

SISTERS SPEAK OUT: THE LIVES AND NEEDS OF PROSTITUTED WOMEN IN CHICAGO

A RESEARCH STUDY

Jody Raphael
Deborah L. Shapiro

Center for Impact Research
926 N. Wolcott
Chicago, IL 60622
773-342-0630
www.impactresearch.org

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In July 2000, the Center for Impact Research (CIR) began investigating prostitution in the Chicago metropolitan area. The first phase of the project established an estimate of the prevalence of prostitution activities, documenting that a minimum of 16,000 women and girls in the Chicago metropolitan area are engaged regularly in the prostitution industry. Due to violence, substance abuse, homelessness, and health problems, women often are unable to safely exit prostitution. The second phase of the project more closely examined the lives of women in prostitution, in order to better understand their needs for services and support.

CIR trained 12 prostitution survivors to conduct in-depth interviews with women throughout the Chicago metropolitan area who were currently, or had recently been, involved in prostitution. In all, 222 women representing various segments of the prostitution industry were interviewed. While this was not a random sample, and is not representative of all women engaged in prostitution, we believe it is large enough to provide helpful information for understanding the lives of women in prostitution, and what can be done to assist them.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Age of Entry

The age at which respondents first exchanged sex for money ranged from four to 50 years. About one-third of the women entered prostitution before the age of 15, and 62% of the sample started in prostitution before their 18th birthdays. Early starters, those women who began between the ages of 12 and 15, were more disadvantaged in a number of ways:

- ▶ Seventy-two percent of early starters ran away from home.
- ▶ Early starters were more likely to have used drugs or alcohol growing up.
- ▶ Only one-fourth of early starters had completed a high school education or GED.
- ▶ Early starters engaged in a greater number of different prostitution activities.
- ▶ Over half of the early starters grew up in a household with prostitution.
- ▶ Eighty-seven percent of early starters had someone suggest that they engage in prostitution while they were growing up.
- ▶ Early starters reported a greater number of health problems at the time of the interview.

Family of Origin

Many women in this sample had run away and grew up in households with loss of life, separation from caretakers, domestic violence, substance abuse, and prostitution.

- ▶ One-fourth of respondents grew up without a mother in the household and 59% without a father.
- ▶ Close to one-fourth of the women had been separated from their primary caretaker for a year or more.
- ▶ Over 60% of respondents reported domestic violence in the household.

- ▶ Eighty-three percent of the women reported substance use by others in the household while growing up, with 86% themselves using drugs or alcohol.
- ▶ Over half of the women ran away from home at least once.
- ▶ One-third of respondents indicated that someone in the household (other than themselves) regularly exchanged sex for money while they were growing up.
- ▶ Seventy-one percent of respondents stated they knew someone in the neighborhood who regularly exchanged sex for money.
- ▶ Over 70% of women reported that, while growing up, someone suggest they engage in prostitution.

Violence

Regardless of the type of prostitution activity, high percentages of women had experienced violence while engaged in prostitution from customers, pimps, intimate partners, managers, police officers, and neighbors.

- ▶ Women on the streets, in drug houses, and in hotels reported high rates of forced sex and physical violence, with almost one-fourth of women in drug houses being raped more than 10 times.
- ▶ Women in escort services and exotic dancing were also subjected to high rates of sexual and physical violence, with 21.4% of women in escort services being raped more than 10 times.
- ▶ Customers were most frequently identified as the perpetrators of violence, across all venues, followed by intimate partners, pimps, police officers, and neighborhood residents.

Pimping

Large numbers of women gave the money they made in prostitution to someone else.

- ▶ Half of those women in escort services gave a “cut” to someone else; three-fourths of these women believed they would be harmed if they stopped.
- ▶ Forty-one percent of women on the street and 44% of women in drug houses gave money to someone else; most believed they would be harmed if they stopped (75% and 80%, respectively).
- ▶ Those respondents who gave a cut to someone, particularly if they feared being harmed, were less likely to feel able to leave prostitution if they wished.

Homelessness

Substantial percentages of women in street prostitution, drug houses, and survival sex were homeless while engaged in these activities. Many women in other activities did not have their own homes and frequently moved from one place to another.

- ▶ Over half of the women on the street and in drug houses said they were homeless.
- ▶ Many women stayed with friends and parents, or at motels and shelters, while engaged in prostitution.

Substance Abuse

Less than 5% of women in each prostitution activity said they never used alcohol or drugs. Many women reported an increase in their use of substances during prostitution.

- ▶ Over 90% of women in both street and off-street activities increased their drug or alcohol usage during those activities.

- ▶ Exotic dancing was the only activity in which a substantial proportion of respondents reported decreased substance abuse.

Trajectories

The majority of women participated in more than one type of prostitution activity, either simultaneously or sequentially.

- ▶ Over half of the women who began on the streets moved on to other activities, both “indoor” and “outdoor.”
- ▶ Women who began as exotic or private dancers often moved to other activities, both indoor and outdoor.
- ▶ No clear patterns emerged to predict which activities would follow others.

Health Problems

The respondents suffered from numerous health problems.

- ▶ Of the 39 different health problems listed, women reported experiencing a mean of 9.85 problems.
- ▶ Over half of the respondents said they suffered from headaches or migraines.
- ▶ About half of the women reported having sexually transmitted infections.
- ▶ Close to 22% of respondents reported being HIV positive.

Substance Abuse Treatment

The women had frequently participated in drug treatment programs.

- ▶ Sixty percent of respondents stated they had tried drug treatment, a mean of 7.64 times.
- ▶ Treatment included detox, outpatient programs, and residential programs.

Criminal Justice System

Many women had prior arrests, many at very young ages.

- ▶ Almost three-fourths of the sample said they were arrested at least once.
- ▶ Close to half of those who had been arrested said it was prior to age 18, frequently for a prostitution-related offense.

Intervention

Respondents provided many ideas for intervention with women in prostitution.

- ▶ Outreach workers were most often identified as a source of intervention.
- ▶ Shelters and newspapers were also identified by many women as effective sources of information.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on these research findings, the following suggestions are made for an informed and effective response to aiding women in prostitution:

- ▶ Focus on prevention and early intervention for young girls at risk for entry into prostitution.

- ▶ Include assistance and support to recover from the effects of violence in services for women leaving prostitution.
- ▶ Offer safety planning and a safe haven for the women involved with pimps who are trying to leave prostitution.
- ▶ Provide safe and affordable housing for women leaving prostitution.
- ▶ Make substance abuse treatment part of a more comprehensive treatment alternative for women in prostitution.
- ▶ Intervene with girls and young women when they first enter the criminal justice system.
- ▶ Address the problem of violence against prostituted women by police officers in every police district.
- ▶ Coordinate outreach efforts to women in prostitution, providing them with information about available services through a variety of media.

INTRODUCTION

In July 2000, the Center for Impact Research (CIR) began investigating prostitution in the Chicago metropolitan area. The first phase of this project involved determining the number of women and girls involved in prostitution, and where prostitution occurred.¹ The first research report, released in May 2001, documented that a minimum of 16,000 women and girls in the Chicago metropolitan area regularly are engaged in the prostitution industry.

Recent research with samples of women involved in street prostitution indicates that many of the women experience persistent and serious violence at the hands of customers, pimps, and intimate partners, and that the women are addicted to alcohol and drugs, suffer from physical and mental health problems, and are frequently homeless.² Because of these problems, many women have been unable to exit prostitution safely.

Since most prostitution research has been undertaken with women on the streets, and the first phase of our research found only 10 to 20% of women in prostitution in the Chicago metropolitan area on the streets, the question remained whether women in off-street prostitution venues were experiencing similar problems. There was also the issue of categorizing women as participating in either street or off-street activities without taking into account those women who might be involved in both venues. Furthermore, beyond documenting the prevalence of prostitution in Chicago, CIR wanted to better understand the lives of these women and their needs for service and support. To that end, in-depth interviews were conducted with women who were, or had recently been, involved in prostitution.

This research report is the result of CIR's efforts to locate and interview women involved in prostitution in a variety of venues throughout the Chicago metropolitan area. The women's experiences in prostitution and life circumstances are presented in this report in order to inform a response that includes building social service systems that can address effectively the needs of women and girls in prostitution.

There are two primary, opposing views of prostitution: one is that prostitution is a form of violence against and exploitation of women; the other is that prostitution is an industry that women (or men) can choose as their job or career. This research project was not intended to be used an argument for either view, but rather to collect data on the experiences of prostituted women in the Chicago area. There are data from women reporting violence and an inability to leave prostitution, as well as women who indicate they can leave if they so choose. However, the research project itself was designed and implemented within the

¹ Claudine O'Leary and Olivia Howard, "The Prostitution of Women and Girls in Metropolitan Chicago: A Preliminary Prevalence Report," Chicago, IL: Center for Impact Research, May 2001. Available online: www.impactresearch.org.

² See Melissa Farley and Vanessa Kelly, "Prostitution: A Critical Review of the Medical and Social Sciences Literature," *Women and Criminal Justice*, 11(4), 2000, pp. 29-63.

framework of prostitution as a form of violence and exploitation. For example, the surveyors were survivors of prostitution who did not see their own experiences as “work” or a choice they had made. While every attempt has been made to interpret the data objectively, the survey questions and administration were likely biased to some degree by working within this framework. While we acknowledge our potential bias, we do not believe that this conceptualization of prostitution detracts from the importance of the findings presented in this report.

METHODOLOGY

Between August and October of 2001, CIR interviewed a sample of women in prostitution in the Chicago metropolitan area, producing a wealth of information about the lives of women who were, or had once been, engaged in prostitution.

Twelve survivors of prostitution were recruited and trained to orally administer an extensive questionnaire. A typical interview lasted approximately 45 minutes. Surveyors located women for interviews in various segments of the prostitution industry and obtained leads for contacting other women from interviewees – a snowball sampling technique. Interviews took place in public locations such as restaurants (21.6%), in the respondent's residence (18.8%), on the street (14.7%), in the surveyor's residence (11.5%), in shelters or treatment centers (9.2%), in adult entertainment businesses (9.2%), and in a variety of other settings. Respondents received a \$15 gift certificate from Dominick's Finer Foods or McDonalds for their participation.

In all, 222 women across the Chicago metropolitan area were interviewed. We do not claim that this sample is a representative one; indeed, because of the clandestine and illegal nature of prostitution, and the general lack of available research, it is still difficult to even know how a representative sample would look. However, we believe that our sample is large enough to present useful information for understanding the lives of these women and how to assist those who wish to access social services. This report presents some of the major findings of this field survey.

THE SAMPLE

The sample consisted of 222 women over age 18 who were currently or previously had been involved in prostitution activities in the Chicago metropolitan area within the past five years. Seventy-four percent of the women were engaged in prostitution at the time of the interview, and 26% reported having done so in the past five years, but not currently.

Race/ethnicity/citizenship

Almost 55% of the sample was African-American, 13.1% Latina, 16.3% White, 12.2% Biracial, 2.3% Asian/Pacific Islander, and 1.4% Native American.

Only seven (3.2%) of the women were not U.S. citizens or legal permanent residents. Seven percent were legal permanent residents, and 89.6% were U.S. citizens.

Age

The respondents ranged in age from 18 to 59, with a mean age of 31.6 years.

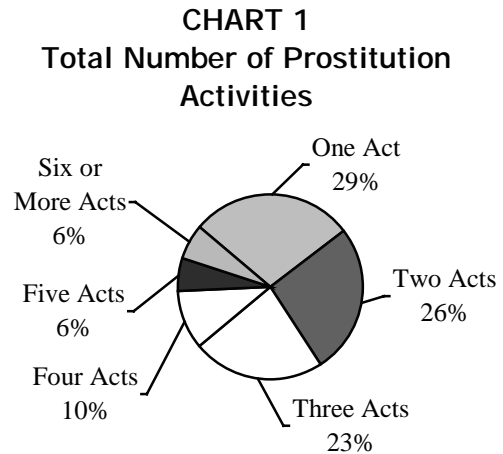
Education

Almost half the sample (49.5%) had less than a high school education, 31.3% had a high school degree or GED, and 19.1% had some college education.

Prostitution activities

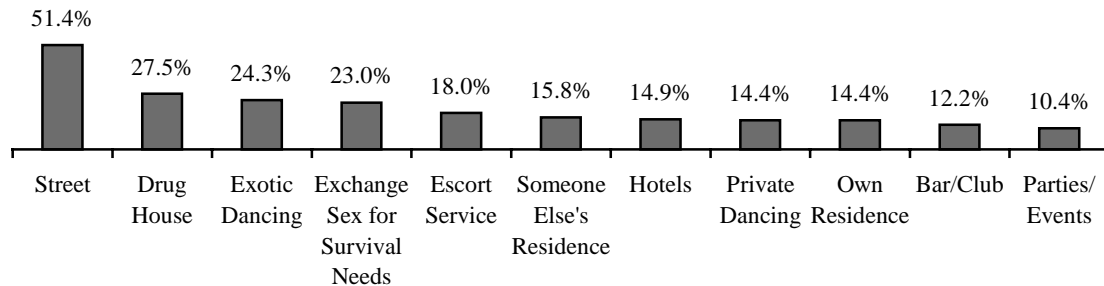
The women in this sample were engaged in a combined total of 598 prostitution activities. The total number of activities each respondent reportedly was involved in ranged from one to 14, with a mean of 2.69. As is illustrated in Chart 1, close to 28.8% of respondents participated in one activity, 26% in two, 23% in three, 10.4% in four, 5.9% in five, and 6.1% in six or more activities.

A total of 26 different types of prostitution activities/venues were identified. Chart 2 reveals the percentage of respondents who participated in each of 11 different activities. Those activities that were identified by fewer than 10% of respondents are not included in the chart. These “low frequency” activities were: live Internet sites, peep shows, being filmed or photographed, parent or guardian making money, brothel, madame, truck stops, phone sex, domination/submission, massage parlor or health spa, live sex shows, sex for needs in institutional setting, money from family members for sex, gang-related, and sex for luxury items.³



Note: in this research report, exotic dancing as an activity is only included if the women engaged in prostitution in this venue.

CHART 2
Percentage of Respondents Engaging in Common Prostitution Activities



³ Definitions of all activities are provided in the appendix.

The number of different prostitution activities identified by each respondent clearly indicates that some women move from one prostitution activity to another. Often, when the experiences of a woman in prostitution are described, she is classified into one type of activity. However, her experiences may have come from many different venues and this categorization is often not appropriate. For example, women may not experience violence in the activity in which they began prostitution, but may be subjected to violence in the second or third activity to which they later moved. The characterization of violence is limited if a woman's movement across activities is not taken into account.

Such movement across activities has the potential to confound both research and interventions. For instance, if a woman is classified as an escort because that is the activity in which she is currently engaged, but she had previously been on the streets, any research conclusions drawn are limited if her past prostitution activity is ignored. Furthermore, if services for women leaving prostitution are provided based on their current activity, without inquiring about previous prostitution, false assumptions might be made about their experiences and needs. Information on the trajectories of respondents in this sample can be found on page 24.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

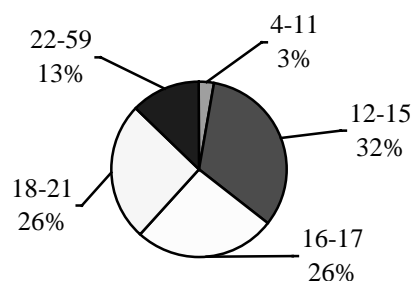
AGE OF ENTRY

At what age did the women first start in prostitution?

The majority of the women in the sample began prostitution activities when they were very young.

The age of the women when they first exchanged sex for money ranged from 4 to 50 years, with a mean age of 17.96.⁴ Chart 3 illustrates the age of entry into prostitution. Of the youngest starters in the sample (6 under the age of 11), several were used in prostitution by their parent/guardian to make money.

CHART 3
Age of Entry into Prostitution



- ⇒ 61.7% of respondents first exchanged sex for money before the age of 18.
- ⇒ 87.3% of respondents first exchanged sex for money before the age of 21.

What are the characteristics of early starters (12-15 years of age)?

Early starters are more disadvantaged than the rest of the sample in a number of key ways.

The women who began prostitution activities between 12 and 15 years of age (“early starters”) were examined separately. It was found that they were different from those women who began in prostitution later in life in several ways.

Running away

Early starters were more likely than others in the sample to have run away from home. Seventy-two percent of early starters ran away from home, compared with 23% of the women whose first experience with prostitution occurred between the ages of 22-25 years of

⁴ The mean age was computed based on age at the time of the first prostitution activity that lasted at least one year. It was found that many of the younger starters did not remain in one activity for that length of time until they were older, so the mean age reported is likely greater than the actual mean age of entry into prostitution.

age. Forty-four percent of the early starters who ran away did so more than 10 times. Fifty-five percent of those who were ever told to leave home by a parent or guardian started prostitution at age 15 or younger.

Substance abuse

Early starters were more likely to have used drugs while growing up, although our data do not enable us to determine the sequence of events (*i.e.*, if substance use preceded prostitution or vice versa). Younger age of entry was also related to a greater amount of substance abuse by household members during childhood.

Educational attainment

Early starters had not completed as much education as later starters. Only 25% of the early starters had completed 12th grade, GED, or any college education, while 52% of those starting prostitution between 16 and 17 had done so, 64% of 18- to 21-year-old starters had done so, and 82% of respondents who started at age 22 or older had done so.

Total number of prostitution activities

Younger starters were involved in a greater number of different prostitution activities than women who started later in life—the mean number of activities for the early starters was 3.36, greater than any other specific age group, and compares to the total sample mean of 2.69. Of those women involved in three distinct prostitution activities, 45% were early starters; of those involved in four activities, 57% were early starters; and of those involved in five activities, 46% were early starters.

Prostitution in the household

Younger starters were significantly more likely to have grown up in a household with someone who exchanged sex for money. While 32.5% of the entire sample had a household member who was engaged in prostitution while growing up, 53% of the early starters did. Age of entry was also associated with having a prostituted mother. Twenty-eight respondents, or 12.6% of the total sample, reported having a mother who was involved in prostitution. Almost 54% of these women were early starters in prostitution.

Suggestions from others

Eighty-seven percent of the younger starters stated that when they were growing up someone suggested they could make money from prostitution, as compared to 71% of the entire sample.

Health problems

The age at which respondents first exchanged sex for money was negatively correlated with the number of current health problems reported. In other words, the younger a woman started in prostitution, the more health problems she reported later in life.

FAMILY OF ORIGIN

What were the characteristics of the women's households while they were growing up?

Women in this sample grew up in households in which loss of life, domestic violence, substance abuse, running away from home, and prostitution were common.

Absent parent

About 25% of our sample grew up without a mother in their household, and almost 59% without a father.

Forty percent of the sample stated they had someone in their household die while they were growing up. Of these who had someone die, about 25% said it was their biological mother, 16% their biological father, 11% brothers, 11% sisters, and 20% grandmothers (important because many women in the sample were raised by their grandmothers).

Separation

Women were asked to identify the person who raised them. When asked whether the person they had named had left the household for a year or more, 22.3% answered in the affirmative. There were a variety of reasons for this separation. For instance, 31.7% of respondents stated that someone in the household was incarcerated while they were growing up. Twenty-six percent of respondents reported that someone in their household left due to divorce or separation. As previously stated, many respondents also had family members die when they were growing up. Although these separations included any household members, they certainly contributed to the temporary absence of the primary caretaker.

Other life events

Many respondents revealed other stressful events had occurred in their family while growing up. Twenty-seven percent of the women stated that someone in the household experienced a major illness or disability, while 20.4% indicated that the family's main wage earner lost his/her job for a year or longer.

Domestic violence

Respondents were asked about violence in the family when they were growing up. Ten percent of the women either refused to answer or stated they did not remember. Of those who did respond, 61.5% stated that when growing up there was someone in the household who was frequently hit, slapped, pushed, grabbed, or had objects thrown at him or her (Level 1 Violence). Almost 40% of respondents reported that there was someone who was kicked, hit, beaten, raped, or threatened and/or attacked with a weapon (Level 2 Violence).

Almost 50% of those reporting Level 1 violence said their mother was the victim, and 44% of Level 2 victims reported were mothers. Where information was available, 91% indicated that the perpetrator of violence against their mother was their mother's partner (reported as respondent's father/stepfather or partner of their mother).

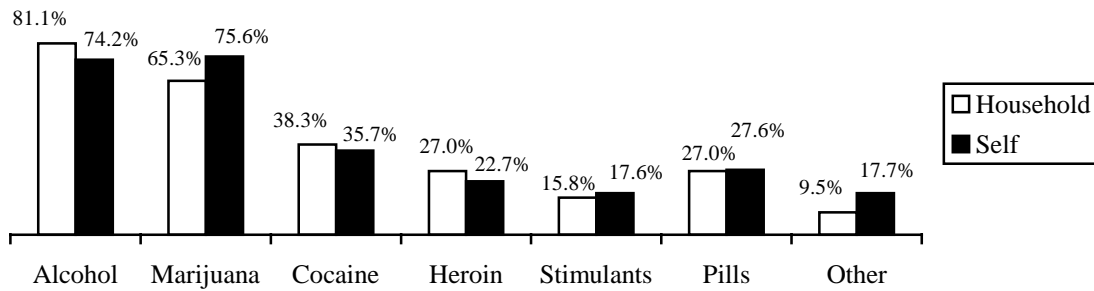
Almost 50% of those reporting Level 1 violence in the home were victims of physical violence themselves while growing up, and approximately 51% reporting Level 2 violence were victims themselves. About two-thirds of the abuse against respondents growing up was by a parent, stepparent, or parent's partner. Other abuse was at the hands of siblings, grandparents, and other extended family, as well as foster parents.

Substance abuse

The women reported on their own substance use while growing up as well as that of other family members who were present in the household during that time.

Eighty-three percent of the women reported some drug or alcohol use in the household while growing up (other than their own), and almost 86% used one or more substances themselves (see Chart 4).

**CHART 4
Substance Use Growing Up**



Of the respondents reporting alcohol use growing up, 28% drank at least three times per week. Of those reporting marijuana use, 31% smoked at least once every day. Almost 13% of those using cocaine reported daily use, while 9% of those who used heroin said they used daily.

Analyses revealed a significant relationship between self substance abuse and running away, earlier age of prostitution entry, and more health problems later in life.

Running away

Almost 56% of the women stated they ran away from home at least once, with a mean age of the first running away episode of 13.4 years. About a third of the women said they ran away two to four times, 21% five to 10 times, and 30% more than 10 times.

About 28% of respondents stated they were told to leave home by their parent or guardian. The mean age this first happened was 15.1 years. About 40% were told to leave two to four times; 16% five to 10 times, and 32% more than 10 times.

Prostitution activities of household members

One-third of the 206 women who answered this question stated that there was someone in the household who regularly (two or more times a week for at least a month) exchanged sex for money while they grew up. Of these, almost 42% indicated that biological mothers were involved, 40% had sisters who were involved, 13.4% aunts, and 6% brothers. (Note: there could be more than one person in the household involved in prostitution activities.)

About one-third of those who answered indicated that there were relatives outside the household while growing up who regularly exchanged sex for money. The majority of these were aunts and cousins—almost 42% of those responding positively had aunts, and 75% had cousins so involved.

Almost one-fourth of the respondents stated that there was someone in their household growing up who received money from the prostitution activities of another, and almost 14% stated that there was someone in the household who forced another to make money through prostitution by using threats, violence, or control.

Neighborhood influence

Seventy-one percent of those responding stated that when they were growing up there were people in their neighborhood or friends who regularly (two or more times a week for at least a month) exchanged sex for money.

Women were also asked if, when they were growing up, someone suggested to them that they could make money or get something they needed by having sex with someone or letting someone do sexual things to them. Almost 71% of the women responded affirmatively to this question. They were then asked who made this suggestion (they could identify more than one individual).

Who suggested prostitution?

- ⇒ 45.0% friend
- ⇒ 24.0% cousin
- ⇒ 19.6% boyfriend or girlfriend
- ⇒ 17.6% someone in the neighborhood
- ⇒ 14.4% sister or stepsister
- ⇒ 11.1% aunt
- ⇒ 7.2% live-in partner of a parent
- ⇒ 6.5% mother
- ⇒ 6.5% uncle
- ⇒ 3.9% stepfather
- ⇒ 3.3% someone in a foster family
- ⇒ 3.3% brother or stepbrother
- ⇒ 2.6% father
- ⇒ 1.3% grandmother
- ⇒ 0.7% stepmother

VIOLENCE IN PROSTITUTION

Were the women exposed to violence during various prostitution activities?

High percentages of women experienced violence, regardless of the type of prostitution activity.

Type and frequency of violence

For each prostitution activity in which they were involved for at least one year, we asked the women to answer whether they experienced 28 different types of violence, the frequency to which they occurred, and who perpetrated the violence (customer, manager, pimp, domestic partner, police officer, other employee of business, and/or neighborhood resident). Table 1 presents the percent of women experiencing each act more than 10 times (top line) or 5-10 times (bottom line), within each of seven common prostitution activities. [Note: these seven activities were those for which at least 20 women provided information on their experiences with violence. The 12 specific acts of violence presented in Table 1 are those most frequently experienced by the respondents, out of the 28 different violent acts.]

Table 1. Percentage of Women Experiencing Frequent Violence in Prostitution

	Escort	Exotic Dancing	Own Residence	Street	Hotels	Drug House	Survival Sex
(n)	(28)	(43)	(24)	(101)	(21)	(45)	(29)
Slapped	28.6	16.3	12.5	38.6	23.8	28.9	24.1
	10.7	11.6	0	19.8	14.3	20.0	6.9
Punched	17.9	9.3	8.3	32.7	23.8	24.4	20.7
	0	4.7	0	11.9	4.8	11.1	3.4
Hair Pulled	32.1	18.6	12.5	33.7	0	20.0	20.7
	3.6	7.0	0	9.9	4.8	13.3	3.4
Pinched	17.9	18.6	8.3	8.9	9.5	24.4	6.9
	7.1	4.7	4.2	4.0	0	4.4	0
Spanked	32.0	18.6	12.5	9.9	23.8	13.3	13.8
	7.1	7.0	0	3.0	0	2.2	0
Kicked	7.1	7.0	4.2	12.9	9.5	20.0	10.3
	0	4.7	0	14.9	14.3	4.4	3.4
Ripped Clothes	21.4	23.3	16.7	31.7	42.9	20.0	10.3
	7.1	14.0	4.2	19.8	9.5	13.3	20.7
Something Thrown	14.3	14.0	8.3	23.8	23.8	24.4	20.7
	3.6	11.6	4.2	13.9	0	4.4	6.9
Threatened w/ Weapon	7.1	7.0	0	19.8	4.8	15.6	10.3
	7.1	18.6	0	11.9	19.0	17.8	10.3
Threatened Rape	7.1	11.6	12.5	14.9	9.5	20.0	6.9
	7.1	18.6	4.2	13.9	14.3	22.2	6.9
Fingers/ Objects	28.6	14.0	12.5	17.8	14.3	24.4	17.2
	7.1	9.3	4.2	3.0	0	17.8	13.8
Forced Sex	21.4	7.0	20.8	21.8	14.3	24.4	13.8
	10.7	7.0	4.2	16.8	0	22.2	24.1

Note: "n" refers to the number of respondents providing information within each prostitution activity.

As the data in Table 1 demonstrate, women in drug houses, on the streets, and in hotels experienced certain types of violence more frequently, compared to women in “off-street” activities. When examining all experiences of violence, whether it happened once or more than ten times (not shown in the Table), we see extremely high rates across all activities. About three-fourths of the women in drug houses, for example, were *ever* forced to have oral, anal, or vaginal sex. Approximately one-half of those in drug houses were subjected to having fingers or objects put in them, and/or were pinched, punched or had something thrown at them. Eighty-six percent of women on the street were ever slapped, 70% were ever punched, and close to 80% had been threatened with a weapon at least one time. Three-fourths of the women on the streets said they had been robbed, most of them multiple times.

Women in off-street prostitution venues stated they, too, were victims of violence, and the numbers were not insignificant. For example, in escort services, half of the women had ever been raped, and they were also subjected to other forms of violence, including slapping and being grabbed. Exotic dancers were also subjected to a great deal of violence, including being threatened with a weapon or threatened with rape, as well as having their clothing ripped, being slapped, having something thrown at them, and being grabbed. Even women engaging in prostitution in their own residences – women many view as being in control – reported frequent violence, including 21% having been raped 10 or more times.

Who were the perpetrators of the violence?

Customers

Customers/tricks were the most frequently identified perpetrators of violence across all types of prostitution. For example, customers were identified as being responsible for 62-100% of the acts of violence against women engaged in street-level prostitution. Customers also perpetrated most of the violence against women in exotic dancing: they were responsible for 30-100% of all acts of violence in this venue, including almost all acts of sexual violence.

Intimate partners

Intimate partners were the next group most likely to perpetrate violence against the women. Partners perpetrated 25-100% of the violence against women trading sex for money in their own residence, and up to 60% of the violence against women exchanging sex for survival needs. Women on the street identified intimate partners as being responsible for about one-fourth of the violence they suffered.

Pimps

Violence from pimps was a problem for many of the respondents. Women in escort services identified pimps as perpetrating up to half of the violence against them, as did women in hotels. Many of the women on the streets and in drug houses also reported experiencing violence from pimps.

Police officers

Police officers were not as frequently identified as perpetrators, but they were responsible for several types of violence. Police were named as the perpetrators of a great deal of sexual

abuse against women on the streets: twenty-four percent of women on the streets who said they were raped stated a police officer was the perpetrator, while about one-fifth of other acts of sexual violence against women on the streets was attributed to the police. Women exchanging sex for survival needs and those in drug houses also reported substantial violence by police officers.

Violence from police was not confined to women on the streets. Thirty percent of exotic dancers who had been raped said it was by a police officer. Exotic dancers also reported other forms of sexual violence by police officers, accounting for close to one-fifth of this type of violence. Twenty-five percent of women in escort services who had been robbed stated it was by the police, while 18% of women in escort services who were forced to masturbate someone said it was a police officer.

Neighbors

Finally, women in some venues were frequently assaulted by neighborhood residents. In the streets and drug houses and when exchanging sex for survival needs, neighbors were often second only to customers in the level of violence perpetrated. Approximately one-third to one-half of the sexual violence experienced by women in these venues was perpetrated by other residents of the neighborhood. Reports of violence by neighbors was particularly high for women in drug houses.

While women in off-street activities appeared to be less frequently victimized by neighbors, there was some violence reported. For example, 40% of the women in exotic dancing who were raped identified neighbors as the perpetrators. While women in escort services were not as likely to be physically assaulted by a neighbor, 37.5% of those who were robbed were done so by a neighbor.

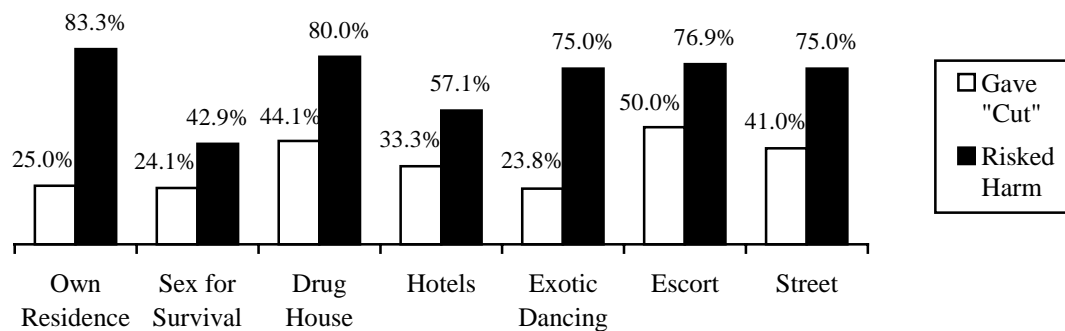
PIMPING

How many women gave some of the money they made in prostitution to another?

Large percentages of women gave the money they made in prostitution to someone else, and stated they faced violence if they ceased to do so.

The women were asked if, while working in each prostitution activity, they gave a percentage of the money they made to someone else. If they responded “yes,” they were asked if they would have been physically harmed or threatened had they stopped giving money to this person. As is apparent in Chart 5, many women were required to give a “cut” to someone regardless of the prostitution venue, with involvement of persons serving the pimp function the highest in escort services. Also notable is the large percentage of these women with pimps who believed they would be harmed if they refused to relinquish the money.

CHART 5
Respondents who Gave Money to Someone Else



There is evidence that the presence of a “pimp” and the fear of violence prevent some women from leaving prostitution. Respondents were asked, “Did you feel able to leave if you wanted and do something else for money or resources and exit safely from this work or involvement (if still current, do you feel you could now)?” At first glance, it appeared that many women did feel able to leave prostitution: 58.6% responded affirmatively, 27.0% responded in the negative, and 14.4% did not answer the question. However, we also examined responses to this question in relation to pimping and fear of violence, and found a significant association.

Respondents were asked about pimping and ability to leave at each stage of prostitution (activity one, activity two, and so on). At every phase, women who gave a percentage of money to someone else were significantly less likely to feel able to leave prostitution than those women who did not give money to anyone. The proportion of women who felt able to leave was even less when considering those who feared they would be harmed for failure to give money to this person. Specifically, within their first activity, 50% of the women who gave a cut to someone felt able to leave prostitution, and only 33.3% of those respondents who feared harm from the person to whom they gave money felt they could leave prostitution.

HOMELESSNESS

When the women were engaged in a particular prostitution activity, where did they live?

Large percentages of women involved in street prostitution, drug houses, and survival sex were homeless while they engaged in these activities. Many women involved in other prostitution activities did not have their own apartment or home.

The women were asked where they lived during most of the time they were involved in each prostitution activity. Table 2 reveals the living arrangements in seven prostitution activities. Women could identify multiple places as where they lived during that period of time; many women named multiple places of residence, illustrating their lack of stable housing. As is

evident in the table, large percentages of women involved in street prostitution, drug houses, survival sex, and hotels were homeless.

The majority of women, aside from those using their own residence as the prostitution venue, lacked their own home or apartment and found shelter with others. Some of these women may have had somewhat stable housing with friends or family, while others appeared to move around quite frequently, although this was not directly assessed in the survey.

Table 2. Housing and Homelessness: Where did Respondents Live?

	Exotic Dancing	Escort	Street	Drug House	Hotels	Own Residence	Survival Sex
(n)	(43)	(28)	(101)	(45)	(21)	(24)	(29)
Own apartment	59.5	63.0	13.0	15.6	38.1	70.8	25.0
Boyfriend/ Girlfriend's apartment	28.6	3.7	5.0	11.1	9.5	8.3	14.3
Partner's Parents	2.4	0.0	2.0	2.2	4.8	0.0	3.6
Parents	2.4	11.1	18.0	20.0	0.0	20.8	10.7
Shelter	2.4	0.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Motel	11.9	14.8	19.0	13.3	28.6	0.0	3.6
Friend	19.0	25.9	16.0	6.7	9.5	4.2	10.7
Trick	2.4	0.0	8.1	11.1	0.0	0.0	7.1
No Home	7.1	3.7	51.0	51.1	19.0	4.2	35.7

Note: Numbers presented in table are the percent of respondents within each type of prostitution activity who reported living in each venue. "n" indicates the number of respondents within each activity.

SUBSTANCE ABUSE

Were the women using drug and alcohol during prostitution activities?

Only small percentages of women stated they never used alcohol and drugs during prostitution activities, regardless of prostitution venue. Most women stated that they increased their usage in one way or another during the prostitution activity.

The women were asked whether their use of alcohol or drugs stayed the same, increased, or decreased while they were involved in each prostitution activity. Table 3 shows the results.⁵

Table 3. Percent of Respondents Reporting Drug and Alcohol Use Within Certain Activities

	Escort (n)	Exotic Dancing (28)	Own Residence (24)	Street (101)	Hotels (21)	Drug House (45)	Survival Sex (29)
Never Used	0	4.7	4.2	0	4.8	0	3.4
Same Drugs/More Frequently	42.9	27.9	41.7	25.7	28.6	35.6	31.0
More Kinds of Drugs	3.6	9.3	25.0	14.9	23.8	13.3	27.6
More Drugs/More Frequently	46.4	18.6	29.2	58.4	19.0	57.8	31.0
No Change	3.6	16.3	12.5	4.0	14.3	0	10.3
Same Drugs/Less Frequently	3.6	11.6	4.2	0	9.5	0	0
Fewer Drugs/Less Frequently	3.6	4.7	0	0	0	0	6.9
Fewer Kinds of Drugs	0	2.3	0	1.0	0	0	3.4

Note: "n" refers to the number of respondents providing information within each prostitution activity.

Only small percentages of women *never* used alcohol or drugs during prostitution, and no women in escort services, in drug houses, or on the streets never used any substances. The overwhelming majority of the women stepped up drug usage during prostitution. Only 7.2%

⁵ Some women provided more than one response, indicating that their substance abuse changed multiple times within that activity. Particularly if they were in an activity for a prolonged period of time, drug and alcohol use may have increased and decreased over time. For this reason, percentages in Table 4 do not add up to 100%.

of women in escort services 4.2% of women in their own residences, 1% in the streets, 9.5% in hotels, and 10.3% of women engaged in survival sex reduced drug or alcohol usage. It is notable that almost 19% of women in exotic dancing appeared to have lessened reliance on drugs or alcohol, and 16% indicated no change in drug or alcohol use while exotic dancing.

TRAJECTORIES

What were the prostitution trajectories of the women?

Large percentages of women who started in each prostitution activity did move on to other activities.

While some respondents reported that they only participated in one type of prostitution activity, the majority shifted from one type of activity to another. Furthermore, many of the women engaged in two or more activities simultaneously, for example, on the streets and at an escort service.

This section focuses on the movement between “inside” and “outside” activities – similar to the distinction often made between street and off-street prostitution. Activities were grouped together based on having a similar clientele, duration of the encounter, quality of the surroundings, and expected level of violence based on previous research findings.

For the purpose of this analysis, we categorized the activities as follows:

Inside

Escort Service	Parent/Guardian	Massage Parlor
Private Dancing	Brothel	Bar/Club
Exotic Dancing	Own Residence	Live Sex Shows
Live Internet	Someone Else’s Residence	Parties/Events
Photo/Film	Phone Sex	Institutional Setting
Madame	Peep Shows	

Outside

Street	Truck Stops
Survival Sex	Hotels
Drug House	

Our primary interest here was in examining what the final, or most recent, activity was for women who started in different prostitution activities. For example, if there is a pattern for women who begin on the streets, versus women who begin with exotic dancing? While some of the women had multiple activities between the first and last, we were specifically interested in their first and last activities. These findings show that women in prostitution engage in a variety of activities, both “inside” and “outside,” with no clear pattern emerging as to a common trajectory. Below are some highlights from this analysis.

Street Level

Seventy-seven respondents (34.7% of the sample) began prostitution on the streets. Thirty of these women (39%) engaged in street prostitution only. The remainder of the women in this

group participated in a full range of other prostitution activities (from one to 13 other activities). Eleven of the women beginning in the streets simultaneously engaged in other activities – these included drug house, survival sex, truck stops, escort service, and exotic and private dancing.

A total of 42 women, or 54% of those who began in the streets, subsequently moved on to other activities. Less than one-third (31%) of those women who began on the streets ended up in another outside activity. Of those who did, most reported drug house activity. The other 69% ended up in indoor venues – mostly in escort services, exotic dancing, pornography, and parties.

Drug House

Twenty-two women (10% of the sample) began prostitution in drug houses. Five of these women exclusively participated in prostitution in drug houses, and nine women engaged in simultaneous activities while in the drug houses. These simultaneous activities included street level, someone's residence, private dancing, hotels, bars, survival sex, and her own residence.

A total of 10 women, or 45% of those starting in drug houses, moved on to other activities. In contrast to the group of women starting on the streets, the majority (60%) remained in outdoor activities, primarily on the streets. However, several women did move into escort services and exotic dancing.

It is also worth noting that of the 26 women who began prostitution with survival sex, about half ended outside and half inside, falling somewhere between the street and drug house groups.

Dancing

There were 21 women (9.5% of the sample) who started out in private dancing, and 20 women (9% of the sample) who began in exotic dancing. About one-fifth only engaged in the one activity. Those who engaged in simultaneous activities with dancing were involved in both indoor and outdoor activities, such as streets, drug houses, and live sex shows.

About three-fourths of the dancers moved on to subsequent activities. In all, about 38% of these were outside activities, while the others included a variety of inside venues.

In Own or Someone Else's Residence

Sixteen women (7.2% of the sample) began prostitution in their own residence, while 14 women (6.3%) began in someone else's residence. The simultaneous activities reported covered a variety of indoor and outdoor activities.

Of the women who began in their own residence, 10 (62.5%) moved on to other activities – half indoor and half outdoor. The outdoor activities were primarily street-level prostitution, with most of those indoors doing exotic dancing or escort service.

The women who began in someone else's residence took a slightly different course. Many of them (78.5%) did move on to other venues, but only about one-fourth were indoor. Many of the respondents (64% of those with subsequent acts) ended up on the streets.

Escort Service

There were only 13 women (5.8% of the sample) who began as escorts. Of these 13, five women (38.5%) exclusively participated in escort services, with the remainder reporting two to five acts total. Three of the 13 simultaneously were on the streets, in truck stops, exchanging sex for survival needs, and being photographed or filmed.

Five of women who began as escorts moved into other activities. Many of these women moved into outside activities: five of the eight final activities reported (62.5%) included streets, drug houses, and truck stops. The three indoor venues where these women moved to were exotic dancing, pornography, and someone's residence.

HEALTH PROBLEMS

What are the current health problems of the women?

Large percentages of women currently suffer from numerous serious health problems.

The women were asked if they suffered each of 39 chronic health problems. The percentage of respondents reporting each health problem is listed below. The mean total number of health problems reported by respondents was 9.85 (data were missing for 47 respondents, therefore the mean is based on 175 respondents). There were 21 women (9.5% of the sample) who reportedly experienced none of the health problems.

Headaches or migraines	53.9%
Trouble concentrating	51.6%
Unable to sleep	50.9%
Sexually transmitted infect.	49.8%
Memory problems	48.6%
Stomach aches, ulcers	46.8%
Painful menstruation	44.5%
Muscle aches or pain	43.2%
Irregular eating habits	42.5%
Joint pain	41.9%
Shortness of breath	32.3%
Allergies	32.0%
Dizziness	29.7%
Constipation	29.2%
Vision problems	26.0%
Chest pain	24.5%
Hearing problems	24.1%
Pelvic pain	22.7%
Nausea	22.7%
Vaginal pain	22.3%
Abnormal pap test	22.3%
HIV positive	21.8%
Neck pain	19.5%
Rapid or irregular heart	19.5%

Younger age of entry was associated with having more health problems, and those who had ever been on the streets reported more health problems than those who had never been on the streets (a mean of 11.84 health problems compared with 8.13). Women with no history of childhood substance abuse also had fewer health problems: 6.35 health problems compared to a mean of 10.45 problems for those who had used substances.

Almost 22% of the 206 women responding reported being HIV positive. Thirteen women (5.9% of the sample) refused to answer or said they did not know if they were or not. Being HIV positive was associated with early entry into prostitution: 44% of those women with HIV started in prostitution by age 15 and 60% of the women with HIV began prostitution activities before age 18.

SUBSTANCE ABUSE TREATMENT

Have the women attempted drug treatment?

Large numbers of women have participated, often unsuccessfully, in drug treatment programs.

Sixty percent of the respondents stated they had participated in drug treatment. The mean number of attempts at drug treatment was 7.64. Almost 52.6% tried drug treatment five or fewer times, while 47.4% attempted drug treatment six or more times.

Detox

Eighteen percent of the women who had been in drug treatment had been through detox one time, 22.5% twice, and 25% three times.

Outpatient

One-third of those respondents who had been in drug treatment had been involved in outpatient treatment one time, and 16.9% twice.

Residential

Twenty-two percent of women who had gone through drug treatment had been in residential treatment one time and 23.1% two different times.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Have the women come into contact with the criminal justice system?

Large percentages of women have been arrested, and many at very young ages.

We asked the women about arrests in order to better understand the opportunities for the criminal justice system and social services to intervene with women who wished to leave prostitution.

Seventy-four percent of the 212 women who answered this question stated that they had been arrested at least once. Of those who had been arrested, 48.4% stated they had first been brought to the police station between the ages of 11 and 18. The mean age of first arrest was 18.52 years.

Almost 37% of these women had first been brought into the police station on prostitution-related charges, 17% on drug-related charges, and 28% on theft/shoplifting charges.

INTERVENTION

How can the women be reached?

The respondents most frequently identified outreach workers as the best source of reaching and helping women in prostitution.

The women were asked questions about what type of assistance and social service opportunities could best reach them while they were engaged in prostitution activities. The majority of the women identified outreach workers, both on the streets (73.3%) and indoors (65.7%), as a good source of information, followed by information at shelters (63.3%) as well as domestic violence programs (55.7%). Community newspapers were cited by 57% of the women, and *The Chicago Reader*, a free weekly newspaper, was selected as a source of information by 47% of the women. Half of the women identified churches as a venue for outreach, while the Yellow Pages was mentioned by 48% of the women answering the question. All of the proposed means of outreach were accepted by at least 40% of respondents, indicating that there are a variety of methods that may prove to be effective.

In response to an open-ended question about other possible avenues for outreach, respondents most frequently identified television, health care settings (doctors' offices, clinics, and hospitals), and public places (posters, flyers, billboards, and grocery stores).

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Our data challenge many current statements made about women in prostitution in the media and research literature, and mandate new approaches for service delivery and prevention.

EARLY ENTRY AND FAMILY OF ORIGIN

Prostitution is often described by its proponents as an act between two consenting adults. About 62% of our sample first traded sex for money before their 18th birthday, and almost three-quarters stated that while they were growing up someone suggested that they engage in prostitution to make money. Almost 33% of the entire sample had someone in their household while growing up who was engaged in prostitution, and large numbers of women reported there was domestic violence and substance abuse in their childhood household. Furthermore, many respondents reported having run away and used drugs or alcohol themselves while growing up. These data about early entry and household conditions make ideas of consent problematic and mandate a closer look at prostitution prevention strategies for young girls.

VIOLENCE

Little research has been undertaken with women in off-street prostitution to determine whether the generally high levels of violence on the streets are also faced by women in off-street venues such as escort services and clubs. However, the statement is often made that women in these off-street venues face less violence than those on the streets. In our sample, one of the first to include a sizeable sample of women in off-street activities in North America, large percentages of women in prostitution were subjected to high levels of violence, whether on the streets or “indoors,” from customers, managers, intimate partners, police officers, and neighbors. Half of the women in escort services, for example, reported being raped, and they and exotic dancers were subjected to a great deal of other violence as well, including being threatened with a weapon.

In addition, many women reported that they participated in two or more activities simultaneously and also moved on to another prostitution activity. For example, three-quarters of the women who began in exotic dancing progressed to additional activities, and many of these were “outdoor” activities such as streets, survival sex, drug houses, and hotels. Whether the experience of violence occurred while dancing or on the streets, it was likely that these women would have been exposed to some form of violence.

Our violence data, when combined with information about the women's trajectories, mandate that we not strive to make strict distinctions or demarcations among different prostitution activities in terms of violence. Many women exiting prostitution will need assistance and support to recover from the effects of this violence.

PIMPS

One issue under current dispute is to what extent pimps are still involved in U.S. prostitution. The statement is often made that pimps no longer control the business to the extent that they did previously, although very little recent research has been undertaken to substantiate this claim, and the research that has been undertaken has mainly concerned the more visible street women. In our sample, many women, regardless of prostitution venue, stated they gave a percentage of the money from prostitution to someone else, and they reported they would face violence if they stopped giving money to this person. Women involved with pimps were significantly less likely to feel able to safely leave prostitution. Combined with the frequent experience of violence in prostitution, these data indicate that control by another remains a factor for large percentages of women in prostitution, which has important implications for social service delivery. To exit safely from prostitution, many women will need safety planning and a safe haven.

HOMELESSNESS

Large percentages of women involved in the "outdoor" venues – street prostitution, drug houses, survival sex, and hotels – stated they were homeless while engaged in those activities. The majority of women across almost all activities did not have their own apartment or home, but rather stayed with friends, family, at shelter, or in motels. These data show that in order to leave prostitution most women will have a need for safe and affordable housing.

SUBSTANCE ABUSE

Many people believe that women engage in prostitution in order to finance their drug habits, and that substance abuse treatment for women is the solution to helping them leave prostitution. In addition, many assert that substance abuse is prevalent among women on the streets but not as much of a problem in other prostitution venues.

Our data show that only small percentages of women never used alcohol and drugs during prostitution activities, regardless of prostitution venue, and most women stated they increased their usage during prostitution. This increase in substance abuse within the various prostitution activities raises the possibility that prostitution is not a result of substance abuse, but that the substance abuse followed entry into prostitution. Women may be self-medicating to numb themselves from the effects of prostitution and violence, or they may be encouraged to increase drug and alcohol use by the prostitution or adult entertainment environment itself. It is also likely that some women do continue in prostitution in order to support their addiction. Whatever the sequence and cause of the substance abuse, our data indicate that women across all types of prostitution are susceptible to substance abuse and addiction.

The complex interaction of prostitution and substance abuse mandate the establishment of substance abuse treatment alternatives that can comprehensively deal with drug, violence, and prostitution issues simultaneously, and that can help provide the safe and secure housing that prevents recidivism. This need is supported by the fact that the majority of respondents had unsuccessfully attempted drug treatment, many several times. Better coordination of services and more comprehensive services would increase a survivor's chances of staying clean and not returning to prostitution.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM INTERVENTION

Nearly one-half of the women who had been arrested were first brought to the police station between the ages of 11 and 18, and almost 37% were brought in on prostitution-related charges. These police station interactions provide an excellent opportunity for early intervention with social service programming that could provide alternatives to prostitution. These key occasions for prevention and intervention are currently being missed. In addition, the frequent reports of violence against prostituted women by police officers, including forced sex, needs investigation and disciplinary action.

OUTREACH

The women provided useful suggestions for providing outreach to women and girls in prostitution, indicating that in-person contacts, as well as information in community newspapers such as *The Chicago Reader*, would be effective in providing women in prostitution with information about services that can assist them in leading healthier and safer lifestyles. Many respondents specifically noted that outreach efforts should target young women.

LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSION

LIMITATIONS

Although the respondents were asked if they felt able to leave prostitution, they were not asked if they wished to leave prostitution. As a result, we are unable to determine what proportion of women in prostitution are there due to violence, substance abuse, homelessness, and the other issues discussed, versus by choice. It would be valuable to know what differences exist in the lives of women who report they choose to work in prostitution, versus those who report being there by force or circumstance.

This research project was designed within a framework of prostitution as a form of violence against women. While this conceptualization is accepted by many service providers, advocates, and researchers, it is inherently biased. It was previously explained that this sample was not random, and therefore is not representative of all prostituted women in the Chicago metropolitan area. Because of the bias of the surveyors, it is likely that this sample is more representative of women who do want to leave prostitution.

CONCLUSION

This research provides information around which a more responsive social service response to women and girls in prostitution can be built. It is clear that the needs of women in prostitution, and those who may be trying to leave prostitution, are complex, and intervention programs need to be prepared to address all of the interwoven issues, including homelessness, substance abuse, health problems, and the effects of chronic violence in these women's lives. In light of the significant number of women entering prostitution prior to age 15, early intervention should be a priority in any programming.

In August 2001 the Prostitution Alternatives Round Table (PART) was created in Chicago. PART is a network of approximately 35 social service providers and government agencies dedicated to putting the pieces of such a response together in the Chicago metropolitan area. We hope that this report can form the basis for informed planning, discussion, training, and advocacy by PART members.

APPENDIX

PROSTITUTION ACTIVITIES DEFINED

Bar or Club based: Prostitution is arranged for customers of the bar or club

Brothel: Group of women engage in prostitution in one home

Domination/Submission: Specific type of activity in which domination and submission fantasies are acted

Drug House: Exchanging sex for drugs, specifically in a drug house

Escort Service: “Dates” are arranged through organized service

Exotic Dancing: Nude or semi-nude dancing in a club or bar

Exchange Sex for Survival Needs (Survival Sex): Trading sex for food, housing, drugs (but not in a drug house), or other needs, but not money

Gang-related: Form of prostitution required as part of gang membership (identified by one respondent)

Hotels: Prostitution in hourly rate hotels or motels

Live Internet or Internet photos: Paid to engage in sexual activities on Internet broadcast, or to post photos on a web site

Live Sex Shows: Paid to perform sex for an audience

Madame: Collecting money from running a brothel

Massage Parlor or Health Spa: Trading sex for money under the cover of massage or similar establishment

Own Private Residence: Trading sex for money in one’s own home

Parent/guardian arranging child prostitution: Adults arranging prostitution activities and making money by prostituting a child in their custody

Parties or Events: Sex for money at arranged party or special gathering

Peep Shows: Exotic dancing performed separated from the customers by glass, with “pay for view.”

Phone Sex: Receiving money for providing sexual stimulation over the phone

Photographed or Filmed (Pornography): Receiving money for posing for pornographic photographs or being filmed

Private Dancing: Both incall and outcall, providing private shows (not for general audience, like exotic dancing)

Sex with Family Members for Money: Being paid by relatives to engage in sexual activity (identified by one respondent as her entry into prostitution as a child)

Sex for Luxury Items: Trading sex for items such as jewelry, furs, other expensive gifts (identified by one respondent)

Sex for Needs in Institutional Settings: Trading sex for special needs or privileges in an institution, such as a jail, mental health facilities, homeless shelters, etc.

Someone Else's Residence: Trading sex for money out of someone's home, other than one's own home

Street: Soliciting customers on the street

Truck Stops: Trading sex for money at highway rest stops/truck stops