



Michigan Family Impact Seminars

Prostituted Teens: More than a Runaway Problem



Briefing Report No. 2002-2

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Prostituted Teens: More Than a Runaway Problem

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Edited by

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Executive Summary

Nancy E. Walker

How Many Teens Are Prostituted?

- The U.S. Department of Justice estimates that between 100,000 and 3 million teens are prostituted in the United States each year.
- Estimates for **Michigan** vary widely, from 112 juveniles arrested for prostitution according to 1998 Michigan State Police records to more than 2,000 juveniles who may have been involved in prostitution (given the fact that 3,484 youth were arrested for running away and one-half to two-thirds of runaways end up prostituting themselves).
- In **Grand Rapids**, 70 females (including both juveniles and adults) are known to police officers as persons who regularly engage in street prostitution.
- In the spring of 2001, the **Lansing** Police Department uncovered a prostitution ring that involved more than 20 girls between the ages of 13 and 17 years.

What is the "Profile" of a Prostituted Teen?

- Teens who are vulnerable are prostituted.
- No class of adolescents is immune from the reaches of prostitution. Prostituted adolescents come from all socioeconomic classes, races, and ethnic groups.
- Two out of three prostituted teens are runaways; 84% report current or past homelessness.
- Ninety percent are survivors of sexual violence such as incest and sexual assault.

What are the Risk Factors for Becoming a Prostituted Teen?

- Truancy
- Delinquency
- Running away

- Homelessness
- Abuse and neglect
- Family dysfunction
- Rebellion

What are the Costs to Prostituted Teens?

- More than 80% report being physically assaulted; about one-fourth of these have had broken bones.
- More than 85% have contracted sexually transmitted diseases.
- More than two-thirds have been raped, many on repeated occasions.
- Approximately one-half have been victims of sexual abuse and torture, and one-fourth have been mutilated.
- Nearly 50% have attempted suicide.
- Mortality rate is 40 times higher than the national average.
- More than 75% have drug and/or alcohol problems.
- More than two-thirds meet the criteria for posttraumatic stress disorder.

What are the Costs to Society?

- Each prostitution-related arrest costs taxpayers approximately \$2,000.
- The average cost of controlling prostitution in U.S. cities is estimated to be nearly \$12 million. For cities the size of Detroit, estimates are as high as \$18 million.

What are the Laws Regarding Prostitution of Minors?

- The Mann Act prohibits transportation of minors in interstate or foreign commerce with the intent that they engage in sexual activity or prostitution.
- Title 18 of the U.S. Code also prohibits prostitution of children and transporting of minors for the purpose of engaging in sexual activity or prostitution.
- In **Michigan**, HB 5033 increases the penalty for second and subsequent offenses involving accosting children for immoral purposes to a Class D felony punishable by up to 10 years on prison.
- **Michigan's** HB 5032 (currently under consideration by the Senate) makes it a Class F felony—punishable by up to four years in prison and/or a \$2,000 fine—to accost, entice, or solicit a child for immoral purposes.
- Generally speaking, **Michigan's** current and proposed laws regarding prostitution of minors are *less* comprehensive and carry *milder* punishments than the laws of other Midwestern states.

What are the Recommendations of the University of Pennsylvania/National Institutes of Justice Study of the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children?

1. Efforts at protecting children from sexual exploitation must emphasize prevention as the first priority.
2. Target adult sexual exploiters of children for punishment, not the children.
3. Enforce more fully existing national and state laws relating to child sexual exploitation.
4. Increase the penalties associated with sexual crimes against children.
5. Support local communities in their efforts to strengthen local and state laws pertaining to child sexual exploitation.
6. Establish a national child sexual exploitation intelligence center.
7. Expand federally funded multi-jurisdictional task forces on child exploitation into all major federal and state jurisdictions.
8. Expand federally-funded internet crimes against child units into all major federal and state jurisdictions.
9. Enlarge the national pool of child sexual exploitation experts and specialists.
10. Promote effective public/private partnerships for combating child sexual exploitation.
11. Fund more specialized studies of perpetrators of child sexual exploitation and their victims.

What Successful Strategies Could Serve as Models for Michigan?

The Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE) Project, Inc., organized by and for survivors of prostitution, has developed several successful intervention programs in conjunction with the San Francisco District Attorney's Office and San Francisco Police Department. These programs include:

- Prevention Services for Girls
- The First Offenders Prostitution Program ("John School")
- The Sexual Exploitation and Violence Prevention and Treatment Program
- Juvenile Probation Training

Of the prostituted girls enrolled in SAGE's programs, 86% have avoided re-entry into the criminal justice system or re-victimization. From 1995 to 1997, the First Offenders Prostitution Program diverted more than 5,000 customers of prostitutes from criminal prosecution to an educational and rehabilitation experience. Of the men who had completed the program, 98% remained arrest free in 1997.

What Can Policymakers Do?

- Pass laws with stiffer penalties for johns, pimps, and others who profit from prostitution of children.

- Fund programs for intervening with prostituted teens.
- Fund programs for intervening with “johns,” such as “John Schools”.

What Can Families Do?

- Get to know your teen.
- Learn the early warning signs of prostitution.
- Improve your parenting skills.
- Establish and participate in support groups when a problem is identified.
- Seek counseling from professionals knowledgeable about prostitution.

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Catherine Nachtman is a student intern at ICYF. Katie coordinated the Fall 2000 Active Voices of Youth Leadership Conference, which brought in approximately 50 young participants from around Michigan. She has also attended meetings on the zero tolerance program with the Student Advocacy Center in Ann Arbor and written articles for Streamlines, the ICYF newsletter.



Prostituted Teens: A Problem for Michigan Too

Jessica Roman, Catherine Nachtman, and Nancy E. Walker

You feel like a piece of hamburger meat—all chopped up and barely holding together.

14-year-old teen on the trauma of prostitution (Weisberg, 1985)

What is the Scope of the Problem?

In 1998, the Department of Health and Human Services estimated that there were 300,000 prostitutes under the age of 18, while the United States Department of Justice estimated that the number of prostituted teens ranged from a low of 100,000 to a high of three million. The disparity in these estimates illustrates the point that it is extremely difficult to determine the number of teens who are prostituted. Factors that may be used to estimate the total number of prostituted youth include (a) teens arrested for prostitution, (b) young people in homeless/runaway shelters, and (c) youth in assistance programs. For example, each year between 1.2 million and 2 million teenagers hit the streets as runaways and "throwaways;" at least half of them turn to prostitution to survive (Gay, 1998).

Calculation of the scope of the problem is complicated by other factors as well. For example, most prostituted teens are not arrested for the crime of prostitution. Also, many teens who exchange sexual favors for food, drugs, or shelter do not consider themselves "prostituted;" rather, they believe that they are doing what they must do in order to survive. Therefore, estimates of the number of teens who are prostituted may represent serious undercounts.

No matter how the numbers are calculated, however, the costs of addressing this problem are staggering:

- National studies show that average arrest, court and incarceration costs add up to nearly \$2,000 per arrest for taxpayers (Buffalo Prostitution Task Force, 1999).
- It is estimated that cities spend an average of nearly \$12 million per year controlling prostitution (Pearl, 1987 [1985 dollars converted to 2001 dollars]).
- For larger cities, including Detroit, the average annual cost of controlling prostitution may exceed \$18 million (Pearl, 1987 [1985 dollars converted to 2001 dollars]).

How Serious is the Problem of Prostituted Teens in Michigan?

Official records provide little useful information for estimating the scope of the problem in Michigan. For example, the FBI's Uniform Crime Report shows only one juvenile male and no juvenile females arrested for prostitution in Michigan during the year 2000. In 1998 the Uniform Crime Reports indicated that there were 219 runaway offenses and 5 prostitution and commercial vice offenses in the entire state.

Other data sources suggest that these numbers are ludicrously low. For example, neighborhood eco-scans in Michigan indicate that prostitution-related offenses are far more common than FBI data suggest (Carl S. Taylor, researcher, January 22, 2002 interview). Juvenile Court Judge Bruce Newman of Flint, Michigan, noted that police often avoid arresting underage prostitutes because it requires "about three times as much paperwork," and "the juvenile detention center is usually full" (Hansen, 2001).

Various sources of data for 1998 show disparate estimates of the scope of the problem in Michigan, ranging from a low of 57 prostituted youth to a high of more than 2,000:

- 57 juveniles were arrested for prostitution and commercial vice, according to the Geospatial and Statistical Data Center (2001).
- 112 juveniles were arrested for prostitution and common law vice, according to the Michigan State Police.¹
- At least 458 juveniles are likely to have been involved in prostitution, given the fact that 917 juveniles were arrested for runaway charges (Michigan State Police, 1998) and one-half to two-thirds of runaways end up prostituting themselves (Flowers, 2001).
- Up to 2,323 juveniles may have been involved in prostitution, given the fact that 3,484 youth were arrested for running away (Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, 2001) and one-half to two-thirds of runaways end up prostituting themselves (Flowers, 2001).

Some data also are available by region. These numbers also likely represent undercounts of the true extent of the problem of prostitution in general and prostituted youth in particular.

Detroit

According to telephone survey data collected by the Advocacy Committee for Women's Concerns in 1999, prostitution-related arrests in Detroit numbered 1,972 in 1996; one year later, they had decreased to 1,559 (Advocacy Committee for Women's Concerns, 1999).

¹ Prostitution-related arrest data may not be a reliable source of information because arrest data are dependent on enforcement decisions and reporting practices of individual police departments, which vary considerably (Hofstede Commission Report, 1999).

Between the months of January and March, 2000, the Wayne County Prosecutor's Office made a concerted effort to crack down on "johns" in the city of Detroit. More than 100 officers set up "stings" in 50 locations throughout the city. As a result, the city seized the cars of 1,400 alleged customers of prostitution, resulting in the city receiving \$1.3 million in fines. In order to retrieve an impounded car, each individual had to wait 48 hours, pay \$950 to the county (with the fine doubling and tripling for second and third offenses), pay \$100 in storage and towing fees, pay a \$500 misdemeanor ticket, and, in some cases, undergo HIV testing and/or counseling (Shepardson, 2001).

Grand Rapids

All people care about is the spread of HIV and STDs to the "nice" people in town. Where do they think prostitutes get the diseases in the first place?

Prostitution survivor in Grand Rapids
(Prostitution Round Table, 2002, p. 10)

The Prostitution Round Table (PRT), funded by the Nokomis Foundation, has been collecting data on prostitution in Grand Rapids. PRT (2002) reports:

- 470 arrests of women for involvement in street prostitution during the past 2 years
- 222 prostitution-related charges issued by Grand Rapids police in 2000-2001
- 70 men (ages 21 to 75) arrested for prostitution-related offenses in a *one day* sting operation
- 70 females (both minors and adults) known to police officers as persons who regularly engage in street prostitution
- 40-50 women on probation for prostitution-related convictions at any given time in Grand Rapids
- 403 women in 1999 served by Rose Haven, a local organization providing outreach and housing services to women involved in prostitution
- 270 women engaged in prostitution in the Burton Heights area during a 16-month period

"LUCILLE"

Growing up in Grand Rapids, Michigan, in an alcoholic family, "Lucille" watched her mother being beaten countless times and was beaten herself if she intervened. She was subjected to incest at the hands of her father, uncles, and others. At 16 she was pregnant and spending time at a boyfriend's house to escape the abuse at home. There she met a "friend" who told her she could make a lot of money on South Division Street, a place known for prostitution. The woman took her to a bar on South Division. Lucille, eight months pregnant, was sure no one would want her, but, sure enough, someone did. She was scared, but she did what the man wanted and he gave her \$200. "I never made money so easy," she recalls. "I was hooked."

(Snow, 2000)

Lansing

In the spring of 2001, the Lansing Police Department uncovered a prostitution ring that involved more than 20 girls between the ages of 13 and 17 years. One 13-year-old

reported taking part in 30 sexual acts in one night on Lansing's streets. Generally, the girls share a number of characteristics:

- Most had struggled in school and had not attended school in months.
- Their pimps promised the girls cars and jewelry.
- All the money they earned—averaging \$600 per night in Lansing and \$1,000 per night in Detroit—went to their pimps.
- Several contracted as many as 3 sexually transmitted diseases, and some became pregnant.
- Most walked the streets alone at night and engaged in sex with elderly men.
- Some reported being held at gunpoint.
- All reported lack of parental involvement. The girls were looking for an adult who would show interest in them; this need was met by their pimp.

In Lansing, prostituted girls who want to find a way off the streets do not have anywhere to go. Most do not want to return to their families, but Lansing lacks a long-term shelter for youth under the age of 16.

Why Do Teens Turn to Prostitution?

Nationally, two out of three prostituted teens are runaways (Silbert, 1980), and 90% of those prostituted are survivors of sexual violence such as incest and sexual assault (Chicago Coalition for the Homeless, 2001). Approximately 84% of those prostituted report current or past homelessness (Farley & Barkan, 1998), as the case of "Christine" (below) illustrates.

"CHRISTINE: " SOMETHING LESS THAN HUMAN

In 1981, I became a statistic: I became a runaway teen, escaping sexual and physical abuse. When I ran away, I no longer had a place to live with my parents nor did I have a living relative who would take me in. Filled with a sense of bravado, invincibility and bravery, I left, figuring that my life couldn't be in any more jeopardy than it already was at what I'd called home. In leaving I hoped there would be no more broken bones, no more sexual abuse, no more rationalizations of molestation and cruelty. When I left that day, I had no more than a change of clothes and under one hundred dollars. No longer did my name, childhood identity, school or grades matter. All became irrelevant in the world I was about to enter.

As a runaway teen, your old concerns quickly disappear and are replaced by new, life threatening ones. There were no familiar faces and no one who wanted to talk to a teenage girl who was homeless; even my name became irrelevant. Instead, my concerns were more pragmatic, involving finding food, shelter, and water and passing time without the money to financially support these needs. I'd resorted to sleeping in cemeteries, and stealing food out of dumpsters and from convenience stores in order to eat. Getting drinking water and a chance to wash my face became quests of endurance. I had to hide from security guards, store and restaurant employees and others who didn't want a homeless girl "loitering." As a runaway teen, I was viewed as something less than human. Still, it was safer than going home.

Into my hunger, loneliness and desperation came a man named "Bruce."

Attractive, well dressed and very charismatic, he approached me in a suburban mall and offered to "help" me. He could provide me with food, shelter, clothing, work—and I really wanted to work. I wanted desperately

to be off the street and to have something to do. In essence he knew exactly how to manipulate a desperate teenage girl with his promises to fulfill all my needs. The manipulation began within minutes of meeting him. When I questioned whether or not this "work" was prostitution, he retracted the offer and began to walk away. Desperate, I ran after him, pleading with him to give me another chance and to forgive my insult.

Source: Excerpted from Leighton and DePasquale (1999)

What is the "Profile" of a Prostituted Teen?

No class of adolescents is immune from the reaches of prostitution. Prostituted adolescents originate from suburban, rural, and urban areas of the United States and come from all socioeconomic classes (Flowers, 2001). Studies show that middle and upper class teens increasingly are entering into prostitution (Weisberg, 1985), often to service an expensive lifestyle (United States Department of Justice, 1999). For example, a study in Minnesota revealed that one in four female prostitutes had a parent with some level of college education (Weisberg, 1985).

Prostitution is a problem for individuals of all races and ethnic groups, and for both genders. Most prostituted teens, however, are White girls. One study of prostituted teens in Minneapolis and San Francisco, for example, found that 60-80% were Caucasian, 10-15% were African American, and 2-11% were Native American and Hispanic. Asians and Pacific Islanders comprised a small number of the prostituted teens in these cities, but their rate of prostitution is on the rise (Flowers, 2001).

Available statistics on prostitution *arrests*, however, reveal a different pattern (see <http://www.bayswan.org/stats.html>). Of those arrested for prostitution-related offenses, 70% are prostituted females and 20% are prostituted males, but only 10% are customers. Although a minority of prostitutes are women of color, the majority of those sentenced to jail are women of color. Although "street workers" account for only about 20% of prostituted women, 85-90% of those arrested for prostitution work on the street.

Both male and female teens prostitute themselves, although there are geographic variations. For example, teenage males are especially likely to be prostituted in New Orleans and San Francisco (End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography, and the Trafficking of Children for Sexual Exploitation International [ECPAT], 1996), whereas teenage females are more likely targets in the Midwestern and Eastern United States (Marsha Liss, U.S. Department of Justice, Criminal Division, Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section, personal communication, January, 2002).

Promising Approaches for Addressing the Problem of Prostituted Youth

This briefing report describes several promising approaches for addressing the problem of prostituted youth. One approach currently available in Michigan is **Alternative for Girls**, located near the old Tiger Stadium in Detroit.

Alternatives for Girls is a community-based, private, non-profit organization with a paid staff as well as more than 300 volunteers. The organization provides three programs designed to reach young girls:

- **The Prevention Program** serves girls in southwest Detroit between the ages of 5 and 17 who are at risk of dropping out of school, abusing drugs and alcohol, becoming pregnant at an early age, engaging in gang activities, and/or becoming involved in an abusive relationship. AFG also provides services to the families of girls enrolled in the program. Under the guidance of trained adult volunteer leaders, the girls participate in weekly Girls' Club meetings and other activities

designed to bolster self-esteem, strengthen personal values, work on interpersonal skills, and improve school performance. In 2000, the Prevention Program served 161 girls ages 5-17 years. For the second year in a row, 100% of the Prevention Program participants who reached the age of 17 graduated from high school. This statistic is particularly impressive given the fact that Detroit's overall high school dropout rate is approximately 60%.

- **The Crisis Shelter/Transition to Independent Living Program** serves homeless girls and young women between the ages of 16 and 20 who are not in foster or judicial care. For most young women, the program begins with short-term shelter and counseling at AFG's 12-bed facility. During the 30-45 day shelter stay, and continuing for 12-18 months, trained staff assist the young women through an intense and structured program. Individual guidance and group programs are offered to help clients develop independent living skills, obtain and maintain employment, re-enter school and, when appropriate, enhance parenting skills. AFG has the only long-term independent living program exclusively for teenage girls in the city of Detroit.
- **The Street Outreach Program** has two components: The Young Women's Leadership Project and the Safe Choices Project.

The Young Women's Leadership Project trains and employs young women as peer educators to work with at-risk peers. Most peer educators came to AFG having participated in some type of high-risk activity, such as school truancy, substance abuse, or gang involvement. As part of the project, these young women receive training designed to bolster their self-esteem and develop their leadership potential so they can positively influence their peers.

The Safe Choices Project provides staff and volunteers to work directly on the street with homeless young women engaged in high-risk activities, such as prostitution and substance abuse. Using a van as a mobile base, teams comprised of staff and trained volunteers drive throughout the streets of southwest Detroit and the Cass Corridor offering necessities such as food, clothing, and shelter, along with HIV prevention materials, crisis intervention, transportation to medical services, and referrals. In addition to the services offered through the mobile unit, the project provides support groups, activities, and case management services.

Prostitution Terminology²

Prostitution: What is it? It is the use of a woman's [or girl's or boy's] body for sex by a man; he pays money, he does what he wants. The minute you move away from what it really is, you move away from prostitution into the world of ideas ... Prostitution is not an idea. It is the mouth, the vagina, the rectum, penetrated usually by a penis, sometimes hands, sometimes objects, by one man and then another and then another and then another and then another. That's what it is.

A prostituted woman (cited in Dworkin, 1997)

Child/Juvenile Prostitution

The act of engaging in sexual intercourse or performing other sex acts with a child in exchange for money or other considerations (e.g., food, clothing, shelter, affection, etc.).

Child Sexual Abuse

Sexual activity involving persons younger than 18 years of age. Most often perpetrated by an adult, such activities include rape and molestation, pornography, and exposure of children to the sexual acts of others.

Child Sexual Assault

Any sexual act directed against a person younger than 18 years of age, forcibly and/or against that person's will; or not forcibly or against the person's will where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of his/her temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity

Child Sexual Exploitation

A practice by which a person, usually an adult, achieves sexual gratification, financial gain or advancement through the abuse or exploitation of a child's sexuality by abrogating that child's human right to dignity, equality, autonomy, and physical and mental well-being, i.e., trafficking, prostitution, prostitution tourism, mail-order-bride trade, pornography, stripping, battering, incest, rape and sexual harassment.

Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

The sexual exploitation of children entirely, or at least primarily, for financial or other economic reasons. The economic exchanges may be either monetary or non-monetary (i.e., for food, shelter, drugs) but, in every case, involve maximum benefits to the exploiter and an abrogation of the basic rights, dignity, autonomy, physical and mental well-being of the child.

"John"

Slang term for a man who is a prostitute's customer.

Madam

A woman who runs or manages a brothel; she also may "recruit" persons into prostitution work.

² Adapted from Estes and Weiner (2001), Schaffner (1999), Whitbeck and Hoyt (1999), and Flowers (2001).

Pimp

An individual—usually a male—who promotes and/or profits from the sale and/or abuse of another person's body or sexuality for sexual purposes, or the production and/or sale of images made of that person, e.g., trafficker, pornographer, brothel madam, third party manager, talent director, mail-order bride agent, prostitution tour agent.

Runaway

A minor who leaves home or place of legal residence without the permission of parents or legal guardians for at least a 24-hour period of time.

Survival Sex

The exchange of sex for money or other considerations (e.g., food, shelter, drugs, etc.) by persons not perceiving themselves as engaging in prostitution but rather as doing "whatever is necessary" to ensure their survival. (NOTE: Researchers typically consider "survival sex" and "child prostitution" to be the same phenomenon and therefore use the terms interchangeably.)

Throwaway

A child who has been kicked out or locked out of home and told not to return. Also refers to a runaway child who is not actively sought by parent(s) after the child has run away.

Trick

Slang term for a client who hires a prostitute for an individual engagement.

Stephanie Eddy is a graduate student in Ecological-Community Psychology at Michigan State University. Her research is related to parent education programming for Latino/Hispanic parents. She has previously worked in the Wisconsin State Senate, and has been involved with the Michigan Family Impact Seminars since their beginning in the Summer of 1999.



Prostitution: Myths and Realities

Stephanie A. Eddy and Nancy E. Walker

My pimp knocked me out with a baseball bat. I woke up and he was sewing my head up. He wouldn't even take me to the hospital. How could I get away? He'd kill me first; besides, he was all I knew. I had been with him since I was 12.

Vanessa, age 18 (Source: Hotaling, 2000)

MYTH: *Prostitutes are adult women.*

REALITY: The average age for girls beginning to engage in prostitution is 14 (Giobbe, 1992). Many young boys and men also are prostituted (ECPAT International, 1996).

MYTH: *Prostitution is glamorous; it's a "chosen" lifestyle that employs willing participants who make a good living.*

REALITY: Prostituted teens are abused and threatened by pimps who must control them in order to keep them "turning tricks" (Paul & Lisa Program, Inc., 2002). More than half of prostituted juveniles report being beaten regularly by their pimp, and 93% report being beaten by a trick (or customer) (Facts About Juvenile Prostitution, 1993). A study of prostitutes in Portland, Oregon revealed that 78% had been victims of rape by pimps and male buyers an average of 49 times per year (Council for Prostitution Alternatives study, as cited in Raymond, 1998). A study of prostituted individuals in 5 countries revealed that 92% wanted to escape immediately from a life of prostitution (Farley, Baral, Kiremire, & Sezgin, 1998). Furthermore, prostituted teens do not make a lot of money; the money spent on prostituted teens goes into the pockets of the pimp or other exploiter (Greene, 2001).

MYTH: *Only "bad" teenagers who already are promiscuous are prostituted.*

REALITY: Teens who are vulnerable are prostituted; even teens from middle- and upper-middle-class homes can be vulnerable to prostitution (Hofstede, 1999). Pimps and madams use a highly calculated approach, gradually building a comforting relationship with the vulnerable teen until she or he is dependent upon them financially and emotionally -(Barry, 1981). Then the teen is introduced to the world of prostitution (Saikaew, 1996).

MYTH: *Prostitution is a big city problem affecting the poor.*

REALITY: Those who are poor may be especially vulnerable to prostitution, especially if they are young girls on the street. Increasingly, however, prostitution is a suburban problem involving individuals from middle-class homes (Hofstede, 1999). The economic status of the families of prostituted children and teens generally is middle class (Saikaew, 1996).

MYTH: *Prostitution primarily takes place on street corners in so-called "red light districts."*

REALITY: Counter to common perceptions, street prostitution constitutes only about 10 to 15% of all prostitution activity in the United States (National Organization for Women, 1981). Other prostitution activities involve brothels, out-call services, dating agencies, massage parlors, phone sex, hotel and tourist-related services, strip clubs, pornographic bookstores, sex clubs, and lap dancing. Recruitment for prostitution takes place wherever teens "hang out"—for example in malls or parks—and especially where runaways might be, such as bus or train stops. Acts of prostitution can occur anywhere: in fancy hotels, in abandoned buildings, and in hallways, as well as on the street. The internet is the newest place children and teens are likely to be recruited into prostitution or other forms of commercial sexual exploitation (Paul & Lisa Program, Inc., 2002).

MYTH: *"Hookers" create the demand for prostitution.*

REALITY: The demand for prostitution is created by men—men of all races and all cultural, educational, and socioeconomic backgrounds. These are individuals who believe they have a "right" to service. They include family members, neighbors, supervisors, and highly-placed men such as CEOs of corporations and politicians, among others.

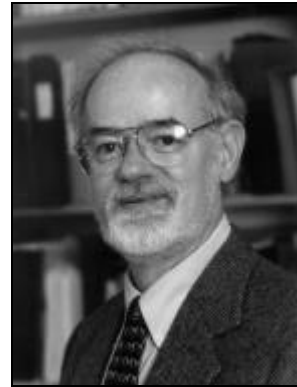
MYTH: *Sex with prostituted children and teens is safer than sex with prostituted adults.*

REALITY: Children actually are more prone to sexually transmitted diseases than are adults (Saikaew, 1996).

MYTH: *Pimps drive big flashy cars and wear gold chains, white shoes, and non-traditional suits.*

REALITY: Pimps cannot be discerned by race, color, or financial status. Pimps masquerade as talent scouts, professional businessmen, sports persons, teachers, photographers, and others. Often, they remind someone of the "man next door" (Paul & Lisa Program, Inc., 2002).

Richard Estes, Ph.D., is Professor of Social Work at the University of Pennsylvania. He is the Principal Investigator (with Neil Weiner) of a two-year study and co-author of the report, The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico. The project involved a unique partnership among governmental and non-governmental agencies, universities, and child advocacy organizations and included interviews of more than 1,000 key informants (including street children, prostituted children, johns, pimps, and law enforcement and social service personnel). The report discusses the causes and scope of the problem of the commercial sexual exploitation of children and describes 11 recommendations to strengthen capacity for protecting vulnerable youth.



The Silent Emergency: The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the United States, Canada, and Mexico

Richard J. Estes

Child Sexual Exploitation: A Virulent Problem

The benefits of economic globalization, internationalization, and free trade have brought with them an unanticipated set of social problems. Among them is a dramatic rise worldwide in the incidence of child exploitation. Among the most virulent forms of this exploitation are *child sexual exploitation* (CSE), which includes child sexual abuse, and the *commercial sexual exploitation of children* (CSEC), which includes child pornography, juvenile prostitution, trafficking in children for sexual purposes, and child sex tourism. Today, child sexual exploitation is recognized as the most neglected form of child abuse in the United States.

Prostitution, pornography and even trafficking in persons for sex are not new phenomena in the United States. The increasing seriousness and extent of childhood prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation of children committed each year are new, however. UNICEF (1997) estimated that the number of children so exploited was in the tens of millions worldwide. In the United States, the number exceeds 200,000 children and youth between the ages of 10 and 17 years. Additional thousands of American children are known to be the victims of sexual abuse within their own homes.

The University of Pennsylvania/National Institutes of Justice Study of the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

Because patterns of child sexual exploitation in North America had not previously been studied, researchers from the University of Pennsylvania partnered with the National

Institutes of Justice and several foundations to study the nature, extent and severity of the commercial sexual exploitation of children in the North American region.

Project Goals

The project had several primary goals:

1. Identification of the nature, extent, and underlying causes of CSE and CSEC occurring in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico;
2. Identification of the subgroups of children who are at the greatest risk of being sexually exploited;
3. Identification of subgroups of adult perpetrators of sex crimes against children—including pimps, traffickers, and adult “customers” of children for sex;
4. Identification of the extent to which organized criminal units are involved in CSEC, but especially in juvenile prostitution and trafficking in children for sexual purposes;
5. To the extent possible, identification of the modes of operation and other methods used by organized criminal units to recruit children into sexually exploitative activities;
6. Identification of local, state and national laws relating to CSE and CSEC;
7. Identification of international agreements, covenants and declarations pertaining to CSE and CSEC;
8. Identification of the strengths and weakness of the country’s current capacity for preventing, or at least protecting, children from sexual exploitation; and, with local, state and national governmental and nongovernmental representatives, framing recommendations designed to strengthen the nation’s capacity to prevent, or at least protect, the nation’s and region’s children from such exploitation.

Study Methods

The project involved a unique partnership between: (1) leading governmental and nongovernmental organizations located in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico; (2) three universities (one located in each country); (3) two international child advocacy organizations; (4) the leading national child welfare organization in the U.S; (5) a major professional association (the National Association of Social Workers); (6) the federal government; (7) private foundations; and (8) two universities that contributed to the project’s financial backing.

To investigate the problem of the commercial sexual exploitation of children, from January 1999 to March 2001 the researchers used a multi-strategy approach to data collection, including:

- Reviews of published and unpublished literature
- Focus group meetings in 28 specially targeted cities in North America, including 17 U.S. cities: Chicago, Dallas, Detroit, El Paso, Honolulu, Las Vegas, Los Angeles, Miami, New York, New Orleans, Oakland, Philadelphia, San Antonio, San Diego, San Francisco, San Jose, and Seattle
- Interviews with nearly 1,000 key informants, including:
 - 124 sexually exploited runaway and “throwaway” street children;
 - 86 sexually exploited children in the care of local human service and law enforcement agencies;
 - 164 representatives of Federal law enforcement agencies;
 - 146 representatives of state, county and local law enforcement agencies;
 - 93 representatives of public human service agencies;

- 196 representatives of local private human service agencies;
 - Adult customers of child sex
 - Adult traffickers in children for sex
 - 51 representatives of international nongovernmental organizations; and
 - 60 members of a tri-national research team (U.S., Canada, and Mexico) and International Advisory Board
- Statistical surveys
 - Analysis of each country’s laws, legal codes, and procedures relating to child victims and perpetrators of CSEC
 - Analysis of international treaties and documents that address the issue of child sexual exploitation

What Are the Study’s Major Findings?

The investigators confirmed that:

1. Although the precise number of commercially sexually exploited children in the United States could not be determined, approximately 240,000 to 325,000 American children are believed to be “at risk” of sexual victimization each year.
2. As a group, sexually exploited children are quite heterogeneous. They include children living in their own homes—even middle- and upper-middle-class homes—as well as children who are runaways and “throwaways.”
3. Sexual exploiters consist mostly of men, but some women and juveniles (including older siblings) sexually exploit children as well.
4. Criminal networks are actively involved in the sexual exploitation of children and profit significantly from that exploitation.
5. Substantial numbers of foreign children are trafficked into the U.S. for sexual purposes.
6. Significant numbers of American youth are trafficked for sexual purposes across the U.S. and, in some cases, to other economically advanced countries.
7. Some forms of child sexual exploitation are more common, whereas others occur relatively infrequently.

FORMS OF CHILD SEXUAL EXPLOITATION	
<i>More Common</i>	<i>Less Common</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Molestation by acquaintances • Molestation by family members • Pornography • For boys, gay sex • For girls, nude dancing, stripping and modeling • For girls, pimp controlled prostitution • For boys, more entrepreneurial pornography and prostitution • For girls, sex as contribution to gang economy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “White” slavery • Servitude and indenturing • Participation in national or international organized crime networks that include child sexual services in their “portfolio” of services

The Plight of Street Youth

The investigation also provided evidence that children living on America's streets are subject to an extraordinary range of social, emotional, physical, health and economic risks not experienced by other children. Poverty is rampant among these children, as are hunger and malnutrition. Children suffer from illnesses caused by exposure to the weather, eating garbage from restaurant dumpsters and sleeping in vermin-infested areas. Sexually transmitted diseases are also rampant among street youth and are especially high among those street youth who engage in prostitution. Street youth also fall victim to violence inflicted by peers, pimps, "customers," and others. Street youth suffer disproportionately from serious mental illnesses.

Recommendations

The recommendations that follow were distilled from the many shared with us by sexually exploited children, and law enforcement and human service professionals with whom we met. They reflect six basic priorities:

1. Focus on prevention as the first priority.
2. Reduce harm.
3. Attend to gender issues as factors that contribute to child sexual exploitation.
4. Provide systematic public and professional education on child sexual exploitation.
5. Focus on early identification and more intensive supervision of sexually offending adults and juveniles.
6. Fund and conduct more in-depth research into other societal factors that contribute to child sexual exploitation.

Recommendation 1: Protect the Children

Efforts at protecting children from sexual exploitation must emphasize prevention as the first priority. Accordingly, we recommend that:

- A lead federal agency, or consortium of agencies, be given primary responsibility for protecting children from sexual exploitation.
- Sexually offending adults and juveniles must be given the unequivocal message that "it is not okay" to sexually molest children.
- Children must be empowered to report incidents of illicit sexual contact to law enforcement and human service authorities.
- Local and state human service and law enforcement agencies must have access to the resources needed to investigate fully all reported cases of child sexual abuse and child sexual assault.
- Local and state human and law enforcement agencies must have access to the resources needed to adequately supervise all case of substantiated or indicated child sexual abuse over the long term.
- Local and state human service and law enforcement agencies must have the resources needed to assist runaway, thownaway and homeless youth from becoming victims of child sexual exploitation.
- Local and state human service and law enforcement agencies must have access to resources needed to serve transient runaway and homeless youth who enter their communities.

- States and other jurisdictions must have access to the resources needed to cooperate fully with one another in monitoring the presence, location and activities of convicted child sexual offenders.
- Parents, schools, child advocacy organizations, and youth groups need to work together in developing and disseminating messages related to the protection of children from sexual exploitation.
- Public media, especially television networks and the movie and music industries, share a heavy responsibility for disseminating age-appropriate and accurate messages concerning the nature, extent and seriousness of child sexual exploitation in contemporary American society.

Recommendation 2: Target Adult Sexual Exploiters of Children for Punishment, Not the Children

Sexually exploited children often are re-victimized by the very agencies that have been designed to assist them. We therefore recommend that:

- Local and state law enforcement agencies shift their priorities away from the apprehension of sexually involved street youth to the apprehension and punishment of adult perpetrators of sex crimes against children — pimps, traffickers and customers.
- Federal law enforcement agencies become more involved in the identification and prosecution of adults involved in national sex crime rings that include child sex in their “portfolio” of services.
- Appropriate mechanisms be found for local and state human service agencies to work more cooperatively with law enforcement authorities in the apprehension of sexually offending adults who commit sexual crimes against children.

Recommendation 3: Enforce More Fully Existing National and State Laws Relating to Child Sexual Exploitation

This investigation has confirmed a pattern of “benign neglect” on the part of many law enforcement and human service agencies vis-à-vis exploited children and youth. Therefore, we recommend that the federal government assume a leadership position in encouraging both its own agencies and those of state and local governments to implement fully all national and state laws pertaining to the protection of children from sexual exploitation. Specifically:

- All federal, state, and local agencies whose mission includes the protection of children should develop strategic plans for implementing federal laws related to the sexual exploitation of children.
- The federal government should create financial incentives for state and local governments to implement all laws related to the sexual exploitation of children within their jurisdictions.
- Federal, state, and local governments should develop a system that holds accountable governmental agencies that fail to comply with relevant laws pertaining to the sexual exploitation of children.

Recommendation 4: Increase the Penalties Associated With Sexual Crimes Against Children

While no one can forecast exactly the net impact of greater or enhanced criminal penalties in reducing child sexual exploitation, there is an important logic for doing so. We therefore recommend the following:

- Make current statutes relevant to child sexual exploitation more consistent in severity with other acts of commensurate seriousness, like drug and arms trafficking.
- Convene a multidisciplinary group of legal and advocacy experts to draft a model penal code to inform and shape legislation related to child sexual exploitation.

Recommendation 5: Support Local Communities in Their Efforts to Strengthen Local and State Laws Pertaining to Child Sexual Exploitation

At the same time that work is done by governmental and nongovernmental groups to change the penalty structure and hierarchy of statutes pertaining to child sexual exploitation, work also needs to be done in strengthening the statutes that already exist. Accordingly, we recommend the following:

- Apply current statutes in a more consistent manner by taking steps to adopt sentencing guidelines, such as those used at the federal level and in many states.
- Develop sentencing guidelines for child sexual exploitation, mounting a multi-state review of actual sentences meted out.

Recommendation 6: Establish a National Child Sexual Exploitation Intelligence Center

This investigation has demonstrated the need for a full-time intelligence gathering and strategic planning apparatus for monitoring national trends related to child sexual exploitation. To that end, we recommend that a National Child Sexual Exploitation Intelligence Center be established. The goals of the Center would include:

- To support national policy makers and law enforcement decision makers with strategic domestic intelligence regarding child sexual exploitation;
- To support national counter-exploitation efforts; and
- To conduct and report on a timely basis regional, national, and state child sexual exploitation threat assessments.

Recommendation 7: Expand Federally Funded Multi-Jurisdictional Task Forces on Child Exploitation Into All Major Federal and State Jurisdictions

Federally-initiated multi-jurisdictional task forces on child sexual exploitation have demonstrated great promise in the communities in which they are located. Therefore, we recommend that federally-funded multi-jurisdictional task forces on child sexual exploitation be established and systematically evaluated in all major federal and state jurisdictions.

Recommendation 8: Expand Federally-Funded Internet Crimes Against Child Units Into All Major Federal and State Jurisdictions

Federally-initiated units on Internet crimes against children have demonstrated great promise in the 30 communities in which they have been implemented. We therefore recommend that federally-funded Internet crimes against children units be established and systematically evaluated in all major federal and state jurisdictions.

Recommendation 9: Enlarge the National Pool of Child Sexual Exploitation Experts and Specialists

A serious shortage exists nationally in the number and types of specialists in child sexual exploitation. These shortages are most apparent in the forensics area but also are manifest in judicial and prosecutorial agencies. An urgent need also exists for more social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, educators, physicians, lawyers, police officers, coroners and others with special expertise in child sexual exploitation. We therefore recommend the following:

- Federal and state governments should significantly expand programs of continuing education focused on increasing the pool of legal, correctional and human service professionals with specialized expertise in the nature, extent, dynamics and impact of sexual exploitation of children and their families.
- Federal and state governments and agencies should pay increased attention to child sexual exploitation content and practices in the curricula and training programs of all professional disciplines that share responsibility for assisting sexually exploited children and their families.
- Agencies should promote increasingly levels of interdisciplinary and inter-agency education and cooperation in the field of child sexual exploitation.

Recommendation 10: Promote Effective Public/Private Partnerships for Combating Child Sexual Exploitation

A successful national campaign to combat child sexual exploitation will require active participation of all public and private stakeholders working with and on behalf of sexually exploited children and their families. We recommend that the stakeholders:

- Develop local, state and national councils (coalitions and task forces) of public and private stakeholders committed to the elimination of child sexual exploitation.
- Ensure that these councils develop multi-year strategic plans that include specific goals and timetables for measuring and reducing the prevalence of child sexual exploitation within their communities.
- Develop nationally linked coordinating mechanisms whereby local and state strategic plans for the elimination of child sexual exploitation can be integrated into a comprehensive national plan of action.

Recommendation 11: Fund More Specialized Studies of Perpetrators of Child Sexual Exploitation and Their Victims

The present investigation represents a unique “first generation” inquiry into the nature, extent, dynamics and seriousness of child sexual exploitation in the U.S. Many surprising and unsettling facts have been uncovered concerning child sexual exploitation in contemporary American society and we have reported these findings in considerable detail in our full report (Estes & Weiner, 2001). Even so, additional research is needed.

We recommend that additional research be undertaken in the following areas:

- Understanding more fully those aspects of American collective life that appear to contribute directly to the commercial sexual exploitation of children—i.e., changing societal values and mores, weakening family structures, the persistence of male dominance over females, and the apparent confusion on the part of many adults concerning the right of children not to be physically, emotionally or sexually violated;
- Development of more detailed profiles of adult sexual exploiters of children;
- Development of more detailed profiles of juvenile sexual offenders;
- Development of more detailed profiles and modes of operation of “pimps” and others who systematically promote the commercial exploitation of juveniles;
- Development of more detailed profiles and modes of operation of national and international “traffickers” of children for sexual purposes;
- Understanding more fully the nature and extent of the commercial sexual exploitation of youth who self-identify as sexual minorities (e.g., gays, lesbians, bi-sexuals);
- Exploring the nature and extent of commercial sexual exploitation of girls associated with gangs;
- Understanding the nature and extent of the commercial sexual exploitation of American youth who cross international borders in pursuit of cheaper drugs, alcohol and sex with child nationals of other countries;
- Comprehending the nature and extent of commercial sex activities among middle income and other comparatively “well-off” youth living in their own homes;
- Understanding the nature and extent of the commercial sexual exploitation of youth living in poverty;
- Investigation of the international dimensions of the commercial sexual exploitation of children with a U.S. nexus;
- Understanding the near- and long-term impact of sexual exploitation of children and youth as they mature into adults; and
- Determining cost (and profit) estimates associated with the commercial sexual exploitation of children.

The Need for Policy Development

The road ahead to protect America’s children and youth from sexual exploitation and commercial sexual exploitation is long, and success is uncertain. The results of this research effort elucidate the need for collateral policy development and strategic planning in dealing with these issues. Policy development must occur at the local, state, national, and international levels because of the mobility involved in the commercial sexual exploitation of children. Policy development must engage the talents and resources of all those persons and organizations working to protect children from child sexual exploitation, and these efforts must be adequately financed. Nothing short of a comprehensive and well-coordinated approach to enhancing the nation’s capacity for preventing and protecting children from the horrors of child sexual exploitation will succeed.

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What Are the Costs When Teens Are Prostituted?

Thomas Judd, Jessica Roman, and Stephanie A. Eddy

It costs \$26,000-\$30,000 to incarcerate a woman for one year. It costs society an additional \$20,000 per year to provide for a child whose mother is incarcerated. In contrast, it costs \$14,000-\$17,000 to rehabilitate a woman for one year.

Genesis House, a residential program for prostituted women in Chicago

Who are the Beneficiaries of Prostituted Children?

Commercial sexual exploitation of children is a thriving business, both in the United States and in Michigan, and a lucrative endeavor for certain individuals. The fact that prostitution of children is illegal "does not negate the laws of supply and demand" (Greenfield, 1993). Young girls and boys on the street enter into prostitution as a means of survival, selling sexual favors for food, clothing, shelter, or drugs—or turning their proceeds over to a pimp.

How do I know these kids are worth money? 'Cause I been living off them for years, that's how. All kinds of people will buy them. You wouldn't believe it. What do I care if they want to throw away a couple of hundreds of dollars to screw some stupid 13-year-old? I could care less, so long as they give me their money.

Phil, a 46-year-old pimp (Campagna, 1988)

Successful pimps capitalize on the demand for vulnerable young girls and boys; as a result, they may earn large sums of money. A mid-1980s study of one pimp who managed 26 prostitutes revealed that he earned \$200,000 during one seven-month period—or approximately \$343,000 per year—none of which was reported to the Internal Revenue Service (Reynolds, 1986). In 2001 dollars, this pimp's income would be \$536,795.³ Pimps are the true beneficiaries of prostituted youth.

³The 2001 dollar figure was calculated by taking the average of two conversion rates. The U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis sets its implicit price deflator from 1985 to 2001 at 48% (available at <http://www.bea.doc.gov>); the Bureau of Labor

What Are the Costs to Prostituted Youth?

In prostitution, no woman [or girl or boy] stays whole. It is impossible to use a human body in the way women's bodies are used in prostitution and to have a whole human being at the end of it, or in the middle of it, or close to the beginning of it. It's impossible.

A prostituted woman (cited in Dworkin, 1997)

Prostituted women and youth are victims of frequent violent crimes, which generally are not reported to authorities (Monto & Hotaling, 2001). Teens are at extraordinary risk of a variety of physical and emotional consequences associated with prostitution. These consequences include:

- **Assault:** A study of prostituted women and girls in Oregon found that 84% reported suffering physical or aggravated assaults (cited in Raymond, 1998). In San Francisco, 82% reported being physically assaulted (Farley & Barkan, 1998).
- **Broken bones:** A study of prostituted women in Minneapolis/St. Paul found that half of those interviewed had been physically assaulted by "johns" (customers); 23% of those reported that they had had broken bones as a result of the assaults (Raymond, 1998).
- **Other physical injuries:** Of the prostituted women in the Minnesota study, 90% reported having experienced violence in their "personal relationships" that caused one or more of the following (Raymond, 1998):
 - Miscarriage
 - Stabbing
 - Loss of consciousness
 - Head injuries
- **Sexually transmitted diseases (STDs):** Prostituted women and girls are exposed to STDs with alarming frequency; in the study of prostituted women in Minnesota, 85% had contracted chlamydia, syphilis, gonorrhea, or herpes at least once. Children are at even higher risk than adults for contracting STDs (Saikaew, 1996).
- **Rape:** Prostituted women and girls report being raped as often as once a week (DePasquale, 1997). The Council for Prostitution (1998) conducted a study of prostituted women and girls in Portland, Oregon and found that 78% of those surveyed reported being raped an average of 49 times per year. A study of prostituted women and girls in San Francisco found that 68% had been raped; 48% of those said they had been raped more than 5 times (Farley & Barkan, 1998).
- **Sexual abuse/torture/mutilation:** The Council for Prostitution Alternatives found that 53% of prostituted women and girls were victims of sexual abuse and torture, and 27% had been mutilated (cited in Raymond, 1997).
- **Suicide attempts:** A study in Minnesota revealed that 46% of prostituted women had attempted suicide; 19% had tried to harm themselves in other ways (Raymond, 1998). In San Francisco, 5% reported that they were "currently suicidal" (Farley & Barkan, 1998).

- **Mortality:** In Canada, women and girls in prostitution are reported to have a mortality rate 40 times higher than the national average (Canadian Report on Prostitution and Pornography, cited in DePasquale, 1997).
- **Drug and alcohol abuse:** In San Francisco, prostituted women reported drug abuse problems at a rate of 75%, and 27% reported an alcohol abuse problem (Farley & Barkan, 1998).
- **Acute emotional problems:** In San Francisco, 17% of prostituted women interviewed wanted immediate hospital admission for an acute emotional problem or drug addiction, or both. One commonly reported form of emotional problem is Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).⁴
 - One study of PTSD among prostituted women found that 68% met the criteria for the PTSD diagnosis, while 76% met the criteria for partial PTSD (Farley & Barkan, 1998).
 - The average PTSD score of interviewees was comparable to the mean scores of Vietnam and Persian Gulf war veterans seeking treatment for PTSD (Farley & Barkan, 1998).
 - A study of PTSD among prostituted women in five countries revealed that while there was more physical violence to prostituted women in the street as opposed to prostituted women in brothels, there was no difference in the incidence of PTSD (Farley, Baral, Kiremire, & Sezgin, 1998).

These facts make painfully clear the exceptionally high price paid by women and girls who engage in prostitution.

What Are the Costs to Society?

Prostitution also exacts a high toll on society. Cities, counties, and taxpayers all bear the brunt of the costs for police and judicial personnel and correctional programs necessary to prosecute crimes and punish offenders who engage in prostitution. For example, in any given year, the San Francisco police make an average of 4,000 prostitution-related arrests. The San Francisco District Attorney's Office estimates the annual cost for prosecuting prostitution is approximately \$4.1 million, without including the high costs of incarceration and probation (Innovations in American Government Program, 2002).

Police costs accumulate because of the amount of time required for processing each arrest, including obtaining a solicitation; making an arrest of the prostituted teen, john, pimp, or promoter; transporting the person(s) to the station; completing the arrest; and testifying at trial. The majority of the police costs come from the officer testifying in court (Pearl, 1987).

Time is also the key component of the judicial costs. Reasons such as no legal counsel, or stall tactics, lead to more than one court appearance. The prosecution of an average prostitute, john, or pimp requires nearly four hours of a court's full attention over a period of weeks or months (Pearl, 1987).

Only about 11% of convicted prostitutes in America are sentenced to jail terms. However, because the sentences for prostitution are longer than most other misdemeanors, convicted prostitutes make up as much as 50% of women's jails in large cities (Pearl, 1987).

⁴ Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) is a psychiatric disorder that can result when people have experienced "extreme traumatic stressors involving direct personal experience of an event that involves actual or threatened death or serious injury; or other threat to one's personal integrity; or witnessing an event that involves death, injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of another person; or learning about unexpected or violent death, serious harm, or threat of death or injury experienced by a family member or other close associate" (American Psychiatric Association, 1994).

As Table 1 shows, the mean for 16 major cities in America to control prostitution each year is estimated to be nearly \$12 million; for “Big Six” cities (including Detroit, Michigan), the average annual cost of controlling prostitution is estimated to be more than \$18 million.

Comparing these costs with estimated costs for prostitution prevention and protection programs (see “San Francisco’s Successful Strategies” and “A Model Program from the State of Minnesota” in this report), it is clear why states—including Michigan—should be interested in funding programs designed to reduce prostitution.

TABLE 1
AVERAGE ESTIMATED COSTS FOR CITIES TO CONTROL PROSTITUTION (2001)*

	<i>Detroit</i>	<i>“Second Cities”**</i>	<i>“Big Six” Cities***</i>	<i>Average: 16 Cities</i>
Police	\$ 8,674,094	\$ 3,758,742	\$ 7,600,205	\$ 5,199,290
Judicial	\$ 3,387,912	\$ 2,286,179	\$ 5,482,541	\$ 3,484,815
Correctional	\$ 4,199,487	\$ 1,659,410	\$ 5,519,483	\$ 3,107,523
Total	\$16,261,492	\$ 7,705,270	\$ 18,602,229	\$11,791,629

Source: Pearl (1987).

*2001 dollars represent a conversion from numbers derived from a 1985 study of the costs of prostitution on major American cities (Pearl, 1987). Dollar figures for 2001 represent the average of two conversion rates, one more conservative and the other more liberal: the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis sets its implicit price deflator, from 1985 to 2001, at 48%, available at <http://stats.beau.doc.gov>; the Bureau of Labor Statistics sets its consumer price index of inflation from 1985 to 2001 at 65% (available at <http://www.bls.gov>).

**“Second” Cities (population 500,000 – 1,000): Dallas, San Diego, Phoenix, Baltimore, San Francisco, Memphis, Washington D.C., Cleveland, Boston, New Orleans

***“Big Six” Cities (population over 1,000,000): New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, Philadelphia, Detroit

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What are the Risk Factors for Becoming a Prostituted Teen?

Susan Peterson, Catherine Nachtman, and Jessica Roman

Pimps target girls who are naïve, lonely, homeless, and rebellious.

Melissa Farley (2000), Researcher

Consider the case of "Hilda," a teen prostituted in Michigan.

At age 12, Hilda began running away from her father's home with her older sister after their mother abandoned them. They wanted to get their mother's attention and let her know that they needed her in their lives, so they skipped school, stayed at different places, got high and drunk, and had sex with older men. They both were placed on probation for truancy and running away. Hilda's older sister has turned her life around, but Hilda is still on the run – and getting worse.

For two years, Hilda was on intensive probation and had a college-age mentor. While on structured probation, Hilda attended school, raised her grades, participated in drug rehabilitation, and only occasionally ran away. Eventually, Hilda "slipped" in rehab; eventually the program kicked her out for being "disruptive." The courts did not pursue any further action to get her more services. She was informed that she had one more week left on probation; in that last week she ran away and skipped school every day. When she returned, she was told that the courts were "sick of dealing with her" and believed that she never would change.

Since being given the message that she is "hopeless," Hilda has missed every single day of school, has become increasingly involved with drugs, and has entered into prostitution. One of her customers, a 50-60 year old man formerly employed by a major corporation in Michigan, has paid 14-year-old Hilda on two occasions to have sex with him. Hilda says she never is returning home.

As the case of "Hilda" illustrates, no single factor predicts a teen's likelihood of entering the underworld of prostitution. Perhaps surprisingly, among street prostitutes surveyed in Los Angeles in May 1997, 90% reported that they had grown up in families that attended church, had attended parochial schools, or were raised in church-based orphanages (Advocacy Committee for Women's Concerns, 1999).

Typically, a variety of factors converge to produce a climate conducive to youth becoming involved in prostitution. These factors include truancy, delinquency, running away, homelessness, abuse and/or neglect, dysfunctional home environment, and a tendency to be rebellious.

Truancy

A child who has been expelled from school or is no longer interested in pursuing an education is at a high risk for becoming involved in prostitution (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2002). Of prostituted teens in Michigan, 42% report high levels of truancy before and after turning to prostitution, although only 7% had totally dropped out of school (Michigan Network, 1995). Unsupervised, unguided, and unmotivated, these children view prostitution as an easy way to make money.

Delinquency

According to the Michigan Network (1995), prostituted youth report having engaged in a variety of acts of delinquency including drug use (54%), gang involvement (32%), and violent behavior (42%). Some youth had been charged with misdemeanors (14%) and felonies (8%). Michigan youth also reported having problems with their peers and lacking social skills (Michigan Network, 1995).

Running Away

An estimated one to one and a half million children leave home each year. These children may be runaways, youth under the age of 18 who leave home without the permission of their parents or legal guardian, or "throwaways" – those youth who are forced to leave home or who are not actively sought after when they do leave home. In the United States, a child is thrown away from home every 26 seconds (Flowers, 2001; Robertson & Toro, 1998; Whitbeck & Hoyt, 1999; Schaffner, 1999).

When children end up on the streets, they give up their childhood. They are forced to take on roles that normally are held by adults. On the streets, youth must find food, shelter, clothing, and other necessities for themselves.

However, there are very few legitimate ways that runaways can support themselves. Financial aid programs usually are unavailable to minors, and keeping or getting a job is difficult without a permanent place to live. When applying for a job, many have to leave blank the name, phone number, address, education, work experience, and reference questions on the application form. Some youth do not want to let people know their real name or provide information about adults they know for fear that they will be sent home. With no permanent place to call home, they have no address or phone number. Many drop out of school when they leave home, and many are too young to have any previous work experience. Even if they do get a legitimate job, many do not have sufficient identification to cash a check. Also, because they lack connections, youth often cannot borrow money to "get by" (Cutler, 1994; Whitbeck & Hoyt, 1999; Robertson & Toro, 1998).

Hungry, cold, and lacking opportunities, runaways turn to delinquent behavior in order to survive. Some get involved with theft and drugs trafficking. Others turn to prostitution to survive. Outreach workers serving children living on the streets of Los Angeles estimated that 5,000 homeless, abandoned, and/or runaway youth are engaging in some form of "survival sex" (Advocacy Committee for Women's Concerns, 1999).

According to the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, up to 77% of teens involved with prostitution report running away from home at least once before turning to prostitution (Flowers, 2001). A study of runaways in Denver reported that 24% of their

sample said that they had exchanged sex for food, money, or drugs at some point in their lives (Aid for Teens, 2001). A study of street youth in Los Angeles reported that 43% of the respondents had participated in "survival sex" (Robertson & Toro, 1998). At a Hollywood health clinic, 26% of runaway clients reported engaging in survival sex as compared with 0.2% of the clinic's non-runaway clients (Robertson & Toro, 1998). Almost two-thirds of all runaways eventually turn to prostitution as a means of support (Flowers, 2001).

Homelessness

Homeless youth are defined as individuals age 21 and younger who have no stable place of residence and who have run away from their homes (or alternative care placements) or been kicked out of their homes (Smollar, 2001). One national study found that being homeless for more than 30 days was the single most determinative factor causing youth to turn to prostitution (Hofstede, 1999).

Estimates of the numbers of homeless youth are dated. In 1991, the National Network for Youth estimated that the number of homeless youth in the U.S. ranged from 100,000, to 500,000 (Smollar, 2001). Very likely, these numbers represent gross underestimates because studies of homeless youth typically involve individuals in shelters, yet only one in 12 homeless youth ever comes into contact with the shelter system (Smollar, 2001).

The primary cause of homelessness among youth is family dysfunction, including parental neglect, physical or sexual abuse, family substance abuse, and family violence (Smollar, 2001). "These youth do not have families that offer guidance, structure and encouragement; they are isolated from the institutions of society; and although they often develop a sense of connectedness to the street community, that community generally does not provide the assistance and support necessary to foster positive developmental pathways" (Smollar, 2001, p. 4). As a result, homeless youth are particularly vulnerable to prostitution. The street offers an environment where these youth can succeed, where they are accepted, and where they can feel some amount of control over their lives (Fest, 2001).

Abuse and Neglect

"Sexual abuse seems to 'indirectly increase the chance of prostitution by increasing the risk of running away.' As noted in the U.S. Department of Justice analysis of child prostitution: 'It is not so much that sexual abuse leads to prostitution as it is that running away leads to prostitution'" (Flowers, 89). Physical abuse and neglect also increase a child's chance of running away. In a study of runaways in medium-sized Midwestern cities, 59% of their sample felt neglected, 28% reported being abandoned by their parents for at 24 hours, 81% had been pushed or grabbed in anger, 64% had been threatened with a gun or knife, 18% had been asked by a caregiver to perform a sexual activity, and 21% reported being forced to engage in a sexual activity (Whitbeck & Hoyt, 1999). Of a study of 122 runaway and throwaway youth in Detroit, 75% reported some form of neglect or abuse (Robertson and Toro, 1998).

In a 1991 report, 85% of young prostitutes reported a history of sexual abuse throughout their childhood. Estimates of incest amongst prostitutes ranges from 65% to 90% (Aid for Teens, 2001; Farley, 2000). The Huckleberry House Project found that 90% of girl prostitutes have been sexually molested at some time in their lives. Another study discovered that two-thirds of prostituted teenagers were sexually abused. Two in every three prostituted girls said that they were physically assaulted in their homes (Flowers, 2001).

Family Dysfunction

Abuse is not the only dysfunction in the home that may cause youth to run away or become involved in prostitution. According to the U.S Department of Labor's *Report on Child Prostitution as a Form of Forced Labor*, "a child whose parents are separated or divorced or a child whose parents are deceased and is living with a relative or friend" or "a child whose parents are drug addicts, alcoholics, or compulsive gamblers" is at an increased risk of turning to prostitution. The report also says that a child whose family is living in extreme poverty and who is needed by his or her family to make money is also at an increased risk (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2002). The Michigan Network of Runaway, Homeless, and Youth Services found that over 64% reported severe conflict with their parents and 41% reported family substance abuse in the home before they turned to prostitution (Michigan Network, 1995).

Rebellion

Although many youth runaway from home in order to get away from an unhealthy home environment, many teens leave home as an act of rebellion. Adolescence is a natural time for conflict between parents and children. During this time, teens are trying to establish a sense of autonomy, to move away from the dependency that they felt toward their families during childhood and towards the independence and self-reliance that is characteristic of adulthood (Flowers, 2001; Steinberg, 2001).

"One of the most important social transitions that takes place in adolescence concerns the emergence of sexual and romantic relationships" (Steinberg, 2001). Sometimes teens first turn to prostitution for sexual excitement, as a form of sexual experimentation. They are receiving money for acts that are physically pleasing. As stated earlier, during adolescence, youth will push away from their families and turn to their friends for support and companionship instead. These youth may have friends or siblings who are prostitutes. This mindset makes prostitution a business that is harder to leave than to be in (Flowers, 2001; National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2002).

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Prostituted Teens and the Law

Marsha B. Liss, Thomas Judd, Nancy E. Walker, and Stephanie A. Eddy

Federal Law

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 prohibits the secure detention of runaways. Practically speaking, this means that law enforcement officers may not arrest children and youth for running away. One undesired consequence of this policy is that runaway youth often are left to fend for themselves on the streets (Children of the Night, 2002).

The Mann Act prohibits transportation of individuals younger than the age of 18 in interstate or foreign commerce with the intent that they engage in sexual activity or prostitution. This is the primary law that makes prostitution a federal offense (Davidson & Loken, 1987). The Mann Act is important because it grants equal protection to children and teenagers until the age of 18. Some state statutes, on the other hand, only offer protection to those under age 16 (Davidson & Loken, 1987); Michigan is one of those states.

Title 18 of the United States Code includes other laws regarding the prostitution of children. Section 2422 prohibits knowingly persuading, inducing, enticing, or coercing a youth under the age of 18 to engage in prostitution or criminal sexual activity, or attempting to do so. Section 2423 prohibits knowingly transporting juveniles under the age of 18 with intent that the youth engage in prostitution or criminal sexual activity. It also prohibits travel in foreign commerce with intent to engage in sexual activity with a juvenile, or conspiracy to do so. These offenses are punishable by imprisonment for up to 15 years and/or fine.

Section 2241 prohibits crossing state lines with the intent of engaging in a sexual act with a minor, knowingly engaging in a sexual act with a minor, attempting to engage in a sexual act with a minor, or knowingly engaging in a sexual act by force or threat. The government need not prove the defendant knew the age of the victim. These offenses are punishable by any term of years or life imprisonment. If the defendant was previously convicted under this subsection, he or she may be punished by life in prison or by death.

State Law

The tradition of state legislatures has been to *not* penalize patrons of prostituted youth (Education Development Center, 1995), despite the fact that passing laws that protect young prostituted girls and boys by punishing "johns," "pimps," and others who sexually exploit children is one of the most effective ways a state can deal with the problem. Most

prosecution that occurs under state statutes, if it occurs at all, falls under child sexual abuse or statutory rape laws (Education Development Center, 1995).

Michigan's Current and Proposed Laws

In the spring of 2001 the Michigan House of Representatives introduced a package of bills to combat the problem of juvenile prostitution.

HB 5032, passed unanimously by the House of Representatives on December 4, 2001, amended the Michigan Penal Code (§750.145a) to make it a Class F felony—punishable by up to four years imprisonment and/or a \$2,000 fine—to accost, entice, or solicit a child for immoral purposes. HB 5032 also stipulates that accosting, enticing, or soliciting a child for prostitution is prohibited regardless of whether the person knew the age of the child. The bill was received by the Senate on December 5, 2001, and referred to the Committee on Judiciary. At the time that this report was printed, HB 5032 still was under consideration in the Senate.

HB 5033, passed by both legislative bodies, now is law in Michigan. HB 5033 increases the penalties for second and subsequent offenses of the Michigan Penal Code (§750.145b), accosting children for immoral purposes. Under HB 5033, conviction of a person with a prior conviction for the offense of accosting children for immoral purposes is a Class D felony punishable by up to 10 years in prison.

A Comparison of Michigan's Laws with Statutes from Other Midwestern States

Age

Like most other states nationwide, Minnesota and Indiana protect children under the age of 18 from being sexually exploited. Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois, however, are three of 14 states in which juveniles are protected only until they reach the age of 16 years (Flowers, 2001).

Punishment

If HB 5032 passes, Michigan will catch up with other regional states in making it a felony to accost, entice, or solicit a child for prostitution. However, the sentence imposed under this bill will require imprisonment only up to four years and/or up to a \$2,000 fine (www.michiganlegislature.org)—sanctions that are less severe than those imposed by other states. In Illinois, for example, a conviction of a crime of this nature would lead to 4 to 15 years imprisonment (ILCS 5/11-15.1, www.legis.state.il.us). Similarly, in Minnesota, it is a felony, punishable by up to 20 years imprisonment and/or up to \$40,000, to solicit, induce or receive profit from a child for the act of prostitution (Criminal Code, Section 609.322, www.state.mn.us/leg/statutes.html).

Affirmative Defense

HB 5032 would amend Michigan's Penal Code (§750.145a) to stipulate that accosting, enticing or soliciting a child for prostitution is prohibited whether the individual knew the actual age of the child or not. This change acknowledges "that a child engaged in prostitution is the real victim of the crime, and therefore puts the burden on the adult to avoid sex with children" (www.michiganlegislature.org). Illinois statutes 720 ILCS 5/11-15.1; 11-18.1; 11-19.1, state that "It is an affirmative defense to a charge of" soliciting, patronizing, or pimping "that the accused reasonably believed the person was of the age of 16 years or over" (www.legis.state.il.us). An affirmative defense is one "which serves as a basis for providing some new fact; in such a defense, the defendant does not simply

deny a charge, but offers new evidence to avoid judgment against him" (Gifis, 1996). Michigan's HB 5032 joins Ohio and Minnesota in prohibiting such a defense.

Statutes Providing Prevention and Protection

Minnesota has one of the most comprehensive sets of laws dealing with prostituted teens in the nation. Included in these laws are statutes that provide for prevention, protection and outreach to sexually exploited children.

- Section 299A.71 of Minnesota law provides for the establishment of a grant program for "enhanced law enforcement efforts and peace officer education and training to combat juvenile prostitution." The statute also requires law enforcement agencies that receive grants to utilize all the funding for efforts to combat juvenile prostitution.
- Section 626.558 establishes a multidisciplinary child protection team that may "provide public and professional education, develop resources for prevention, intervention, and treatment, and provide case consultation to the local welfare agency or other community-based agencies." This team can also assist agencies and organizations in developing a program of outreach services to juveniles engaged in prostitution.

These are just two of the statutes that Minnesota has enforced to protect children being prostituted. As Table 2 shows, no other Midwestern state has passed such extensive laws protecting their youth from the men and women who seek to exploit them sexually for pleasure or profit.

Should Prostitution Be Legalized?

Some individuals argue that legalizing prostitution will reduce violence toward prostitutes and reduce child prostitution because there will be strict monitoring and no deviations from the law. Data from a variety of sources show the fallacy of this argument. For example, when prostitution was legalized in Victoria, Australia, Sullivan and Jeffreys (n.d.) found that:

- Trafficked women and children often were kept in slave-like conditions and still were exposed to violence, fear, and isolation.
- Child prostitution increased. Of all the Australian states and territories, the highest incidence of children involved in prostitution occurred in Victoria.
- Men once seen as pimps were considered respectable "businessmen" when prostitution was legalized in Victoria, despite the fact that managers/owners or brothers received up to 60% of the money generated by prostituted women.
- The state lived off the earnings of prostitution through increased taxation, licensing fees, and promotion of prostitution tourism.

For these reasons, among others, legalizing prostitution is a poor policy option. Preferred policy options are described in the next two sections of this report.

**TABLE 2
JUVENILE PROSTITUTION POLICY BY MIDWESTERN STATE**

<i>State</i>	<i>Age Determining "Juvenile"</i>	<i>Punishment for "Accosting/Enticing/Soliciting or Pimping"</i>	<i>Punishment for "Engaging"</i>	<i>Affirmative Defense Allowed?</i>
Michigan HB 5032 (proposed)	≤16	Class F Felony; up to 4 years Imprisonment and/or \$2,000 fine		No
Indiana	≤18	Class B felony; <6 years imprisonment		
Illinois	≤16	Class 1 felony; 4-15 years imprisonment	Class 4 felony; 1-3 years imprisonment	Yes
Ohio	≤16	2 nd degree felony; 2-8 years imprisonment and/or \$15,000		No
Minnesota	<13 13-16 <16 >16 but <18	<20 years imprisonment and/or \$40,000 fine; <10 years imprisonment and/or \$20,000 fine	20 years imprisonment and/or \$40,000 fine; 10 years imprisonment and/or \$20,000 fine; 5 years imprisonment and/or \$10,000 fine	No

*Accosting = approaching and speaking in a challenging or aggressive way.
 Enticing = attracting artfully or cleverly or by arousing hope or desire.
 Soliciting = offering to have sexual relations with someone for money.
 Pimping = inducing any female to become a prostitute.

Norma Hotaling is the founder and Executive Director of SAGE (Standing Against Global Exploitation), Inc., a nonprofit organization in San Francisco that helps former prostitutes live healthy lives. Before starting this program in 1993, Ms. Hotaling lived on the streets as a homeless prostitute addicted to heroin. The services available in San Francisco helped Norma rebuild her life; she later returned to college and earned a degree in health education at San Francisco State University. In founding SAGE, Ms. Hotaling formed a partnership with San Francisco police officers and the District Attorney's Office. SAGE programs have won numerous awards, including the prestigious Innovations in American Government Award from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and the Ford Foundation, the Peter F. Drucker Award for Innovation in Non-Profit Management, and Oprah's Angel Network – Use Your Life Award.



San Francisco's Successful Strategies: Prevention Services for Girls and the First Offender Prostitution Program

Norma Hotaling

There is no other city doing what we're doing. Everyone just arrests the women and throws them in jail. But we're getting them off the streets, getting them vocational training, saving hundreds of thousands of dollars a year on the medical care the city spends on these women.

Norma Hotaling, quoted in *The New York Times* (Nieves, 1999)

In any given year, San Francisco police make an average of 4,000 prostitution-related arrests. In 1998, the District Attorney's Office estimated that the city spent more than \$4.1 million to prosecute prostitution-related offenses, an estimate that does not include the high costs of incarceration and probation. To combat this costly problem, San Francisco initiated a variety of programs administered by the SAGE Project, including Prevention Services for Girls and the First Offender Prostitution Program, collaborative efforts involving several city departments. These programs are designed to intervene with prostituted teens and with men who engage the services of prostituted women and girls.

Who Are the Men Who Prostitute Women and Girls?

Adult men who engage the services of prostitutes bring with them very complex emotional, psychological, and sexual needs. They attempt to satisfy those needs with young adults whom they pay essentially to lie to them. When this false intimacy proves unsatisfactory and/or they believe that they have a "right" to service and pleasure at any cost, they progress to younger and younger children. They use many justifications for their actions, such as:

- "They are poor and I am feeding them."
- "They keep coming back; therefore, they must like it."
- "Having sex with younger children helps to prevent STDs or HIV."

One of the characteristics commonly found among men who perpetrate violence (including sexual violence and prostitution) is an expectation of service. These men believe that they have a "right" to prostitute young women and girls because "men have greater sex drives than women;" moreover, these drives or needs override the needs and rights of others. Very few of these men are completely indiscriminate as to how this "need" is satisfied, and by whom.

Research studies show a clear pattern for men who prostitute women. Typically, men begin their prostitute use with adult women; later they "progress" to prostituting children. A study of 5,000 "johns" in San Francisco revealed that the majority of men who engaged the services of prostituted children followed this pattern (San Francisco District Attorney, 2000). Although some children are prostituted by pedophiles and preferential abusers, the majority of the several million men who annually exploit prostitutes under the age of 18 years are first and foremost prostitute users who become child sexual abusers through their prostitute use.

Oftentimes, the violence perpetrated by men on prostituted women also includes physical abuse. A study of abuse of 130 prostituted females in San Francisco revealed that 82% of the women and girls had been physically assaulted and 68% had been repetitively raped (Farley & Barkan, 1998). Both customers and pimps had abused the women and girls.

These disturbing findings point to the need for resocialization of men and boys so that they do not feel that it is their right to expect service, to be violent, and to engage in exploitive behaviors. San Francisco's SAGE Project designed a program to achieve this resocialization goal.

What is the SAGE Project?

SAGE is an acronym for Standing Against Global Exploitation. The SAGE Project, Inc. is organized by and for survivors of abuse, prostitution and trauma. The staff of SAGE is comprised of women who have "beaten the odds" by overcoming histories of multiple arrests, trauma, substance abuse, homelessness, poverty, and prostitution. The personal knowledge and experience possessed by the staff enables them to effectively provide support and engender trust without re-traumatizing even the most fragile of clients. SAGE is the only organization in the area that can give prostituted teens and women role models who once were in the same predicament as they are.

More than 350 women and girls receive direct services each week from SAGE. Of the girls who have been in SAGE's in- and out-of-custody programs since 1995:

- The average age of entry into prostitution is 13-14 years.
- 60-75% have experienced domestic violence in their personal relationships.
- 75% have experienced violence in their community, including gun violence, gang violence, physical assaults getting to school, while in school, and in their neighborhood.
- 60% (in custody) and 40% (out of custody) have experienced sexual assault (gang, acquaintance, and stranger).
- 95-97% have used/abused substances ranging from marijuana to ecstasy, speed, heroin, and alcohol.

Typically, this population of girls fails mentoring programs because they are so troubled. One professional who directs mentoring programs stated: "They need both incredible help before they can accept a mature adult in their lives, and reality checks from people who have been where they are. These girls see violence and sexual exploitation as a norm."

Therefore, the first need of these girls is to learn to trust responsible, respectful and caring adults and peers, to learn how to form durable relationships based on mutual support and affection. Otherwise, they will not become productive, healthy, or fully integrated into society.

At SAGE, women and girls receive assistance in exiting the criminal justice system, escaping prostitution and pornography, and recovering from abuse. They also receive medical and mental health care, peer counseling, substance abuse treatment, housing, legal immigration status, intensive case management, education, and vocational training. SAGE's direct service programs often focus on the most exploited victims who are, therefore, the highest users of the medical, social, mental health, and criminal justice systems.

In addition to providing direct services, SAGE engages in advocacy, educational programs, and outreach activities. Staff reach out to prostituted women living on the streets of San Francisco, inviting them to enter programs and receive services. They also provide educational classes and training for women and who are incarcerated and girls in the juvenile justice system.

SAGE's ongoing programs include the following:

1. **Prevention Services for Girls** provides intensive case management, education, health and mental health care, substance abuse treatment, job skills training, and mentoring to girls both in custody and on probation. (See program description below.)
2. **The First Offenders Prostitution Program "John School"** is designed to resocialize men and boys arrested as "johns." (See program description below.)
3. **The Sexual Exploitation and Violence Prevention and Treatment Program** offers city-wide services for girls between the ages of 14 and 17 years who are involved in the criminal justice system because of violence, drug offenses, or prostitution. This program is designed to address the factors that place girls at risk for delinquent behaviors and to create an empowerment process that enables the girls to educate the larger community about their issues.
4. **Juvenile Probation Training** is offered to juvenile probation personnel. This program focuses on issues faced by girls upon release from custody and assists with referrals to appropriate in-program care, including mental health services, job training, and medical care.

What is Prevention Services for Girls?

Prevention Services for Girls was initiated as a program for girls in custody and was expanded in 1998 to include girls on probation. The program provides intensive case management, education, health and mental health care, substance abuse treatment, job skills training—and mentoring, when the girls are ready to benefit from it. The purpose of the program is to aid the girls to permanently exit the criminal justice system and to rebuild their lives free of sexual exploitation, prostitution, and abuse. This component of the program uses the Evans and Sullivan "blended treatment" model to simultaneously address problems associated with substance abuse and domestic violence.

Which Needs Does Prevention Services for Girls Address?

The program addresses fundamental needs in several areas.

- **Homelessness:** Many of the girls are homeless once they are released from custody. They require assistance in obtaining and keeping housing; they also require financial counseling. Without these services, they have no choice but to return to their abusers, prostitute themselves, or engage in drug selling and other criminal behavior.

- **Medical care:** Many of the girls who enter the program are not obtaining responsible, continuing health care. Many are HIV+ and suffer the effects of untreated venereal disease, as well as general medical illnesses. Drug use is rampant—a further symptom of their underlying traumatic disturbance. The lack of appropriate care results in increased emergency services use and increased health care costs.
- **Mental health care:** The girls who enter the program often experience episodes of dissociation and engage in criminal antisocial behavior. Many have attempted suicide.
- **Life and job skills:** The girls often come from families in which economic self-sufficiency was not emphasized or was lacking altogether. Most have dropped out of school or are at risk of dropping out of school. They require assistance in continuing their education, obtaining GED degrees, and accessing vocational training. A substantial number are immigrants for whom fluency in English is an issue.
- **Emotional development:** This population often displays markedly arrested emotional development. They have never learned mature self-control or been counseled in methods of problem solving other than violence, exploding in rage or running away when frustrated. To fulfill any of their other needs, they require counseling, stress reduction, and problem solving skills training.

How Successful is Prevention Services for Girls?

Prevention Services for Girls has been in effect for four years. From July 1, 2000 through June 30, 2001 the project served 48 young women, providing a total of 2,427 units of service. In 2000, Prevention Services for Girls showed the following results:

- 86% avoided re-entry into the criminal justice system or re-victimization.
- 52% of drug abusing clients were in recovery.
- 81% returned to school, entered a GED program or obtained employment.
- 86% demonstrated the ability to build positive support systems and mentoring relationships.
- 81% were more knowledgeable about the connection between sexual assault, domestic violence, violence, prostitution, pornography, and their long-term impacts.
- 71% utilized appropriate medical and counseling care rather than relying on inappropriate emergency services.

What is the First Offenders Prostitution Program?

San Francisco is the first jurisdiction ever to focus its law enforcement on the demand side of prostitution. The **First Offender Prostitution Program** (FOPP), designed and implemented by the SAGE Project and the San Francisco District Attorney's Office, is a multifaceted approach to combating the problem of prostitution. The program was initiated when the strategy of only addressing women's needs was found to be ineffective because it did not deal with the perpetrators of violence and did nothing to address the socialization of men toward violence. FOPP was founded on the principle that it is essential to prevent violence by resocializing men and boys, intervening early with men and boys who perpetrate violence, and treating offenders with stronger and stronger mandatory interventions both in and out of custody.

Who Are the Project's Collaborators?

FOPP involves a unique collaboration among several agencies:

SAGE Project, Inc.
San Francisco District Attorney's Office
Mayor's Office
Police Department
Department of Public Health
Victim-Witness Assistance Program
Sheriff's Department
Probation Department
Juvenile Justice System
Commission on the Status of Women
Community-based service providers
Advocates

What Is the John School?

One element of FOPP is the John School, which is offered as an alternative to jail for first time offenders. Administrative fees collected from participating johns fund operations. The school attempts to change offenders' attitudes toward women through a 7-session curriculum:

1. **Prostitution and Street Facts**, facilitated by the Assistant District Attorney, describes the penal risks and practical consequences of continued criminal conduct involving crimes against prostitutes and child prostitution.
2. **STD and HIV Risk and Prevention Education**, facilitated by the San Francisco Department of Public Health, includes a very graphic slide presentation about sexually transmitted diseases.
3. **Testimonial Presentation About Prostitution**, facilitated by prostituted survivors of the sex industry, involves discussions of childhood risk factors that lead to prostitution, violence, drug use, rehabilitation, and reintegration into the community.
4. **Pimp Dynamics and the Trafficking of Young Girls**, facilitated by SAGE Executive Director Norma Hotaling, educates customers about the tactics used to draw young girls into prostitution and brings attention to the worldwide exploitation of women and girls—removing any delusions the men might have about prostituted women enjoying their work.
5. **Effects of Prostitution on Neighborhoods**, facilitated by neighborhood activists, focuses on the effects of prostitution on the quality of life in neighborhoods, as well as on the economic effects of prostitution on the city.
6. **Domestic Violence Prevention Program**, facilitated by a licensed marriage/family therapist, educates men about violence against women, anger management, and conflict resolution.
7. **Sexual Addiction and Intimacy**, facilitated by a licensed marriage/family therapist, addresses sexual addiction and potential management and support.

John Schools have been implemented in other cities as well, including Buffalo, NY, and Vancouver and Toronto, Canada.

How Successful is FOPP?

From 1995 to 1997, FOPP diverted more than 5,000 customers of prostitutes from criminal prosecution to an educational and rehabilitation experience. Of the men who had completed the program, 98% remained arrest free in 1997 (San Francisco District Attorney's Office, 1997).

Buffalo, New York instituted a John School modeled after the San Francisco program. The Buffalo Prostitution Task Force reported the following successes in 1999:

- From 1996 to 1998 the number of prostitution-related calls to 911 was reduced by 50%, from 999 to 511.
- In two years, the John School reduced the rate of males soliciting prostitution from 8% to .05%.
- Because the participants pay the costs of the program (\$1,200), it costs taxpayers nothing. With 13 or more participants, money is available to fund programs to help prostituted women and girls.
- Jails and courts are less congested; as a result, court costs are reduced.

Similar results were obtained in 1996 in Vancouver, British Columbia when police began arresting more johns and pimps. By the end of that year, prostitution-related offenses had been reduced 87%, from 944 to 121.

Awards for SAGE Projects

Through its efforts, SAGE has turned around the lives of more than 800 former prostitutes and more than 5,000 former "johns." Project also have raised public awareness concerning the sexual exploitation and trafficking of women and girls.

In 1998, the First Offender Prostitution Program was awarded the prestigious Innovations in American Government Award from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and The Ford Foundation. SAGE's Peer Support Program received the 2000 Peter F. Drucker Award for Innovation in Non-Profit Management, as well as the Oprah's Angel Network – Use Your Life Award. These awards affirm the importance of the restorative justice programs that SAGE has created for customers of prostitutes, the trauma and drug recovery programs for women and girls who are victims of violence and are in the criminal justice system, and trafficked women and girls, as well as women and girls involved in all aspects of the sex industry.

Policy Alternatives for Addressing the Problem of Prostituted Teens

Nancy E. Walker, Jessica Roman, Thomas Judd, Susan Peterson, and Catherine Nachtman

“Why do we need policies that focus on those who exploit and prostitute teens? It’s like when you turn a light on, the roaches go away; when the light goes off, the roaches come back.”

Dr. Carl Taylor, Professor, Michigan State University

Why is juvenile prostitution so widespread nationally and in Michigan? The answer to that question is based on a simple economic principle: Supply and demand. Passing laws with stiffer penalties for johns, pimps, and others who profit from prostituting children weakens the demand for prostitution. Policymakers can play a central role in this process by focusing on strategies directed toward permanent solutions.

The state has an interest in preventing and protecting young people from spending their lives on the streets. Once on the streets, young boys and girls from urban, rural, and suburban homes are cut off from conventional educational and vocational training that could provide them with a legitimate source of income (Norton-Hawk, 2001); as a result, many of them turn to prostitution in order to survive. Community organizations can lead efforts to provide high quality outreach programs for these youth.

What Can Policymakers Do?

Fund Programs for Intervening with Prostituted Teens

- Fund efforts to investigate juvenile prostitution rings.
- Fund training for law enforcement personnel to identify prostituted teens and to improve skills for communicating with them. Focus on rehabilitation, not arrest.
- Fund emergency and transitional shelters with personnel who are qualified to help prostituted children.
- Fund rehabilitation programs, job skills programs, health initiatives, and educational programs for prostituted teens.

Fund Programs for Intervening with “Johns”

- Fund “sting” operations to arrest “johns”.
- Fund “john schools” to resocialize customers of prostitution.
- Increase penalties for customers of prostitution.
- Authorize automobile seizures and forfeitures when “johns” are arrested.

Fund Initiatives that Clamp Down on “Pimps” and Madams

- Fund “sting” operations to arrest pimps and madams. Court records show that pimps are the least likely to be arrested and prosecuted, even when the prostitute is a child (Hansen, 2001).
- Enact legislation that increases penalties for promoters of prostitution. Promote prison penalties for the involvement of a juvenile in prostitution, even for first time offenders (Hofstede, 1999).
- Increase funding for civil enforcement. Juvenile prostitution has been shown to take place or be promoted out of businesses such as strip clubs and escort services. Investigate and terminate businesses that foster juvenile prostitution.

What Can Communities Do?

Focus on Prevention Efforts Aimed at Youth at Risk for Prostitution

- Encourage better communication, cooperation and collaboration among schools, law enforcement, and state agencies, with a focus on prevention.
- Train teachers and school administrators to spot risk factors associated with children running away.
- Encourage immediate action by schools, law enforcement, and state agencies when a child reports abuse.
- Bring teachers, parents, leaders, and community members together on a regular basis to educate each other on the impact of the sex industry in everyday lives of youth.
- Sponsor seminars/workshops for adults and youth on such topics as:
 - How pimps, madams, and others influence vulnerable youth to engage in prostitution
 - The importance of “street smarts”
 - The harmful effects of prostitution
- Encourage adults in the community to value the input of youth and to empower them as civically-engaged citizens:
 - Invite youth to be active participants in school and community meetings
 - Highlight youth voices in the media
 - Ensure that youth serve on community advisory boards
- Provide job training and jobs, shelters, counselors, and mentors for runaway and throwaway youth.

Actively Encourage Efforts to Intervene with Prostituted Teens

- Provide a counselor in every school, an establishment in every community, and a 24-hour toll-free crisis line for youth to contact in times of need. Advertise these resources and make them easily accessible to youth.
- Provide job training and jobs, shelters, counselors, and mentors for runaway and throwaway youth who have prostituted themselves.

Implement Programs for Intervening with “Johns”

- Establish resocialization programs for “johns” based upon successful models such as San Francisco’s First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP).

What Can Families Do?

Get to Know Your Teen

- Spend time with your teen; share activities and interests.
- Know your teen's friends.
- Hold weekly family meetings during which each person's voice is "heard," regardless of age.
- Encourage parent-teen conversation time at the end of the day.

Learn the Early Warning Signs of Prostitution

- Be on the alert for sudden or extreme changes in teen attitudes, behaviors, moods, routines, language, and/or appearance:
 - Extreme mood swings or increasing secretiveness and withdrawal or confrontational rebelliousness
 - Progressively longer stays away from home, especially at night
 - Extreme secrecy about activities
 - Coming home drunk or on drugs
 - Looking for places to live where there is more freedom
 - More provocative dressing and/or excessive use of makeup
 - Packing changes of clothes to go out for the evening
 - Sexualized behaviors
 - Unexplained body bruises, which might be evidence of abuse
- Watch for "clues" around the house:
 - Unexplained money
 - New and expensive clothing or trinkets – especially when explanations do not "add up"
 - Drug-associated objects
 - Matchbook covers with hidden cellular/pager numbers inside
 - Business cards or receipts for places unusual for a young teen to frequent, such as nightclubs
 - Long-distance phone bills for cell numbers

Improve Your Parenting Skills

- Participate in parenting classes.
- Encourage your school district to provide parenting classes and host parent get-togethers.

Establish and Participate in Support Groups When a Problem is Identified

- Participate in parent-teen support groups that address such issues as conflict resolution, anger management, chemical abuse, runaway and throwaway youth.
- Create a directory of "tried and true" support groups.
- Provide support and respite care for families under stress.

Seek Counseling Whenever Appropriate

- Engage in parent-teen mediation to resolve disputes and improve communication.

- If your teen is engaging in prostitution, seek counseling from professionals knowledgeable about prostitution.

A Model Program From the State of Minnesota

The *Hofstede Committee Report* (1999) details a program for Minnesota consisting of three phases, each contributing to the protection of prostituted teens. The program could serve as a model for providing emergency, transitional, and long-term help for prostituted teens in Michigan.

Phase 1: Emergency Shelter and Assessment Center

Phase 1 is an emergency shelter and assessment center. The goal of this shelter is to give immediate assistance to 20 youth who need food and a safe place to stay for 1-30 days. On-site staff will provide mental and physical assessments. Once the youths' immediate needs are addressed, staff will provide them with transitional housing at another location, reunite them with family, or connect them to another support structure.

PHASE 1 BUDGET ESTIMATE

<i>Personnel</i>	<i>Number of Staff</i>	<i>Salary Total</i>	<i>Tax, Insurance, and Benefits</i>
Executive Director*	1	\$45,000	\$9,000
Supervisor*	1	\$33,000	6,600
Contracted Specialists**	4	\$143,800 (total)	n/a
Case Manager	2	\$60,000 (\$30,000 per staff)	12,000
Advocate/Asst. Case Mgr.	2	\$48,000 (\$24,000 per staff)	9,600
Intake Staff	3	\$63,000 (\$21,000 per staff)	12,600
Administration	1	\$21,000	4,200
Food Staff	2	\$34,500 (\$17,250 per staff)	6,900
Community Program Staff	1	\$30,000	6,000
Social Worker/Therapist	3	\$90,000 (\$30,000 per staff)	18,000
TOTAL:	20	\$568,300	\$84,900
TOTAL COST OF PHASE ONE:			\$653,200

Phase 2: Family Style Homes and Transitional Housing

Phase 2 will provide shelter for approximately 30-40 homeless youths. After a youth is assessed at the emergency shelter, he or she will either be recommended to a family-style home or transitional housing facility as needed.

The family style homes will be utilized by homeless youth in need of intensive supervision due to age, trauma, psychological issues, etc. There will be two family-style dwellings which will accommodate 8-10 youth each. A residential advisor will live in each house in order to provide supervision, mentoring, and stability. In addition to the advisor, a case manager and an advocate will staff each residence. Youth living in the family style homes also will receive counseling and assistance at the emergency shelter and assessment center.

The transitional housing facility is for youth who need less supervision and are more independent. Ideally, youth who live in the transitional housing facility will utilize the program activities at the emergency shelter and assessment center while they seek employment, enroll in school, or attempt to reconnect with their families. The transitional housing facility will be managed by staff at the assessment center and two case managers. The transitional housing program may be a combination of apartments, scattered housing sites, or larger facilities. The transitional housing program will assist approximately 20 youths, and their average stay will be from six months to two years.

PHASE 2 BUDGET ESTIMATE

<i>Personnel</i>	<i>Number of Staff</i>	<i>Salary Total</i>	<i>Tax, Insurance, and Benefits</i>
Phase Two Supervisor	1	\$33,000	\$6,600
Case Manager	4	\$120,000 (\$30,000 per staff)	24,000
Advocate/Case Mgr. Asst.	3	\$72,000 (\$24,000 per staff)	14,400
Residential Advisor	2	\$34,000 (\$17,000 per staff)	6,800
TOTAL:	10	\$259,000	\$51,800
TOTAL COST OF PHASE TWO:			\$310,800

**Phase 3:
Long Term Stabilization Program**

Phase 3 is a long term stabilization program. This phase requires minimal staff time and merely provides financial assistance to older youth who are becoming independent. Program participants may utilize the assessment center activities and independently arrange to meet with their counselors. There will be one case manager who will manage the 20-30 youths who are in the long term stabilization program. The program could consist of group homes, housing subsidies, or apartments. The nature of the assistance will depend on the funding available and the youths' individual needs.

PHASE 3 BUDGET ESTIMATE

<i>Personnel</i>	<i>Number of Staff</i>	<i>Salary Total</i>	<i>Tax, Insurance, and Benefits</i>
Case Manager	1	\$30,000	\$6,000
TOTAL :	1	\$30,000	\$6,000
TOTAL COST OF PHASE THREE:			\$36,000

Total Program Costs

TOTAL BUDGET ESTIMATE

	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Salary Total</i>	<i>Benefits</i>	<i>Total</i>
PHASE ONE TOTAL:	20	\$568,300	\$84,900	\$ 653,200
PHASE TWO TOTAL:	10	\$259,000	\$51,800	\$ 310,800
PHASE THREE TOTAL:	1	\$30,000	\$6,000	\$ 36,000
TOTAL:	27	\$857,300	\$142,700	\$1,000,000

The total program costs of one million dollars may seem a high price to pay. Remember, however, that the average estimated annual cost for a city the size of Detroit to control prostitution is more than \$16 million (see Table 1).

Additional Resources

Catherine Nachtman

Organizations

Advocates for Prostituted Women and Girls

PO Box 268807
Chicago, IL
(773) 764-0987

Alternatives for Girls

1950 Trumbull
Detroit, MI 48216
(313) 964-5450
FAX: (313) 961-7454
www.alternativesforgirls.org

Children of the Night

Dr. Lois Lee, Founder
14530 Sylvan Street
Van Nuys, CA 91411
(818) 908-4474
www.childrenofthenight.org

Escape: The Prostitution Prevention Project, Inc.

PO Box 11925
Minneapolis, MN 55412
(612) 522-1282
FAX: (612) 522-1283 fax
www.escapeprostitution.com

Gateway Community Services

Jason Hudson, Director
910 Abbott Road, Suite 100
East Lansing, MI 48823
(517) 351-4000
www.gatewayservices.org

Genesis House

Gayle McCoy, Executive Director
911 West Addison
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(773) 281-3917
www.geneshouse.org

Prostitution Round Table

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The SAGE Project, Inc.

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1275 Mission Street
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 905-5050
FAX: (415) 905-5054
Email: sage@dnai.com
Web: www.sageinc.org

Youth Advocate Program International

4545 42nd St., NW, Suite 209
Washington, DC 20016
(202) 244-1986 Fax: (202) 244-6396
Email: yapi@yapi.org
<http://www.yapi.org>

Websites

<http://www.prostitution.com>

<http://www.geocities.com/Heartland/Bluffs/5400/abuse.html>

RAINN (Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network Hotline) – <http://www.rainn.org>

Missing Children Hotline – www.caag.state.ca.us

National Runaway Switchboard – <http://www.nrscrisisline.org>

Children's Rights of America - <http://www.cra-us.org>

Hotlines

Child Find Hotline (for parents reporting lost children): 1-800-I-AM-LOST (1-800-426-5678)

Child Help USA Hotline (for victims, offenders, and parents): 1-800-4-A-CHILD (1-800-422-4453)

Covenant House Hotline (for problem teens and runaways): 1-800-999-9999

End Abuse Hotline: 1-800-END ABUSE (1-800-363-2287)

National Abuse Hotline/Parents Anonymous - 1-800-422-4453

National Center for Missing and Exploited Children -1-800-843-5678

National Runaway Hotline: 1-800-231-6946

National Youth Crisis Hotline: 1-800-442-HOPE (1-800-442-4673)

Operation Lookout, National Center for Missing Youth (for missing child emergencies and sightings): 1-800-782-SEEK (1-800-782-7335)

Parents Helpline - 1-800-345-5044

Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network (RAINN) Hotline – 1-800-656-HOPE

Youth Crisis Hotline (for reporting child abuse and help for runaways): 1-800-HIT-HOME (1-800-448-4663)

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