



# The commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth in Illinois

*Prepared by*  
**Jessica Ashley, Senior Research Analyst**

January 2008

This project was supported by Grant #2006-JP-FX-K057 from the Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, awarded to the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority. Points of view or opinions contained within this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority  
120 S. Riverside Plaza, Suite 1016  
Chicago, Illinois 60606  
Telephone: 312.793.8550  
Fax: 312.793.8422  
<http://www.icjia.state.il.us>

# Acknowledgments

We wish to acknowledge the assistance of those who provided data and guidance for this report, as it benefited from the guidance, support, and input of many individuals:

*Michael Anton, Cook County Sheriff's Police Department*  
*Irvin Ashford, Circuit Court of Cook County, Juvenile Probation and Court Services*  
*Lara Brooks, Broadway Youth Center*  
*Kenneth Burnett, Christian Community Health Centers*  
*Salvador Cicero, formerly with American Bar Association*  
*Judith Dunning, formerly with Department of Children and Family Services*  
*Rachel Durchslag, Chicago Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation*  
*Judy Gall, Alternatives, Inc.*  
*Shira Hassan, Young Women's Empowerment Project*  
*Cindy Ibarra, Young Women's Empowerment Project*  
*Katherine Kirby, Chicago Crime Commission*  
*Alan Krok, Chicago Police Department*  
*Jennifer Kuhn, Office of the Illinois Attorney General*  
*Frank Massolini, The Salvation Army*  
*Emily Muskovitz Sweet, Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence*  
*Claudine O'Leary, project consultant*  
*Jody Raphael, DePaul University School of Law*  
*Laurie Schaffner, University of Illinois at Chicago*  
*Elissa Steglich, Heartland Alliance*  
*Mark Wallschlaeger, Federal Bureau of Investigations*  
*Anna Wright, Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center*

In addition, the project benefited from the previous and ongoing work of the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority's Research and Analysis Unit. The agency would like to recognize the support and assistance provided by the following Authority staff:

*Sharyn Adams*  
*Daniel Brunner*  
*Cristin Evans*  
*Ernst Melchior*  
*Michelle Repp*

# Table of contents

Executive summary.....	1
Introduction.....	4
Literature review.....	5
Methodology.....	20
Exploitation arrests in Illinois.....	21
Focus groups.....	25
Law enforcement interviews.....	36
Overall conclusions.....	46
Final recommendations.....	48
Appendix A: Resources.....	51
Appendix B: Definitions.....	57
Appendix C: Child prostitution-related crimes.....	59
Appendix D: Focus group questions.....	61
Appendix E: Law enforcement survey.....	62
Notes.....	68

# Figures

Figure 1: Number of juvenile arrests for prostitution in Illinois, 1994-2004 .....	22
Figure 2: Number of arrests for soliciting for a juvenile prostitute in Illinois, 1994-2004 .....	23

# Tables

Table 1: Description of perspectives on prostitution .....	12
Table 2: Commercial sexual exploitation of children-related criminal statutes in Illinois .....	18
Table 3: Total number of commercial sexual exploitation of children-related arrests in Illinois, 1994-2004.....	24
Table 4: Female focus group participants' age of entry into sex trade .....	27

# Executive summary

The commercial sexual exploitation of children has received increased national attention in recent years. Government officials have shown growing concern for young people exploited for commercial sex. The victims are just as often U.S. citizens as they are foreign-born and secreted into the states. Due to the hidden nature of commercial sexual exploitation of children, it is difficult to study and quantify the problem.

In the fall 2006, the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority was awarded a research grant by the U.S. Department of Justice Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency (OJJDP) to study the commercial sexual exploitation of children. OJJDP defines commercial sexual exploitation of children as a constellation of crimes of a sexual nature committed against youthful victims younger than 18 years old primarily or entirely for financial or other economic reasons. These crimes include, for example, trafficking for sexual purposes, prostitution, sex tourism, mail-order-bride trade and early marriage, pornography, stripping, and sexual performances.

Three research methods were utilized in this study, including arrest statistics, focus groups with individuals who were prostituted as juveniles, and interviews with law enforcement officers. The overall goal of the research was to gain a better understanding of the commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth. Collectively, the research methods addressed the following questions:

- What is the incidence and prevalence of victimization?
- What are the pathways to victimization?
- What are characteristics of victims?
- What are the needs of exploited youth exiting exploitative situations?
- What are the responses of law enforcement?

Commercial sexual exploitation of children is considered sex trafficking and a form of modern day slavery. The U.S. Trafficking Victims Protection Act in 2000 definition of a trafficked person does not require the victim to be transported anywhere, and victims of trafficking can be either American- or foreign-born. Most of these youth engage in survival sex and are runaways who have experience childhood abuse. Female prostitutes may be controlled, intimidated, socially isolated, and economically dependent on their pimps—which may be a boyfriend, parent, or relative—making it difficult to leave a life of prostitution. Prostitutes suffer physical and mental abuse inflicted by customers and pimps, including sexual assault, kidnapping, stabbings, beatings, and threats. Victims often suffer from physical and mental health problems, such as post traumatic stress disorder, depression, and low self-esteem.

## Arrest statistics

Overall, there were very small numbers of commercial sexual exploitation of children arrests in Illinois. A total of 45 arrests of juveniles for prostitution and 162 arrests for soliciting a juvenile prostitute were recorded from 1995 to 2004. During the same period, police arrested 258 individuals for child pornography. However, data limitations exist, for instance, misdemeanor arrests do not require reporting.

## **Focus groups**

### *Female focus group*

One focus group of 19 adult female participants was held on March 21. Participants were adults 18 years old and older who were involved in the sex trade industry as juveniles 17 years old and younger. Young Women's Empowerment Project, a non-profit agency in Chicago, received a sub-contract to recruit focus group participants and moderate the groups.

Many of the women in the focus groups started very young in the sex trade. The average age of entry was 12. As girls, they became involved in prostitution for basic survival needs, such as food, clothing, and shelter, or for money and material goods. Some participants sought money and expensive clothing and purses to fulfill their needs for acceptance. They were often runaways who left home due to family dysfunction and abuse. Some young women were forced to perform sex acts against their will. There was agreement among focus group participants that social services were not helpful to them and sometimes made things worse. Participants felt services providers misunderstood them, misdiagnosed their problems, and stigmatized them.

### *Transgender focus group*

Five transgender individuals participated in a focus group on May 9, to discuss their experiences in the sex trade as juveniles. The participants were recruited through collaboration with the Broadway Youth Center, a division of Howard Brown, Inc., a nonprofit agency in Chicago.

Transgender refers to a range of individuals with typical gender characteristics or gender identities that differ from their anatomic sex. Being transgender may make it difficult to find legitimate employment, so the sex trade is seen as a choice in order to survive and make money. The age range of entry into the sex trade by transgender participants was 13-17 years old. The participants talked about prostitution as a "game" or "competition," but also a way to feel included and be a part of a family. Participants were victims of robbery, sexual assault, and battery. Although some services are available for transgenders in the city of Chicago, more is needed statewide to help the transgender population involved in trading sex, especially in the area of employment training and placement.

## **Law enforcement officer interviews**

A total of 10 federal, state, and local law enforcement officials based in the Chicago metropolitan area were interviewed for this study from the following agencies: Federal Bureau of Investigations, Office of the Illinois Attorney General, Cook County State's Attorney's Office, Cook County Sheriff's Department, Chicago Police Department, and police departments in suburban Chicago. During interviews, participants were asked questions about commercial sexual exploitation of children arrests and investigations, social service agencies, and the child victims of commercial sexual exploitation. They also were asked for recommendations to combat commercial sexual exploitation of children.

Police officers receive tips and leads on exploitation via anonymous sources, parents, other police departments, and during the course of other investigations. Officers never encountered any international trafficking cases, only domestic cases of commercial sexual exploitation of children. Prostituted juveniles do not aid in investigations because it is their only means, or their family's only means, of survival. Many also refuse to assist out of love or fear of their pimp.

Evidence collected in investigations included computers, photographs, and records, such as credit card bills and hotel reservations. Officers mentioned circuits of high traffic hubs for the sex trade that pimps use to transport victims, such as Detroit, Memphis, and Las Vegas, and cities in Wisconsin, and Indiana. The Internet is often used as a tool to find clients and advertise services, such as the popular Web site, [www.craigslist.com](http://www.craigslist.com). Child pornographers use the Internet to exchange pictures, videos, media, and Web sites. While officers work with the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services and hospitals, there is no appropriate placement for young victims who often leave non-secure facilities such as hospitals when they have no home to return to.

Recommendations from law enforcement officers included:

- Provide more resources and training to officers.
- Recognize that these children are victims of child commercial sexual exploitation, not offenders.
- Develop more options for appropriate temporary victim placement.
- Increase public awareness among parents, especially on the Internet.
- Harsher penalties for offenders.

## **Final recommendations**

The following are overall recommendations developed from the research study:

- Prevent child commercial sexual exploitation through education to at-risk youth and support and assistance for runaway teens.
- Reduce family violence to end the cycle of abuse that may lead to entry into prostitution.
- Identify and provide assistance for exploited youth including screening, appropriate services, and housing.
- Train law enforcement officers to understand child commercial sexual exploitation and to work in conjunction with community agencies who are better equipped to aid victims.
- Build community capacity to reduce child commercial sexual exploitation through grants and task forces.
- Keep current with technology.
- Change laws so juveniles are no longer arrested and prosecuted for prostitution and prescribe stiffer penalties for adult offenders who buy or sell children for sex.
- Improve collaboration among entities who most often encounter exploited youth, including non-profit agencies, hospitals, and law enforcement agencies.
- Conduct more research on child commercial sexual exploitation to learn the extent of the problem.



# Introduction

Child pornography and prostitution have made the commercial sexual exploitation of children a multi-million dollar industry in the U.S. Due to the attention that commercial sexual exploitation of children has received and its priority among federal, state, and local law enforcement officials, it is an important crime problem for Illinois to examine.<sup>1</sup> The Department of Justice's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention considers commercial sexual exploitation of children, "one of the most overlooked and egregious forms of child abuse." The office further states. "Reports from law enforcement and those concerned with child protection make it clear the commercial sexual exploitation of children is a critical problem and that increasing numbers of children and youth are being sexually exploited through prostitution and pornography in the United States."<sup>2</sup>

End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography, and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes-USA (ECPAT-USA) believes youth prostitution is a complex phenomenon requiring additional research to demonstrate the impact on youth and adults, and the cost to the community.<sup>3</sup> The National Center for Missing and Exploited Children concurs that a systematic effort is needed to estimate the number of youth involved in prostitution in order to understand the current need for services.<sup>4</sup> A significant change has been seen in recent years in the U.S. government's response to sex trafficking from a concern about communities' quality of life to concerns about victims.<sup>5</sup> Given the changing attitudes and growing concern about child exploitation and trafficking, it is essential for those in the criminal justice system to be familiar with recent research.<sup>6</sup>

In fall 2006, the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority was awarded a grant from the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention to complete research on the problem of commercial sexual exploitation of children. This study utilized three research methods: arrest data, interviews with law enforcement, and focus groups. Collectively, these methods facilitated the data collection on the incidence and prevalence of victimization, pathways to victimization, characteristics of victims and offenders, and the needs of youth exiting exploitative situations.

# Literature review

## Need for commercial sexual exploitation of children research

Although there are moral issues surrounding commercial sex and prostitution, this research focuses on the sexual exploitation of minors, who, according to law, are unable to consent to sex with adults, regardless of an economic exchange. According to the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking In Person's Report, "The U.S. government policy on children under the age of 18 used for commercial sex is unambiguous. They must be removed from exploitation as soon as they are found. The use of children in the commercial sex trade is prohibited under both U.S. and international law. There can be no exceptions, no cultural or socio-economic rationalizations that prevent the rescue of children from sexual servitude."<sup>7</sup>

A 2001 University of Pennsylvania study estimated there are as many as 300,000 children at risk for exploitation through prostitution in the United States.<sup>8</sup> However, there is a lack of consensus on the estimated number of sexually exploited youth. One study estimated a minimum of 16,000 women and girls are regularly engage in prostitution in the Chicago metro area.<sup>9</sup> Another study estimated that in Chicago 1,800 to 4,000 women and girls are involved in prostitution in the Chicago area.<sup>10</sup> However, official statistics offer much lower estimates of the problem. The Department of Justice estimated only 1,300 juveniles were arrested for prostitution in the United States in 1995; that is less than 1 percent of all juvenile arrests.<sup>11</sup>

Criminal justice statistics on the exploitation of juveniles are unreliable for many reasons. First, law enforcement assist prostituted youth rather than arrest them, and offer social services or release them to the custody of parents or guardians. Second, youth are often inaccurately processed as adults because they provide police with false identification or are arrested for other offenses such as loitering. Third, the reality is that many prostituted youth will never be identified due to the secretive and indoor nature of prostitution.

Due to the varying nature with which juvenile prostitutes are handled by law enforcement, there are problems when relying on law enforcement data alone. Chris Swecker, assistant director of the FBI's Criminal Investigative Division said, "We do not currently have a definitive number for the serious problem of child prostitution itself, although judges, police, and outreach workers report both the increase in the numbers and a decrease in the ages of the children involved. Unfortunately, we know of no studies to date that specifically and primarily address juvenile prostitution. Accurately quantifying the existing problem of victimized children (as opposed to 'at risk') is difficult for a variety of reasons. For example, in the case of children exploited through prostitution, many of the prostituted youth are charged with some other offenses such as substance abuse. Thus, data that relies on crime reports masks the true prevalence of the problem."<sup>12</sup>

## What is commercial sexual exploitation of children?

According to OJJDP, commercial sexual exploitation of children describes a constellation of crimes of a sexual nature committed against youth younger than 18 years old primarily or

entirely for financial or other economic reasons. These crimes include, for example, trafficking for sexual purposes, prostitution, sex tourism, mail-order-bride trade, and early marriage, pornography, stripping, and sexual performances. The exploitation of children by prostitution is defined as a person under the age of 18 who engages in a sexual act or conduct in exchange for money or anything of value. Youth serve as prostitutes, escorts, call girls, and strippers in brothels, strip clubs, hotels, bars, and homes. In the United States only a minority of prostitutes work the streets, yet they receive the majority of attention from researchers.<sup>13</sup>

Commercial sexual exploitation is a multi-billion dollar industry based on supply and demand—demand from those who want to use children who are vulnerable in order to assert their power and control and fulfill fantasies. Those who supply children are fueled by potential profits. Those who are exploited are often devastated by what is done to them and suffer from many psychological and physical effects.

Prostituted youth may not see themselves as victims until many years later and only then if they are well out of the life of prostitution. Many believe that prostitution is their choice, a way to survive, or that a pimp is the only one who will love and protect them. They believe the pimp's promises will be kept and their lives will improve. Furthermore, many suffer from physical and psychological problems and are not equipt to acknowledge or deal with the trauma that has happened to them.

A 2001 study of prostituted youth in New York City found four trends. They include:<sup>14</sup>

- A decrease in the age of sexually exploited youth.
- An increase in physical and sexual violence and high-risk sex.
- An increase in difficulty of monitoring the number of youth because exploitation has moved off the streets.
- Insufficient services for exploited youth.

### Trafficking

Children who are prostituted can be trafficked either internationally or domestically for sex or labor. International trafficking is often defined as bringing foreign children into the United States and domestic trafficking as moving children within the United States from state to state or city to city for sexual purposes.<sup>15</sup> However, the U.S. Trafficking Victims Protection Act in 2000 definition of a trafficked person does not require the victim to be transported anywhere and victims of trafficking can be born in the United States or foreign-born. However, inexplicably, the Act currently only offers monetary assistance and services for victims of international trafficking.

There are varying estimates of those trafficked into the United States from other countries. The U.S. State Department estimates that between 600,000 and 800,000 persons were trafficked across national borders worldwide between April 2003 and March 2004. Seventy percent of those were trafficked for sexual exploitation and between 14,500 and 17,500 were trafficked into the United States.<sup>16</sup> The CIA estimated between 18,000 and 20,000 people are trafficking into the states each year. Underage girls from Eastern Europe or Latin America are brought into major cities through abduction or promises of legitimate jobs. Chicago is considered a major sex-

trafficking hub, as are New York City, Los Angeles, and Atlanta. While U.S. victims who trade sex for money are often deplored, foreign-born youth brought to the states are viewed as innocent victims. This report focuses on sexual exploitation of children born in the United States.

### Child pornography

Children are exploited by pornography in films and magazines for personal or financial gain or for the purposes of persuading them to participate in sex acts. Although child pornography is classified as a commercial sexual crime, images are usually shared for free. The Internet is an easy way for individuals to share pornographic images of children with other Internet users, and is an especially popular avenue among adult males. In addition, the Internet is used to lure young people into taking and sharing pornographic pictures of themselves. Child victims of pornography may experience physical and psychological effects, such as depression, withdrawal, and anger.

There appears to be a connection between viewing child pornography and physical contact with youth. An unreleased Bureau of Prison's study suggests that as many as 85 percent of males convicted for pornography had committed acts of sexual abuse against minors, from inappropriate touching to rape.<sup>17</sup> Previous studies found only 30 to 40 percent of those who viewed child pornography also commit sex acts against children.

### **Risk factors**

There are many risk factors among those who are victims of commercial sexual exploitation. They include conflicts at home, parental neglect, physical or sexual abuse, homelessness, poverty, lack of safe and affordable housing, instability, educational failure, emotional problems, and being a runaway or forced to leave home.<sup>18</sup> Lacking other survival options, many must live with the perpetrators of violence and sexual exploitation who are often their own family members.

### Runaways

In 1999, 1.7 million youth had run away from home or were forced out.<sup>19</sup> This includes children whose parents kicked them out of the home or whose families fell apart and there was no one to care for them. Studies show that runaways and children who had been forced out of the home make up 75 percent of all juvenile prostitutes.<sup>20</sup> One study in Canada found that a greater percentage of prostituted youth (87 percent) had run away from home compared to other youth (61 percent).<sup>21</sup> According to the National Runaway Switchboard, youth are lured into prostitution within 48 hours of leaving home. About 75 percent of youth on the street who are identified as runaways in the United States are from working and middle-class families.<sup>22</sup>

Juveniles living on the street develop strategies to survive. Within days or weeks of running away many of these girls and boys engage in survival sex in return for money, food, shelter, drugs, protection, companionship, or false promises.<sup>23</sup> One national survey found that 28 percent of youth on the street and 10 percent of youths in shelters reported having participated in survival

sex for money, food, shelter, or drugs.<sup>24</sup> Runaways living on the street are often exploited by predatory adults and become involved in prostitution, pornography, and drug dealing.<sup>25</sup>

### Childhood abuse

Most prostituted women and girls learn to tolerate abuse from being abused. Family histories of prostituted females often include physical, sexual, and psychological abuse.<sup>26</sup> One study found almost all prostitution survivors (98 percent) reported being emotionally abused as children, 90 percent were physically abused, and 85 percent were victims of incest.<sup>27</sup> Another study of street prostitutes in San Francisco found that 60 percent were sexually abused as children, which caused physical and emotional harm, and negative attitudes toward men and sex.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, youth may see working on the street as a relatively safe option compared to the abuse suffered at home.<sup>29</sup> Sometimes the family views prostitution as normal or expected. One study of prostituted females in Chicago found that more than half of those who started prostituting at a young age grew up in a household with prostitution.<sup>30</sup> Family members may force children into prostitution and in turn profit from it.

## **Recruitment**

### The Internet

The Internet is often used to exploit youth through pornography, prostitution, or sex acts. One large national study of 1,500 U.S. youth found that one in seven Internet users (13 percent) received unwanted sexual solicitations or approaches in the past year. Four percent of young Internet users received aggressive sexual solicitations in which the solicitor asked to meet in person, called them on the telephone, or sent them mail, money, or gifts.<sup>31</sup>

Child exploiters may use the Internet because it provides:<sup>32</sup>

- Exposure to youth.
- Easy development of relationships.
- A feeling of invisibility and anonymity.
- Little fear of detection.
- Instant gratification.

Exploiters can victimize children over the Internet by:<sup>33</sup>

- Enticing them for the purposes of engaging them in sex acts.
- Using the Internet to produce, manufacture, and distribute child pornography.
- Using the Internet to expose youth to pornography and encourage their participation in pornography.
- Enticing them for sexual tourism for commercial gain or personal gratification.

Adults use popular social networking Web sites such as [www.myspace.com](http://www.myspace.com) and [www.myyearbook.com](http://www.myyearbook.com) to lure youth into pornography and prostitution. Needing attention, youth may seek out Web sites as a way to connect with others. During adolescent development, teens seek relationships and connections and are often willing to enter into voluntary sexual relationships with adults they meet with online. Youth sometimes unknowingly communicate

online with adults who may pose as youth and are able to be talked into exploitive situations. Youth often share private and personal information and post photographs online.

Furthermore, the Internet can be used for exploitation without any physical contact with a child. Once a picture of a child is posted online it can be shared around the world. These children often do not know that they are victims of a crime and therefore do not disclose their victimization.

### Panderers and pimps

Panderers compel others to prostitute and arrange situations for people to practice prostitution in exchange for payment. Youth can be recruited for prostitution or exploitation by customers who solicit youth directly or by peers, pimps, and other youth. They exploit vulnerable children, wining their trust and gaining control over them. These children are used for money and sex.

A pimp is one 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 images made of that person. Pimps include traffickers, pornographers, brothel madams, mail-order bride agents, or call themselves managers, agents, or talent directors. Pimps also may be boyfriends, relatives or family acquaintances, owners of exotic dance services or strip clubs, or any person who makes an arrangement for sex between two people for monetary gain. Nearly all prostituted girls have at one time worked for a pimp but frequently change pimps. Girls may see pimps as offering protection, affection, shelter, and clothing.<sup>34</sup>

Some pimps operate similar to domestic batterers. Female prostitutes are controlled, intimidated, socially isolated, and economically dependent, which makes it difficult to leave a life of prostitution.<sup>35</sup> Tactics of power and control are used to keep a woman trapped, much like batterers use to ensure compliance of their wives or partners. Even if a woman receives gifts from her pimp—often as the lure into prostitution—she leaves with nothing.<sup>36</sup> Pimps isolate the female from the outside world and use verbal and physical threats and intimidation. A pimp may beat up a disobedient prostitute in the presence of other prostitutes in a show of power and control. Pimps may view their prostitutes as property, feel entitled to sex with them, or use sex as a form of punishment.

## **Characteristics of exploited youth**

### Demographics

According to the FBI, the average age of entry into prostitution among children and youth is 13, with some as young as age 9. However, the actual average age may depend on the definition of "entry into prostitution." For example, researchers may define entry as one sexual contact or act of sexual penetration and/or as the first sex exchange or the first period of repeated sex trading.

Race and ethnicity of prostituted youth is hard to determine. Agencies and programs that provide demographic statistics of prostituted youth may offer services certain populations or target specific neighborhoods or cities, and demographics vary greatly.

## Sexual exploitation of boys

Juvenile sexual exploitation does affect young males. Some studies have found that almost as many young males as females engage in juvenile prostitution. The prostitution of boys is often more hidden than its female counterpart, frequently taking place in city parks, street corners, bars, bathhouses, and motels. The prostitution of boys is more organized and call-boy networks have flourished in New York City, N.Y., San Francisco, Calif., Houston, Texas, and Los Angeles, Calif.<sup>37</sup> Most young men involved in prostitution work independently<sup>38</sup> and most are heterosexual.<sup>39</sup> One study of boys under 16 years old suggested that the escape from family violence and lack of sustainable job options led them to prostitution.<sup>40</sup> About 25 to 35 percent of juvenile prostitutes self identify as sexual minorities, such as gay, bisexual, or as transgender/transsexual.<sup>41</sup>

## **The dangers of commercial child sexual exploitation**

### Violence

Commercial sex is dangerous because prostituted youth and adults may become targets of violence from customers and pimps. Customers may sexually assault, kidnap, stab, beat and threaten prostituted individuals. An Oregon study found that 84 percent of prostituted women were victims of aggravated assault, 68 percent were victims of rape, 53 percent were victims of sexual torture, and 49 percent were kidnapped.<sup>42</sup> Torture includes being slapped, burned, gagged, hung, and bound, and 27 percent were mutilated due to torture. A study in San Francisco of adults in prostitution found similar results: 82 percent had been physically assaulted, 83 percent had been threatened with a weapon, and 68 percent had been raped while working as prostitutes. Prostitutes are subjected to these acts of violence on a regular basis. Due to the nature of prostitution and a prostitute's vulnerability, many end up missing or dead.<sup>43</sup>

### Mental and physical health

Prostituted individuals often suffer from mental health issues including depression, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and low self-esteem. PTSD is a psychological reaction to extremely stressful events whose symptoms include depression, anxiety, irritability, flashbacks, insomnia, nightmares, avoidance of reminders of the event, and a general numbing response to life situations. A significant percentage of women who enter prostitution have no previous drug or alcohol abuse, but started or increased usage to anesthetize the physical pain and mental issues arising from prostitution.<sup>44</sup> There are physical health problems as well, such as a high risk for sexual transmitted diseases. The risk of HIV is especially great for women who are prostitutes. Studies of HIV rates found that 57 percent of women prostitutes in New Jersey were infected and 12 percent in Atlanta, were infected with the virus.<sup>45</sup>

## **Societal demand**

### The customers

The customers of prostituted youth are often referred to as johns, tricks, buyers, clients, or dates. Customers may hire prostitutes because they feel entitled to sex and justified to purchase sex if they lack a conventional relationship or their relationship is not meeting their needs.<sup>46</sup> Adults want to have sex with young boys or girls for reasons similar to other sex offenders—for power and control. Sex with children provides a greater sexual thrill for certain individuals because it provides an added sense of power. A man who purchases sex does not need to seduce or groom a child. He is given immediate access and gratification with less risks of exposure. Men who want to hurt or torture children can go to pimps who can provide them for a price.<sup>47</sup> They can be viewed as more socially tolerated sexual predators.

Customers seek prostituted youth in their neighborhoods. They find them working in local clubs, or through the youth's friends, boyfriends, or relatives.<sup>48</sup> In addition, customers can solicit youth online, through escort services or clubs, or at places where youth gather, such as shopping malls, fast food establishments, non-alcoholic clubs, and unethical “modeling” agencies.<sup>49</sup> Customers are sometimes travelers, away from home for work or a convention or sporting event. Some are truckers. One study found that men who patronize prostitutes are typically white, well educated, with full-time jobs, and an average age of 38.<sup>50</sup> Research indicates that about 16 percent of men in the United States have visited prostitutes, although not necessarily juveniles, at some point in their lives.<sup>51</sup>

Most adult arrests focus on the prostitute rather than the client. Only one-tenth of arrests for prostitution are clients and almost all are men.<sup>52</sup>

### Societal imagery

Media's depictions of prostitution and other commercial sex acts, such as stripping and lap dancing, that romanticize or glamorize those activities influence public knowledge and opinions about the sex trade.<sup>53</sup> Cordelia Anderson<sup>54</sup> examined technology's role in creating a sexually toxic society.<sup>55</sup> Studies show that children learn about sex from what they see and hear around them. Young children are bombarded with sexual images used to sell products to them. Youth obtain sexual information from marketing, technology, pornography, and mass media, such as television, music lyrics, music videos, or magazines. Young girls are portrayed as “sexy” and boys learn that they are entitled to girls who are sex objects. Teens learn to use sex to avoid real relationships or intimacy by “hooking up” or having “friends with benefits.”

This is of even greater concern given studies indicating brain development continues through the teens, so youth are unable to interpret sexual images in a mature way and make logical decisions.<sup>56</sup> In addition, the onset of puberty is getting earlier for girls—as young as the age of eight—so sexual identity is becoming more important to those at a younger age.



## Perspectives on commercial sexual exploitation of children

Commercial sex and prostitution is viewed in different ways. *Table 1* describes many of the perspectives on commercial sexual exploitation, prostitution, and the sex trade. The New Voices Initiative identified many of the following perspectives on adult prostitution.<sup>57</sup> These perspectives guide how the problem of prostitution is approached, condoned, or ignored.

**Table 1**  
**Description of perspectives on prostitution**

<i>Perspective</i>	<i>Description</i>
Moral perspective	Prostitution is inherently wrong. The public may condemn sexual exploitation and view those prostituted as immoral or criminals who made a conscious choice to engage in commercial sex.
Legal perspective	Prostitution is against the law and should be punished.
Public health perspective	Prostitution is a threat because it transmits disease.
Neighborhood perspective	Prostitution is a quality of life issue associated with neighborhood decline. In those neighborhoods, tax dollars must be channeled toward law enforcement, medical treatment, and support for victims.
Societal perspective	Prostitution exists because our society and the media permits it and/or condones it.
Romanticized perspective	Prostitution is exciting and glamorous. <sup>58</sup> (For instance, as seen in portrayals in Hollywood films.)
Human rights perspective	Prostitution is not a real choice but a form of exploitation.

## Responses to commercial sexual exploitation of children

### Community response

Child sexual exploitation takes a large toll on society, but many are largely unaware of child exploitation because it occurs behind closed doors. Some communities are responding to adult prostitution by using “john schools” or other programs with a goal of reducing recidivism by educating men about the harm they cause when patronizing prostitutes. Other communities are in favor of publishing lists of men who have patronized brothels and escorts. This form of public shaming is intended to punish and deter others from patronizing prostitutes, but focuses on adult rather than juvenile prostitution.

## Social service response

Social service agencies are ill equipped to recognize or treat the needs of exploited youth. Services do not exist to address their emergency needs, such as shelter, drug and alcohol detoxification, and treatment of posttraumatic stress disorder, and long term needs, such as treatment of depression, chronic post-traumatic stress disorder, vocational training, and long-term housing.<sup>59</sup> Needed are services to treat the psychological and economic problems that make it so difficult for minor prostitutes to escape prostitution.

Shelters for homeless and runaway youth may offer basic needs to the sexually exploited but cannot offer comprehensive services. They are often overcrowded and sometimes must turn youth away. There are domestic violence shelters in every major city in the United States. Trafficking shelters are much harder to come by.<sup>60</sup>

There are three basic types of social service programs in existence to assist sexually exploited youth—prevention, outreach, and transitional living. Prevention programs involve individuals providing educational presentations on exploitation for youth and others in the community. Outreach allows for individuals to work on the street, develop relationships with prostituted youth, and offer resources. Transitional living programs offer exploited youth appropriate housing through referral to a social service agency or by facilitating their return home.<sup>61</sup>

## Federal government response

### *Legislation*

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 treats trafficked persons as victims who are eligible for services, and supports the prosecution of traffickers. Under the Act, unless victims are minors under 18, victims who are in the United States illegally must work with the U.S. Department of Justice to qualify for a T-Visa in order to stay in the country. T-Visas are valid for up to three years. Victims can adjust their status to permanent legal status after three years in accordance to immigration laws and regulations. Once adult victims apply for a bona-fide T-Visa or are granted continued presence by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, they become certifiable. The Office of Refugee Resettlement, an office of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, in consultation with the U.S. Attorney General, is authorized to certify victims of trafficking. A certified victim of a severe form of trafficking in persons is eligible for social benefits to the same extent as a refugee. However, children under 18 do not need to cooperate with law enforcement to be eligible for social benefits or immigration relief.

Under the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) is designated to help victims of human trafficking become eligible to receive benefits and services so they may rebuild their lives safely in the states. Although the Act defines victims of trafficking as anyone under 18 involved in a commercial sex act regardless of being trafficked internationally or domestically, thus far this legislation has been used to aid foreign-born victims and prosecute their traffickers rather than aid American victims.<sup>62</sup> In order to help identify and assist victims of trafficking, more than \$2.2 million in grants from HHS Administration for Children and Families were proposed in 2006 to help agencies providing

direct and support services. Also as part of this effort, HHS has initiated the Rescue & Restore Victims of Human Trafficking campaign to help identify and assist victims of human trafficking in the United States.

### *Funding*

The U.S. Department of Justice has been at the forefront in offering grants to end the commercial sexual exploitation of children. In November 2004, the department awarded more than \$7.6 million to task forces on human trafficking. The Chicago Police Department received \$450,000 of this funding to form and support the Chicago Regional Human Trafficking Task Force.

In February 2006, the U.S. Department of Justice made \$14 million in anti-trafficking grants available over three years to city and county task forces—multidisciplinary teams that include local law enforcement, social service providers, non-governmental and faith-based organizations, human rights groups, and ethnic community leaders.

In February 2006, the U.S. Department of Justice announced \$1.3 million in funding for research on the commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth. The grant program furthered the department's mission by supporting research into the effectiveness of intervention and prevention efforts that target youth who have been sexually exploited for commercial purposes in the United States and elsewhere. This report was funded through that research grant program.

In September 2006, the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention awarded a \$1 million, two-year cooperative agreement to the Salvation Army and its primary partners, Girls Educational and Mentoring Services, Polaris Project, and Bilateral Safety Corridor Coalition. The funding will be used to develop a national, multi-site training and technical assistance program to assist five cities in coordinating investigative, prosecutorial and victim service resources. Selected cities include Chicago, Atlantic City, Denver, San Diego, and Washington, D.C.

### Illinois government response

In 2004, the Illinois' Internet Crimes Against Children Task Force (ICAC), based at the Illinois Office of the Attorney General, was created with a grant from the U.S. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. About 60 law enforcement agencies statewide are partners of ICAC and work collaboratively to combat child victimization. The goal of ICAC is to identify, arrest, and convict sex offenders who prey on children using computer technology, particularly the Internet.

Illinois Governor Rod R. Blagojevich signed the Trafficking of Persons and Involuntary Servitude Act in June 2005. The Act established penalties for the offenses of involuntary servitude, sexual servitude of a minor, and trafficking of persons for forced labor. The Act mandates restitution be funneled into victim assistance and law enforcement.

The Illinois Department of Human Services Rescue and Restore public awareness campaign was launched in late 2005. The campaign completes outreach and trains law enforcement and the public on human trafficking. International trafficking is the campaign's primary focus.

In December 2006, Governor Blagojevich announced an innovative computer-based training video for law enforcement professionals. The video was developed by the Illinois Department of Human Services, Illinois State Police, Chicago Police Department, Heartland Alliance for Human Needs and Human Rights, and the Illinois Regional Institute for Community Policing. The DVD is called "Anti-Human Trafficking for Law Enforcement," and was distributed to 1,400 law enforcement agencies in Illinois. The DVD addresses the myth that individuals must be moved in order to be considered victims of trafficking and clearly states that victims can be foreign-born or U.S. citizens. The video includes information on topics such as the history of trafficking, state and federal laws, the roles of law enforcement and social services, victimization, investigative consideration, and the recognition of human trafficking.

### Law enforcement response

Awareness and reporting of exploitation is increasing and law enforcement struggles to identify, investigate, and prosecute offenders. Shrinking police budgets mean fewer officers to arrest and investigate the prostitution of youth. In addition, social services for this population are not adequate to meet food, clothing, and medical attention needs, or assistance on obtaining permanent residential placement. These young people fall between the cracks of law enforcement and social service.<sup>63</sup>

Prostituted youth are often streetwise, distrustful of adults, and may not cooperate with police or prosecutors. Pimps and the youth's prostituting peers may teach them to fear, distrust, avoid, and mislead law enforcement and other agencies meant to help them. Juveniles often lie about their ages because the penalties for an adult are often lesser than for juveniles. They learn to act as if they are adults consenting to prostitution. If a prostituted juvenile-related case does make it to court, a youth may not testify in court for fear of retaliation by or to protect their pimp. Youth who are trafficked from other countries may not have work authorization, lack language skills to obtain jobs or ask for help, and fear deportation.

Local law enforcement agencies receive assistance from the FBI when cases fall under federal jurisdiction, such as cases of interstate pornography or prostitution. Police may work with family services, shelters, and outreach programs that serve runaway and homeless youth in their community. While increased attention to this issue in recent years has led juvenile justice officials to develop a number of prevention and intervention programs aimed at exploited youth in the United States, these strategies have not been externally evaluated on their effectiveness.

### *National efforts*

The National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) offers law enforcement free resources to help investigate cases of missing and sexually exploited children. In 1996, the U.S. Congress established the Exploited Child Unit (ECU) within NCMEC. The ECU serves as a

resource center for the public, parents, guardians, law enforcement, and others on issues surrounding the sexual exploitation of children.

In 1998, the CyberTipline, an online mechanism for reporting sex-related crimes against children, was created. Reports may be made 24 hours per day, seven days per week. In 2006, the CyberTipline received reports of 62,265 incidents of child pornography, 1,087 cases of child prostitution, 564 cases of child sex tourism, 2,145 incidents of child sexual molestation, and 6,334 cases of online enticement of children for sexual acts. The tips are shared with local law enforcement for investigation.

In 2003, FBI, in partnership with the U.S. Department of Justice and NCMEC, initiated the Innocence Lost National Initiative to address child prostitution. Based on an initial review of the available intelligence on child prostitution collected from ongoing investigations, local and state law enforcement agencies, and NCMEC, Chicago was one of the cities identified as a “high intensity child prostitution area.” Fourteen cities with FBI field offices were identified as having the highest instances of children used in prostitution: Chicago, Atlanta, Dallas, Texas, Detroit, Las Vegas, Los Angeles, Miami, Minneapolis, New York City, San Diego, San Francisco, St. Louis, Tampa, and Washington, DC. Local task force members include federal and local law enforcement, social service agencies, and prosecutors, and are trained by NCMEC. Exploitation investigations are intensive, intelligence-driven, and rely on developing informants and witnesses. As of 2005, the initiative led to 500 arrests, 100 indictments, and 67 convictions in the United States.

A nationwide U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) initiative was launched in July 2003. Operation Predator seeks to protect children from sexual predators, including those who travel overseas for sex with minors, Internet child pornographers, criminal alien sex offenders, and child sex traffickers. By 2005, ICE agents had arrested 6,085, individuals, including 282 in Illinois, making it one of the top 10 states in the nation for apprehensions.<sup>64</sup>

The contact information and Web sites of the resources mentioned in this section and other related resources are provided in Appendix A.

## **Illinois state laws**

In Illinois, prostitution occurs when “any person who performs, offers or agrees to perform any act of sexual penetration as defined in Section 12-12 of this Code for any money, property, token, object, or article or anything of value, or any touching or fondling of the sex organs of one person by another person, for any money, property, token, object, or article or anything of value, for the purpose of sexual arousal or gratification commits an act of prostitution.” (720 ILCS 5/11-14). The first offense is a Class A misdemeanor and a subsequent conviction is a Class 4 felony. Juveniles, who are under the age of 17 in Illinois, can be arrested for engaging in prostitution.

At the same time in Illinois, it is illegal for an adult to have sex with a child—the adult is a sex offender and the child is the victim. Criminal sexual abuse and aggravated criminal sexual abuse are acts of sex with an underage victim (720 ILCS 5/12-15 and 720 ILCS 5/12-16). Engaging in

a sex act or exposing oneself in the presence of a child or removing the clothing of a child is also illegal (720 ILCS 5/11-9.1).

However, if the juvenile is prostituted, that is, if money is exchanged for sex with a child, even if the child is not the one ultimately profiting, the child may be labeled by law as the offender. There is no real difference between criminal sexual assault and juvenile prostitution, except for the exchange of money.

Illinois recognizes soliciting and patronizing a minor for prostitution as distinct from soliciting and patronizing an adult for prostitution. Soliciting for a juvenile prostitute is either arranging, offering to arrange, or directing another to a place for a meeting of persons for the purpose of prostitution when the solicited person is under age 16. A defendant charged with soliciting a juvenile prostitute can use as an affirmative defense that the accused reasonably believed the person was of the age of 16. Soliciting for a juvenile prostitute is a Class 1 felony. Patronizing a juvenile prostitute is a felony and is defined as any person who engages in an act of sexual penetration with a prostitute less than 17 years of age. Several states, not including Illinois, have passed statutes that include criminal liability of parents who permit their children to engage in prostitution. In Illinois, patronizing a juvenile prostitute is a Class A misdemeanor.

An Illinois law that went into effect in January 2006 makes trafficking of persons and involuntary servitude illegal in the state. Involuntary servitude of a minor occurs when anyone knowingly, or attempts to, recruit, entice, harbor, transport, provide, or obtain by any means another person under 18 years of age to engage in commercial sexual activity, a sexually-explicit performance, or the production of pornography.

Juvenile pimping is the act of a person knowingly receiving any form of payment, completely or in part, derived from the practice of prostitution, and the prostitute is under the age of. Pandering is defined as a person who compels another to become a prostitute, or arranges or offers to arrange a situation in which a person may practice prostitution for money, property, a token, object or article, or anything of value.

Adult criminal offenses related to the commercial sexual exploitation of juveniles in Illinois are outlined in *Table 2*.

**Table 2**  
**Commercial sexual exploitation of children-related criminal statutes in Illinois**

<i>Offense</i>	<i>Statute</i>	<i>Offense class</i>
Soliciting for a juvenile prostitute	720 ILCS 5/11-15.1	Class 1 felony
Pandering	720 ILCS 5/11-16	Class 4 felony
Keeping a place of juvenile prostitution	720 ILCS 5/11-17.1	Class 1 felony. Second or subsequent violation is class X felony
Patronizing a juvenile prostitute	720 ILCS 5/11-18.1	Class 4 felony
Juvenile pimping	720 ILCS 5/11-19.1	Class 1 felony
Aggravated juvenile pimping	720 ILCS 5/11-19.1	Class X felony
Exploitation of a child	720 ILCS 5/11-19.2	Class X felony
Child pornography	720 ILCA 5/11-20.1	Class 1 felony with mandatory minimum fine of \$2,000 and maximum fine of \$100,000
Trafficking in persons and involuntary servitude	720 ILCS 5/10A-10	Class 4 to Class X

In Illinois, an additional penalty for a person who commits the offense of keeping a place of juvenile prostitution, the exploitation of a child, or child pornography is that they must forfeit profits, enterprise, computer, and other property related to the commission of those offenses (720 ILCS 5/11-20.1A). The state requires any person convicted of any of sex offenses against a juvenile to register as a sex offender. The Illinois State Police maintains a statewide sex offender database, accessible on the Internet, identifying persons who must register as a sex offender. In addition, the Chicago Police Department identifies those arrested for solicitation of a prostitute by posting their names, addresses, and photos on its Web site as a way of publicly shaming those offenders.<sup>65</sup>

In Illinois, any felony or misdemeanor conviction or adjudication of any of the following commercial sexual exploitation of children-related statutes require sex offender registration:

- Indecent solicitation of a child.
- Soliciting for a juvenile prostitute.
- Soliciting for a prostitute, if the victim is under age 18.
- Keeping a place of juvenile prostitution.
- Patronizing a juvenile prostitute.
- Juvenile pimping.
- Exploitation of a child.
- Child pornography.
- Pandering, if the victim is under age 18.
- Patronizing, if the victim is under age 18.
- Pimping, if the victim is under age 18.

### *Child exploitation cases in Illinois*

Law enforcement have investigated and uncovered cases of commercial sexual exploitation of children in Illinois. The first federal prosecution of commercial sexual exploitation of children in Illinois was in 2005. A pimp was prostituting two teenage girls by forcing them to perform sex acts up to four times per night on Chicago's South side. The pimp, age 22, moved his juvenile prostitutes locally from motel to motel and across state lines to Minnesota, Missouri, and Arizona.<sup>66</sup>

In 2006, another pimp, age 38, lured two runaway teens, ages 14 and 16, to join six other prostitutes in two mobile homes he kept in south suburban Lynwood and Sauk Village, IL. The FBI worked with local police and the pimp was sentenced to 17 years in federal prison.<sup>67</sup>

In June 2006, a woman, age 27, was sentenced to five years in prison after befriending and then recruiting a 15-year old girl living in her apartment building to work as a prostitute in Arlington Heights. The teen was paid \$42 for sex acts with men. The teen's earnings were used to support the woman's drug habit.<sup>68</sup>

In 2007, two women were arrested for pimping girls as young as age 14 through the [www.craigslist.com](http://www.craigslist.com) Web site.<sup>69</sup> A similar case unfolded in 2007, when another young woman, age 17, was charged with running a prostitution service out of her suburban home using the [www.craigslist.com](http://www.craigslist.com) Web site.<sup>70</sup>

In March 2007, police arrested seven people following a prostitution investigation at the Budget Inn in Burbank. During the course of the investigation, it was learned that two 16 year old girls were being used as a prostitutes.<sup>71</sup>



# Methodology

A common error with prior research on the commercial sexual exploitation of children has been relying on single-method studies without crosschecking with other methods.<sup>72</sup> This study utilizes an examination of arrest data, interviews with law enforcement, and focus groups with adults who were prostituted as juveniles.

Collectively, the three research methods facilitated the gathering of data on the following research questions:

- What is the incidence and prevalence of victimization?
- What are the pathways to victimization?
- What are characteristics of victims?
- What are the needs of exploited youth exiting exploitative situations?
- What are the responses of law enforcement?

Researchers examined arrest data for juveniles and adults for crimes related to child exploitation over the past 10 years. Arrest data were collected from Illinois State Police's Criminal History Record Information System. Two focus groups were conducted with two adult populations, females and transgender individuals, who discussed their experiences in the sex trade as youths under the age of 18. Focus group participants were recruited with assistance from two Chicago-area non-profit organizations. Finally, 10 federal, state, and local police officers were interviewed to gain an understanding of how law enforcement identify prostituted juveniles, investigate the commercial sexual exploitation of children, and make arrests.

ICJIA hired Claudine O'Leary, a national consultant to share information and her experience, and review focus group questions, transcripts, and the final report. O'Leary is a full-time consultant on commercial sexual exploitation of children-related issues. She is the founder and former director of Chicago non-profit organization the Young Women's Empowerment Project (YWEP). She founded YWEP in 2002 to create leadership opportunities and peer-based dialogue and education by and for teen girls in the sex trade, and to recognize the leadership, resilience, and understanding girls possess. Formerly involved in the sex trade, O'Leary has been involved in social justice movements since the late 1980s.

In the field, researchers used terms most commonly used by their research subjects. For instance, when interviewing law enforcement officers, the term "juvenile prostitution" was used. During focus groups, the term "sex trade" was used. Therefore, these terms vary in the following sections. Terms related to commercial sexual exploitation of children offenses are defined in Appendix B.

# Exploitation arrests in Illinois

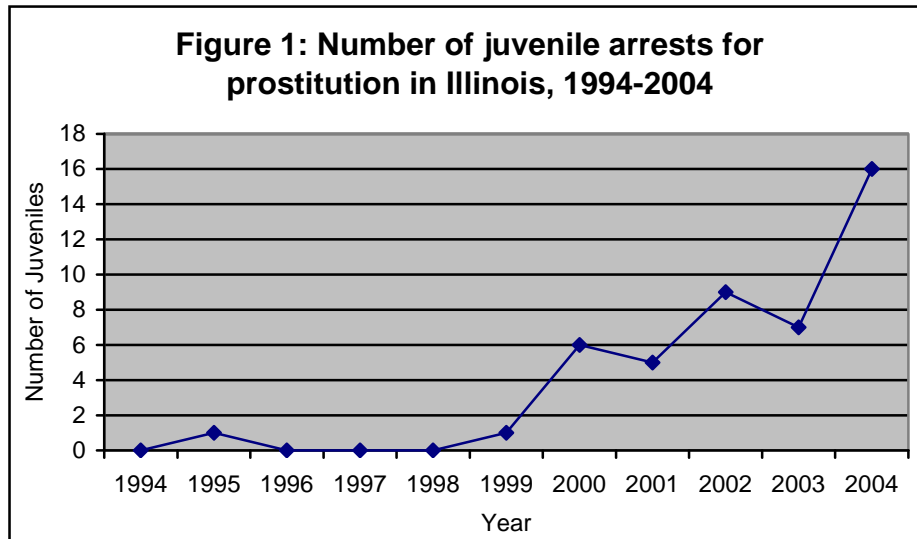
## Juvenile arrests for prostitution

In 1995, the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports indicated that there were 1,044 arrests for persons under the age of 18 for prostitution and commercialized vice. This is a very small percentage of overall juvenile arrests in the United States, which indicates that many youth may be evading law enforcement or viewed as victims. According to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, the police are less likely to arrest juveniles than adult for prostitution, but are more likely to arrest male juveniles than female juveniles for the crime.<sup>73</sup> In addition, those engaging in prostitution may serve as informants for other criminal activity to avoid arrest.

The computerized criminal history records of juveniles arrested and charged with prostitution were obtained for analysis from Illinois State Police's Criminal History Record Information (CHRI) System. This information is derived from arrest fingerprint cards that are submitted for all minors age 10 and older who have been arrested for an offense which would be a felony if committed by an adult and any motor vehicle offense. However, CHRI data has limitations. First, misdemeanor arrests are not required to be entered into the CHRI system and a first-time arrest for prostitution is a Class A misdemeanor. Second, changes after 2000 can be attributed to changes in police reporting mandates and technology advances. Third, the number of juvenile arrests may change due to expungements of juvenile arrest records. Therefore, the number of juvenile arrests and the characteristics of those arrested reported in this document should be viewed as a conservative estimate of arrests, and not an absolute total.

Between calendar years 1994 and 2004, 41 individuals under the age of 17 accumulated 45 arrests for juvenile prostitution. There were only three instances in which a county state's attorney's office attempted to prosecute a juvenile prostitution case in court. The low number of prosecutions on record may be due to the treatment of child prostitutes as victims or possibly because these cases are difficult to successfully prosecute. According to CHRI, there were two court convictions for juvenile prostitution.

Although the numbers of juvenile prostitution arrests seem relatively low making up only a fraction of juvenile arrests, juvenile prostitution arrests have increased significantly since 1994. In 2004, there was a 10-year high of 16 arrests of juvenile prostitution. No juveniles were arrested in 1994, 1996, 1997, or 1998. *Figure 1* depicts the number of juvenile prostitution arrests during that time period.



Source: Illinois State Police Criminal History Record Information

Juveniles arrested for prostitution during this time period were between the ages of 14 and 16 years old. The average age of arrested juveniles was 15.5 years. More females (69 percent) were arrested than males (31 percent).

Another limitation of arrest data collected through the CHRI system is the lack of demographic ethnicity categories. Although Illinois State Police does collect arrestee demographic information by race, Hispanic ethnicity, for example, is not collected separately. The omission of ethnicity is a result of all state criminal history systems reporting data electronically to the FBI having to comply with the national standard data format, which does not include ethnicity among the other positive identifiers (race, sex, and date of birth). As a result, the race categories used by Illinois State Police may not be comparable to race categories used by other criminal justice agencies that include ethnicity. Of those arrested for juvenile prostitution, 66 percent were white and 31 percent were black. The criminal history records do not disaggregate ethnicity from race, so Hispanic youth are counted as white.

The criminal history records of all juveniles arrested for prostitution in Illinois from 1994 to 2004 revealed that 25 individuals (61 percent) continued to have contact with the criminal justice system as adults. However, those who were arrested as juveniles for prostitution between 1994 and 2004, could still be under the age of 17 or just over the age of 17 during this time period; therefore, our data does not reflect their complete adult records. Therefore, further criminal justice activity is likely even higher. Prostituted juveniles are prone to delinquency and frequent contacts with the criminal justice system for shoplifting, drug dealing, and running away.<sup>74</sup> During the study period, these youth had 0 to 43 arrests, an average of 10 arrests per person. As adults, the individuals in our sample were arrested for property offenses (20 percent), drug offenses (14 percent), sex offenses (13 percent), and violent crimes (8 percent). Most were arrested for what was classified as “other” offenses (44 percent).

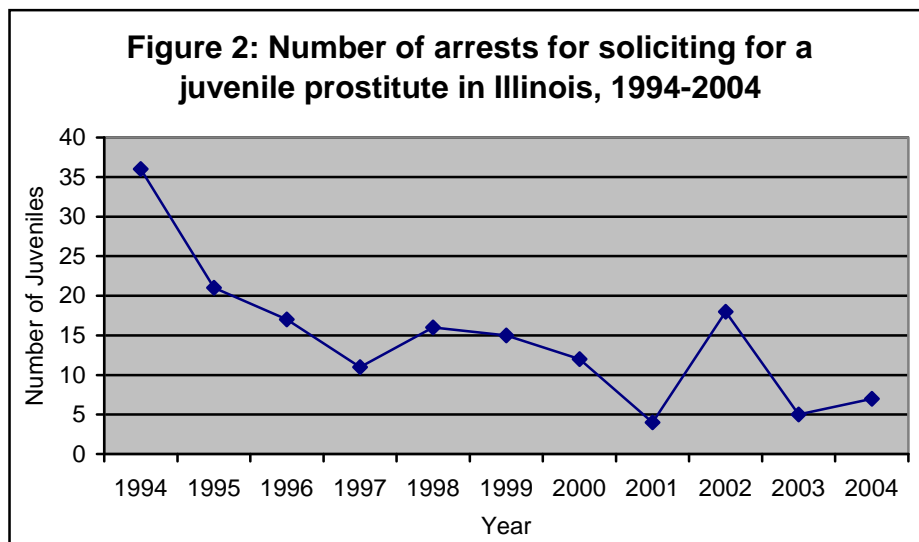
Those arrested for prostitution as minors were often again arrested for prostitution as adults. Collectively, they amassed a total of 26 arrests for prostitution, 10 percent of total arrests. The

arrests for prostitution occurred between the ages of 17 to 28 years old. However, the most arrests were for ordinance violations (20 percent). An ordinance is a law passed by and enforced by a city and violations are typically minor offenses punishable by fine and/or supervision. Other arrests included possession of a controlled substance (9 percent), issue of a warrant (7 percent), criminal trespass to a vehicle (6 percent), and unlawfully soliciting rides (5 percent).

Although a small number of juveniles were arrested for prostitution, most continued to be arrested for prostitution and other offenses as adults. Therefore, it can be concluded that juvenile or criminal justice system involvement with prostituted youth does not successfully help them out of the sex trade or other illegal activity.

### Adult arrests for exploitation of children

The number of arrests for soliciting for a juvenile prostitute in Illinois has dropped from a high of 36 arrests in 1994 to seven arrests in 2004. A total of 162 arrests for soliciting a juvenile prostitute were seen during the 10-year period. The source of arrest data was CHRI, maintained by the Illinois State Police. Again, the number of arrests is a conservative estimate due to data limitations. *Figure 2* depicts the number of arrests for soliciting a juvenile prostitute over the 10-year period. During the 10-year time period, although there was an increase in juvenile arrests for prostitution, there was a decrease in the number of adult arrests for soliciting a juvenile prostitute.



Source: Illinois State Police Criminal History Record Information

In 2004, 26 arrests were seen for child pornography, a Class 1 felony. Child pornography arrests dropped 57 percent from 1994 to 2004, from from 61 to 23 arrests. In 2004, there were five arrests for juvenile pimping: one for keeping a place of juvenile prostitution, three for the exploitation of child, and one for patronizing a juvenile. *Table 3* depicts the total number of commercial sexual exploitation of children arrests of adults over the 10-year period from calendar year 1994 to 2004.

**Table 3**  
**Number of commercial sexual exploitation of children-related arrests**  
**in Illinois, 1994-2004**

<i>Offense</i>	<i>Number of arrests</i>
Child pornography	258
Exploitation of a child	166
Juvenile pimping	80
Keeping a place of juvenile prostitution	3
Patronizing a juvenile prostitute	29
Soliciting for a juvenile prostitute	162
TOTAL	698

Source: Illinois State Police Criminal History Record Information

# Focus groups

Focus groups are open-ended and focused group discussions guided by a moderator to obtain collective views on a topic. Focus groups allow for input from a number of individuals in a relatively short period of time. The focus groups allowed participants to discuss their involvement in the sex trade in order to better understand their perspectives and lives, respond to their needs, and develop and offer support and/or assistance. Participants were adults over 18 years old who as juveniles under 18 years old were involved in the sex trade industry.

The Chicago-based non-profit Young Women's Empowerment Project (YWEP) was hired by ICJIA to recruit focus group participants and moderate the focus groups. The mission of YWEP is to offer safe, respectful, free-of-judgment spaces for girls and young women impacted by the sex trade and street economies to recognize their goals, dreams, and desires. YWEP is a youth leadership organization grounded in harm reduction and social justice organizing by and for girls and young women ages 12 to 23. The agency hires girls and young women with current or past experience in the sex trade to be harm reduction peer outreach workers to girls in the sex trade. The agency reaches hundreds of girls each year who are currently or have been involved in trading sex for money, gifts, drugs, or survival needs.

One problem occurred during the recruitment of participants for the first focus group. Four local law enforcement officers entered an outreach worker's home and questioned her regarding her work with the research project. It is unknown how the police became aware of the research, but the individual was upset after this encounter. ICJIA is not a law enforcement agency, but due to its associations with law enforcement, YWEP requested that neither the principal investigator for the research project nor any another representative from ICJIA be present at the focus groups. In the interest of the study and with some reluctance, ICJIA agreed not to be present. However, a professor and researcher at the University of Illinois at Chicago, Laurie Schaffner, Ph.D, agreed to stand in and audio-record and take notes at the focus group sessions. This situation highlighted that issues may be encountered when recruiting this population for focus groups due to the sensitive nature of the topic.

Participants were brought together and asked to speak about their experiences in the sex trade as juveniles. The focus groups addressed:

- 1) The nature and scope of the sex trade.
- 2) Perceptions of the commercial sexual exploitation of children by individuals involved in the sex trade as juveniles.
- 3) Emerging trends in the commercial sexual exploitation of children, and what strategies to prevent sexual exploitation.

Focus group questions are listed in Appendix D.

Two focus groups were held with two different populations—females and transgender individuals. Each focus group will be discussed separately because the participant experiences varied greatly.

## Female focus group results

On March 21, one focus group was held with 19 adult female participants. Such a high number of participants is not ideal for a focus group because it makes discussions difficult and not everyone may get to speak. However, since all those in attendance wanted to participate, they were all allowed to contribute rather than be turned away. The focus group took place at the office of YWEP and lasted for one hour and 34 minutes. The discussion was audiotaped to document the experiences of focus group participants. Each participant was paid a stipend of \$50 for their participation. Their ages ranged from 16 to 24 years old and the average age was 19 years old. Nine participants identified themselves as black, four as Hispanic/Latino, three as “mixed” race, and two as white. One was unknown because that part of the form was not completed.

### Defining the sex trade

First, participants were asked to share their definitions of the sex trade. One person responded, “My definition of the sex trade would be trading sex or trading sexual favors for either money, survival needs, um, not drugs, but like, for anything, anything you need to survive, keep you going. A lot of people see the sex trade, it's prostitution and it's bad. There are a lot of different ways to be involved in the sex trade. I believe the sex trade is just like any other trade in the world.”

A couple of the female participants defined the sex trade in terms of fulfilling men's needs. One said, “So to me the sex trade was just being cute, smiling, giving them whatever they wanted. It didn't have to be sex; it was *sex-ual*. Just the fact that I was a female and they were a male- a need, a want.”

Another participant had a similar response, “I think the sex trade is more about humans fulfilling humans. Not maybe the best way. Kinda like I'll give you this if you give me that. The men want whatever they want and we want whatever we want and it's not the healthiest way to go about it I don't think but, you know, sometimes you don't know any better.”

According to the focus group participants, the sex trade does not often happen on street corners. Clients can be strangers, but are more likely to be boyfriends, classmates, or from their neighborhoods. The sex trade can be tied to underage stripping and be “underground.” One girl was approached to be a “dancer” and did not realize that was the sex trade. She said, “They'd ask us, ‘Have you ever been a dancer? Ok, can you?...There's a boat and you dance there and they give you money' ....So, I didn't even know this was the sex trade until I was out of it and realized what I was in.”

Focus group participants were asked to write the approximate number of youth currently involved in the sex trade in Chicago. Responses ranged from 30 to 500,000 youth.

### Age of entry

The age at which focus group participants first became involved in the sex trade ranged from 1 to 20 years old and the average age was 12 years old. *Table 4* indicates the participants' age of entry into the sex trade. One participant said that she was prostituted by her mother as an infant for drugs. Another woman mentioned that she learned about trading sex at a very young age from a person close to her. She said, "My perception of being in the sex trade to me started when I was 8. Cause I learned from somebody very close to me, that women use- some women- use their bodies to get what they want from men."

Another focus group participant discussed how she was prostituted at age 11. "Well, I was in the sex trade when I was around, actually when I was 11 years old. I started in the sex trade because I was a ward of the state. A lot of the things I needed I had to go out and get myself because a lot of the places I was in, foster homes and group homes and stuff, they only gave me what they felt that I needed in order to be okay. There were things that I wanted and that I needed that nobody could provide me."

**Table 4**  
**Female focus group participants' age of entry into sex trade**

<i>Age of entry</i>	<i>N</i>
1	1
7	2
8	1
11	3
12	3
13	2
14	2
15	1
16	2
17	1
20	1

### Prior victimization

Several of the female focus group participants discussed that abuse in the home at a young age led them to run away and subsequently enter the sex trade. One shared, "I started so young, like 15, 14. A dope dealer put me up in a spot, so I don't have to deal with my mom beatin' up on me."

One participant shared that she was raped and ran away due to family abuse. She said, "I was really shy in school before I lost my virginity and got raped. After that I had a lot of issues with my body...I had a father who was molesting me. After that I ran away a lot."

### Runaways

Many participants shared stories of running away from home or group homes or foster care. While away from home, the sex trade was one way to meet their basic needs, such as food,



clothing, and shelter. One focus group participant said, “I was like 15. I had ran away from my group home. I didn't have nowhere to go, so I needed a place to stay. Of course I'm going to do what I need to do to get my head laid down somewhere warm, some food, some shelter..” Another said, “And this was like in the beginning of my situation when I ran away from a group home where I did meet a guy. And I wanted a place to stay and this is my first time actually stripping. I actually stripped for this guy’s birthday party. I was, like, 16 at the time.”

### Survival needs

Many of the focus group participants shared that they traded sex for shelter, food, and clothing. One said, "Sex trade came to me because of my situation, because I had ran away and I would never have any shelter." Another said, "I had chosen what probably anyone would choose—food and clothes. F\*\*king, the s\*\*t you need to survive." Another said, “Some of us are like forced to believe that sex is the only way to be out there to survive.”

Parents may sell their children for money or drugs. One participant shared her story. “My first experience in the sex trade I was one, my sister was three and my mom sold us for crack. And we were found three days later in a crack house. My sister had been raped by nine different men.” She explained how this led her into the sex trade when she was older. “I was never taught that my body was a temple that it was something that's mine. It should not be taken advantage of. So when I turned 13, 14, 15 years old ...”

Families may benefit from youth involvement in the sex trade. One participant explained that she traded sex to support her family and her young sister. “Then my mom had a daughter, a little baby, where I was always stuck taking care of her. I had to, like, provide for her. So, it's like, it turned into where I was having sex to keep Pampers on my little sister or to keep shoes and clothes on my little sister.” Another participant mentioned that while in sex trade she lived with her grandmother and was able to pay her rent and bought her food.

### Non-survival needs

There were other focus group participants who traded sex not to meet their survival needs of food and shelter, but for brand name clothing, shoes, and purses. Both attention and the desire for material goods are common among most U.S. teenagers, but may be even more important to at-risk teens who have been abused, runaways, living in poverty, or in the child welfare system. Material goods may make a young person feel they are important and have value and that they are taken care of and loved by another person. In addition, youth may feel if they appear cared for and looked after, others will not view them as vulnerable or a target for violence and/or exploitation.

A participant explained, “So, mine starts at the end of my years in high school, like 8th grade and stuff. Because I see all the other girls doing it. And, like, peer pressure had a lot to do with mine, too. And so I wanted to wear the shoes, the clothes, and all that. So, that's basically why I did it—for attention and stuff.” One participant understood the need for attention and asked, “Did the clothes make you feel pretty or rich or like you had something? You feel like a popular girl, too?”

More people talk to you?” Another responded, “Yeah, and my friends take some of it.” So friends may benefit from their involvement in the sex trade as well and encourage the behavior.

One girl describes her experience of being teased at school until she started trading sex with a drug dealer for drugs, shoes, and money. “When I was 15 or 16, I started having sex with a drug dealer on my block. I was having sex with him for weed, for shoes, for money...When I turned 17, I got a fake ID and started stripping. And I stripped for a long time until I was 23.”

One participant mentioned trading sex for purses with brand names such as Dolce and Gabbana and Dooney and Burke. Another female participant said, “A lot of people see girls’ name-brand clothes, shoes, and all that and they say, ‘Why can’t I have all that?’ And some people’s parents don’t have all the money for that, so, they don’t know what to do. So, they just get the idea of having sex. And they don’t think, they don’t know, that it’s like a serious thing. So, they just have sex for money. And then they buy all the clothes and shoes and everything that they wanted when they see that the other girls have it.” Another said, “I was f\*\*king this dope dealer for shoes, purses, money, whatever he want to give me.”

The reasons for involvement in the sex trade can be complex, such as for survival needs but also for attention or love. One participant explained, “I wasn’t actually on the streets but I just bounced from house to house. And not only was I getting money, clothes, this that, survival needs, but it was for like attention. Attention and love, or what I thought was love. I got kinda like pretty much exploited.” Another explained that pimps target the most vulnerable girls. She said, “Pimps come at girls that, not like the prettiest girls, like the ones with the high self-esteem. They come after girls that basically need love.”

Many girls prostituted themselves to support a drug addiction. One participant talked about how her marijuana use led her to the sex trade. “The sex trade to me was, like, it started because I always needed someone with weed. It was a must because I smoked weed and it seemed like a good career move on my part to get with a guy that sold it.” Another said, “I just gave it up for whatever, anything—attention, liquor, weed, drugs, anything.”

## Violence

Eight participants out of 19 indicated that they had experienced violence while in the sex trade. Only one participant shared an example of the violence that occurs in the sex trade. She said, “I was sexually assaulted and photographed with a camera phone. He didn’t want to pay, so he raped me.”

A couple participants expressed that their involvement in prostitution was by forced and they were sold for money. One participant explained, "For me it's not always something that you want to do for money. Sometimes you're kinda forced into it. And it's a bit more like a trafficking issue. And it's really more like you become this object, this thing. And you're really just sold."

Another shared a story about being forced into having sex. She said, “I don’t even know if it was a garage or like a basement. And there was like a mattress there. They were like, ‘Okay, you’re going to get down there.’ I had no doors to let me out. So I was just stuck on the bed with some

guy... I remember hearing everything and not talking because I was just scared. I didn't know what to do.”

### Services

The focus group participants did not find assistance in social services. One explained that she was placed in a mental institution for her involvement in prostitution. She felt that this was inappropriate for her because she was not mentally ill, but needed to trade sex for money for survival. She said, “When I ran away, my mother found me and right away she told the police. ‘Oh, she was prostituting. She was in the sex trade.’ Whatever. Right away put me in the mental hospital for three weeks. So, they look at it like it's a mental illness. They don't look at it like, ‘Oh, she needed to eat; she needed clothes; it was cold outside.’ Oh no. ‘She did it because she's crazy, manic depressive,’ whatever.” Another said, “So, really DCFS, and hospitals, and police, they're all tied to the same f\*\*ing thing. Because they don't really care. That's the thing. They don't really help you. They make you feel worse...And with the hospitals, they treat you like s\*\*t. All of them, everybody, the case workers, the police, the hospitals, they all treat you like s\*\*t.”

A couple women discussed the labels that social services assign to girls involved in prostitution, which can be difficult to remove. A couple participant explained that the police and DCFS caseworkers, and hospital staff label youth. Often the youth are being abused and the system just views them as prostitutes.

Another participant expressed a fear that if social workers got involved they would break up the family. She said, “Sometimes I think if the system was a little bit better, it'd be less girls in the sex trade. Because, like, take me for instance. I would go with social workers or I would go to teachers and I would say stuff, but the stuff they start talking about, like, ‘Yeah, we about to come in your house. We going to arrest your parents. Separate you and your sister.’ Things like that. They back you up into a corner.”

### Conclusion

The focus groups highlighted two very different reasons for juvenile involvement in prostitution. One reason was for basic survival needs, such as food, clothing, and shelter. This need often arose after running away. Many ran away from home, often due to abuse in the home, and many were wards of the state. Some young women were forced to perform sex acts against their will. Some girls were in the sex trade because they sought attention, love, protection, and acceptance from others. Many of the girls started very young in the sex trade and the average age of entry of the focus group participants was 12. Most focus group participants said social services were not helpful to them and sometimes made things worse.

### **Transgender focus group results**

Transgender refers to a range of individuals with a typical gender characteristics or gender identities different from their anatomic sex, including transsexuals, crossdressers, and androgynists. Generally, transgender individuals are classified as male-to-female (MTF) or

female-to-male (FTM). MTF individuals experience discomfort with their male biologic sex and identify with a female gender. FTM individuals experience discomfort with their female biologic sex and identify with a male gender.<sup>75</sup>

Transgender individuals are a part of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT) community. Estimates of the numbers of individuals who make up the transgender population are difficult as most congregate in cities and do not want to be identified. In Illinois, there are between 5,000 and 10,000 homeless LGBT youth based on research indicating 20 to 40 percent of all homeless youth identify as LGBT.<sup>76</sup> According to the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, there are between 1,448 and 3,000 homeless LGBT youth in Chicago (based on estimates from the Night Ministry, Chicago Coalition for the Homeless, and the Survey Research Laboratory at the University of Illinois at Chicago).

Due in part to social isolation and limited understanding of their lives or experiences, transgender individuals face many challenges to their health and well-being. Data suggest that particularly MTF transgender individuals, with whom the bulk of available research has been done, are exposed to stressful environments and participate in behaviors that compromise their health and place them at risk for human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and other sexually transmitted diseases.<sup>77</sup> The transgender community also experience non-acceptance and victimization due to sexual identity. Homeless LGBT youth experience more frequent departures from home, greater vulnerability to physical and sexual victimization, higher rates of addictive substance use, more psychopathology, and riskier sexual behavior than heterosexual youth.<sup>78</sup> In addition, there is a lack of appropriate medical services and criminal justice interventions for transgender individuals.

Very little research can be found on the commercial sexual exploitation of transgender youth. In their study, Estes and Weiner estimate 3,000 transgender youth are at risk for commercial sexual exploitation in the United States, but that number is believed to be much higher.<sup>79</sup> Estes and Weiner further found a disproportionate number of boys involved in commercial sex, about 25 to 35 percent, self identify as sexual minorities, such as gay, bisexual, or as transgender/transsexual.<sup>80</sup>

Five transgender individuals living in the Chicago area participated in a focus group on May 9 to discuss their experiences in the sex trade as juveniles under the age of 18. The participants were recruited through collaboration with the Broadway Youth Center, a division of the nonprofit Howard Brown, Inc. The focus group was audiotaped and each participant was paid a stipend of \$50 for their participation.

The focus group participants identified their gender as female, transgender, transgender/male to female, and “femme queen.” (One was unknown as it was not noted on one form.) Therefore, female personal pronouns are used in this section. The focus group took place at a public meeting room at a branch of the Chicago Public Library and lasted for one hour and 22 minutes. Their ages ranged from 18 to 29 years old and the average age was 22 years old. Four participants identified themselves as black. Of them, two indicated further “Black Asian” and “Black/Puerto Rican.”

## Definition of sex trade

When asked to define the sex trade, one participant explained that it is hustling and trading sex for money or a “favor.” She said, “The sex trade, it’s basically hustling and everything, you know? The girls come out like myself. Yes, I do do it, you know, for money. The girls come out like she said, you know. We do things, you know. It’s basically, I think it’s like a trade, give for a give, a favor for a favor.” Another described the sex trade as prostitution specifically performed by transgenders or drag queens. She said, “Mostly, it’s a group of transgenders or drag queens who come out at night. There are usually around one or two or twelve. They usually come out when they’re off work and everything. And they have their money and they come out and we have sex with them for money. It’s prostitution.”

At the end of the focus group participants talked about the sex trade as a choice and a way to make money. Another participant stated, “Every body works for money. Nothing is going to be done in this world without money.”

One participant talked about making a lot of money by stripping. She said, “With stripping you do your job and make at least 2,000 dollars a night. Not 100, not 200, 2000 dollars. You have your party where you’re going to find a stripper—you ain’t gonna find somebody like me.” Phone sex was also discussed in the focus group as a way to make money. When asked about phone sex, one person said they started as a teenager, “Yes. I was 15 or 16.”

The sex trade was also referred to as “a competition” with other transgender individuals. A participant explained, “The sex trade it means, uh, I think it’s all about competition. It’s basically a competition. Who comes out with the most money. Who’s coming out the most glamorous and who is on top of their s\*\*t.” She went on to say that sex can be traded for drugs or money. She said, “And some people be doing it just to be having sex and they get their crack, weed, drugs. I do it for the money.” She continued to explain, “...a competition. It’s a big game to us. And like I said, we are a family, but sometimes we are a family at a distance. Say someone try to screw you over today, it’s still a competition.”

Some expressed anger for being judged negatively for trading sex even by those who sell drugs. One participant stated, “They need to sell crack, weed, what they need to do, but we sell our bodies, but we get judged more than they do. That’s what makes me so angry. We do more than they do and they sit up there and degrade us.”

The five participants were asked to indicate their perceptions on the number of youth under 18 years old currently involved in the sex trade. The responses ranged greatly from three youth to one million.

## Being transgender

At times during the focus group participants explained what it is like to be transgender. They spoke of the transgender community or possibly specifically transgender prostitutes as “a family.” One said, “It’s not a game. It’s a choice. There are other ways to get your money other than prostitution. We do it because people like us are getting together.”

One participant explained how transgenders are not similar to gay men. She said, “We are trying to live the straight life of a woman. He a boy dating another boy, okay? No, I’m a female and I’m dating a man. You know what I’m saying? [I have] my baby daddy, my future husband.”

### Age of entry

Each participant was asked to write down when they first got involved in the sex trade. One said their age of entry was 13 and two said age 17, while two declined to say. However, during the focus group session, one participant said she started at the age of 12.

### Non-survival needs

The participants were inconsistent when talking about the things they receive in exchange for sex. Sometimes sex was traded for very little and sometimes a lot of money or expensive things were received for sex. Early in the focus group session, several agree that sex can be traded for “bus cards,” a “pack of cigarellas,” or “\$3.99.” Later during the focus groups, participants talked about being lavished with expensive gifts. One stated, “We get credit cards. We get credit cards for the weekend. Hotel rooms, I had tickets to the Color Purple, driving around New York. Stay in a good a\*\* hotel.”

### Pimps

Most of the focus group participants said that they did not have pimps and expressed a dislike for pimps. One said, “We are our own pimps.” One participant shared a negative experience about a female friend who had a pimp. “I can tell you about plenty of pimps. I can speak from a female’s relationship. I have a friend. She has a boyfriend and you can call him a pimp, but the only money she makes is for her or the kids. I feel if you are going to be a pimp and have pimped out status—which I don’t think anybody should have over anybody else anyway—if you’re going to be a real pimp you got to be grabby with it. Get out there and get my money. Then you bring it in and I break off some of it, what I feel you deserve. That’s a pimp. Most of these women out there grow up around men and live a rough life. That’s real tough.”

### Violence

A participant discussed the dangers of trading sex. “It can be dangerous and it’s not about sex.” When asked about violence in the sex trade, one person stated, “[A john] hit me upside my head, right here.” One person said, “I have almost been raped before.” Another said, “I got robbed. I have been robbed.”

Another participant shared a story about a john pulling a gun on her and taking money. “A john pulled a gun,” she said. “I go to the alley with him thinking he’s going to pay me but this motherf\*\*\*er pulls out a gun. He took everything I had on. He took my shoes, he took my money and he only had 50 bucks and he ran. He took all my gear. I thought he was going to shoot me. He had a gun in my face.” One participant referred to that type of experience as “rob and rape.”

Another story discussed the danger of a john wanting to have unsafe sex. “I’m drunk and he takes me upstairs, puts me in the bed and what did he try to do? He tried to f\*\*k me with no condom. Well I said ‘No.’ He said, ‘What you mean no?’ I said ‘No.’ He said ‘You do not get to say no. Either you do it or you get the f\*\*k out.’ I said, ‘I’m not leaving. I’m gonna call my friend.’ He took everything out of my purse and he pushed me against the dresser. He dragged me by my hair and threw me down the stairs. I called the police. Took them an hour to get where I was.”

Participant also talked about police officers forcing them to have sex in exchange for not making an arrest. “And sometimes the cops [force you to have sex],” said one. Another participant added that a police officer said to her, “Are you about to suck some d\*\*k or you about to go to jail?” Another participant shared a similar experience with a police officer, “I was in the alley doing my work and he went all up my skirt. I said I’m a male you shouldn’t be doing that.”

Participants also discussed how they find it necessary to defend themselves and take money by force. For instance, a group of transgenders would work together and rob any johns who did not want to pay after sex. “We take their money and we rob them. That’s another thing we do, too. Sometimes we come out there and we don’t get money like that. Sometimes they want something free. So we get two girls and we rob them.”

### Services

The Night Ministry, a non-profit agency in Chicago, was mentioned as one that offers services to assist transgenders in the sex trade. A participant shared her experiences with the organization. “For one, they give us shelter and they test us for HIV. They feed us. There are actually organizations that care about us...Night Ministry, they help people in the industry. That’s why it’s an issue, because you are not accepted by a lot of people out there.”

Also mentioned was the Broadway Youth Center (BYC) in Chicago. “With the BYC, they help you somewhat, but they plan for you to help yourself and they help you as much as they can. [They] wants you to help yourself- [they] wants you to bring back improvement.”

Shelters are frequented by those in the sex trade. One person said, “I’ve been to shelters. I’ve been to every shelter in the Chicago and three in Joliet.”

All were asked to share what would be helpful from social services. Many expressed a need for services for transgender people and job assistance. “They need more programs for like transgender people,” said one. “If they have projects for people who want to have kid after kid after kid after kid, how come they don’t do anything for transgenders? They know it’s hard for them to get a job. They’re trying to make money, they can’t support them with something? With housing? Where are the projects now? They need to have more places that support transgenders.”

Many expressed difficulty finding a job due to being a transgender person. “[Transgenders] need a job,” said one participant. “We have it harder, because I can’t go anywhere.” It may be difficult to find legitimate employment because photo identification does not match their current appearance or their gender identity is feared or not understood. In addition, hormonal or surgical

altering of appearance can be very costly, so the sex trade may offer a way to get large sums of money that cannot be made from a traditional job.

### Conclusion

Based on comments from the focus group, one conclusion was that being transgender makes it difficult to find legitimate employment, so the sex trade is seen as a way to survive and make money. The average age of entry was about 15 years old. The participants also viewed prostitution as a “game” or “competition,” but also a way to feel included and a part of a family. Much violence occurs in the sex trade, including robbery, rape, and battery. Several mentioned abuses at the hands of police officers when trading sex on the streets of Chicago. Although some services are available, at least in Chicago, more is needed to help the transgender population involved in trading sex, especially employment training and assistance.



# Law enforcement interviews

Law enforcement arrest data provide a limited picture of commercial sexual exploitation of children. The number of arrests only reflects reported crime and does not help to understand the nature of the commercial sexual exploitation of children. In order to overcome the shortcomings of official law enforcement data, researchers gathered additional data through one-on-one interviews with law enforcement officials. Police can offer their opinions and insights into the numbers of runaway youth, exploited youth, and the number of youth suspected of prostitution but arrested for other offenses.<sup>81</sup> The information collected is important in understanding how law enforcement identify victims of, investigate, and make arrests for commercial sexual exploitation of children.

Many of the interview sessions were audiotaped with permission. Participants in the interviews were asked questions about child exploitation arrests, investigations, and prosecutions, their work with social service agencies, the child victims of exploitation, and their recommendations. The questionnaire used in this study with law enforcement is located in Appendix B.

## Participants

From April to July 2007, 10 federal, state, county, and city law enforcement officers and prosecutors working in the Chicago metropolitan area participated in a one-on-one interview and responded to survey questions. Those interviewed for this research study were from the following, Chicago Police Department, suburban police, Cook County Sheriff's Department, Cook County State's Attorney's Office, Office of the Illinois Attorney General, and the Federal Bureau of Investigations. Due to the small sample size, it was important to ensure that interviewees would retain their anonymity. Quoted responses were selected so participants could not be identified. Although a small number of prosecutors were interviewed, all respondents will be referred to as "officers."

The average age of participants was 41 years old (one unknown). Seven males and three females were interviewed. All participants were white and one participant's ethnicity was Hispanic. The average length of time officers had been with their department or agency was 14 years. All of the officers had prior training on commercial sexual exploitation of children.

## Results

### Exploitation cases

Commercial sexual exploitation of children is a part of the larger problem of child sexual exploitation in the United States. Police units and officers, mostly in urban areas, are designated to work on sex crimes against children. They may uncover cases of prostituted juveniles or child pornography from tips, investigations, or during undercover operations—often through the Internet. Officers working in vice units which typically handle "morality crimes" such as prostitution, pornography, and gambling, may inadvertently encounter a case of juvenile prostitution. Sometimes officers had trouble discussing only the commercially-motivated child

sex offenses on their caseloads. Officers do not necessary distinguish between financially motivated crimes, such as child prostitution and non-financially motivated ones, such as indecent solicitation of a child online.

One way cases are discovered is through the course of proactive investigations. For example, an officer described a case in which a 14-year-old runaway met a man at a restaurant and was solicited for sex. The offender took her to a motel, videotaped their interaction, and paid her \$250. All videos and pictures from the session were placed on his commercial Web site. When his Web site was found, he was subsequently arrested.

Cases may also be uncovered by reacting to tips and leads. Several officers mentioned receiving tips and leads on child exploitation activity from the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children's CyberTipline. Also mentioned were tips from the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement and the U.S. Postal Inspection Service. Sometimes tips are received from parents, teachers, counselors, or anonymous citizens through their police department or 911 calls. Agencies such as probation departments, hospitals, and the Department of Children and Family Services also provide information that lead to new cases. Police may get tips or leads that do not go anywhere but must be investigated. One officer shared his feelings about investigating commercial sexual exploitation of children. "Every single tip, out of 1,000 you might find a live victim or kid being sexual abused or challenges. I have to check everything out so I can sleep at night."

Officers mentioned getting cases from other departments or units, other local police agencies, or from the FBI when there is joint jurisdiction. Officers are provided with detailed case reports to further investigate these cases. Also, individuals who officers meet as targets of operations of other cases will want to strike a deal, so they will provide information on child exploitation cases. One police officer explained, "We have a vice unit that does prostitution. Well, they had ordered a prostitute and the girl shows up and she was 14 years old. So, that just kind of happened. They didn't know she was 14."

While working undercover, there may be concerns about entrapment. "To have a prostitution case you have to have the conversation, between the two consenting adults, I will give you X amount of dollars if you give me sex in return, without that, no prostitution case," said one officer. "Working in an undercover capacity you are limited by how far you can go into entrapment." Another officer mentioned conducting undercover operations in schools, in which officers pose as students to gather information.

### International trafficking

Domestic trafficking, or local juvenile prostitution and exploitation, is the main problem seen by law enforcement rather than international trafficking of individuals from other countries. All officers interviewed had all encountered domestic rather than international cases of commercial sexual exploitation of children. One officer said, "We haven't seen any particular country. Everyone wants to think Mexico right away and we've had some. I think the feds have worked on some from China, from Poland, maybe, and from Mexico. I would say those are the most

frequent that I have personally heard about. If we have worked on any of those, we have worked on very few.”

An officer who had been working on these cases for 10 years had not once encountered an international case. Another officer who worked on these cases for five years said, “I haven’t seen that but I hear it’s rampant. I just haven’t seen it. But there is constant training going on for human trafficking. Two or three classes in the past couple years. Maybe more in L.A. or Texas because of Mexico. We see more domestic.”

### Child pornography

One officer interviewed encountered more child pornography cases than child prostitution and explained that the crimes are very different in how they occur and who is involved. Child pornography is usually shared by computer with no physical contact with a victim, but prostitution can involve the victim, john, and pimp.

“You have a much smaller population actually creating the child pornography,” said the officer. “And then you have the people who are sending it or trading it. And then there’s the largest population who are just collecting it. They might not be trading it at all. They just see what they can collect on their own. And it’s all done. It’s really very anonymous. You can sit at your home computer and do this and never leave your house.”

The officer continued, “Juvenile prostitution is actual contact with another human being for it to occur and you have more players involved. You have...the juvenile, you’ve got the pimp, and you’ve got the john. So you have three people in contact who are going to be in contact with each other and it’s not all that anonymous. I mean because you see the person as opposed to what you’re doing on a computer. That being said, it’s still very underground. You have some of them out walking on the street. You have a lot more now using escort services and the computer itself. Craigslist is a huge thing and there’s juvenile prostitution going on there. That being said, you have, at a minimum, three people involved.”

A participant in the interviews discussed where child pornography originates. “There are [child pornography] victims from all over the world and the United States,” said the officer. “And I don’t think anybody could really quantify. A lot of people think it’s being created overseas. But a lot of people think it’s like a European thing. I mean, a lot. I hear it time and time again. But I’ve seen them from everywhere. And if you look at the information that I have of identified victims, it’s across the board. I had, I mean, name the country and we have information from there. Plus all different states. People are like, ‘They don’t make it here in the United States.’ Yes they do.”

### Investigations

#### *Length of investigations*

Much time and numerous resources are needed to build a strong commercial sexual exploitation of children case. One person interviewed for this study said, “Most of the cases that we see with local law enforcement, if you commit the manpower to it, they are often long term investigations.

That's why we are a part of the task forces where we work with our local, state, federal partners."

An officer who was interviewed shared the process of making an arrest and subsequent indictment. "There's obviously judicial process that has to be served," he said. "So you have to write search warrants, go to the grand jury, get subpoenas to get records. It just makes the whole process to be pretty long."

Another shared the frustration with investigating commercial sexual exploitation of children. "Instead of just having one stumbling block, it's like every step of the way it's a major hurdle in those investigations." Some of these frustrations are detailed below.

### *Victim cooperation*

"Law enforcement has a hard time trying to identify and locate the predator that is putting the child on the street," said one officer. "Everybody, my opinion, is making money, so why would anyone complain?" said another.

These comments highlight how commercial sexual exploitation of children investigations can be difficult due to the lack of victim cooperation. Officers explained that victims have a distrust of law enforcement and are not helpful during investigations. Prostituted juveniles "look at law enforcement as a problem for them."

In child exploitation cases, victims often protect the offender. Juvenile prostitutes do not want to open up to officers because the offender takes care of them or they are "brainwashed by offenders." They also "view pimp and/or other females prostituting for the pimp as a family, are looking for a bond, not a healthy bond but found a bond in that group and it's difficult to separate them."

The victims are either in love with their pimp or afraid of him. An officer explained why victims protect their perpetrator. "The offender's actually done something wrong, but in their eyes, they haven't done anything wrong because they are truly in love with him. So, the girl could be 15 and the guy could be 40—we've had that—and she's obviously in love with him. So, she's not going to turn on him or say anything because she thinks that it's right. Or the offender will say that they will harm the families, or the offender will [say] 'if you say anything I will go away for a long time.' Meaning to jail, but in the kid's eyes they don't want their dad to go away or their uncle or their neighbor. It will be their fault."

Prostituted youth often want to stay on the street because working as a prostitute may be their means of income to survive. As one officer explained, "[You] never see them coming forward, because the money is dependent on survival." Another officer said, "What's it going to do for them if they tell us? We're actually going to put their source of money behind bars and that actually hurts them. They may have to go work for somebody who's worse and this is what they tell us. And they might get beat by a different pimp who's not this one." Another interviewee further explained that the juveniles are "convinced this is their life" and they are in "the game" and those not in the game are "square."

Even when victims want to move on from the victimization and get out of the life of prostitution, they may be unwilling to cooperate with the police or courts. “They don’t want to talk about it,” said one officer. “Pretty much if they’ve come home, now they are entering their normal life, they want to kind of leave that behind. They don’t want to talk about it. Then the fear of having to go to court to testify against the person.” Officers also have nowhere to house the juveniles who do want to leave prostitution.

### *Determining age*

It can be hard for officers to ascertain the age of those offering prostitution and this can impede investigations. Real age may only be determined after investigating when informed by a family member or other relative. One officer explained, “It’s so hard to determine age, we focus on a child [who looks] under age of 12. It is very hard to determine a 14-, 15-, or 16-year-old.” In Illinois, it is an affirmative defense for a defendant charged with soliciting for a juvenile prostitute if it is reasonably believed the person was 16 years old at the time of the act.

Law enforcement officers also have trouble discovering a minor’s real name and age as they carry either fake or no identification. “They lie about their age, don’t carry formal ID that tell you if they are 18 or 16,” said one officer. They are “taught to always give an alias name and date of birth. At first arrest they are put into the system as an adult.”

The consequences for a juvenile are seen as harsher than as an adult. One officer explained, “If they say they’re a juvenile, they have to go through the system, to a halfway house. If they say they are 17, they get a ticket and have to appear in court.”

### *Evidence*

Those interviewed were asked, “What type of evidence is collected for commercial sexual exploitation of children cases?” Almost all law enforcement officers said that computers are seized during commercial sexual exploitation of children investigations. Evidence gathered includes such as IP addresses, hard drives, pornography files, and Web site links. Other electronic devices used as evidence include cell phones, iPods, cameras, photographs, film, surveillance videos, videotapes, and video equipment. Bank, medical, telephone, and travel records also are gathered, including credit card bills and hotel reservations. Criminal history records are collected. DNA evidence also is taken from both offenders and victims. Seized personal address books or journals may contain records of the clients of prostitutes and names of other prostitutes. Weapons also are taken into evidence. Finally, witness interviews are used to corroborate child exploitation cases.

### Internet

The Internet is used to get clients, advertise services, and put up a pictures or ads online for escort services. With Internet use, pimps are guaranteed business yet remain anonymous and often are not present when a prostitute is arrested.

Craigslist.com features classified ads, job openings, items for sale, and personal ads. The services category offers a section labeled “Erotic.” Pornographers exchange pictures, videos, media, and Web sites where juveniles are.

“There are a variety of websites,” said one officer. “Some of them could be as innocent as a Myspace or tagged or some of those other ones out on AOL. Just go to any of those chat rooms or bulletin boards or those type of things and, as you know, they put up profiles or message boards. Or there are certain sites, obviously some of the sites are pretty, you know, there leaves nothing to the imagination. You can set up a profile or just start chatting. That’s how exploitation on the Internet starts—chats. Then it progresses to sending pictures, whatever the case may be. We’ve had people send us airplane tickets, that kind of thing.”

One officer believed that johns typically do not care about the age of the prostitute. However, pedophiles do care about age and turn to the Internet to find the child they want. “Because of the Internet, commercialism has reduced dramatically,” he said. “[The pedophile] can just chat myself up a girl. It puts the community-at-large at risk. They can remain faceless. No longer the dirty old man in the park.”

Pimps can be very organized and use the Internet to avoid being caught in an undercover police operation. They run a background check to make sure that a john’s credit card was not just issued and it has prior charges on it. One officer said, “That’s how advanced they’re getting. They check your employment and your credit card. They’re pretty savvy, some of these pimps.”

#### Transporting youth

Victims were sometimes transported from city to city or state to state. Two officers stated victims were transported “often.” One officer said that transportation is between states due to weather, events, law enforcement, and new recruitment. Law enforcement officers mentioned “circuits” of travel locations included: Detroit, Memphis, Las Vegas, and cities in Wisconsin, and Indiana. There are jurisdictional problems during investigations as offenders take victims across state lines, never remaining in one place for very long.

One officer explained that juvenile victims are recruited and moved around the country for participation in commercial sex. “They recruit in other cities and they come here. For instance, a number of them would come here from Minnesota, they’d come from Iowa. There were a lot coming out of Minneapolis at one time. They were being exploited up there and they then brought them down here to work. Almost all of those were intimidation cases, too. They didn’t come on their own.”

#### Individuals who profit

Officers were asked who profits from the crime of commercial sexual exploitation of children. Pimps, exploiters, and co-conspirators were named. In addition, some girls do not have a pimp and make money for themselves. Others indirectly profit, such as hotels, taxis, clubs, motels, photographers, and local newspapers that advertise for escorts.

“In child pornography cases, many child pornographers trade images for free on the Internet, so no one is profiting there. However, there are those who sell pornography, often on Web sites that require a credit card to purchase child pornography,” added one officer.

## Victims

### *Entry into prostitution*

During the interviews, police officers were asked how often prostituted juveniles work in strip clubs. Two officers said “often.” An officer said that it is “how they break them in as models or dancers.” Three officers thought prostituted juveniles often work in escort services. One officer interviewed said it was unknown how often they work in escort services but added that the pimp “is the escort service.”

Three officers stated that sexually exploited juveniles were often homeless and five officers indicated that they thought victims were often runaways. (Not all officers interviewed answered these questions.) Only two of the 10 law enforcement officers said that youth “often” have prior arrest records.

### *Other victimization*

Officers interviewed for this study were asked to describe other crimes for which commercial sexually exploited youth are victims. Officers responded that sexual assault and sexual abuse were two of the crimes committed by pimps, johns, family, friends, or neighbors. Youth were also victims of physical abuse such as assault and battery, or are unlawfully detained, kidnapped or forced to take drugs. Crimes also mentioned were intimidation and narcotics violations. However, these crimes are not always reported as these youth often have had a “hard life growing up—abuse, broken family, no family, drug problems.” Often the victim has been traumatized very badly and has drug and alcohol dependency.

### *Services*

Officers work with DCFS and hospitals often, sometimes daily. The FBI has victim witness specialists who work with social service agencies and try to find resources for child victims. Often placement options are limited for victims who are minors. These youth are often placed in psych wards for evaluation, and many leave non-secure placements. One officer discussed the challenges of finding secure placement for youth during investigations and court proceedings. In this instance, he relates a story about a girl who was placed in an unsecure hospital.

“We work with these juveniles that are being prostituted. We can’t take them home. There is no place to put this child,” said the officer. “You have this fear that they’re going to run away, which she did. There was nowhere to place her. There was no center with an empty bed that night. So I tried to come back for her the next morning and she was gone...I’m sure she went back to Wisconsin, back to Milwaukee or whatever because she’s familiar with those grounds. It’s very disheartening when you feel that you can’t help them. You have them right there you know, basically in your hands. She gives us all the information we need and then at the end of the night it’s like ‘I have to take you here.’ And it’s like she doesn’t want to be there. Not to mention that’s our state witness. And I’m not saying the case is everything because the victim is

suffering as well. Now we don't get to keep our witnesses happy and we have to prosecute these guys. And they don't want to go to the hospital and frankly, I can't blame them."

When asked how often they work with social services, one officer said seldom and one said never. "In our unit, never. We don't have the cases coming in. DCFS goes out and investigates same as we do. You can't go pick kids up off the street and interview on the street. We rely on social services. We need to be working together."

### Recommendations

Most officers interviewed thought commercial sexual exploitation of children was a problem in their jurisdiction (n=7). One officer explained that child pornography is a major problem in his or her jurisdiction. The officer stated, "Pornography is everywhere. It's here [locally]. It's just so rampant. It's not out there on the street like drugs where they're selling it on street corners. They're involved in pornography at home."

#### *More resources*

Most officers said that more resources could always be used for commercial sexual exploitation of children (n=7). However, one said there were enough resources. A child exploitation case takes a lot of resources and man-hours to investigate, arrest, charge, and prosecute an offender, they said. All officers interviewed said that more training is needed. They agreed that there can never be enough training. One officer said, "You can't have enough training as far as I'm concerned. The more investigators know during an investigation the better."

Many departments don't have resources to dedicate officers solely to the commercial sexual exploitation of children. "I think we need to focus more resources on the issue," said one officer. "Even if a jurisdiction doesn't have a lot of cases, you still have an issue if you have one case. So when you talk about throwing more resources at it, sure. Working in the business of doing these things, you always want more staff if you can."

#### *More training*

An officer interviewed for this study shared the need for commercial sexual exploitation of children training, especially on technology. "There's always more that can be done," the officer said. "If we have more resources, then we're able to reach out to more officers. As I'm sure you're aware, training officers for this kind of investigation is very resource intensive. You have to get on a computer and show them how to trace an IP address and how the chats work and all of the different Internet sites, and new sites and new locations on the Internet where predators are going are popping up everyday. To keep everyone on top of what's going on and keep them current as far as the technology's concerned and new websites that pop up, it's very resource intensive."

Officers discussed how many smaller police departments don't have the training or funding to make arrests for commercial sexual exploitation of children. An interviewee said to end child



exploitation, departments must “train and fund departments that can allow officers to work solely on those cases.”

### *Increase public awareness*

Those individuals interviewed for this research were asked if they thought the public in general was aware of the problem of commercial sexual exploitation of children. Seven said “no” but two thought that the public was aware. One officer thought that they may know it occurs but are not aware of the extent of the problem. “They know of it, but they don’t know the extent is my sense of it,” the officer said. “They’re going to say ‘yes, I know about it,’ but they don’t know where, to what extent, how much, how little.”

One officer said, “I think they are to a certain extent. It’s hard to open up a newspaper nowadays without seeing an arrest for child pornography or an arrest for indecent solicitation. In addition to the training that we do with law enforcement, we also do outreach to parents and students teaching them how to be safe on the Internet or how to keep their kids safe on the Internet. And a lot more can certainly be done in that regard. They may be aware of it on a surface level, but a more in-depth knowledge of how exactly to keep their kids safe, certainly a lot more can be done in that regard.”

Another officer thought that although news stories may highlight the problem of child exploitation, citizens may not think it is going on in their neighborhood. “I’m sure they think it’s happening someplace else,” said one participant.

Some officers during the interviews discussed the need for parents to be educated, especially about the Internet. One officer said that offenders need to be aware that they can be detected through technology in order to deter them from committing commercial sexual exploitation of children over the Internet.

”They have to realize that the technology that they’re using actually identifies them, that this misconception of being anonymous on the Web, which gives them the feeling of invincibility when they go online, the anonymity online, really doesn’t exist,” the officer said. ”That’s part of the deterrence, letting them know that the technology can be used to identify them.”

One officer said that it would take “a global effort, unified effort, to recognize it as a problem.” In addition, they said that society as a whole should stop looking at the juveniles as offenders and recognize and acknowledge them as victims.

### *Harsher penalties*

Finally, officers mentioned changing laws for harsher sentences and longer incarceration. In addition, laws should be updated to keep up with technology.

“There is a lot of room to make these penalties more severe, especially for repeat offender, offenders who have immense collections of pornography for those who target younger, younger

children,” said one officer. “I believe there is a lot of leeway there for the legislature to make stiffer penalties for these types of offenses.”

### *Appropriate placement*

Several officers during the course of the interviews discussed the lack of appropriate and safe placement for youth who are cooperating with police and prosecutors. Youth leaving prostitution have specific needs to be addressed. Currently, there are few, if any, placement options that specifically cater to these youth.

One officer interviewed shared the frustration over the lack of placement options. “What do you do with these, you know, juveniles in the mean time?” the officer asked. “So many of them, and not all of them, so many of them are just chronic runaways. You need a place where they can stay where they can be safe.” The officer later added, “You can’t force somebody to change their lifestyle if you don’t want to. It would still be nice to have a place for people who are ready to change and to put them in a safe environment because there is so much violence out there in the prostitution world. The pimps, I mean the way they get away with it a lot is out of fear. How do you keep them safe once you find them?”

### Conclusion

Federal, state, and local law enforcement investigate commercial sexual exploitation crimes, sometimes collaboratively. Local law enforcement interviewed in this study had encountered only domestic, rather than international, child sex trafficking cases.

The Internet is often used by offenders who share child pornography or solicit youth. Child pornography is easier to find and the cases are easier to prosecute than child prostitution, which often occurs off the street.

Child exploitation is a problem that is so underground and hidden it is very hard to find victims and prosecute offenders. Urban officers had more resources to investigate. However, more cases appear to be found in larger cities.

Officers made several recommendations to combat commercial sexual exploitation of children, including more training and resources, better housing placements, and increase public awareness.

# Overall conclusions

This research study examined the problem of the commercial sexual exploitation and offered a qualitative look the problem through focus groups and interviews in the Chicago area. Although arrest statistics were low for most child exploitation-related crimes in Illinois, other data sources provide a more in-depth picture of the problem. Commercial sexual exploitation of children, which includes prostitution and pornography, is occurring in Illinois, but because its hidden nature and the large amount of resources and training required to address it, many child exploitation cases remain undiscovered.

Two focus groups were held with adults who shared their experiences in the sex trade as juveniles under the age of 18. One focus group was held with 19 female participants and one focus group was held with 5 transgender participants. The average age of entry into prostitution for females was age 12 and age 16 for transgender participants.

The focus groups highlighted reasons involvement by girls in prostitution. Basic survival needs, such as food, clothing, and shelter, were cited. These needs often arose after running away, often from family dysfunction and/or abuse. Many ran away from home and many were wards of the state.

Some young women were forced to perform sex acts against their will. Some participants were involved in the sex trade to have money and own expensive clothing and purses. Reasons cited for wanting to own these material things were to feel accepted, loved, and less vulnerable. There was agreement among focus group participants that social services were not helpful to them and sometimes aggravated their situations.

Being transgendered may cause difficulty in finding legitimate employment, so the sex trade is seen by the transgender population as a choice to survive and make money. Transgendered participants viewed prostitution as a “game” or “competition,” but also a way to feel included and a part of a family. Much violence occurs when in the transgender sex trade including robbery, rape, and battery. Several mentioned abuses at the hands of police officers when trading sex on the streets of Chicago. Although some services are available, at least in Chicago, more is needed to help the transgender population involved in trading sex, especially employment training and assistance.

Ten local, federal, and state officers and prosecutors were interviewed to share their experience and perspectives on commercial sexual exploitation of children. Urban police deal with more child exploitation cases and have more resources to reactively and proactively investigate. Suburban police do not see many cases, but lack resources. Cases may be investigated solely by local, state, and federal law enforcement officials or in collaboration with each other.

Cases originate through anonymous local tips or national cyber tips, referrals from other agencies or other units, or during investigations and undercover operations. All officers experienced domestic, rather than international, trafficking.

Investigations are often lengthy and difficult due in part to a lack of victim cooperation and inability to determine ages of victims. Computers are frequently collected as evidence as the Internet is often used to commit child exploitation crimes. Youth victims are often homeless and runaways and are victims of physical and sexual abuse. There is a lack of appropriate services for these youth, particularly in the area of secure placement.

# Final recommendations

## Prevention

Runaway youth are vulnerable and at risk for being sexually exploited. Shelters often do not have enough beds for youth to stay and must turn youth away to the streets. These youth should be assisted with finding safe and long-term housing placement. Job training and placement is important for youth to find legitimate means to support themselves. Many runaways are also escaping abusive situation in the home and may require additional services.

Prevention videos and discussions should be available to schools and the public. Although a difficult topic to broach, it must be done to help youth make sense of the sexual images they see and to teach them about safety in relationships, especially those developed online. Adults Saving Kids created a video, *The Reality Is...*, to prevent the exploitation of young people by the sex industry and is geared toward youth in grades 7 to 12.

In addition, the public needs to be aware of the problem of child exploitation and be able to report suspected instances of related crimes. Parents and other adults need to be encouraged to start a dialogue with their children on issues of sexual exploitation.

## Reduce family violence

Youth who are products of abusive homes are at greater risk for running away from home and for commercial sexual exploitation, as well as for future criminal activity and other negative consequences later in life. Research describes a “cycle of violence” perpetuated by those abused as children or witnessed abuse.<sup>82</sup> According to *Child Maltreatment 2005*, examining data from the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System, almost 900,000 children were found to be victims of child abuse or neglect in 2005—63 percent suffered neglect, 17 percent were physically abused, and 9 percent were sexually abused. Due to the secretive nature of family violence against children, and especially sexual abuse, these offenses are under-reported or never reported to police and social services. Victims of abuse may not reveal abuse due to reasons such as fear, control, intimidation, shame, or the belief no one can or will help them.

Social scientists agree that the continued maltreatment of children is primarily the result of poorly trained adults who, in their roles as parents and caretakers, attempt to instill discipline and educate children within the context of the violence they themselves experienced as children.<sup>83</sup> In order to break the cycle of family violence, thereby reducing opportunities for commercial sexual exploitation of children, programs are needed to treat child maltreatment, prevent its recurrence, and build nurturing parent skills.

## Identify and provide assistance for exploited youth

Better screening by law enforcement, hospitals, schools, and social services is needed to assist current victims or those at risk for victimization. Social service providers need training on how to assist and treat exploited youth. These youth have unique problems and specific needs. If

runaways are escaping abusive homes and turning to the street and prostitution, family reunification may not be the appropriate solution or will require holistic family therapy. Employment assistance is critical, especially for transgender individuals, for a successful exit from a commercially exploitive situation.

There also needs to be temporary and permanent shelter for youth escaping from sexual exploitation. Some safe shelters have opened in Oakland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, Atlanta, and Alberta, Canada.

Natalie's House in the Phoenix area in Arizona is an eight-bed home that offers a safe haven for girls age 11 to 17 escaping from commercial sexual exploitation and abuse. Residents receive shelter, food, and clothing, and participate in an intensive recovery program to assist them in making transitions to a healthy life.

Angela's House in Atlanta is a similar residence for up to six girls at a time. The focus in treatment is on recovery from abuse, empowerment, education regarding high-risk behaviors, medical and psychiatric assessment, substance abuse education, and intensive family therapy aimed at successful re-integration of the youth back into the family. Safe and secure shelters for victims of Atlanta, that have been known to work should be replicated.

### **Train law enforcement officers**

Police officers and/or local law enforcement units need to be able to identify and investigate child exploitation and work with prosecutors to convict adult exploiters, abusers, and patrons. Departments need more resources, including training for officers. Police officers should offer respect and assistance to sexually exploited children and treat and assist them as any other child crime victim. They should do so ethically and with empathy, always mindful of the victim's needs. Officers need to work in conjunction with community-based agencies who are better equipt to understand and aid victims.

### **Build community capacity and collaboration**

Social service agencies, harm-reduction agencies, hospitals, and law enforcement officers should collaborate and be aware of each other's purpose and goals. These groups can discover potential allies, provide outreach to the community, and better serve victims of child exploitaion.

Communities can work with law enforcement and social services sharing skills and resources to better prevent victimization, identify and investigate commercial sexual exploitation of children crimes, and aid victims. Community task forces can be used to engage the public in combating exploitation. Grants such as those through the Department of Justice can offer funds to form community task forces.

### **Keep current with technology**

Technology is constantly changing and young people are its primary users. The Internet and online chat rooms are tools used by sexual predators to find young victims. Police, parents, and educators must be kept current on changing technology to stay one step ahead of the perpetrators.

### **Change legislation**

Forbid the arrest and prosecution of minors who are commercially sexually exploited. Also, tougher penalties will deter offenders from exploiting youth. Prescribe stiffer penalties for the perpetrators of commercial sexual exploitation, similar to federal penalties, which require adult pimps and customers to be held in prison for longer periods of time.

### **Complete more research**

This research was able to examine prostituted youth through surveys and focus groups in the Chicago metropolitan area. It is still unknown the extent of the commercial sexual exploitation of children as there is no formal mechanism to count victims. In addition, the number may never be known due to the secretive nature of the commercial sexual exploitation of children. Further research is needed to quantify the problem and further target activities to end the commercial sexual exploitation of children.

# Appendix A

## Resources

The inclusion of resources in this appendix does not indicate an endorsement of any of agency, program, service, or individual. This appendix is not exhaustive and intended to provide a broad range of resources that may be able to provide further information on the commercial sexual exploitation of children.

### State & local resources

#### **Chicago Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation**

3047 North Lincoln Avenue, 4<sup>th</sup> Floor

Chicago, Illinois 60657

Phone: 773-871-1082

Web site: <http://www.caase.org>

#### **Chicago Coalition for the Homeless**

1325 South Wabash, Suite 205

Chicago, Illinois 60605

Phone: 312-435-4548

Web site: <http://www.chicagohomeless.org>

#### **Christian Community Health Center**

Footprints Program

2815 West 5<sup>th</sup> Avenue

Chicago, Illinois 60612

Phone: 773-533-5600

Web site: <http://www.cchc-online.org>

#### **Heartland Alliance**

208 South LaSalle Street

Chicago, Illinois 60604

Phone: 312-660-1322

Web site: <http://www.immigrantjustice.org>

#### **Howard Brown**

Broadway Youth Center

3179 North Broadway Avenue

Chicago, Illinois 60657

Phone: 773-935-3151 ext 0

Web site: <http://www.howardbrown.org/>



**Illinois Internet Crimes Against Children**

Office of the Illinois Attorney General  
High Tech Crimes Bureau  
100 West Randolph, 12th Floor  
Chicago, Illinois 60601  
Phone: 312-814-3762  
Web site: <http://www.illinoisicac.org>

**Illinois Rescue and Restore Coalition**

Illinois Department of Human Services  
401 South Clinton Street  
Chicago, Illinois 60607  
Web site: <http://www.dhs.state.il.us/projects/initiatives/trafficking/>

**Midwest Immigrant and Human Rights Center**

208 South LaSalle, Suite 1818  
Chicago, Illinois 60604  
Phone: 312-660-1370  
Web site: <http://www.mihrc.org>

**The Night Ministry**

4711 North Ravenswood Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60640  
Phone: 773-784-9000  
Web site: <http://www.thenightministry.org>

**The Salvation Army**

*PROMISE (Partnership to Rescue out Minors from Sexual Exploitation)*  
Youth Initiatives  
133 South Ashland Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60607  
Phone: 312-421-2406 ext 7916  
Web site: <http://www.sapromise.org>

***STOP-IT***

4800 North Marine Drive  
Chicago, Illinois 60640  
Phone: 773-275-6233 ext 3030

**Young Women's Empowerment Project**

2334 West Lawrence Avenue, Suite 209  
Chicago, Illinois 60625  
Phone: 773-728-0127  
Web site: <http://www.ywep.org/>

## **National resources**

### **Adults Saving Kids**

1901 Portland Avenue  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404  
Phone: 612-872-0684  
Web site: <http://www.adultssavingkids.org>

### **Angela's House**

Inner Harbour  
4685 Dorsett Shoals Road  
Douglasville, Georgia 30135  
Phone: 770-942-2391 or 800-255-8657  
Web site: <http://www.innerharbour.org>

### **Bilateral Safety Corridor Coalition**

PM B 175  
1132 East Plaza Boulevard. #203  
National City, California 91950  
Phone: 619-336-0770  
Web site: <http://www.bsccoalition.org>

### **Breaking Free**

P.O. Box 4366  
Saint Paul, Minnesota 55104  
Phone: 651-645-6557  
Web site: <http://www.breakingfree.net>

### **Captive Daughters**

3500 Overland Avenue #110-108  
Los Angeles, California 90034-5696  
Web site: <http://www.captivedaughters.org>

### **Children of the Night**

14530 Sylvan Street  
Van Nuys, California 91411  
Hotline: 800-551-1300  
Phone: 818-908-4474  
Web site: <http://www.childrenofthenight.org>

### **Crimes Against Children Research Center**

University of New Hampshire  
20 College Road  
Durham, New Hampshire 03824-3586  
Phone: 630-862-1888  
Web site: <http://www.unh.edu/ccrc>

**ECPAT-USA (End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes)**

157 Montague Street  
Brooklyn, New York 11201  
Phone: 718-935-9192  
Web site: <http://www.epcatusa.org>

**Federal Bureau of Investigations**

*Crimes Against Children Unit*  
FBI Headquarters  
935 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Room 11163  
Washington, DC 20535-0001  
Phone: 202-324-3666  
Web site: <http://www.fbi.gov>

*Innocent Images Unit*

11700 Beltsville Drive, Suite 200  
Beltsville, Maryland 20750  
Phone: 301-572-5400  
Web site: <http://www.fbi.gov>

**GEMS (Girls Educational and Mentoring Services)**

New York, New York  
Phone: 212-926-8089  
Web site: <http://www.gems-girls.org>

**The Help Individual Prostitutes Survive (HIPS) Program**

P.O. Box 21394  
Washington, DC 20009-0894  
Hotline: 800-676-HIPS  
Phone: 202-232-8150  
Web site: <http://www.hips.org>

**National Center for Missing & Exploited Children**

Charles B. Wang International Children's Building  
699 Prince Street  
Alexandria, Virginia 22314-3175  
Hotline: 800-THE-LOST  
Phone: 703-274-3900  
Web site: [www.missingkids.com](http://www.missingkids.com)  
CyberTipline: [www.cybertipline.com](http://www.cybertipline.com)

**National Runaway Switchboard**

3080 North Lincoln Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60657  
Phone: 773- 880-9860  
Hotline: 800-RUNAWAY  
Web site: <http://www.nrscrisisline.org>

**Office for Victims of Crime**

Office of Justice Programs  
U.S. Department of Justice  
810 Seventh Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20531  
Phone: 202-307-5983  
Web site: <http://www.ovc.gov>

**Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention**

Child Protection Division  
810 Seventh Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20531  
Phone: 202-616-3637  
Web site: <http://www.ojjdp.ncjrs.gov>

**Paul & Lisa Program, Inc.**

P.O. Box 348  
Westbrook, Connecticut 06498  
Phone: 860-767-7660  
Hotline: 800-518-2238  
Web site: <http://www.paulandlisa.org>

**Polaris Project**

P.O. Box 77892  
Washington, DC 20013  
Phone: 202-745-1001  
Web site: <http://www.polarisproject.org>

**Prevent Child Abuse America**

500 North Michigan Avenue, Suite 200  
Chicago, Illinois 60611  
Phone: 312-663-3520  
Web site: <http://www.preventchildabuse.org>

**Prostitution Research and Education**

P.O. Box 16254  
San Francisco, California 94116  
Web site: <http://www.prostitutionresearch.com>

**Shared Hope International**

P.O. Box 65337

Vancouver, Washington 98665

Phone: 866-HER-LIFE

Web site: <http://www.sharedhope.org/contact.asp>

**SAGE (Standing Against Global Exploitation)**

1385 Mission Street, Suite 300

San Francisco, California 94103

Phone: 415-358-2719

Web site: <http://www.sageprojectinc.org>

**Stop It Now!**

351 Pleasant Street, Suite B-319

Northampton, Massachusetts 01060

Phone: 413-587-3500

Helpline: 888-PREVENT

Web site: <http://www.stopitnow.com>

**U.S. Department of Health and Human Services**

Administration for Children and Families

370 L'Enfant Promenade, SW

Washington, DC 20201

Hotline: 888-373-7888

Web site: <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/trafficking/>

**U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)**

Cyber Crimes Center

Child Exploitation Unit

11320 Random Hills Road, Suite 400

Fairfax, Virginia 22030

Phone: 703-293-8005

Hotline: 866-DHS-2-ICE

Web site: <http://www.ice.gov>

**U.S. Postal Inspection Service**

Special Investigations Division

475 L'Enfant Plaza West SW, Room 3800

Washington, DC 20260-2112

Phone: 202-268-2988

# Appendix B

## Definitions

Term	Definition
Child pornography	Child pornography is defined as any visual depiction, including any photograph, film, video, or computer or computer-generated image or picture, whether made or produced by electronic, mechanical, or other means, of sexually explicit conduct, where the production of such visual depiction involves the use of a minor engaging in sexually explicit conduct; such visual depiction is a digital image, computer image, or computer-generated image that is, or is indistinguishable from, that of a minor engaging in sexually explicit conduct; or such visual depiction has been created, adapted, or modified to appear that an identifiable minor is engaging in sexually explicit conduct. (18 U.S.C. 2256)
Child sex tourism	Individuals traveling to other countries to engage in sexual activities with children.
Commercial sex act	Any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person (TVPA definition)
Commercial sexual exploitation of children	A constellation of crimes of a sexual nature committed against youthful victims (younger than 18 years old) primarily or entirely for financial or other economic reasons. These crimes include, for example, trafficking for sexual purposes, prostitution, sex tourism, mail-order-bride trade and early marriage, pornography, stripping, and sexual performances. (OJJDP definition)
Domestic trafficking	Commercial exploitation of individuals within the U.S for the purposes of sex or labor.
International Trafficking	Bringing foreign people into the U.S. for commercial sexual exploitation purposes or for labor exploitation.
Pandering	Any person who performs any of the following acts for any money, property, token, object, or article or anything of value commits pandering: Compels a person to become a prostitute; or arranges or offers to arrange a situation in which a person may practice prostitution. (Illinois statute definition)
Pimping	A person commits the offense of juvenile pimping if the person knowingly receives any form of consideration derived from the practice of prostitution, in whole or in part, and the prostitute was under the age of 16 at the time the act of prostitution occurred the prostitute was a severely or profoundly mentally retarded person at the time the act of prostitution occurred. (Illinois statute definition)
Prostitution	The act of engaging in sexual intercourse or performing other sex acts in exchange for money or other considerations (e.g., food, clothing shelter, affection, etc.).
Runaway incident	Occurs when a child leaves home without permission overnight; or a child under 14 chooses not to return home and stays away overnight; or a child over 15 years old is away from home chooses not to return and stays away two nights. (OJJDP definition)
Sex industry	The collection of legal and illegal businesses and single and multi-party operations that profit from the sexual exploitation of women, children, and sometimes, men in trafficking, organized prostitution, and/or pornography; e.g. brothels, massage parlors, bars, strip clubs, mail-order-bride agencies, prostitution tour agencies, "adult entertainment," "adult" bookstores, pornographic web sites, etc. (Hughes, 1999)

Term	Definition
Sex trade	The trade of sex for money, gifts, drugs, or survival needs, including exotic dancing, escorting, lingerie modeling, phone sex, adult Internet sites, movies, etc. (YWEP definition)
Sex trafficking	The recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act. (TVPA definition)
Smuggling	The procurement of illegal entry of a person into a State of which the latter person is not a national with the objective of making a profit (United Nations, 1999).
Throwaway or throwaway incident	Occurs when a child is asked or told to leave home by a parent or other household adult, no adequate alternative care is arranged for the child by a household adult, and the child is out of the household overnight; or a child who is away from home is prevented from returning home by a parent or other household adult, no adequate alternative care is arranged for the child by a household adult, and the child is out of the household overnight. (OJJDP definition)
Trafficking	The transport, harboring, or sale of persons within national or across international borders through coercion, force, kidnapping, deception or fraud, for purposes of placing persons in situations of forced labor or services, such as forced prostitution, domestic servitude, debt bondage or other slavery-like practices. Agreement exists that the concept applies whether a child was taken forcibly or voluntarily. (18 USC 1589 et seq.).

# Appendix C

## Child prostitution-related crimes

From the National District Attorneys Association

Last Updated July 2006

### State statutes

Alabama, Ala. Code § 13A-12-110 et seq. (2005)  
Alaska, Alaska Stat. § 11.66.110 (2006) Alaska Stat. § 11.66.130 (2006)  
Arizona, Ariz. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 13-3206 (2006) Ariz. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 13-3212 (2006)  
Arkansas, Ark. Code Ann. § 5-70-101 (2006) Ark. Code Ann. § 5-70-104 (2006)  
California, Cal. Penal Code § 266 (2006), Cal. Penal Code § 266i (2006), Cal. Penal Code § 267 (2006)  
Colorado, Colo. Rev. Stat. § 18-7-401 et seq. (2005)  
Connecticut, Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 53a-85 et seq. (2006)  
Delaware, Del. Code Ann. tit. 11, § 1352 et seq. (2006)  
District of Columbia, D.C. Code Ann. § 22-2704 (2006)  
Florida, Fla. Stat. Ann. ch. 796.03 (2006)  
Georgia, Ga. Code Ann. § 16-6-13 (2006)  
Hawaii, Haw. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 712-1200 et seq. (2006)  
Idaho, Idaho Code § 18-5609 (2006) Code § 18-5611 (2006)  
Illinois, 720 Ill. Comp. Stat. 5/11-14 et seq. (2005)  
Indiana, Ind. Code § 35-45-4-4 (2006)  
Iowa, Iowa Code § 725.3(2) (2005)  
Kansas, Kan. Stat. Ann. § 21-3512 (2005) Kan. Stat. Ann. § 21-3513 (2005)  
Kentucky, Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 529.030 (2006)  
Louisiana, La. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 14:82 et seq. (2006)  
Maine, Me. Rev. Stat. Ann. tit. 17-A, § 852 (2005) Me. Rev. Stat. Ann. tit. 17-A, § 855 (2005)  
Maryland, Md. Ann. Code § 11-303 (2006) Md. Ann. Code § 11-305 (2006)  
Massachusetts, Mass. Gen. Laws Ann. ch. 272, § 4A (2006) Mass. Gen. Laws Ann. ch. 272, § 4B (2006)  
Michigan, Mich. Stat. Ann. § 750.13 (2006)  
Minnesota, Minn. Stat. Ann. § 609.322 et seq. (2005)  
Mississippi, Miss. Code Ann. § 97-5-5 (2006)  
Missouri, Mo. Rev. Stat. § 567.050 (2005)  
Montana, Mont. Code Ann. § 45-5-603 (2005)  
Nebraska, Neb. Rev. Stat. § 28-805 (2005)  
Nevada, Nev. Rev. Stat. § 201.300 et seq. (2006)  
New Hampshire, N.H. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 645:2 (2006)  
New Jersey, N.J. Stat. Ann. § 2C:34-1 (2006)  
New Mexico, N.M. Stat. Ann. § 30-6A-4 (2006)  
New York, N.Y. Penal Law § 230.04 et seq. (2006)  
North Carolina, N.C. Gen. Stat. § 14-190.18 (2006) N.C. Gen. Stat. § 14-190.19 (2006)  
North Dakota, N.D. Cent. Code § 12.1-29-02 (2006)



Ohio, Ohio Rev. Code Ann. § 2907.21 (2006), Ohio Rev. Code Ann. § 2907.22 (2006)  
Oklahoma, Okla. Stat. Ann. tit. 21, § 1087 (2005) Okla. Stat. Ann. tit. 21, § 1088 (2005)  
Oregon, Or. Rev. Stat. § 167.017 (2006)  
Pennsylvania, 18 Pa. Cons. Stat. Ann. § 5902 (2005)  
Rhode Island, R.I. Gen. Laws § 11-9-1 (2006)  
South Carolina, S.C. Code Ann. § 16-15-415 (2005) S.C. Code Ann. § 16-15-425 (2005)  
South Dakota, S.D. Codified Laws § 22-23-2 (2006)  
Tennessee, Tenn. Code Ann. § 37-5-103 (2005)  
Texas, Tex. Penal Code § 43.05 (2005)  
Utah, Utah Code Ann. § 76-10-1306 (2006)  
Virginia, Va. Code Ann. § 18.2-355 (2006), Va. Code Ann. § 18.2-48 (2006), Va. Code Ann. § 18.2-49 (2006)  
Washington, Wash. Rev. Code Ann. § 9.68A.100 (2006)  
West Virginia, W. Va. Code § 61-8-6 (2006), W. Va. Code § 61-8-7 (2006), W. Va. Code § 61-8-8 (2006)  
Wisconsin, Wis. Stat. Ann. § 948.07 (2006), Wis. Stat. Ann. § 948.08 (2006)  
Wyoming, Wyo. Stat. Ann. § 6-4-103 (2006)

### **Federal legislation**

U.S. Code 18 U.S.C.A. § 2423 (2006)

# Appendix D

## Focus group questions

1. What is the sex trade?
2. How did you or how do others get involved in the sex trade?
3. What have been your experiences in the sex trade? What do you know about “pimps”?
4. Have you or someone you know experienced violence related to the sex trade (such as rape, threatened with a weapon, slapped, punched, or kicked)?
5. How have service organizations (such as counseling agencies, shelters, or hospitals) respond to your involvement in the sex trade?

## Survey Questions

1. What is your current age?
2. How do you identify your race and ethnicity?
3. Describe your gender.
4. How old do you think you were when you first got involved in the sex trade?
5. Based on your experience, how many youth under 18 do you think are currently involved in the sex trade in Chicago?
6. In general, do you think the public is aware of the sex trade? Please check one.  
 Yes  
 No  
 Unsure

# Appendix E

## Law enforcement survey

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_

ID#: \_\_\_\_\_

### INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

My name is \_\_\_\_\_, and I am from the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority. We are conducting a study on the extent and nature of commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth under age 18 or CSEC, funded by the Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. To learn law enforcement's perspective on the issue of CSEC, we would like to ask you a number of questions on CSEC. The information that you provide will be very important in understanding of how law enforcement identify prostituted juveniles, investigate CSEC, and make arrests. This will lead to a better understanding of CSEC. Your responses will be used for research purposes only and will not in any way be identified with you. We would like to audio-record the session, but you can still participate if you choose not to be audio-recorded. The data collected may be shared with outside researchers. In addition, another researcher may call you to ask a limited number of additional questions.

### DO YOU CONSENT TO THIS INTERVIEW?

YES

NO

---

*I am going to ask you about CSEC investigations. We will use the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's definition of CSEC, which is, "CSEC describes a constellation of crimes of a sexual nature committed against youthful victims (younger than 18 years old) primarily or entirely for financial or other economic reasons." (For example, prostitution, pornography, and stripping.)*

1. Approximately, how many officers in your police department focus primarily on CSEC-related crimes? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Have you worked on any CSEC-related investigations?  
 YES (GO TO QUESTION #3)  
 NO (THANK AND END INTERVIEW)
3. Approximately, what is the total number of CSEC-related cases opened up by you per year in your police department? \_\_\_\_\_
4. Approximately, how many of those cases have resulted in an arrest? \_\_\_\_\_
5. What percentage of your time on the job is spent on CSEC-related activities? \_\_\_\_\_
6. How do you uncover cases? (ie. calls, tips)
  
7. Do you receive tips on CSEC cases?  
 YES (GO TO QUESTION #7a)  
 NO (GO TO QUESTION #8)
  - 7a. If yes, from whom do you receive tips?

8. In general, is it difficult to investigate CSEC?  
 YES (GO TO QUESTION #8a)  
 NO (GO TO QUESTION #9)
- 8a. If yes, what makes it difficult to *investigate* a CSEC case?
9. What is the average length of an investigation for CSEC?  
\_\_\_\_\_ weeks OR \_\_\_\_\_ years
10. Do you use undercover operations to investigate CSEC?  
 YES (GO TO QUESTION #10a)  
 NO (GO TO QUESTION #11)
- 10a. If yes, do you use undercover operations to arrest johns who patronize prostituted juveniles?  
 YES  
 NO
11. In general, is it difficult to make *arrests* of the pimps/ arrangers of prostituted juveniles?  
 YES (GO TO QUESTION #11a)  
 NO (GO TO QUESTION #12)
- 11a. If yes, why is it difficult to make arrests of the pimps/ arrangers of prostituted juveniles?
12. What state offenses and/or city ordinances are used in a CSEC case?
13. How often do officers work with social service agencies on CSEC cases?  
 OFTEN  
 SOMETIMES  
 SELDOM  
 NEVER  
 UNKNOWN
14. How often do officers work with other departments/ units on CSEC cases?  
 OFTEN  
 SOMETIMES  
 SELDOM  
 NEVER  
 UNKNOWN
15. What type of evidence is collected for CSEC investigations?

16. Is it difficult to *prosecute* the pimps/arrangers of prostituted juveniles in court?  
 YES (GO TO QUESTION #16a)  
 NO (GO TO QUESTION #17)  
 UNSURE (GO TO QUESTION #17)

16a. If yes, why is it difficult to prosecute pimps/arrangers?

---

*Now I am going to ask you more about those profiting from CSEC*

17. Who do you think profits from CSEC? (who are the pimps/ arrangers?)

18. Are there organized networks of individuals involved in CSEC?  
 YES  
 NO  
 UNSURE

19. How often are sexually exploited juveniles transported from city to city or state to state?  
 OFTEN  
 SOMETIMES  
 SELDOM  
 NEVER  
 UNKNOWN

20. How often are sexually exploited juveniles brought to the U.S. from other countries?  
 OFTEN (GO TO QUESTION#20a)  
 SOMETIMES (GO TO QUESTION#20a)  
 SELDOM (GO TO QUESTION#20a)  
 NEVER (GO TO QUESTION#21)  
 UNKNOWN (GO TO QUESTION#21)

20a. If juveniles are brought from other countries, what countries?

21. How often are pimps/ arrangers targeted juvenile prostitution case?  
 OFTEN (GO TO QUESTION#21a)  
 SOMETIMES (GO TO QUESTION#21a)  
 SELDOM (GO TO QUESTION#21a)  
 NEVER (GO TO QUESTION#22)  
 UNKNOWN (GO TO QUESTION#22)

21a. If a pimp is involved, how do they affect juvenile prostitution investigations?

21b. How are pimps/ arrangers identified?

21c. Are prostituted juveniles willing to aid in the prosecution of their pimps/ arrangers?

- YES (GO TO QUESTION #21d)
- NO (GO TO QUESTION #22)
- DEPENDS (GO TO QUESTION #22)

21d. If juveniles are not willing to aid in the prosecution of their pimps, why?

22. Are Internet sites used to commercially exploit children?

- YES (GO TO QUESTION #22a)
- NO (GO TO QUESTION #23)
- UNKNOWN (GO TO QUESTION #23)

22a. If the Internet is used, how?

[i.e. websites used to find/solicit children or share pornography)

---

*Now I am going to ask you about prostituted juveniles.*

23. In general, are you able to determine the age of prostituted juveniles?

- YES (GO TO QUESTION #23a)
- NO (GO TO QUESTION #24)

23a. If you are unable to determine age, why?

24. Are fake ID's used by prostituted juveniles?

- YES
- NO

For the following questions, please answer often, sometimes, seldom, never, or unknown.

	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never	Unknown
25. How often are prostituted juveniles working in strip clubs?					
26. How often are prostituted juveniles working in escort services?					
27. How often are prostituted juveniles homeless?					
28. How often are prostituted juveniles runaways?					
29. How often do prostituted juveniles have prior juvenile arrest records?					

30. Are prostituted juveniles also victims of other crimes?

YES (GO TO QUESTION #30a)

NO (GO TO QUESTION #31)

UNSURE (GO TO QUESTION #31)

30a. If prostituted juveniles are victims of crime, what crimes are committed against them?

---

Now I am going to ask you some questions on your view of CSEC and will ask for recommendations.

For the following questions, please answer "yes," "no," or "unknown."

	YES	NO	UNKNOWN
31. In general, is CSEC is a problem in your jurisdiction?			
32. Is training on CSEC for officers needed?			
33. Have you had prior training on CSEC?			
34. Do you think that your department has enough resources and funding to investigate CSEC?			
35. Do you think the public is aware of the problem of CSEC?			

36. Please estimate how much it costs in dollars to investigate one CSEC case (in officer time and other resources). \$ \_\_\_\_\_

37. What do you think needs to be done to end CSEC?

38. Do you have any additional comments?

---

Finally, I'd like to ask for demographics and general questions about you and your job.

39. Gender:  
 Male  
 Female

40. What is your race/ ethnicity:  
 White  
 Black  
 Hispanic  
 Asian  
 Other Specify: \_\_\_\_\_

41. Age: \_\_\_\_\_

42. How long have you been on the police force?  
\_\_\_\_\_ weeks \_\_\_\_\_ months \_\_\_\_\_ years

43. How many individuals work in your entire police department? \_\_\_\_\_

44. What unit do you work in? \_\_\_\_\_

45. How many individuals work in your unit? \_\_\_\_\_

46. What is your current job title? \_\_\_\_\_

47. How many years have you been at that job title? \_\_\_\_\_

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME TODAY. [END INTERVIEW]



# Notes

---

- <sup>1</sup> “Department of Justice Awards More than \$13 Million in Grants to Combat Internet Crimes Against Children: New Task Force Named in Chicago” Press Release U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs (June 22, 2005). Retrieved January 23, 2007 on the World Wide Web:  
<http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/pressreleases/ICAC06242005.htm>.
- <sup>2</sup> U.S. Department of Justice, “Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Annual Report 2003-2004,” December 2004, NCJ 206630.
- <sup>3</sup> Spangenberg, Mia, “Prostituted Youth in New York City: An Overview,” *ECPAT-USA* (2000): 9.
- <sup>4</sup> Klain, Eva J., “Prostitution of Children and Child-Sex Tourism: An Analysis of Domestic and International Responses,” *National Center for Missing and Exploited Children* (April 1999).
- <sup>5</sup> Ellerman, Derek, “National Trends in Combating Sex Trafficking and Recommendations,” paper presented at the Sex Trafficking: Breaking the Crisis of Silence Conference, North Carolina, April 8, 2006.
- <sup>6</sup> Farley, Melissa and Vanessa Kelly, “Prostitution: A Critical Review of the Medical and Social Sciences Literature,” *Women & Criminal Justice* 11(4) (2000): 29.
- <sup>7</sup> U.S. Department of State, “Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report,” (June 2006): 41.
- <sup>8</sup> Estes, Richard J and Mark Alan Weiner, “The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico,” *University of Pennsylvania* (September 19, 2001, Revised February 20, 2002).
- <sup>9</sup> Raphael, Jody and Deborah L. Shapiro, “Sisters Speak Out: The Lives and Needs of Prostituted Women in Chicago – A Research Study,” *Center for Impact Research* (2002): 8.
- <sup>10</sup> O’Leary Claudine and Olivia Howard, “The Prostitution of Women and Girls in Metropolitan Chicago: A Preliminary Prevalence Report,” *Center for Impact Research* (May 23, 2004): 2.
- <sup>11</sup> Sickmund, Melissa, Snyder, Howard N., and Poe-Yamagata, Eileen, “Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 1997 Update on Violence,” *Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention* (1997).
- <sup>12</sup> Swecker, Chris “Exploiting Americans on American Soil: Domestic Trafficking Exposed,” presented at U.S. Helsinki Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Washington, D.C., June 7, 2005.
- <sup>13</sup> Weitzer Ronald, ed, *Sex For Sale: Prostitution, Pornography, and the Sex Industry*. Routledge: New York 2000: 4.
- <sup>14</sup> Spangenberg, Mia, “Prostituted Youth in New York City: An Overview,” *ECPAT-USA* (2000): 8-9.
- <sup>15</sup> Hughes, Donna M., “Trafficking of Children for Prostitution,” presented to Protecting Our Children: Working Together to End Child Prostitution conference, Washington, D.C., (December 13, 2002).
- <sup>16</sup> Newman, Graeme, R., “The Exploitation of Trafficked Women,” *U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services* 38 (February 2006): 5.
- <sup>17</sup> The report was not published; however, a draft of the paper obtained by the New York Times revealed the study was conducted by two psychologists, Andres E. Hernandez and Michael L. Bourke, and surveyed 155 male inmates at the Federal Correctional Institution in Butner, North Carolina.
- <sup>18</sup> Priebe, Alexandria and Cristen Suhr, “Hidden in Plain View: The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Girls in Atlanta,” *Atlanta Women’s Agenda* (2005): 14.
- <sup>19</sup> Hammer, Heather, David Finkelhor, and Andrea J. Sedlak, “Runaway/Thrownaway Children: National Estimates and Characteristics,” *Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention* October 2002: 2.
- <sup>20</sup> Cohen, Marcia I., “Identifying and Combating Juvenile Prostitution: A Manual for Action,” *National Association of Counties and the University of Oklahoma National Resource Center for Youth Services* (2006): 2.
- <sup>21</sup> Nadon, Susan, M. Catherine Koverola, Eduard H. Schludermann, “Antecedents to Prostitution: Childhood Victimization,” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 13(2) (1998): 214.
- <sup>22</sup> Priebe, Alexandria and Cristen Suhr, “Hidden in Plain View: The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Girls in Atlanta,” *Atlanta Women’s Agenda* (2005): 4.
- <sup>23</sup> Flowers, R. Barri, *The Prostitution of Women and Girls*, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., 1998: 71.
- <sup>24</sup> Greene, Jody M., Susan T. Ennett, and Christopher L. Ringwalt, “Prevalence and Correlates of Survival Sex Among Runaway and Homeless Youth,” *American Journal of Public Health* 89(9) (1999): 1408.
- <sup>25</sup> Dedel, Kelly, “Juvenile Runaways,” *U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services Guide* 37 (2006): 11-12.
- <sup>26</sup> Rabun, John B. et al. “Female Juvenile Prostitution: Problem and Response, Second Edition,” *National Center for Missing and Exploited Children and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention* (2002).

- 
- <sup>27</sup> Susan Kay Hunter, "Prostitution is Cruelty and Abuse to Women and Children," *Michigan Journal of Gender and Law* (1994): 99.
- <sup>28</sup> Silbert, Mimi H and Ayala M. Pines, "Early Sexual Exploitation as an Influence in Prostitution," *Social Work*, (July-August 1983): 285-287.
- <sup>29</sup> Levesque, Roger J.R. , *Sexual Abuse of Children: A Human Rights Perspective*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999: 91.
- <sup>30</sup> Raphael, Jody and Deborah L. Shapiro, "Sisters Speak Out: The Lives and Needs of Prostituted Women in Chicago – A Research Study," *Center for Impact Research* (2002).
- <sup>31</sup> Wolak, Janice, Kimberly Mitchell, and David Finkelhor, "Online Victimization of Youth: Five Years Later" (2006) 15. Retrieved January 22, 2007 on the World Wide Web: [http://www.missingkids.com/en\\_U.S./publications/NC167.pdf](http://www.missingkids.com/en_U.S./publications/NC167.pdf).
- <sup>32</sup> Canibano, Joe, "Internet and Child Exploitation: Trends and Developments" presented at the 34<sup>th</sup> National Conference on Juvenile Justice, San Diego, California, March 5, 2007.
- <sup>33</sup> U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office for Victims of Crime "Internet Crimes Against Children," *OVC Bulletin* (December 2001): 2-3.
- <sup>34</sup> Cohen, Marcia I., "Identifying and Combating Juvenile Prostitution: A Manual for Action," *National Association of Counties and the University of Oklahoma National Resource Center for Youth Services* (2006): 11.
- <sup>35</sup> Rabun, John B. et al. "Female Juvenile Prostitution: Problem and Response, Second Edition," *National Center for Missing and Exploited Children and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention* (2002).
- <sup>36</sup> Giobbe, Evelina, "An Analysis of Individual, Institutional, and Cultural Pimping," *Michigan Journal of Gender and Law* 1 (1) (1993): 45.
- <sup>37</sup> Cohen, Marcia I., "Identifying and Combating Juvenile Prostitution: A Manual for Action," *National Association of Counties and the University of Oklahoma National Resource Center for Youth Services* (2006): 1.
- <sup>38</sup> Flowers, R. Barri, *The Prostitution of Women and Girls*, Jefferson: North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc. (1998): 70.
- <sup>39</sup> Parker, Joseph, "How Prostitution Works," *Lola Green Baldwin Foundation* (1998): 13.
- <sup>40</sup> Calhoun, T and G Weaver, "Rational Decision-Making Among Male Street Prostitutes," *Deviant Behavior* 17 (1996): 209-27.
- <sup>41</sup> Estes, Richard J and Mark Alan Weiner, "The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico," *University of Pennsylvania* (September 2001): 7-8.
- <sup>42</sup> Susan Kay Hunter, "Prostitution is Cruelty and Abuse to Women and Children," *Michigan Journal of Gender and Law* (1994): 93-94.
- <sup>43</sup> Susan Kay Hunter, "Prostitution is Cruelty and Abuse to Women and Children," *Michigan Journal of Gender and Law* (1994): 94-95.
- <sup>44</sup> Farley, Melissa and Vanessa Kelly, "Prostitution: A Critical Review of the Medical and Social Sciences Literature," *Women & Criminal Justice* 11 (4): 38 (2000).
- <sup>45</sup> Farley, Melissa and Vanessa Kelly, "Prostitution: A Critical Review of the Medical and Social Sciences Literature," *Women & Criminal Justice* 11 (4): 35 (2000).
- <sup>46</sup> Monto, Martin A., "Focusing on the Clients of Street Prostitutes: A Creative Approach to Reducing Violence Against Women-Final Report," *U.S. Department of Justice* (June 9, 2000): 10.
- <sup>47</sup> Hughes, Donna, M., "Best Practices to Address the Demand Side of Sex Trafficking," *University of Rhode Island* (August 2004): 21.
- <sup>48</sup> O'Leary, Claudine, personal communication, August, 14, 2007.
- <sup>49</sup> National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, "Female Juvenile Prostitution: Problem and Response," November 2002: vii.
- <sup>50</sup> Weitzer Ronald, eds. *Sex For Sale: Prostitution, Pornography, and the Sex Industry*, New York: Routledge, 2000: 67.
- <sup>51</sup> Monto, Martin A., "Focusing on the Clients of Street Prostitutes: A Creative Approach to Reducing Violence Against Women-Final Report," *U.S. Department of Justice* (June 9, 2000): 10.
- <sup>52</sup> Weitzer Ronald, eds. *Sex For Sale: Prostitution, Pornography, and the Sex Industry*, New York: Routledge: 2000: 67.
- <sup>53</sup> Hughes, Donna, M., "Best Practices to Address the Demand Side of Sex Trafficking," *University of Rhode Island* (August 2004): 2.
- <sup>54</sup> Cordelia Anderson, M.S. is a trainer and educator and operates a training and consultation business based in Minneapolis, MN. She is also on the board of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children where she

---

chairs the Prevention/Support Services Committee and on the Child Abuse Advisory Committee for Boy Scouts of America.

<sup>55</sup> Anderson, Cordelia, "Technology's Role in Creating a Sexually Toxic Society," April 2006. Retrieved March 30, 2007 from the Worldwide Web: [http://www.mcfr.net/fall\\_06\\_conf\\_resources/tech\\_role\\_sexually\\_toxic.pdf](http://www.mcfr.net/fall_06_conf_resources/tech_role_sexually_toxic.pdf).

<sup>56</sup> ACT for Youth, Upstate Center of Excellence, "Research FACTs and Findings: Adolescent Brain Development" *Cornell University* (May 2002).

<sup>57</sup> Hosey, Jeannie and Dotti Clune, "We Can Do Better: Helping Prostituted Women and Girls in Grand Rapids. Make Healthy Choices: A Prostitution Round Table Report to the Community," *The Nokomis Foundation* (March 2002): 16-18.

<sup>58</sup> Weitzer Ronald, eds. *Sex For Sale: Prostitution, Pornography, and the Sex Industry*, New York: Routledge: 2000: 67.

<sup>59</sup> Farley, Melissa and Vanessa Kelly, "Prostitution: A Critical Review of the Medical and Social Sciences Literature," *Women & Criminal Justice* 11 (4) (2000): 41.

<sup>60</sup> Ellerman, Derek, "National Trends in Combating Sex Trafficking and Recommendations," presented at the Sex Trafficking: Breaking the Crisis of Silence Conference, North Carolina, April 8, 2006.

<sup>61</sup> National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, "Female Juvenile Prostitution: Problem and Response" (November 2002): 35-36.

<sup>62</sup> Friedman, Sara Ann, "Who is There to Help Us? How the System Fails Sexually Exploited Girls from the United States, Examples from Four American Cities," *ECPAT-USA, Inc.* (2005): 1-2.

<sup>63</sup> Cohen, Marcia I., "Identifying and Combating Juvenile Prostitution: A Manual for Action," National Association of Counties and the University of Oklahoma National Resource Center for Youth Services (2006): 3-5.

<sup>64</sup> "Operation Predator Nets More than 6,000 U.S. Arrests and 1,000 Overseas Arrests in it's first Two Years," Press Release Department of Homeland Security, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (July 19, 2005). Retrieved September 17, 2007 on the World Wide Web: <http://usinfo.state.gov/xarchives/display.html?p=washfile-english&y=2005&m=July&x=20050719145146cmretrop0.231579>.

<sup>65</sup> Burghart, Tara, "Chicago's Alleged Johns Listed on Internet," Associated Press, June 2005.

<sup>66</sup> Heinzmann, David, "At War with the Pimps of Children," *Chicago Tribune*, August 5, 2005.

<sup>67</sup> Heinzmann, David, "Girls' Pimp is Sentenced to 17 Years," *Chicago Tribune*, June 1, 2006.

<sup>68</sup> "Woman Lured Girl for Prostitution," *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 2006.

<sup>69</sup> Herman, Eric, "2 Charged with Pimping Teen Girls on Craigslist," *Chicago Sun Times*, January 12, 2007.

<sup>70</sup> "Teen Attested in Craig's List Prostitution Case" *CBS2Chicago.com*, April 7, 2007.

<sup>71</sup> Gehring, Stephanie, "Police Bust Hotel Prostitutes," *Daily Southtown*, March 14, 2007.

<sup>72</sup> Henschel, Barbara, "The Assessment of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children: A Review of Methodologies," *Understanding Children's Work Project* (2003).

<sup>73</sup> Finkelhor, David and Richard Ormrod, "Prostitution of Juveniles: Patterns from NIBRS." *Juvenile Justice Bulletin*. Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (June 2004).

<sup>74</sup> Klain, Eva J., "Prostitution of Children and Child-Sex Tourism: An Analysis of Domestic and International Responses," *National Center for Missing and Exploited Children* (April 1999).

<sup>75</sup> Garofalo, Robert, Joanne Deleon, Elizabeth Osmer, Mary Doll, and Gary W. Harper, "Overlooked, Misunderstood and At-Risk: Exploring the Lives and HIV Risk of Ethnic Minority Male-to-Female Transgender Youth," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 38 (2006): 230-231.

<sup>76</sup> National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. Retrieved July 11, 2007 from the World Wide Web: [http://thetaskforce.org/downloads/reports/fact\\_sheets/HomelessYouthChicago012507.pdf](http://thetaskforce.org/downloads/reports/fact_sheets/HomelessYouthChicago012507.pdf).

<sup>77</sup> Garofalo, Robert, Joanne Deleon, Elizabeth Osmer, Mary Doll, and Gary W. Harper, "Overlooked, Misunderstood and At-Risk: Exploring the Lives and HIV Risk of Ethnic Minority Male-to-Female Transgender Youth," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 38 (2006): 230-231.

<sup>78</sup> Cochran, Bryan N., Angela J. Stewart, Joshua A. Ginzler, and Ana Mari Cauce, "Challenges Faced by Homeless Sexual Minorities: Comparison of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Homeless Adolescents with their Heterosexual Counterparts," *American Journal of Public Health* 92 (5) (May 2002): 775.

<sup>79</sup> Estes, Richard J and Mark Alan Weiner, "The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico," *University of Pennsylvania* (September 19, 2001): 30.

<sup>80</sup> Estes, Richard J and Mark Alan Weiner, "The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico," *University of Pennsylvania* (September 19, 2001): 7-8.

---

<sup>81</sup> Cohen, Marcia I., "Identifying and Combating Juvenile Prostitution: A Manual for Action," *National Association of Counties and the University of Oklahoma National Resource Center for Youth Services* (2006): 20.

<sup>82</sup> Widom, Cathy S. and Michael G. Maxfield, "An Update on the "Cycle of Violence," *National Institute of Justice* (February 2001): 1.

<sup>83</sup> Bavolek, Stephen J., "The Nurturing Parenting Programs," *OJJDP Juvenile Justice Bulletin* (November 2000): 1.