, grant an excluded person a variance from an exclusion at any time during an exclusion period. Except as described in 14B.30.050 B., the Chief of Police and/or designees shall grant an appropriate variance to an excluded person who presents a plausible need to engage in any non-criminal activity that is not associated with the behavior supporting the person's exclusion. A variance granted under this Subsection allows travel within the prostitution-free zone only in accordance with the terms specified in the variance. The Chief of Police or designees will ask a person requesting a variance to provide and update an address through which the person can be reached for the duration of the variance in the event the City determines there is a need to amend or revoke the variance.

E. REVOCATION OR AMENDMENT OF VARIANCES. Variances may be revoked or amended for the following reasons and in the following manner:

1. The excluded person provided false information in order to obtain the variance;

2. There is probable cause to believe the person has committed any of the offenses enumerated in Subsection 14B.30.030 A. in the prostitution-free zone subsequent to the issuance of the variance;

3. If the circumstances giving rise to the issuance of the variance no longer support a continuation of the variance or a term thereof;

4. If the person has new circumstances that would support amending the variance; or

5. A revocation or amendment of a variance becomes effective at 5:00 p.m. of the fifth business day following mailing of notice of the action to the excluded person at the address provided pursuant to 14B.30.060 B.1. unless the excluded person appeals the determination by following the procedures in 14B.30.060 A.5.c.

14B.30.070 Listing of Prostitution-Free Zones.

The following descriptions shall comprise the boundaries of the prostitution-free zones listed, and the prostitution-free zones shall include the entire area on and within the listed boundaries.

A. West Prostitution-Free Zone: Beginning at a point on the northeast corner of N.W. 14th Avenue as it intersects with N.W. Johnson Street; thence westerly along the north curb line of N.W. Johnson until it intersects with the west curb line of N.W. 23rd Avenue; thence southerly along the west curb line of N.W. 23rd Avenue as it crosses West Burnside Street and becomes S.W. Vista

Avenue; thence southerly in a straight line to a point that is 500 feet from the intersection of the south curb line of West Burnside Street and the west curb line of S.W. Vista Avenue; thence easterly following a line that is at all times parallel to and 500 feet from the south curb line of West Burnside Street until it intersects with the east curb line of N.W. 14th Avenue; thence northerly along the east curb line of N.W. 14th Avenue continuing along to the point of the beginning.

B. East Prostitution-Free Zone: Beginning at a point at the intersection of the west curb line of N.E. 82nd and the north curb line of N.E. Skidmore; thence westerly along the north curb line of N.E. Skidmore to a point 1000 feet from the point of beginning; thence southerly following a line that is at all times parallel to and 1000 feet from the west curb line of N.E. 82nd Avenue as it crosses E. Burnside Street and becomes S.E. 82nd Avenue; thence southerly following a line that is at all times parallel to and 1000 feet from the west curb line of S.E. 82nd Avenue to a point that is 1000 feet to the west of the southwest corner of S.E. Crystal Springs Boulevard; thence easterly along the south curb line of S.E. Crystal Springs Boulevard to a point that is 1000 feet to the east of the southeast corner of S.E. Crystal Springs Boulevard; thence northerly following a line that is at all times parallel to and 1000 feet from the east curb line of S.E. 82nd Avenue as it crosses E. Burnside Street and becomes N.E. 82nd Avenue; thence northerly following a line that is at all times parallel to and 1000 feet from the east curb line of N.E. 82nd Avenue to a point that is 500 feet to the south of the south curb line of N.E. Sandy Boulevard; thence easterly following a line that is at all times parallel to and 500 feet from the south curb line of N.E. Sandy Boulevard until it intersects with the west curb line of N.E. 92nd Avenue; thence northerly along the west curb line of N.E. 92nd Avenue until it intersects with the north curb line of N.E. Sandy Boulevard; thence easterly along the north curb line of N.E. Sandy Boulevard to a point that is 200 feet to the east of the centerline of N.E. 92nd Avenue; thence southerly along a line that is at all times parallel to and 200 feet to the east from the centerline of N.E. 92nd Avenue to a point that is 500 feet from the south curb line of N.E. Sandy Boulevard; thence easterly following a line that is at all times parallel to and 500 feet from the south curb line of N.E. Sandy Boulevard to the east curb line of N.E. 122nd Avenue; thence northerly along the east curb line of N.E. 122nd Avenue to a point 500 feet north of the north curb line of N.E. Sandy Boulevard; thence westerly following a line that is at all times parallel to and 500 feet from the north curb line of N.E. Sandy Boulevard until it intersects with the west curb line of N.E. 82nd; thence southerly along the west curb line of N.E. 82nd to the point of beginning.

Appendix H. Documents from the Indianapolis Red Zone Program

Instruction Sheet for Patronizers (Red Zone)

Location: Englewood Christian Church
57 N Rural
Indianapolis, IN

Date: *October 3, 2009*

Time: 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Program entails mandatory syphilis testing, a Patronizing Impact Panel, and Community Service Work.

- You will be expected to sign-in when you arrive and sign-out upon completion of the program. DO NOT leave at the end of the day without signing out.
- Late arrivals will not be permitted to participate in the program. Please be sure to arrive at 8:00 a.m. sharp.
- Lunch will not be provided and you will not be permitted to leave for lunch. Please bring a sack lunch with you. You should write your name on your sack lunch. There is no refrigeration provided.
- You will be working outside for the majority of the day. You should wear appropriate clothing (i.e. ponchos, gloves, and/or coat). The program will not be cancelled due to rain or snow.
- You will be required to drive from the Patronizing Impact Panel portion of the program to the Community Service Work portion. You will need a form of transportation for the day.
- You will be supervised by members of the neighborhood. Non-compliance with their directions or non-compliance in participation of the Community Service Work portion will result in your failure of the diversion agreement.

STATE OF INDIANA)
COUNTY OF MARION)SS:

IN THE MARION SUPERIOR COURT
CRIMINAL DIVISION ROOM _____

STATE OF INDIANA)
)
 vs)
)
)
)
)

CAUSE NUMBER _____

AGREEMENT TO WITHHOLD PROSECUTION

The State of Indiana and the Defendant agree that prosecution in this matter will be withheld on the condition that the defendant:

1. Admit commission of **Patronizing a Prostitute/MA** and agree that this admission **precludes** expungement of the arrest record and that this admission may be used against the defendant in court.
2. Participate satisfactorily in the program described below.
3. Pay a Statutory Diversion User Fee of \$ _____. If Defendant returns to Court without completing the Program, and the Prosecutor chooses to extend the Diversionary Period at Defendant's request an **additional Diversion User Fee shall be assessed. Defendant further acknowledges that all fees are NONREFUNDABLE, including situations where the Defendant is terminated from diversion for noncompliance.**
4. Commit no criminal offense or be arrested during the next two (2) years.
5. Acknowledge that failure to comply with any term of this agreement will cause the State to withdraw from this agreement and proceed with prosecution of this offense.
6. Waive his/her rights pursuant to Criminal Rule 4.
7. The State of Indiana reserves the right to withdraw this agreement at anytime for any reason.

Conditions of program for completion of diversion (Defendant must initial each line):

- _____ 7. Perform 8 hours of Community Service Work at a place designated by the **Marion County Prosecutor's Office.**
- _____ 8. Attend the Patronizing Impact Panel.
- _____ 9. Undergo syphilis testing.
- _____ 10. Defendant is to ordered to Stay Away from a 1 mile radius of the area where arrested.

AGREED this _____ day of _____, 20 ____

Deputy Prosecuting Attorney

Defendant

Defense Counsel



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251 EAST OHIO STREET, SUITE 100 INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46204

Prosecution. Protection. Prevention.

RED ZONE SURVEY

Do you live in Indianapolis? Yes ____; No ____

What is your zip code? _____

In reference to your arrest, why did you select that specific location to solicit a "prostitute"?

- A) Work in area
- B) Live in area
- C) Area reputation
- D) Other (explain) _____

Why did you decide to solicit a prostitute?

Are you married? Yes ____; No ____

Does your wife,(girlfriend, significant other) know of your arrest? Yes ____;No __

Does your employer know about your arrest? Yes ____; No _____

If not, what reaction do you think they would have if they found out ? (check all that apply)

- A) Surprise ____
- B) Anger ____
- C) Shame ____
- D) No big deal _____
- E) Joke about it _____
- F) Other (please explain) _____

Do you have children? Yes ___; No _____

Do they know about your arrest? Yes _____; No _____

What was/would be their reaction? (check all that apply)

- A) Surprise _____
- B) Anger _____
- C) Shame _____
- D) No big deal _____
- E) Joke about it _____
- F) Other _____

Who do you think is "victimized" by this crime? (Check all that apply)

- A) The prostitute _____
- B) My wife/girlfriend/significant other _____
- C) My family _____
- D) The community _____
- E) Other _____

What reaction do you think the residents (who live in the area where you were arrested) have to prostitution? (Check all that apply)

- A) Disgust _____
- B) Anger _____
- C) Shame _____
- D) No big deal _____
- E) Joke about it _____
- F) Other _____

Were you aware of the health risks associated with your activity? Yes _____; No _____

For the diseases below, indicate on a scale of 1 to 10 (10 being the highest), what risk do you believe that patronizing a prostitute places you at?

- A) HIV? _____
- B) SYPHILIS? _____
- C) HERPES? _____
- D) GONORRHEA? _____

Were you aware of the Syphilis epidemic in this area? YES ____; No ____

If you became infected with one of the diseases above, who might you possibly infect? (Check all that apply)

- A) Wife _____
- B) Girlfriend/boyfriend _____
- C) Another prostitute _____
- D) Other _____

Is this the first time that you have solicited a prostitute? Yes ____; No ____

If not, how many times have you done it in the past? _____

Do you look for the same prostitute each time? Yes ____; No ____

Do you go to the same area each time? Yes ____; No ____

Where/what would you go/do if you noticed something unusual after being with a prostitute?

- A) Bell Flower STD clinic
- B) Private Doctor
- C) Neighborhood clinic
- D) hospital emergency room
- E) Nowhere/nothing
- F) Home remedy
- G) Seek testing at home

What would motivate you to seek medical attention? (Check all that apply)

- A) Guilt
- B) Visible sores
- C) Pain/burning
- D) Rash
- E) Itching
- F) Desire to maintain good health

Comments about this experience: _____

Appendix I: Summary of John School Program Traits

Site	Year Program Began	Program Name	Primary Partners	Diversion or Sentence	Fee	Duration	Curriculum Elements	Number of Participants	Recidivism Results
Aurora, IL	2009	Prostitution Diversion Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> East Aurora Weed and Seed Aurora PD 	Diversion	DK	DK	DK	DK	DK
Brooklyn, NY	2002	Project Respect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kings County DA NYPD Dept. of Health 	Diversion	\$250	1 session, 5 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> health risks survivor testimony legal consequences impact on community 	Over 2000	0.45% (9/2000)
Buffalo, NY	1997	The John School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Erie County DA Erie County Health Dept. Project Reach Addiction counselor HIV counselors Survivor 	Diversion	\$200 (\$100 until 2007)	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> legal consequences survivor testimony health risks addiction counseling 	Over 600	0.83% (5/600)
Charlotte, NC	2006	The John School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Treatment Alternatives to Street Crimes (TASC) McLeod Addictive Disease Center Charlotte-Mecklenburg PD DA 	Diversion	\$300 (Includes \$ for HIV test)	5 group counseling sessions, 2 hours each	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> health risks impact on survivors impact on community STI & HIV tests healthy relationships sexual addiction legal consequences decision-making; community resources & self-help 	Approximately 100	DK
Chicago, IL	1999	John School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Genesis House Chicago Coalition for the Homeless 	Sentence (condition of probation)	\$500	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> health risks survivor testimony legal consequences 	DK	DK
Chicago, IL	2005	Amend	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Amend Chicago PD 	Diversion	Sliding scale	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> health risks survivor testimony legal consequences 	Over 1000	DK
Cincinnati, OH	2006	John Education Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cincinnati Union Bethel DA Cincinnati PD 	Both Diversion & Sentencing options (about 50% each)	Up to \$500 fee; vehicle impound & tow charges; court costs	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> legal consequences health risks survivor testimony impact on community 	115	DK

Site	Year Program Began	Program Name	Primary Partners	Diversion or Sentence	Fee	Duration	Curriculum Elements	Number of Participants	Recidivism Results
Columbus, OH	2007	John School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City Attorney • Police Dept. • Public Health 	Diversion or sentence	\$156 in court costs; no charge for class	1 session, 8 hours Other sanctions at court discretion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • survivor testimony • impact on community • crime victimization risks for johns 	90	DK
Cook County, IL	2011	John School Video	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sheriff's Office • Public Health • Women of Power Alumni Association • Hunt Alternatives Fund 	NA (Shown at point of arrest and processing)	\$ 0	15 minute video viewed after arrest, while being processed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • impact on survivors • impact on community • impact on significant others • survivor testimony • legal risks • crime victimization risks for johns • health risks 	New	NA
Dallas, TX	2005	John School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Council for Alcohol and Substance Abuse • City & county prosecutors 	Diversion or sentence	\$200	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • impact on survivors (testimony) • impact on community 	900	NA
Dayton, OH	2008	Dayton Municipal Court Johns School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Municipal Court Adult Probation Department • Dayton PD • Public health • Southeast Weed & Seed 	Sentence	\$250 fee for class, plus fines	1 session, 6 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • impact on survivors (testimony) • impact on communities • impact on families • legal risks • crime victimization risks for johns 	200	5.5% (6/109) (analyzed 2008-2009 participants)
Denver, CO	1998	Diversion Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City Attorney • Private therapist 	Diversion	\$200	2 counseling sessions, 2 hours each 20-40 hours community service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks, • crime victimization risks for johns • legal risks • sexual addiction • human trafficking • dynamics of pimping & prostitution • impact on survivors (testimony) • community • STI & HIV tests 	Approximately 360	

Site	Year Program Began	Program Name	Primary Partners	Diversion or Sentence	Fee	Duration	Curriculum Elements	Number of Participants	Recidivism Results
Dover, DE	2001 - 2008	John School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weed & Seed • Parks & Recreation Dept. • Dover PD • Delaware Probation & Parole • Kent County Counseling 	Sentence	DK	1 session, 4 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • community impact • impact on prostitutes 	85	DK
Fife, WA	2005	John School (Referred to Tacoma program)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City Attorney • Fife PD • Metropolitan Development Council (NGO) • District Attorney 	DK	DK	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • crime victimization risks for johns • dynamics of pimping & prostitution • impact on survivors (testimony) • community • STI & HIV tests 	DK	DK
Fresno, CA	1998	First Offender Program, Project PAR (Prostitution Abatement/Rehabilitation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • District Attorney • City Attorney • Fresno PD 	Diversion	\$500	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legal consequences • health risks • impact on survivors (testimony) • community • sexual addiction • pimping and trafficking 	1637	1.3% (21/1637)
Grand Rapids, MI	1981	The John Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • District Courts Probation • Public Health • Planned Parenthood 	Sentence: court ordered treatment option, condition of probation	\$500 (100 to court; 275 to counselors ; 125 to probation)	4 group counseling sessions, 1 hour each 1 individual session at 2 hours or more 6 to 7 hours total	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • legal consequences • health risks • violence risks for johns • impact on survivors (testimony) • impact on community • sexual addiction • pimping • sexual addiction • required health screening • healthy relationships 	Approximately 700	Not calculated
Hartford, CT	2000 - 2009	Johns Protocol	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community Court • Public health 	Either	\$0	1 session, 2+ hours 10 days community service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health consequences • impact on others • STI testing (required) • HIV testing (optional) • community service 	150	3.33% (5/150)

Site	Year Program Began	Program Name	Primary Partners	Diversion or Sentence	Fee	Duration	Curriculum Elements	Number of Participants	Recidivism Results
Hartford, CT	2009	John Protocol	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community Court AIDS Project Hartford Public health 	Either	\$ 0	6 sessions, 1 hour each 10 days community service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> health consequences STI testing (required) HIV testing (optional) community service 	40	DK
Hillsborough County, FL	2002-2004	Project HOPE (Healthy Options Promoting Esteem)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Florida DOC Tampa Crossroads, Inc. District Attorney 	Diversion	\$350	6 sessions, 1 hour each	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> social problem from perspectives of family, individual, community errors in thinking 	121	0% (0/121)
Indianapolis, IA	1999	The Red Zone Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Marion County District Attorney Community and business groups Public health 	Diversion: Must complete program, comply with stay-away order, remain arrest-free for two years.	\$150	1 session, 2-3 hours 5-6 hours community service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> health risks impact on community syphilis test 	Over 400	2% (8/400)
Kansas City, KS & MO	2000	Offender Accountability Re-education (OAR) Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Veronica's Voice city attorneys and district attorneys from several communities 	Diversion, court-ordered, or self-referred	\$500 (\$750 for private session)	1 session, 8 hours 2 hours for private option	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> health consequences legal consequences crime victimization risk effects on community (impact panel) impact on survivors (survivor panel) sexual addiction dynamics of pimping, trafficking prostitution street facts 	80	DK
Kansas City, KS	1992	John School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kansas City Municipal Court Community Addictions Programs of KC San Jose Marital and Sexuality Center 			1 session, 4 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> dangers of prostitution beliefs and attitudes about prostitution impact on communities impact in survivors drugs and prostitution family and relationships 	Over 1,000	"almost zero"

Site	Year Program Began	Program Name	Primary Partners	Diversion or Sentence	Fee	Duration	Curriculum Elements	Number of Participants	Recidivism Results
Lakewood, WA	2005	Customer Diversion Accountability Class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City Attorney • District court • Lakewood PD • Metropolitan Development Council 	Diversion	\$700	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • safety risks • dynamics of pimping & prostitution • impact on survivors (testimony) • impact on community • STI & HIV tests 	Over 40	0 % (0/40)
Las Vegas, NV	1997	First Offender Prostitution Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Las Vegas Municipal Court • Las Vegas PD • Public Health • City attorney 	Sentence (at a reduced charge)	\$450 (was \$350 in 1990s)	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • safety risks • dynamics of pimping & prostitution • impact on survivors (testimony) 	1705	0.1 % (3/1705)
Lenexa, KS	2008	Sends men to KC program: Offender Accountability Re-education (OAR) Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City Attorney • Veronica's Voice 	Sentence	?	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • impact on community • impact on survivors (testimony) • legal risks 		
Los Angeles, CA	2008	Prostitution Diversion Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LAPD • District Attorney • Public Health 	Diversion	\$600	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • safety risks • dynamics of pimping & prostitution • impact on survivors (testimony) • STI testing 	44 (2008-2009)	2.3 % (1/44)
Madison, WI	2008	John School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Madison PD • City attorney Project Respect 	Diversion	676	1 session, 2.5 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impact on community, prostitutes 	DK	DK
Minneapolis/ St. Paul, MN	1999	John School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Breaking Free, Inc. • District Attorney • Minneapolis and St. Paul PDs • City Attorney 	Diversion	\$325	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • impact on survivors (testimony) • impact on community • dynamics of pimping and trafficking 	Over 700	0.43% (3/700+)

Site	Year Program Began	Program Name	Primary Partners	Diversion or Sentence	Fee	Duration	Curriculum Elements	Number of Participants	Recidivism Results
Minneapolis/ St. Paul, MN	1988	Project Pathfinder	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Project Pathfinder Midtown Community Restorative Justice City attorneys 	Diversion	\$650 (\$500 for PP, \$150 for MJCP)	4 classes, 1.5 hours each flexible restorative justice components codified in individual contracts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> impact on others relationships & intimacy marriage counseling health screening anger management ESL emotional defenses and links to behavior up to 40 hours community service financial amends 	Approximately 675	3-yr. RR of 18.5% for program, 66.7% for those in comparison group
Nashville, TN	1996	Johns School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Behavioral Treatment Providers Metro Government PD DA 	Diversion	\$250	1 session 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> legal consequences health risks impact on community impact on survivors (testimony) sexual addiction; STI test 	Over 1,400	No
New Hanover County, NC	2004	School for Johns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> County Drug Treatment Court 	DK	DK	DK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> DK 	DK	DK
Newport News and Hampton, VA	2011	John School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Newport News & Hampton PDs Center for Child & Family Services 	Diversion	\$230 (\$25 per Session; \$30 assessment)	8 sessions, 12 hours total	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> health risks crime victimization risk impact on community impact on survivors (victim testimony) sexual addiction pimping, trafficking childhood trauma 	New	NA
Norfolk, VA	2001	John School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Norfolk Sheriff's Department Public health City Attorney Community groups 	Sentence (weekend program, fine, plus additional community service up to 40 hours).	\$500 to \$1,500 fine, variable pay for STI test	1 session, 2 hours 1 day community service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> STI test citizen's panel on community impact legal consequences health risks impact on survivors sexual addiction community service 	525 (2001-2010)	0 % (0/525)
Olmstead County, MN	2011	Referred to Breaking Free John School in Minn./ St. Paul	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Olmsted County District Attorney Breaking Free 	Sentence (reduced penalty exchanged for participation)	\$325	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> health risks impact on survivors (testimony) impact on community dynamics of pimping and trafficking 	11	New

Site	Year Program Began	Program Name	Primary Partners	Diversion or Sentence	Fee	Duration	Curriculum Elements	Number of Participants	Recidivism Results
Orange County, NY	2003	Orange County John School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • District Attorney • Health Dept. • PD • Newburgh Family Health Center Inc. 	Diversion or sentence: Results in reduced charge or dismissal	\$125	1 session , 5 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • legal consequences • health risks • impact on community • sexual and drug addictions • crime victimization risk • impact on survivors (testimony) • dynamics of pimping, trafficking 	100 (through June 2007)	0 % (0/100)
Phoenix, AZ	1997	Prostitution Diversion Program (Offender Program for Persons Soliciting - OPPS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dignity House (Catholic Charities) • Phoenix PD • Bayless Associates (clinical psychologist) • Public health 	Diversion	\$788	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • impact on community • impact on survivors (testimony) • impact on families • personal risks and harm • legal risks • healthy relationships • sexual addiction 	300	DK
Pierce County, WA	2005	John School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City Attorney • Sheriff's Office • Metropolitan Development Council (NGO); courts 	Diversion	\$600	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • safety risks • dynamics of pimping & prostitution • impact on survivors (testimony) • impact on community • STI & HIV tests 		
Pinellas County, FL	2002-2004	Project HOPE (Healthy Options Promoting Esteem)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Florida DOC Operation PAR • District Attorney 	Diversion	\$350	6 sessions, 1 hour each	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social problem from perspectives of family, individual, community • errors in thinking 	28	0 % (0/28)
Pittsburgh, PA	1997	Johns School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pittsburgh PD • District Attorney 	Diversion	\$347.50 (117.50 court cost, \$230 fine)	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • impact on community • syphilis test 	500 + (1997-2007)	0.4% (2/500)

Site	Year Program Began	Program Name	Primary Partners	Diversion or Sentence	Fee	Duration	Curriculum Elements	Number of Participants	Recidivism Results
Portland, OR (SEEP)	1995-1997	Sexual Exploitation Education Project (SEEP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> District Attorney Council for Prostitution Alternatives University of Portland 	Sentencing	DK	3 sessions, 15 hours total	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> healthy relationships sexual exploitation gender inequality generalized mistreatment of women male sexual identity men's choices creating coercion impact on survivors (testimony) 	91	2.2% (2/91)
Portland, OR (PPOP)	2003-2006	Portland Prostitution Offender Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lola Greene Baldwin Foundation Multnomah County Community and Circuit Courts 	Sentence	\$82.50	1 session, 6 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> health risks crime victimization risk impact on community impact on survivors (testimony) sexual addiction dynamics of pimping, trafficking 	Over 20	DK
Portland, OR (Johns' School)	2011	Johns' School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lifeworks Northwest Multnomah County District Attorney 	<p>Diversion for 1st time offenders</p> <p>Sentence for 2nd or more offenses</p> <p>Prosecutors can add john school to any sentence</p>	\$1,000	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> health risks crime victimization risk impact on community impact on survivors (testimony) sexual addiction dynamics of pimping & trafficking impact on johns healthy relationships relapse prevention 	DK	DK
Rochester, MN	2011	Referred to Breaking Free John School in Minn./ St. Paul	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Olmsted County District Attorney Breaking Free 	Sentence (reduced penalty for participation)	\$325	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> health risks impact on survivors (testimony) impact on community dynamics of pimping and trafficking 	11	New
Rochester, NY	1988	Behavior Modification Class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Municipal Court Public health 	Diversion	\$0	3 sessions, 2 weekends community service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> community impact health risks victim testimony healthy relationships 	61	DK

Site	Year Program Began	Program Name	Primary Partners	Diversion or Sentence	Fee	Duration	Curriculum Elements	Number of Participants	Recidivism Results
Salt Lake City and County, UT	2000	John's Offender Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Salt Lake County Criminal Justice Services • District Attorney • Umoja Training • Salt Lake City PD 	Diversion	\$350	10 weekly sessions, 2 hours each	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • STI test • healthy relationships & communication • male & female socialization • sexual messages • impact on prostitutes • anger management • health risks • personal power (self-esteem) 	More than 600	"Less than 10% recidivism"
San Diego, CA	2000	Prostitution Impact Panel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City Attorney • San Diego PD 	Sentence John school drops charge to lower offense	\$200 fine	1 session, 3 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • legal consequences • health risks • impact on survivors (testimony) • impact on community • sexual addiction 	800	0.2% (1/450)
San Francisco, CA	1995	First Offender Prostitution Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • S.F. District Attorney's Office • S.F. Police Department • SAGE • Public Health • Community groups 	Diversion	\$1,000, sliding scale (mean collected = \$758)	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • legal consequences • crime victimization risk • impact on community, impact on survivors (testimony) • sexual addiction • dynamics of pimping, trafficking • prostitution street facts 	6,445	4.5% (2900/6445)
Seattle, WA	2009	Johns' School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City of Seattle • Public Health Department • Seattle PD • City Attorney 	Either sentence or diversion	\$150 john school fee \$1,000 fine for survivor fund	1 session, 7 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • impact on survivors (testimony) • impact on community • sexual addiction • healthy relationships • mandatory health screening 	105	0 % (0/83)
Santa Clara, CA	1997 - 1998	John School	DK	DK	DK	DK	DK	30	DK

Site	Year Program Began	Program Name	Primary Partners	Diversion or Sentence	Fee	Duration	Curriculum Elements	Number of Participants	Recidivism Results
Snohomish County, WA	2000-2005	John School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Snohomish County Health District • city council • community groups 	Sentence	\$100 fee for class, plus \$500 fine, 6/day for bracelet	1 session, 7 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • impact on survivors (testimony) • impact on community (citizen panel) • legal risks • drugs& alcohol 	Up to 100	DK
South Bend, IN	2000	Johns School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • County prosecutor 	Diversion	DK	1 session 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • consequences of soliciting a prostitute • impact on communities • health risks • community service 	DK	DK
Tacoma, WA	2005	John School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City Attorney • Tacoma PD • Metropolitan Development Council 	Sentence	\$600	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • safety risks • dynamics of pimping & prostitution • impact on prostitutes (victim testimony) • impact on community • STI & HIV tests 	130+	0% 0/130+
Tampa, FL	2001	Johns Awareness, Diversion, and Education (JADE)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tampa PD • Tampa Crossroads, Inc. • Neighborhood associations 	Diversion, court-ordered, or self-referred	\$350	6 sessions, 1 hour each, plus homework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • safety risks • dynamics of pimping & prostitution • impact on survivors (testimony) • impact on community • STI & HIV tests 	Over 150	0% 0/150
Toledo, OH	2010	Prostitution Offender Program of Lucas County	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Toledo Municipal Court • Lucas County Human Trafficking Coalition 	Diversion	\$300	1 session	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • legal risks • moral risks • survivor testimony • community impact 	5	DK
Tucson, AZ	2004-2005	Safety Through Deterrence Program (STD)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tucson PD 	“Roadside John School” Suspects briefly detained, not arrested	NA	1 session, 10-15 minutes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • legal consequences • crime victimization risks • health risks • impact on communities • impact on survivors (testimony) 	“Several hundred”	NA

Site	Year Program Began	Program Name	Primary Partners	Diversion or Sentence	Fee	Duration	Curriculum Elements	Number of Participants	Recidivism Results
Tucson, AZ	2007	Odyssey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • District Attorney • Tucson PD • Southwest Intervention Services • Cactus Counseling 	Diversion	\$510 (approx.) \$90 fee, plus \$30/mo. Supervisions fee, plus \$15 per each of 12 sessions.	12 weekly group counseling sessions, 1 hour each	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks • safety risks • causes and consequences of prostitution • decision-making processes • relationships and family • self-esteem • community impact 	Over 300	DK
Waco, TX	2002	John School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Waco PD • Municipal Court • Public Health • neighborhood associations 	Sentence	\$225	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health risks (presentation plus individual counseling) • safety risks • causes and consequences of prostitution • impact on survivors (testimony) • impact on family • impact on community • STI testing • family violence 	115	2.6% 3/115
Washington, DC	2001 Program suspended in 2010	John School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • U.S. Attorney's Office • Metropolitan Police Department • Court Services & Offenders Supervision Agency (CSOSA) • Public health • My Sister's Place • Eleuthera Institute • Fulton House of Hope 	Diversion	\$300	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • legal consequences • health risks • safety risks • impact on survivors (testimony) • impact on family • impact on community • dynamics of pimping & trafficking • dysfunctional sexual behavior • STI tests 	1053	0.2% 1/500

Site	Year Program Began	Program Name	Primary Partners	Diversion or Sentence	Fee	Duration	Curriculum Elements	Number of Participants	Recidivism Results
West Palm Beach, FL	1991	Pride Counseling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> West Palm Beach Circuit Court West Palm Beach PD Pride, Inc. 	Sentence	\$175	5 sessions, 10 hours 8 hours community service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> health risks impact on community impact on survivors (testimony) STI test 	200	
West Palm Beach, FL	2000	Prostitution Impact Prevention Education (PIPE)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> West Palm Beach PD state attorney psychiatrists public health 	Diversion	\$50 plus court fees	1 session, 4hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> legal consequences, health risks impact on prostitutes impact on family impact on community pimping & trafficking dysfunctional sexual behavior STI tests role of drugs in prostitution 	Over 3,140	.0038 % 12 / 3140
Worcester, MA	2007	Community Action to Reduce Demand - CARD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> YMCA of Central Massachusetts/ Daybreak Worcester PD City public health District Attorney Probation Department 	Sentence or Diversion	\$200	1 session, 6 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> health and "other" risks; legal consequences; impact on prostitutes; family, & community; sex addiction; sex industry 	73	NA
Ypsilanti, MI	2003	Learning Every Aspect of Prostitution (LEAP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Home of New Vision City attorney Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti PDs neighborhood groups 	Sentence or diversion	\$500	1 session, 8 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> impact on community health risks 	DK	DK

Appendix J. Selected Organizations and Agencies Addressing Prostitution and Sex Trafficking

The following non-governmental organizations (NGOs) offer a variety of services and engage in a wide range of interventions addressing prostitution and/or sex trafficking. All 48 NGOs listed in the first section below devote a part (and in some cases, all) of their efforts toward addressing demand. The subsequent list provides links to three community blogs and community-led “watchdog” efforts focusing on demand. This is followed by a list of federal and international agencies that address sex trafficking. Descriptions of these NGOs, blogs, and agencies are provided on the DemandForum website. Finally, we provide a list of over 240 programs and NGOs that support women and girls involved in prostitution or sex trafficking in over 100 U.S. cities and counties.

Non-Governmental Organizations Addressing Demand for Prostitution and Trafficked Sex in the United States

Apne App: Women Worldwide
www.apneapp.org

A Future, Not A Past (AFNAP)
<http://afuturenotapast.org/>

AMEND: Ending the Cycle of Violence
<Http://www.amendinc.org>

Anti-Trafficking Alliance (ATA):
<http://www.atalliance.org.uk>;
info@atalliance.org.uk

Aware, Inc.
<http://www.deceptionsprogram.net>

Chicago Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation (CAASE)
<http://www.caase.org>

Cincinnati Union Bethel
<http://www.cinunionbethel.org>

Citizens Against Trafficking
<http://www.citizensagainsttrafficking.org>

Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking (CAST)

<http://www.castla.org>

Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW)

<http://www.catwinternational.org/>

The Code: We Protect Children from Sex Tourism

www.thecode.org

The Defenders USA

<http://www.thedefendersusa.org/>

http://www.thedefendersusa.org/truck_stop_toolkit2.asp

Demand Change!

<http://www.demandchange.org.uk/index.php/facts>

Demi & Ashton Foundation (DNA)

<http://www.demiandashton.org/>

http://www.facebook.com/dnafoundation?sk=app_204244879599379

Eastern North Carolina Stop Human Trafficking Now

<http://encstophumantrafficking.org/default.htm>

End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism (ECPAT)

<http://www.ecpat.net/EI/index.asp>

End Demand IL (EDI)

<http://www.enddemandillinois.org/>

End Demand NYC

<http://enddemandnyc.org/>

Free the Slaves

<http://www.freetheslaves.net/Page.aspx?pid=284>

Girls Educational & Mentoring Services (GEMS)

<http://www.gems-girls.org/>

Global Centurion

<http://www.globalcenturion.org/>

Humanity United

<http://www.humanityunited.org>

The Human Trafficking Project

<http://traffickingproject.blogspot.com/>

Hunt Alternatives Fund, Demand Abolition Program
<http://www.huntalternatives.org>

International Association of Human Trafficking Investigators
<http://iahti.org>

KlaasKids Foundation
<http://www.klaaskids.org/pg-prog.htm>
<http://www.klaaskids.org/pg-ht-report.htm>

Laboratory to Combat Human Trafficking (LCHT)
<http://www.combathumantrafficking.org>

Libertad Latina
www.libertadlatina.org

Lucas County Human Trafficking Coalition
<http://lchtc.org/>
<http://secondchancetoledo.org/secondchance/coalition>

Man Up Campaign
<http://www.manupcampaign.org/about>

Men Against The Trafficking Of Others (MATOO)
<http://www.mattoo.org/main.html>

Mentors In Violence Prevention (MVP)
<http://www.sportinsociety.org/vpd/mvp.php>

National Center for Missing & Exploited Children (NCMEC)
www.missingkids.com

New York Anti-Trafficking Coalition
<http://www.stophumantraffickingny.org/>

NoVo Foundation
<http://www.novofoundation.org>

Polaris Project
<http://www.polarisproject.org>
<http://nhtrc.polarisproject.org/>

The Project to End Human Trafficking (PEHT)
<http://www.endhumantrafficking.org>
jredfield@endhumantrafficking.org

Project Pathfinder

http://www.projectpathfinder.org/index.asp?page_seq=27

Prostitution Research and Education

<http://www.prostitutionresearch.com/about.html>

The Renaissance Male Project

<http://renaissancemaleproject.com/>

<http://jewelwoods.com/node/15>

Salvation Army: Combating Human Trafficking

<http://www.salvationarmyusa.org/trafficking>

Shared Hope International

<http://www.sharedhope.org>

<http://www.sharedhope.org/what/endeddemand3.asp>

Shelley Lubben: American Missionary; Pink Cross Foundation

<http://www.shelleylubben.com/>,

<http://thepinkcross.org/page/help-porn-addiction>

Standing Against Global Exploitation (The SAGE Project, or SAGE)

<http://www.sagef.org>

Texas Sex Trafficking Obliteration Project (TSTOP)

<http://tstop.wordpress.com/about/>

<http://states.cwfa.org/states/detailsnew.asp?organization=tstop>

Umoja Training

<http://umojatraining.com/index.html>

Veronica's Voice

www.veronicasvoice.org

Women of Power Alumni Association

<http://www.womenofpoweraa.org/index.htm>

Blogs and Community-Led “Watchdog” Sites Focused on Demand

JohnTV.com

<http://johntv.com/>

Pigtown John Watch

<http://pigtownjohnwatch.blogspot.com/>

Trick the Johns—No More Prostitution!

<http://trickthejohns.50webs.com/>

Government Agencies Addressing Sexual Exploitation

Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section, United States Department of Justice
<http://www.justice.gov/criminal/ceos/trafficking.html>

Innocence Lost National Initiative, U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation
<http://www.fbi.gov/innolost/innolost.htm>

Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, United States Department of State
<http://www.state.gov/g/tip/>

United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking
<http://www.ungift.org/>

Programs and Non-Governmental Organizations Supporting Women and Girls Involved in Prostitution and Sex Trafficking

Albuquerque, NM	Crossroads for Women
Anaheim, CA	New Day Youth and Family Services
Anchorage, AK	Children of the Night
	Mary Magdalene Home Alaska
	McLaughlin Youth Center
	Covenant House
Ann Arbor, MI	Home of New Vision
	Dawn Farm
Anoka County, MN	Alexandra House, Inc.
Asheville, NC	Hope House Project
Atlanta, GA	A Future Not a Past (AFNAP)
	Angela's House
	Center to End Sexual Exploitation (CEASE)
	Sisters in Service
	Georgia Network to End Sexual Assault (GNESA)
	Georgia Care Connection
	Covenant House
	Children of the Night
	Georgia Alliance Against Human Trafficking
	Refugee Resettlement and Immigration Services of Atlanta
	Boat People SOS
Baltimore, MD	You Are Never Alone (YANA)
	Courtney's House
	Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service
Battle Creek, MI	Supporting Those Oppressed by Prostitution (S.T.O.P.)
Billings, MT	Children of the Night
Birmingham, AL	The WellHouse Inc.
Boston, MA	Bandeli Project
	Kim's Project

Bradenton, FL	Support to End Exploitation Now (SEEN) Coalition
Bridgeport, CT	My Life My Choice Project (Home for Little Wanderers)
Buffalo, NY	Teem Prostitution Prevention Project
Cambridge, MA	DSS shelter for runaways and children
Canton, OH	Light Under the Bridge Program
Carlsbad, CA	The International Institute of Connecticut, Inc
Charleston, SC	The International Institute of Buffalo, Inc.
Charlotte, NC	VOX Project
Chicago & Cook County, IL	Off the Streets and Into Recovery
	Faces of Slavery
	Magdalene House
	McLeod Academy
	Women of Power Alumni Association
	Cook County Sheriff's Office Women's Justice Services (e.g., Women in Need of Gender Specific Services, or WINGS program)
	Chicago Coalition for the Homeless
	STOP-IT Program (Salvation Army)
	CAASE (Chicago Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation)
	Dreamcatcher Foundation's Young Women's Empowerment Project
	Advocates for Prostituted Women and Girls
	Anne's House
	PROMISE (Partnership to Rescue Our Minors In Sexual Exploitation)
	Heartland Alliance for Human Needs and Human Rights
Cincinnati, OH	Off the Streets Program (Cincinnati Union Bethel)
Columbus, OH	Rahab's Hideaway
	Gracehaven (covers Central Ohio)
Connecticut	Paul & Lisa Program
Dallas, TX	New Life Prostitution Diversion Initiative
	STAR Court (Strengthening, Transition, & Recovery)
	MOSAIC Family Services, Inc.
Dayton, OH	Oasis House
Decatur, GA	Refugee Women's Network
Denver, CO	Empowerment Program Service for Women
	Project SUCCESS
	Colorado Network to End Human Trafficking (CoNEHT)
Detroit, MI	Covenant House
	The Fresh Start Prostitution Reform Project (Fresh Start)
	Alternatives for Girls
Duluth, MN	Minnesota Indian Women's Resource Center
	Program for Aid to Victims of Sexual Assault (PAVSA)
Durham, NC	Transforming Hope Ministries
East Lansing, MI	Gateway Community Services
East Sandwich, MA	The Emancipation Network
Erie County, NY	Family Justice Center of Erie County Inc
Everett, WA	Prostitution Prevention Network
Falls Church, VA	Boat People SOS
	Tahirih Justice Center
Fort Lauderdale, FL	Covenant House
Fort Myers, FL	One Way Out
	Beauty From Ashes
Fort Worth, TX	Traffick911
	Christian Trafficking Shelter Association
Fresno, CA	Marjaree Mason Center
Grand Rapids, MI	The Hope Project
	Start Treatment of Prostitutes (STOP)

	Social Work and Police Partnership (SWAPP)
	The Lies that Bind
	Prostitution Round Table
Hampton, VA	Center for Child and Family Services
High Point, NC	Triad Ladder of Hope Ministry
Hillsboro, OR	Bridges to Change, Inc.
Hollywood, CA	Children of the Night
Hollywood, FL	Broward Outreach Center
Honolulu, HI	Sisters Offering Support
	Children of the Night
Houston, TX	Home of Hope – Texas
	Children at Risk
	Christian Trafficking Shelter Association
	Covenant House
	Freedom Place
	No More Victims Inc.
	We’ve Been There, Done That
Kansas City, MO	Veronica’s Voice
	Magdalene Manor (shelter and support center led by Veronica’s Voice)
	The Justice Project
	Willow Tree Outreach
Knoxville, TN	Runaway Shelter and Transitional Living Program (Child & Family Tennessee)
	Saturday Night Guardian Angel Program (Lost Sheep Ministry)
Las Vegas, NV	Nevada Partnership for Homeless Youth (in partnership with Las Vegas PD)
	High Risk Runaway Detail
	Hookers for Jesus
	Sex Workers Anonymous (formerly called Prostitutes Anonymous)
	The Way Out
	[City government is considering starting a “Sally” school for women and girls - similar to “john school,” but for providers of commercial sex]
Lexington, KY	Refuge for Women
	Beloved Ministries, Inc.
Longview, TX	Re-creation Discipleship Recovery Program (Hope Haven women's shelter, part of Highway 80 Rescue Mission Ministries)
Los Angeles, CA	Covenant House
	Children of the Night
	Alcoholism Center for Women
	Little Tokyo Service Center
Louisville, KY	Boat People SOS
Madison, WI	Project Respect (ARC Community Services)
Memphis, TN	Moriah House (Memphis Union Mission)
Miami, FL	Children of the Night
	Florida Freedom Partnership
Milwaukee, WI	Sister's Project (program of the Benedict Center)
Minneapolis, MN	Women’s Recovery Center (WRC)
	Stop it Now Network
	Project Pathfinder
	Children of the Night
	Prostitution to Independence, Dignity and Equality (PRIDE)
	Youth Link
	Minnesota Indian Women’s Resource Center
	Escape: The Prostitution Prevention Project, Inc.
Montgomery, AL	Family Sunshine Center and Council on Substance Abuse
Multnomah County, OR	Janus Youth Programs
	Sexual Assault Resource Center (SARC)
Nashville, TN	The Magdalene House and Thistle Farms

	Nashville Rescue Mission
	The Hannah Project
New Haven, CT	Paul & Lisa Program
	Women’s Holistic Health Program
New Orleans, LA	Covenant House
	Eden House
	Survivors of Slavery
New York, NY	Girls Educational & Mentoring Services (GEMS)
	Streetwork (operated by Safe Horizons)
	Sanctuary for Families New York
	Covenant House
	Children of the Night
	Sex Workers Project
	The Empowerment Program
	Safe Horizon Inc.
	The Door
Newport News, VA	Prostitution Intervention Program (Center for Child & Family Services)
Newark, NJ	Covenant House
North Oaks, MN	Women’s Recovery Center
Oakland, CA	Twilight Treasures ministry (Victory Outreach Church)
	MISSEY (Motivating, Inspiring, Supporting, and Serving Exploited Youth)
	Covenant House
Oklahoma City, OK	Alliance Against Prostitution in Oklahoma County
	No Boundaries International
Omaha, NE	Wellspring Program (Salvation Army)
Orange County, CA	Community Service Programs Inc.
Orlando, FL	Covenant House
Pasadena, CA	Walter Hoving Home
Peachtree City, GA	Living Water for Girls
Philadelphia, PA	Alternative Treatment for Misdemeanants (ATM)
	Project Dawn Court
	Dawn’s Place
	Project Phoenix
	Covenant House
Phoenix, AZ	Magdalene
	DIGNITY (Developing Individual Growth & New Independence Through Yourself; a program of Catholic Charities)
	Natalie’s House
	Children of the Night
	Project Rose
	Because She Matters
Pierce County, WA	Family Renewal Shelter
Pittsburgh, PA	Program for Reintegration and Development and Empowerment of Exploited Individuals (PRIDE)
Portland, OR	Children of the Night
	Council for Prostitution Alternatives (CPA)
	Lola Greene Baldwin Foundation for Recovery
	New Options for Women (program of Lifeworks NW)
Reno, NV	At the Well Counseling
	A Scarlet Covering
Reseda, CA	Mary Magdalene Project
Richmond, VA	A New Direction: Prostitution Rehabilitation Program of Offender Aid and Restoration of Richmond
Rochester, MN	Mission 21
Sacramento, CA	Wind Youth Services
	Courage To Be You, Inc.

	California Against Slavery in Sacramento
	WEAVE
	My Sister's House
Salt Lake City, UT	Salt Lake City Prostitution Diversion Project
	Prostitution Outreach Program
San Bernardino County, CA	County Coalition Against Sexual Exploitation
San Diego, CA	Bilateral Safety Corridor Coalition
	GenerateHope
	Children of the Night
	STARS (Surviving Together, Achieving and Reaching for Success)
	ACTION Network, San Diego Youth and Community Services
San Francisco, CA	Standing Against Global Exploitation (The SAGE Project, Inc., or SAGE)
	Safe House
	Mary Magdalene Project
	Promise
Santa Ana, CA	Mary Magdalene Project
	Children of the Night
Schenectady, NY	Safe House
SeaTac, WA	Genesis Project
Seattle, WA	Asian & Pacific Islander Women & Family Safety Center
	Refugee Women's Alliance
	Street Outreach Services
	Rising Above Sexual Exploitation (RASE);
	The Bridge Program (a program of YouthCare)
	Children of the Night
	Genesis Project
	International Rescue Committee Seattle
	New Horizons Ministries
	Project Respect (partnership of YouthCare and Center for Children & Youth Justice)
St. Louis, MO	Covenant House
St. Paul, MN	Breaking Free
	Demand Change
Silver Spring, MD	Boat People SOS
Snohomish County, WA	Cocoon House
	Dawson Place Child Advocacy Center
Spokane, WA	Lutheran Community Services Northwest
Springfield, IL	PORA (Positive Options, Referrals, Alternatives)
Tacoma, WA	PROMISE (Prostitution Recovery Opportunity Mentoring, Intervention Services and Education)
Tampa, FL	Tampa Crossroads
Toledo, OH	Second Chance
Tucson, AZ	Doves prostitution diversion (Cactus Counseling)
	Southwest Intervention Services
Tyrone, GA	Wellspring Living
Vallejo, CA	ROSE (Reduction of Sexual Exploitation) Project
	Rosewood House
Van Nuys, CA	Mary Magdalene Project
	Children of the Night
Virginia, MN	Sexual Assault Program of Northern St. Louis County
Wahiawa, HI	Sisters Offering Support
Washington, DC	Angels Project Power
	Ayuda, Inc.
	Polaris Project
	Helping Individual Prostitutes Survive (HIPS) Program
	Covenant House

	Children of the Night
	Courtney's House
	Prostitution Intervention Prevention Program (PIPP; program of Restoration Ministries)
	Break the Chain Campaign
Washtenaw County, MI	Washtenaw County Project Outreach Team
Wichita, KS	Project Butterfly
	Street Outreach Program (Wichita Children's Home)
Worcester, MA	Developing Alternatives for Women Now (DAWN)
Yakima, WA	Comprehensive Mental Health

Totals: 242 programs and NGOs supporting survivors in **109** U.S. cities and counties.