Female Juvenile Prostitution: Problem and Response
Female Juvenile Prostitution: Problem and Response

December 1992

U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice

This document has been reproduced exactly as received from the person or organization originating it. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the National Institute of Justice.

Permission to reproduce this copyrighted material has been granted by
Public Domain/OJP/OJJDP
U.S. Department of Justice

to the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS).
Further reproduction outside of the NCJRS system requires permission of the copyright owner.

© National Center for Missing and Exploited Children
Acknowledgments

We wish to acknowledge the efforts of the contributors to this book who have conducted interviews and/or written and reviewed the material. These contributors include, from the

National Center for Missing and Exploited Children: John B. Rabun, Jr., A.C.S.W., Theresa A. Delaney, and Suzanne Weller


Office for Victims of Crime, U.S. Department of Justice: Melanie Smith

Paul & Lisa Program, Inc.: Frank Barnaba, Susan Breault, and Mario Gaboury

Public Administration Service: Kristine E. Hurlburt, M.S.

University of Pennsylvania, School of Nursing: Ann W. Burgess, Carol R. Hartman, Robert K. Ressler, and René Smith

WHISPER Program: Evelina Giobbe

This book was researched and written under Grant #90-MU-MU-K001 awarded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention and the Office for Victims of Crime, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. The Assistant Attorney General, Office of Justice Programs, coordinates the activities of the following program offices and bureaus: the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the National Institute of Justice, the Bureau of Justice Assistance, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, and the Office for Victims of Crime.

This book was printed by the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC), a national clearinghouse and resource center, and funded under Cooperative Agreement #92-MC-CX-K001 from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice.

Points of view or opinions in this book are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Printed on Recycled Paper
Contents

Preface.....v

Introduction.....vii

1. Case Histories.....1

   Female Juvenile Prostitutes.....1

   Characteristics and Summary Findings of Interviews
      With Female Prostitutes.....13

   Pimping and Strategies for Procurement.....17

   Characteristics and Summary Findings of Interviews
      With Pimps.....27

2. Establishing a Program to Help Victims of Child Prostitution.....31

   Overview.....31

   Eleven Crucial Steps.....31

   Three Essential Services That Need to Be Provided.....34

3. Case Study: The Paul & Lisa Program, Inc.....37

   Organization and Management.....37

   Implementation of Program Services.....41

Appendices.....49

I. Prostitute Matrix.....51
II. Pimp Matrix.....57
III. Resources.....59
IV. Sample Forms for Executing a Program to Help
    Victims of Child Prostitution.....61
Preface

Each year thousands of children run away from home, are forced out of their homes, or are simply abducted by their parents or guardians. The National Incidence Studies of Missing, Abducted, Runaway, and Throwaway Children (NISMART), conducted by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), estimates that in 1988 more than 450,000 children left home and stayed away at least overnight. Another 127,000 children were thrown out of their homes or asked to leave by parents or guardians.

Some of these children leave home to escape physical or sexual abuse or neglect. Unfortunately, many end up on the streets. Without legitimate means of support and a safe place to stay, they are often victimized again through pornography, sexual exploitation, and drugs.

Sexual victimization of these homeless children occurs in every state. Outreach workers in New York City estimate that children as young as 8 years old are forced to prostitute themselves for money, affection, and drugs. Some children are held in virtual bondage. They have multiple sex partners on a daily basis and are bought and sold by exploiters. Many contract diseases such as tuberculosis (TB), hepatitis-B, gonorrhea, syphilis, chlamydia, and HIV/acquired immune deficiency syndrome. They often are malnourished and practice poor hygiene, leaving them vulnerable to disease.

These children rarely have the opportunity to experience the simple joys of being a teenager—learning to drive, attending school dances, and graduating from high school. They are robbed of their childhood and thrust into a life of turmoil and danger.

Currently outreach workers in New York City are seeing new patterns emerge in the use of physical assault upon juveniles involved in prostitution and the recruitment of juveniles for the production of pornography. Juvenile prostitutes contacted through outreach show signs of assault including bruises, whip marks, and black eyes. Young people are sometimes branded or tattooed denoting "ownership" by the pimp and obedience by the youth. Pimps use violence (requiring emergency medical care) and threats of violence as a means of discipline ensuring obedience. The customers also physically abuse juvenile prostitutes. Incidences of rape, stabbing, threats of violence are not unusual. An increase in the number of juveniles being offered large sums of money to perform acts of sadomasochism has been recognized. Many of the young street prostitutes have been offered money to perform in amateur pornographic videos.

Child pornographers, like other sex offenders, seek victims in places where youth gather: shopping malls, fast food establishments, nonalcoholic clubs (juice bars or under-21 clubs), and through unethical "modeling" agencies. The fact that juveniles are being recruited from the community both for pornography and prostitution is most disturbing and strengthens the resolve of outreach workers to make our youth "street smart," helping to ensure their right to a normal, healthy, corruption-free childhood.

In recognition of the need to help these young victims of exploitation, the U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention and Office for Victims of Crime have funded this book to help organizations and individuals understand
more about the problem of child prostitution and to provide better services to address this problem in their communities.

This book is not the result of a scientific study as it can be difficult to delve into the world of child exploitation. It is an examination of a few case histories of female juvenile prostitutes and pimps. It provides the reader with a view of teenage prostitution from the eyes of those youths engaged in it as well as those who have profited from it.

While the existence of prostitution has been acknowledged as an age-old problem, little is known about the recent explosion of juvenile prostitution and its abuse and exploitation of America’s youth.

One final note: males also enter the world of teenage prostitution; however, this book looks just at the female prostitute. Thus the reader is advised not to generalize this information for the dynamics may differ.
Introduction

Chapter 1 of this book provides the reader with select case histories from fourteen interviews with female prostitutes and six male pimps. At the time of these interviews all were adults; however, each one entered “the life” as a teen (or younger). Strategies of procuring and “pimping” juvenile prostitutes, how juvenile prostitutes and pimps entered into the system of prostitution, how they sustained themselves there, and how they viewed those who came to them for services are discussed. Case histories were selected from a sample of interviews of former prostitutes who began prostituting as juveniles and who were involved in two outreach programs, Paul & Lisa, Inc., and WHISPER. Both programs work primarily with female prostitutes. In addition, interviews were conducted with six ex-pimps known to the WHISPER program from different parts of the country.

Chapter 2 offers insights on how to identify the extent of the child prostitution problem within a community and establish a program to better address that problem. Chapter 3 provides a case study of the Paul & Lisa Program, Inc., and their work with juvenile prostitutes in Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York.

From the accounts by these participants, we can derive some understanding of how they have to adapt to survive and what has to be available in order for them to relinquish these patterns and leave prostitution. The juveniles and pimps are discussed from separate vantage points.

The Myths The social phenomenon of female juvenile prostitution is a serious problem that is difficult to understand and troublesome to acknowledge. The fact that young girls are finding their way into the complex system of prostitution is often met with disbelief. Many myths and stereotypes exist about prostitution. Without an understanding of these, one cannot fully appreciate the exploitation factors that exist for the juvenile.

Myth 1: Prostitution is a natural expression of sexuality and a necessity for inadequate sexual relationships.

This view supports a sexual myth that men have uncontrollable sexual urges that must be fulfilled. Herein lies a justification for prostitution. The juvenile prostitute is dehumanized by the implication that prostitutes serve a useful purpose as an object for sexual gratification.

The reality, as described by our sample of former juvenile prostitutes, is that juvenile prostitutes are often appalled at and damaged by the acts demanded of them. Their participation is often a threat to their physical well-being. The act of prostitution is structured by the desires and fantasies of the customer, which are incongruent with the desires and sensitivities expressed by the young women in this sample.

Myth 2: Prostitution is a victimless crime.

Prostitution creates a setting whereby crimes against men, women, and children become a commercial enterprise. When a customer uses a juvenile prostitute for his or her own sexual gratification, he or she is committing the crime of child sexual abuse. It is an assault when he or she forces a prostitute to engage in sadomasochistic sex scenes. When a pimp compels a prostitute to submit to sexual de-
mands as a condition of employment, it is exploitation, sexual harassment, or rape—acts that are based on the prostitute's compliance rather than her consent. The fact that a pimp or customer gives money to a prostitute for submitting to these acts does not alter the fact that child sexual abuse, rape, and/or battery occurs; it merely redefines these crimes as prostitution.

**Myth 3:** Juveniles freely choose prostitution.

The following self-reported data on the impact of child abuse shows that victims of violence can lose their sense of psychological and physical well-being. Case histories suggest that a number of juveniles engaged in prostitution grew up in abusive and/or neglectful homes. A fragile self-esteem and limited resources lead some young girls to believe that they have no other choice but to enter the world of prostitution.

**Myth 4:** Prostitution can be an exciting and glamorous life.

Cultural mythology about prostitution is built on misinformation and fantasies of sexuality that are promulgated through movies, television, videotapes, and printed material including pornography. These may entice naive young women into prostitution with false promises of glamour and riches. In reality juvenile prostitutes suffer pain, humiliation, and degradation at the hands of their pimps and customers. They are susceptible to sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies.

**Myth 5:** The system of prostitution offers wealth to the participant.

The economics of prostitution are complex. If a juvenile is controlled by a pimp or madam most, if not all, of his or her earnings are turned over to the pimp or madam. If working independently for a house of prostitution a large percentage of his or her earnings are turned back to the house. Their lives are strictly controlled, and their ability to set up independent funds is carefully guarded. Part of the strategy for control over their activities is for pimps and madams to keep them economically dependent upon the system of prostitution itself. Any profit is often spent as rapidly as it is obtained, reinforcing the efforts that go into prostitution. A rapid turnover of “feel good or look good” money into immediately expendable, positively reinforcing products perpetuates the need for continued participation in prostitution.

**Myth 6:** Prostitutes have power and control within the system.

Reports from these female prostitutes concerning their exchange of sex for money illustrates the reality that they are controlled by their customers. The demands for money placed upon them by their pimps with the instructions to charge accordingly for what the customer wants illustrates a continuum in which the more involved or more deviant the sex act the more that can be charged. These juveniles report being raped and beaten. Sometimes they have been kidnapped or held against their will, taken to deserted areas and abandoned, and robbed or not paid. In some cases they are murdered. The majority of victims in the "Green River" murders are known to be female prostitutes under age 21. (The murder of 48 females has been attributed to the "Green River Murderer." These cases are referred to as the Green River murders because all the victims were discovered in or near the Green River in the state of Washington. In addition, between 1978 and 1986, there have been more than 140 unsolved female homicides in King,
Pierce, and Snohomish counties in that state that may also be related to the "Green River Murderer.")

Once involved with a pimp, the prostitute loses autonomy. The more involved one becomes, the more difficult it is to leave. The ability of the prostitutes to find recourse for violations committed against them is limited. Assaults are rarely reported to law enforcement officers. The unwritten “code of conduct” discourages contact with law enforcement in regards to reporting abuse. Also these women often function under the belief that they are responsible for the consequences of their own involvement in prostitution. The pimps who claim to protect may, in reality, “discipline” the prostitute for any perceived shortages of money.

Myth 7: Prostitution is a deterrent to sexual crimes.

This myth provides faulty justification to prostitution and pornography. There is no evidence that prostitution deters sex crimes. In fact the opposite may be true. Prostitutes can be victims of violent acts including rape and murder. Young prostitutes can be easy victims for perpetrators. Pornography can feed their fantasies about women and prostitution. Rather than these phenomena being a deterrent, they may reinforce sexual violence.

Myth 8: Prostitutes are from specific socioeconmic groups.

Teenage prostitutes come from all socioeconomic groups. While other common denominators exist (drugs, alcohol, child abuse), there is no causative relationship with socioeconomic status.

Myth 9: Juveniles make an educated decision to become prostitutes.

The following case histories support the fact that entry into prostitution may begin in the teens or earlier. These histories reveal that the majority have been sexually abused as children—usually by fathers, stepfathers, or other trusted adults. Many also suffered physical abuse and neglect. For most of these young women the only way to stop the violence was to run away from home. Young, frightened, with limited skills, and unable to find shelter, teenagers are easy prey for pimps who promise them friendship, romance, and riches. Once involved in prostitution both pimps and customers replicate the abuse these teenagers endured in their families.

Myth 10: There are laws to control prostitution.

Historically there has been an unequal application of laws prohibiting prostitution. Until recently only a few customers and even fewer pimps were arrested or convicted.

Myth 1.: There is a difference between being a high-class prostitute and a street walker.

The most prevalent fantasy is that of the high-class call girl who is typically envisioned as an independent, sophisticated businesswoman whose rendezvous with well-heeled executives in luxury suites are intellectually stimulating, sensual interludes for which she is handsomely compensated. The following account by one such prostitute dispels that myth:

I was a New York City call girl with my own book. My johns had careers in the fashion industry, fi-
nance, law, and the media. I visited them in their homes, offices, and at well-known hotels like the Plaza. I also worked for madams in well-established brothels around the city.

However, this is where any resemblance between my experience and the mythical call girl ends. I was a young teenage girl, not a sophisticated woman. I wasn't an independent agent, but controlled by a brutal pimp who had a stable of women. People believe only streetwalkers are drug addicts, but I abused drugs until well into my twenties. It was my only way I could cope with the physical, sexual, and emotional abuse that defined my job.

As for my well-heeled clientele and their fancy hotel suites, all I can say is, whether you turn tricks in a car by the Holland Tunnel or in the Plaza Hotel, you still have to take your clothes off, get on your knees or lie on your back, and let this stranger use you in any way he pleases. Then you have to get up, get dressed, and do it again with the next trick, and the next.

In the movies, call girls make lots of money which they invest in legitimate businesses when they retire from the life. It's taken me close to twenty years to undo the damage that was done to me in prostitution. Not only did I leave prostitution impoverished, I was totally isolated from mainstream society. The only people I'd had contact with for almost a decade were pimps, tricks, and other prostitutes. I was deprived of a basic education. I had no job skills. My health was severely compromised. I required surgery and repeated medical treatment for reproductive damage and remain infertile.

In addition to these tangible issues, I've coped with the trauma resulting from years of emotional, physical, and sexual abuse that is common in the lives of prostitutes. Like battered women who escape abusive partners, women escaping prostitution must totally rebuild their lives.
1. Case Histories

Female Juvenile Prostitutes

A primary method of procuring a juvenile for prostitution is through the use of feigned friendship and love. Often the prospective pimp will identify and fulfill an unmet need of the target youth. A combination of seduction and intimidation appears to be the most common approach used by pimps to recruit young women into prostitution. In these situations, pimps typically frequent areas where juveniles are apt to congregate such as shopping malls, videogame arcades, and bus stations.

The initial phase of procurement is essentially an information-gathering mission in which he attempts to identify the youth’s vulnerabilities. The pimp can be friendly or flirtatious, depending on which approach gains the best response. During this initial conversation he encourages her to tell him information about herself that he will subsequently use to seduce her. Is she a runaway? Why? Is she window shopping looking at clothing that she cannot afford? Is she a truant tired of the restrictions of school and her parent’s rules? Does she perceive herself as gawky, unattractive, unpopular? The pimp then uses the information that she naively provides him to tailor his recruitment strategy or “rap” to meet what he perceives her needs to be. If she is a runaway he will offer her food and shelter and vaguely hint at the possibility of a job. Are her parents too strict? He will commiserate with her, tell her she’s too smart, too mature, to have all of those restrictions. Is she lonely? Does she consider herself undesirable? Then he will fawn over her. Pimps then use a combination of flattery and charm, the promise of money, protection, companionship, and intimacy to “con” a young woman into prostitution.

This chapter includes excerpts from four interviews with women who became prostitutes as teenagers and six interviews with men who became pimps.

Karen At the time of the interview Karen, a 31-year-old woman who had completed the sixth grade, had been out of prostitution for five years. She had been in prostitution for thirteen years beginning when she was 13 years old. Her only paid employment prior to entry into prostitution was babysitting. Karen was separated from her husband (also her pimp) and had custody of their five children, ages 6 through 13. At the time of the interview Karen was in hiding from her pimp and working as a bookkeeper for a small, nonprofit agency in a rural area where she and her children lived in subsidized housing.

Family Background Karen was raised by her natural parents in the suburbs of a moderate-sized Midwestern city. She is one of eight children. Karen described her family as upper middle-class. They owned their own home and each of the children went to parochial school.

Karen described her father as a strict authoritarian who often frightened her by yelling. Although she described her mother as supportive, she complained that her mother often unfavorably compared her to her sisters. There was no history of alcoholism or drug abuse in the family, nor any criminal activity. Karen never experienced or witnessed any physical or sexual abuse in her home. According to her account, the two biggest problems in
her family were that her parents compared her siblings to each other and that they were not physically demonstrative. Karen said:

They never expressed their love.... I never saw any affection. They always compared everyone to everyone else. I could never be up to their... standards. All my sisters had a talent. One could do real good art work, another one could crochet, another one could sew, another one could bake, and one was real good in sports. And I always tried to do all [those] things, and be just like them, but I was never good enough.

Karen stated that she suffered from performance anxiety in school, freezing up during exams. She also said that she was unpopular with her peers and attributed this to her feelings of unattractiveness:

I was the tallest girl in the school and my class, so I mean all the boys were shorter than me, and I had big ears, and I had red hair, and I had freckles, and I wasn’t one of the perfect people. You know, I just never believed I would ever get anybody.

Recruitment Karen was 13 when she met Mark. He was 18 and fresh out of prison. Mark had been involved with the juvenile courts from age 7 and had been arrested for numerous offenses, including car theft, simple assault, robbery, assault with a deadly weapon, and assault on a police officer. Karen was playing hooky that day—she had never skipped school before—when he approached her at a bus stop where she was standing with a schoolmate.

He had this kind of trench coat on and this hat and then he had a beard and the hat was tilted to the side. I mean pimp written all over him...I[said], ‘God, this man is gorgeous, but I know he’d never come talk to me.’ So we ran across the street, you know, and you know we’re talking, and all of a sudden he came up behind me, and he [said], ‘Hello. What’s your name?’

Mark was the first young man to pay attention to Karen. She left her friend and went to a local ice cream parlor with him where he subsequently invited her to his brother’s apartment. During the bus ride he pointed out some local prostitutes and told Karen that “these women really care about their man. That’s the kind of woman I want.” Karen was confused by his remark; she thought the women were just waiting for a bus. Karen was also intrigued by Mark. “I always wanted a different life. I wanted some excitement out of my life.... I think the biggest thing why I went with Mark was because he looked ‘gangsterous.’”

When they arrived at the apartment Mark left Karen with an older woman who had two black eyes. At this point Karen began to feel a bit frightened:

I remember looking out the window and thinking, ‘How am I going to get out of here?’ We [were] on the third floor and he left me there. He said he’d be right back. And it’s like I didn’t know this woman. I didn’t know what was
going on, what was going to happen to me, or anything.... And he had made this comment to her about, make sure I don’t leave. So it was like, so, God, you know, ‘Where am I going to go now?’

When Mark returned a half hour later he seduced Karen. She was a virgin at the time. Afterwards he attempted to persuade her to engage in prostitution. Karen related, “[W]e decided, and did ‘it.’ And then he’s talking about making...some money. And just for me—because he’s just out, he doesn’t have a place of his own—[we] could get our own place...he [said] he wanted me for his girlfriend and that’s all it took. So I went out and did my first trick.”

Prostitution Mark arranged Karen’s first date as a prostitute. She was so nervous that she forgot to get the money:

He told me everything I had to do. There [were] three rules: one was get the money first; another one [was] only take less than ten minutes; and third, you don’t tell [the customer] anything. He [said], I’ll go in there and make all the arrangements. All you got to do is just have sex with him and leave him.’ That’s what I did, but I forgot to get the money. I told him my name [and] he wouldn’t let me go after ten minutes. Mark didn’t get his money. I got slapped across the face because I told him I didn’t want to do it ever again.

Karen believed that this was going to be a one time thing, but the next day Mark put her out on the street and told her to “just stand there...people will stop...all you gotta do is ask them. Just don’t talk to anybody. Don’t talk to anybody that you think is gonna harm you or anything, and I’ll be right there, and you can just give me your money when you’re done, and that way nobody will rip you off.”

When Karen was about 14 or 15, she told Mark that she wanted to leave prostitution. According to her, “He laughed at me. He asked me what else I was good for? One time...I refused to go out to work, but I’ll never do that again. He went crazy, he took a two-by-four and just continued to bang my head in.”

The Abusive Relationship Mark subjected Karen to emotional and physical abuse throughout their relationship. “I remember him filling up the bathtub with hot...water and putting his gin into it, and I had open sores, and he made me sit in this bathtub.” Mark was also sexually abusive to Karen. She said, “I was his property. Do what he wanted. A lot of times it was just pleasing him. A lot of times he held a gun to my head, telling me I had to continue sucking...that if I fell asleep, or if I bit him—if my teeth touched him—he’d blow my head off.”

Karen and Mark lived a transitory life during the thirteen years they were together moving from place to place to avoid the police or being evicted for not paying their rent. Although they occasionally rented an apartment or lived in motels, most of the time they and their children lived in the home of Mark’s grandmother. Karen idealized Mark’s grandmother. “She was almost like a mother to me. She took care of my kids; she took care of me. She used to tell me some stories about her life;
I knew she was a really wise woman. She always understood where I was coming from because she would tell me, why do I let him beat me and all this, [that] I deserve more than that. [She was] just someone I could talk to."

Karen had little contact with her children who were usually under the watchful eye of Mark or one of his female relatives. She attempted to leave Mark on several occasions over the years. Mark used a combination of emotional manipulation and terrorism to get Karen to return home, often using her children to lure her back or threatening her family. "He threatened to take [the children] from me and keep them away from me.... He threatened...if I didn’t come back that he would go to my family’s house; he would rape my little sister...." When she was 19, Mark devised a punishment that was to keep Karen bound to him for the next seven years:

I had taken off and came back to him, and I always knew that there was a punishment coming for taking off.... [O]ne day after work he just took me to this one apartment building...he was talking real quiet about me taking off and all [that], so I knew it must be coming. So I had a kind of warning of it. He just told me that the reason he had to do this is to teach me a lesson because he love[d] me and I [had] really hurt him and he [didn’t] want to hurt me, but if he didn’t do anything to make me pay for what I did that I would call him a wimp’ and wouldn’t have any respect for him....

We went into the bedroom after he first said that he wasn’t going to do [anything]. He just decided that he wasn’t going to hurt me because he loved me so much, and we started making love and [I’m] really feeling like he’s treating me to this night off, and then he gets up and he leaves the room and comes back and he ties me up...where I really can’t get loose and I didn’t know if I was going to get beat or what, but he told me he wasn’t going to hurt me so I believed him. And he took this belt, and he starts whipping me.

I don’t know how long that went on and he [said], ‘You think that’s all you deserve?’ And I said ‘no.’ He [said], ‘This hurts me more than it hurts you,’ which is a typical line he always used, and he grabbed the dog, and the dog knew just what to do. And he said, ‘This just shows how worthless you are.’ I lost a lot of respect that day. He took pictures of it, and he told me that if I ever left him again that [those pictures] would be mailed to my family. I stayed with him for almost seven more years after that.

**Prostitution History** Karen primarily solicited her customers on the street and occasionally in adult bookstores (peep-show booths) and in pornographic movie theaters. Over the years she collected the names of steady customers and called on them during her pregnancies when it was more difficult to solicit outside. She turned tricks through her ninth month. "A lot of it was hand jobs; a lot of times [the customers would] just suck my breasts so they could get milk."
On rare occasions her pimp would arrange dates for her. The actual sex acts she engaged in with her customers took place in any available place, including cars, motels, her (or her customer's) apartment, hallways, alleyways, public bathrooms, and secluded beaches. She also had sex with customers in the aisles of pornographic movie theaters and in peep-show booths.

Karen worked every day after her first date. In the beginning she saw two customers per day, but by the time she was 16, her pimp raised her quota, forcing her to have contact with as many as fifteen to twenty men per day. On average she received between $15 and $20 per customer, and occasionally as little as $5. The actual sex act took approximately ten minutes. The most common acts she engaged in were masturbation, intercourse, and fellatio. She tried to avoid anal intercourse and being tied up when possible. Karen, however, rarely refused any requests (some of which were photographed or filmed), including acts involving urination and defecation, lesbian shows with other young prostitutes, sadomasochism (S & M), bondage, and discipline. She related, “This guy used to dress me up as—[I] didn’t have to really dress up, I was—this little girl. I had pigtails in my hair, blowing bubbles. And he would spank me.” She refused, however, to allow her customers to kiss her on the mouth.

Karen states that she did not enjoy sex with her customers, and if her body occasionally responded to their physical manipulations she was unaware of it. She said that she particularly hated having to engage in any conversation at all with her customers, including sex talk, and coped with their sexual demands by disassociating herself from the events:

I left my body. Very seldom I was ever there. I had a good technique for leaving. I knew where I was at, I mean I knew what they were doing, but it was like I have no feeling.... It was my survival. That was a way of knowing that they might have my body, but they’re not going to get me.

**Customer Violence** Karen estimated that she was raped by customers on approximately fifteen to twenty occasions. She defined rape as a situation in which a customer had sex with her and then refused to pay or took back the money after the act. These situations commonly entailed a customer driving her to a deserted area, forcing sex at knife point, and abandoning her there. Karen also described being literally forced by her customers to engage in sex acts that she defined as assaultive or abusive in spite of the fact that she was paid. On one occasion she was forcibly sodomized. On other occasions customers would ejaculate in her mouth against her expressed wishes, then force her to swallow their semen. Other times they would force intercourse a second time against her wishes. Karen expressed an extremely negative response to the sex she was compelled to engage in as a prostitute, emphatically stating that she was “...raped by all of them. Anytime someone did it and I didn’t want to do it, [which was] every time I turned a trick.”

Karen estimated that she was beaten up by customers on approximately thirty separate occasions—usually within the context of a robbery or a sexual assault. After one such assault she required medical attention for a knife wound. She was also the victim of kidnapping by customers on three occasions when she was held against her will for several hours and sexually assaulted.
Health Implications

Over the years Karen sustained numerous injuries by both her pimp and customers, some of which have had a long-term impact on her health:

I've had three broken arms, [my] nose broken twice, [and] I'm partially deaf in one ear.... I have a small fragment of a bone floating in my head that gives me migraines. I've had a fractured skull. My toes have been broken. My feet, bottom of my feet, have been burned; they've been whooped with a hot iron and clothes hanger.... I have scars; I've been cut with a knife, [beaten] with guns, two-by-fours. There hasn't been a place on my body that hasn't been bruised somehow, some way, some big, some small.

In addition there are many emotional effects to prostituting. Karen related that "I quit feeling, I think.... I don't cry anymore. I wasn't allowed to cry, so I quit crying, and that's what I miss most because there's times I just want to sit down and cry, and there's no tears anymore."

Motivation

Karen was ambivalent about her motivation to become a prostitute. Although she said that her initial motivation to become a prostitute was to have a relationship with her former husband, her loneliness, low self-esteem, and need for attention were striking as she perceived herself as a young teenager. She said, "I wanted to please him. I wanted him to want me, and I knew if I didn't [become] a prostitute that he wouldn't want me, and I didn't want to be alone.... [H]e's the only one [who] ever paid attention to me. He's the only one [who] ever told me he loved me. And everything that I thought was bad about me, he said was good."

Adolescent attachment to persons outside of the family social circle is often a response to lack of attention in the home rather than to an attraction to the individual. Karen's unhappy home situation, not unlike many other women and girls used in prostitution, left her vulnerable to the recruitment tactics of a pimp. Karen, however, was motivated, in part, by fear. "I believed my only choice was to tell him no, get beat up or killed because I'd seen the violent side of him. I mean, I knew he was in prison for cutting this man's throat."

Whereas both seduction and fear were factors in her recruitment, it was ultimately blackmail, coupled with other tactics of power and control, that prevented Karen from escaping her pimp. In a short time she felt that she could not turn back.

By the time I got into it, when it had been a month... I knew that no one else would ever want me now that I had turned all these tricks. And I was scared he was going to tell my mother... he knew everything about me. I told him everything and I didn't know too much about him at all.... I didn't tell my family because they would look down on me then... that it was my choice or it was my fault.... I didn't tell the police because... when they arrested me for the first time for prostitution I gave them my false name and I was young, and I had to act tough, and I was scared, and then I had a police record, because he told me not to tell anybody. And I did
everything he told me. He told me that he'd be watching me. He was always there.... He told me from day one that he would always know where I was at, he'd know when I was messing up, and I would pay for it.

In spite of the emotional and psychological manipulation she was subjected to by her pimp beginning at the age of 13 and the overt violence he used to control her over the following thirteen years, Karen still felt that she had somewhat made a choice to engage in prostitution:

In a sense I made a choice. I could have left. But I knew that if I left, that I don't know what would've happened to me...if he would've killed me. I didn't think I could survive on my own, and I couldn't go back home. I didn't have anywhere to go, so at first, when he first brought it up to me, I had a choice. I feel I could've said no and walked home. But I don't know, after seeing the beating that I went through, and maybe not. Maybe he wouldn't have given me a choice. I don't know.

Yet she expressed regret at “not having a childhood, [losing] thirteen years of my life that I'll never be able to get back again...never, ever feeling like I'm a clean person.”

**Mode of Exit** After thirteen years in prostitution Karen found herself homeless and impoverished at age 26. “I came in with nothing and left with nothing. Came in with the clothes on my back and left with the clothes on my back and five kids. And the clothes on their backs.” She was only able to escape prostitution through the help of a battered women’s shelter.

Karen’s situation exemplifies how psychological abuse and manipulation led to a deep sense of alienation not only from her family, but from peers and other adults. Karen was vulnerable to the feeling that she had a “special” relationship with her pimp. Her fantasies of being with a handsome man pulled her into a situation that was threatening beyond her expectations. Her account indicated her fears when under the watchful eye of the woman recruited to guard her. At this point in time Karen became a hostage and then a victim in being identified as a prostitute.

The repeated trauma from sexual abuse and beatings led to classic stress responses of emotional and physical numbness, hypersensitivity, and thought disorganization. She also experienced intrusive images of being raped, beaten, and humiliated. Karen's response to all this included drug taking and compulsive involvement in the prostitution process. It is as if she escaped into the process to maintain a sense of distance from disturbing thoughts. Karen’s response to the trauma was exacerbated by a lack of basic biological needs of stable sleep patterns and good nutrition.

The fragmentation of interpersonal relationships further disrupted her capacity to emotionally attach to a safe person, and her judgment regarding who and what was safe were eroded. She had an awareness of being marked and different from others. This enhanced her sense of dependency upon the pimp.
Cheryl was 28 years old at the time of the interview, a former prostitute, and the eldest of twelve siblings. She was abstaining from sex because she could not stand to have anyone touch her as the contact made her feel physically ill. She was very angry at men. "Whenever I see a man, I see him in one of two ways: either a trick to be used...or either a pimp and someone out to use you. It is safer just to stay away."

Family Background Cheryl’s parents divorced when she was 6 or 7 and she lived with her mother, who remarried. Cheryl’s stepfather began sexually abusing her when she was 10 years old. In the fourth grade she began using drugs. The abuse stopped when, at age 14, she left the home.

After beginning to prostitute at age 14 Cheryl dropped out of school. She was picked up by police for prostitution and was returned to her biological father by juvenile authorities. During this period her father brought home his best friend who sexually abused her. She became pregnant and had a daughter when she was 16. She returned to the street where she was exploited by her pimp.

Recruitment Her prostitution began at a bar whose clientele included pimps, prostitutes, drug dealers, and both young men and young women. Cheryl found the environment exciting. It was there that she met Michael who befriended her and provided her with a place to stay so she would be able to leave her abusive home. He had sex with her and began to pressure her to prostitute herself. Some of the verbal strategies he used to procure her for prostitution included telling her there was "no reason to be embarrassed," "she might as well be paid for sex," and that there was "no shame in the game."

Prostitution History Cheryl’s experience with her customers taught her to always get the money first. Cheryl learned the “rules” from listening to the other prostitutes and observing her customers. Her pimp did not provide any instructions.

Cheryl described traveling around the country with her pimp and working out of motels, saunas, and massage parlors. Cheryl, however, felt the safest in open spaces. She took customers to the park assuming police passing by would think they were lovers.

Cheryl married one of her customers for financial reasons and to “dupe” her family. She stated:

The trick was a regular of mine. He had lots of money. My pimp told me [that in order] to get the money, I’d have to marry him, and I would have access to material things. The trick professed he was in love with me and he wanted to take me away from all this. He did not know I had a pimp. If he did, he probably would never have married me. I was 18 at the time and the trick was 28 or 29. We had a real wedding with my family. This worked to my advantage too. It threw my family off the track of what I was doing again. It was a thing throughout my career that I did things to throw them off the track to make them think I was straight and not hooking. I needed their approval; at the same time I needed them to leave me alone so I could do what I needed to do.

The marriage lasted only two months during which time Cheryl gained access to her
husband’s financial resources and gave money to her pimp. She began to feel lonely; she missed her pimp. She walked out on her husband and returned to the pimp.

Cheryl married a second time around age 20 to one of her mother’s friends. She had two children (a daughter and a son) with this husband, and the marriage lasted for two years. The husband began physically and sexually abusing her daughter, which prompted Cheryl to leave. After a bitter custody battle the husband gained custody of their infant son, and Cheryl gained custody of their daughter. In addition to her pregnancies, Cheryl had four abortions.

Cheryl strove to be a “good” prostitute. She learned quickly how to do the least for the most amount of money. She devised a system whereby she could avoid being in an isolated place with customers. She avoided intercourse with them, as much as possible; refused to allow any anal sex or acts of bondage to be performed on her; and instead resorted primarily to manual and oral stimulation. She tried to lead a double life by keeping her prostitution a secret from her family.

Cheryl lived in fear that her family would see pornographic films taken of her. Pornography was an important part of her activities with customers. She and other prostitutes would exchange films with one another and charge customers for viewing them. They had to hide these films, particularly in the houses of prostitution, as the madams would try to abscond with them for financial gain.

Health Implications Cheryl was badly beaten by her pimp and various customers. She was addicted to alcohol and drugs, primarily amphetamines. In addition she had hepatitis and had to be treated several times for sexually transmitted diseases. At one point she learned that she had an ovarian cyst and was told not to engage in sex. She needed to make money, however, and did not feel she could take time off for surgery. The cyst ruptured. Cheryl recalled, “I was turning tricks for two days while I was bleeding internally and didn’t know it. I was leaving the hotel and all of a sudden blood poured out, and I passed out. I was almost dead by the time they got me to the hospital, and I had to have emergency surgery.”

Mode of Exit Cheryl was ambivalent about prostitution. She was coerced into believing the things that she did were actions to be proud of (e.g., she was clever, she tried to avoid certain types of sex, and she attempted to get lots of money). By age 22 she began feeling she was in decline, a feeling that was tied to the physical damage she was undergoing. But the fear of moving out into a perceived hostile world in which she would not be accepted overrode her urges to escape that lifestyle. By the age of 26 her health was failing and although she needed the money from prostitution, she recognized her increasing rage toward the customers. She consciously noted that these factors contributed to her decision to leave prostitution.

Cheryl’s history demonstrates how early abuse and neglect led to behavior that increased her risk of turning to the streets for protection and comfort. Cheryl was victimized very early in life and her drug abuse began in elementary school. The early abuse and Cheryl’s response to it was reinforced by the continuous abuse she met on the streets. As Cheryl left prostitution, she was plagued by the memories of her earliest abuse before drugs and before prostitution. Prostitution had been a continuous, ugly replay of her early years of life.
Lana, interviewed at the age of 33, was a former prostitute who received help from the Paul & Lisa Program (see Chapter 3). She stated her reason for volunteering to be interviewed was, "[The] Paul & Lisa [Program] helped me when I needed help, and I thought if I could return that help, I was happy to do it. I don't want to see anyone exploited. If this helps young people, I hope that they themselves some day will be able to help others."

**Family Background** Although an only child, Lana had many cousins and other relatives. Her father owned his own store, and her mother worked in the store with him. She grew up in an urban area, and her family's economic status was comfortable. During high school she used alcohol and some drugs.

According to Lana her father beat her from age 3 until age 16 when he died. She remembered spankings and his telling her she was an incorrigible little girl. When she was 12 he began to hit her not only in front of her mother but in front of all the relatives. He would gather relatives weekly to watch her being bare-bottom strapped and spanked for periods as long as up to thirty minutes. She claimed no one else in the family was beaten, and she said she believed "I was a bad girl and deserved everything I got." She described her relationship with her father as one in which she constantly tried to please him, but she seemed to always get in trouble with him. She felt that she always got in his way. Her relationship with her mother, on the other hand, was described as "extremely good" and currently remains "good."

**Recruitment** Lana was 14 when she first heard about prostitution, and she described being introduced to it several years later by a man she met who was on furlough from prison. Lana was "down and out" and had no money when the man introduced her to a pimp. The pimp convinced her to try prostitution because it guaranteed her the money that she needed. Her first trick was straight intercourse. She felt guilty afterward but was willing to try again. She began prostituting regularly after the first trick. She turned tricks for an average of eight to ten hours each day.

**Prostitution History** Lana began to use drugs heavily after she became a prostitute. Lana did not stay with her first pimp long. She met a madam at a sex party and was recruited to work in a house of sadism. The madam's tricks usually lasted an entire evening because the prostitutes would be used at parties. Lana soon learned that a number of the customers were parolees. The madam was a woman in her fifties who had two children, a son and daughter who attended universities. The madam had a variety of legitimate business enterprises as well as the prostitution ring, and she lived in a middle-class suburb.

**The Abusive Relationship** Lana had a sexual relationship with the madam, who whipped and spanked her. Lana considered this a love relationship and believed that the woman cared for her in a "perverted way as a daughter." She felt watched over and supplied with an adequate amount of money.

Lana described herself as bisexual stating that her experience with lesbianism was gained through prostitution. She said she enjoyed being treated roughly. She had to perform all kinds of sex acts, as well as S & M. The customers were from all socioeconomic classes and included transvestites, transsexuals, and women.

**Health Implications** Lana contracted venereal diseases on several occasions. She has never been pregnant. She said some of the S &
M scenes were so rough that they probably had an emotional affect on her.

**Mode of Exit** Lana left prostitution at the age of 30 because of the AIDS epidemic and because people were encouraging her to leave, including Paul & Lisa Program staff members who gave her support and direction for legitimate employment. At the time of the interview Lana was working full-time in a supermarket chain, supporting herself and her mother, and was living in the family home. She also was looking for a man she can trust enough to have an intimate relationship with, wondering, however, if men want intimate relationships.

She recommended support groups for people leaving prostitution. According to Lana, many of the women in prostitution do not believe there is anything else they can do in life. Many have children, and Lana claims that is why many women remain in prostitution. "If they had other means," emphasized Lana, "other jobs or opportunities and some therapy, they would be able to find alternatives to prostitution." Her wish is to have enough money to take care of herself and her mother into their old age; to be happy and to be able to do some traveling; and to find someone to settle down with who would love her, take care of her, and like her mother.

There are several important points regarding Lana's case. First, Lana led a dual life that in many respects paralleled that of her madam. Lana did not believe any of her friends knew she was a prostitute. In turn, the madam was a "role model" who presented a visible legitimate life to the world and to her family. She had a legitimate business, a nice home, and children who went to the proper schools. The other half of her life was involved in prostituting and in having the "perverted daughter."

This dual life represents her positive connection to the world as well as her negative one.

Second, Lana's prostitution can be seen as behavioral reenactment of the trauma suffered at the hands of her father. The prostitution and especially the sadomasochistic beatings reinforced her bad self-image, which originated with her father. Lana was paid and admired by the madam and thus felt "special." Lana's behavior protected her from dealing with the terror and rage she felt toward her father. During the interview Lana expressed irritation, anger, and resentment with questions and the interview process. This anger appeared to be a defense mechanism against memories that trigger acute feelings of the pain and memories of the beatings by her father and the madam.

Third, the system of prostitution described by Lana was an organization with a network of prostitutes aimed toward men in a prison furlough program. There was considerable drug usage among the men and the prostitutes. Some of the networking was through word-of-mouth and some through advertising in magazines for men looking for women. That these men were on furlough suggests a hidden potential control that the madam held over the men; she could turn them in for violations of the terms or conditions of their release. This control is probably an important aspect of managing the S & M and sex rings (i.e., keeping the violence under control).

Jane was a 25-year-old mother of two when she was interviewed. She was pregnant by her pimp/lover with her third child at the time of the interview. She had never been married.

**Family Background** There were five children in Jane's family: two boys and three girls. When Jane was age 7 or 8, her parents di-
vorced. Jane was very upset about her parents' divorce, despite the fact that she had witnessed a great deal of physical fighting between her parents, and both parents used marijuana and other drugs. When Jane was 3, her mother said that Jane was "bad." She claimed that this perception was shared by her entire family. According to Jane she went to live with her father because "I was too hard for my mother to handle."

Prior to her parents' divorce Jane was abducted at knife point and raped by two neighborhood teenaged boys. The boys were prosecuted and incarcerated.

Both Jane's parents remarried and the drug use continued in both "new" families. Jane's stepmother was physically abusive to Jane. Her father ignored the beatings or was absent from any involvement. Teachers began to report their observations of bruises on her body when she was 13 or 14. She subsequently was removed from the home around age 15. She lived in one foster home and was found too difficult to manage in a family foster care setting. As a result Jane was sent to a series of group homes. System demands resulted in multiple placements of Jane in different facilities. She dropped out of school in the tenth grade. In between living in the group homes she lived on the streets.

Recruitment Jane was returned to her father's home later that same year. She continued to fight with her stepmother who called her derogatory names and again told her to leave the house. After appealing to and being rejected by her biological mother, Jane briefly stayed with a friend until her friend's parents made her leave.

Jane finally found a home with a young male prostitute. They needed money for food and shelter. He suggested that Jane turn tricks for money and told her how to do so. The first trick Jane tried to turn was with an undercover policeman. She was arrested and the youth authorities tried to return Jane to her father. After this failed she returned to her male prostitute friend. Next Jane became pregnant by a boyfriend and had an abortion.

Prostitution History After the abortion Jane lived with a group of teenagers involved in prostitution; then went to live with a woman who had a pimp. This man, who came from a religious family and who had other prostitutes, became Jane's pimp. Jane and her pimp traveled for their prostitution activities. Jane became pregnant by her pimp and went to live with one of his sisters. She continued in prostitution while pregnant. She gave birth to a baby boy. Jane lived with her pimp and had a second child, a girl. Jane and her pimp's family took care of the baby.

Jane had rules for her customers. She did not kiss her customers and did not allow them to touch her breasts. She would perform S & M. Some of her regular customers would pay to have pins stuck through their penises. Jane worked massage parlors and the open street. She was abused both physically and sexually by her customers.

Jane had "wives-in-law," 13- to 18-year-old girls she directed and controlled in prostitution. She also collected their earnings. When Jane was asked her thoughts about being a prostitute, she indicated that she had freely chosen to enter into prostitution when she needed money. She believed that men need prostitutes. Although she stated that prostitution is not a good behavior, she argued that the money was important. Most of her money, however, paid for cocaine for her pimp. The importance of the relationship with the pimp was that she felt safe with him and believed
she was in love with him, but she was not always sexually attracted to him. Nonetheless she would become furious if any other prostitute made a move toward him; there is a bond with him.

From her standpoint the key factors in her entrance into prostitution were her stepmother’s abuse, her biological mother’s rejection, and the unresolved trauma of the childhood rape. Jane did not link this rape to her choice to become a prostitute. (She linked the rape to her fear of men and sexual indifference.)

Jane had serious psychological symptoms of anxiety and stress including night terrors. If left alone at night, she awakened frequently. She had recurrent dreams of a man trying to enter her room and kill or chase her.

Jane was arrested numerous times for prostitution. She was assigned to a prostitution program but did not feel it helped her because she felt she had the right to make her own decision about prostituting. At the time of the interview she said she would like to be able to help other women leave the street although she is not capable of leaving herself. She feels they do not understand what prostitution is doing to their bodies.

Jane drove a long distance to participate in the interview as her way of helping other women. She has confided in “straight” (nonprostituting) friends about her prostitution. Some understood while others told her to keep it a secret. She feels she was labeled as a prostitute. She thinks men see her as available and can contract with her for sex. Jane may be in the beginning stages of recovery, which was being facilitated by a court order for her to obtain help.

Characteristics and Summary Findings of Interviews With Female Prostitutes

Although the sample size was small, the self-reports gleaned through interviews resulted in clusters of similarities related to female juvenile prostitutes. While conclusions cannot be reached, the groundwork is in place for more formalized research.

Family Background and Pathway to Prostitution  Physical, sexual, and psychological abuse are common in the families of origin of these female juvenile prostitutes. Parental substance abuse and violence were often common denominators. Numerous divorces were found.

The role of psychological abuse was quite prominent. In the case of Karen it was the primary process that alienated her from her family. With the other women the psychological abuse was accompanied by extensive physical and sexual abuse. The effects of the psychological abuse had tremendous impact on the young women, such as Karen, when they reached pubescence. Despite efforts to remain in school or hold a job, many finally turned to the streets. Once on the streets recruitment and seasoning were similar. Cajoled and convinced that no alternatives and no other way to obtain money existed, they turned to or were coerced into prostitution. Previous abuse, resulting from increased vulnerability and a sense of isolation, betrayal, and alienation all played a role in the juvenile’s inability to reject prostitution.

Type of Prostitution Even though some of the survivors initially started by freelancing their prostitution activities, they quickly became engaged by a pimp. The extent of control by
the pimp is a function of the girl's perceived need for care and protection, regardless of the brutality employed.

The type of prostitution practiced by the girls is best determined by the context in which contacts are made with customers and the extent of perceived personal control of the customer over the prostitute. Most of the women were involved in street contacts and "out calls" whereby they were called to men's rooms/apartments, worked out of motels, massage parlors, adult bookstores, or "front" stores. Sexual acts involved males and females and all forms of sexual activities such as bondage and sadomasochistic acts. All of the subjects were involved in pornography.

An interesting observation is the relationship of the juvenile to the pimp. The pimp is cast into the role of benefactor/boyfriend with the juvenile having a difficult time acknowledging that he is a pimp. In this type of relationship, more control is noted in the prostitute's relationship with her clientel. While this did not always shield her from violent assaults, she was aided by the positive attention of the pimp or his efforts to protect her.

Violence Violence appeared to be an accepted aspect of prostitution. The young women experienced extensive violence from pimps through beatings, sexual assaults, and humiliation. The pimp might invite his acquaintances to gang rape the prostitute. Most of the women report being assaulted and robbed by customers or being forced to commit acts they found offensive. The newly recruited juveniles, also known as "wives-in-law," were coerced by the more seasoned prostitutes and would be offered to customers for acts the older prostitutes did not want to perform.

Physical and Mental Health All of the women interviewed had extensive health problems ranging from heart trouble to chronic liver disease to sexually transmitted disease and HIV exposure to infertility. Multiple partners, drug abuse, alcoholism, poor nutrition, and minimal health care all contribute to these problems.

Clinical evaluations were not done, however, the emotional impact of years of abuse, exploitation, and humiliation can be assumed. Most of these women reported feelings of numbness and would remove themselves psychologically from their bodies during a sexual act with a trick. Psychologically these women developed strategies to justify, minimize, and create illusions of control, choice, and purpose. Various defense mechanisms were employed. They attempted to establish rules of what sexual behavior would be tolerated and what would not be accepted. The strength of their relationship to their pimps appeared to make a difference in the degree of protection they established for themselves. Jane, in the review of her prostitution activities, tried to minimize the degrading actions on the part of her customers and pimp. The other women related instances when their lives literally were threatened as a result of their attempts to invoke their rules of personal integrity. Nevertheless we found in the case of Jane and the others that the physical and psychological tolls were discernable in their confused statements. For example Jane, while finding prostitution degrading and blaming herself for being a prostitute, insisted that her prostitution was a free choice and then claimed that prostitution is necessary to meet the needs and nature of men. She proffered sympathy for the customers but reiterated how she "hates" men and cannot tolerate sex.

The Customers There are some interesting dimensions to the juveniles' relationships with their customers. Most of the women reported deep anger and hatred toward them. Only a
few had selected relationships with customers that they described. One had a “sugar daddy,” an older man, who sent her money without an exchange of sex. The pimps encouraged such relationships because they offered sources of income. A few women reported long-standing relationships with certain customers with whom they might meet regularly. These relationships were described as friendships whereby there was a feeling that one could ask for favors and financial assistance. One woman had a brief marriage to a customer.

**What Keeps Prostitutes in the Life?** It is an illusion that prostitutes have control in their work. In order to survive the violent life of prostitution, juveniles develop an illusion of control over aspects of the prostitution process. In the case of Cheryl, she refused to allow any anal sex. She would negotiate with the pimp or customers to get someone else to participate in the activities she refused. She would not allow bondage. She would tie up and beat men but not allow that activity to be performed on her. There were times when, in conjunction with a friend, she would steal money from a customer or hold out money from the pimp or madam. Jane talked about the various strategies she used in order to have a room so that when she was done turning tricks, she would have a place to sleep.

**Money** The stories of each of the women interviewed revealed their unrealistic beliefs that hold them in prostitution. The initial premise that is used by pimps and customers to entice juveniles into this lifestyle is that prostitution brings wealth. Making money becomes the focus, and brutality is condoned, as is pain, degradation, and death.

The excitement, conning, dealing, shrewdness, and personal status for the prostitutes center on money. Yet when the prostitution activity ended there was no more income. Money is one of the lures backing the activity of prostitution and pimping, and behind that illusion is alienation and a degraded sense of self. In reality money is seen as a link to personal survival which is the original criterion that gave many young women the final push into prostitution.

The prostitutes consistently spent their money on drugs, clothes, and basic necessities. Usually they were not allowed to have their own cash. They had to go through elaborate efforts to get money to send home to families or their children. While they talked about how much money they made (possibly $2,000 on a weekend), they did not see that money. Yet, as Cheryl did, they became compulsive about how much money they could make and bring in.

A typical business “contract” with a house of prostitution provided the prostitutes one meal per day and possibly medical care for sexually transmitted diseases. The prostitutes paid for linens, laundry, additional food, toiletries, and clothing. Money for these necessities was taken by the madam before the women ever received cash for their own use. This was deducted after the initial 40 to 60 percent of gross was taken by the madam.

**Pseudo-Identities in Prostitution** It is typical for women to assume different identities (appearance and name) while in prostitution. There are practical reasons for this: to attract customers who are always looking for someone new and to avoid detection by law enforcement, the courts, and others. At one point during her life in prostitution, Karen claimed she was diagnosed as a multiple personality. According to Karen:

> When I would work the street I wasn’t Karen. Karen’s this person
[who] cares about people, [who] has feelings.... When I was on the
street Candy would come out. Candy didn’t care about [any] one
but herself. Candy was tough, Candy was a survivor. Karen is a
real mild, meek person that people could destroy easily. Karen was 13
years old. Karen didn’t know [anything]. Karen still has me today.
Karen has come a long way. Karen had quit growing at 13. Candy
took over, or Randi, or Susie, or how many others all took over.
Those are the ones [who] survived that life. Karen would not have
survived it.

When asked how she felt about being diagnosed a multiple personality, Karen replied:

What I think is that was my survival technique. That’s how I
survived...I stopped growing at age 13.... I did what I had to do to
survive.... There’s times that I believe[d] I [had] a split personal-
ity, but that’s okay. It’s not this split, split personality that people
[would say] ‘God, this woman’s crazy!’ It’s a split personality that
can make me survive.

Exiting Prostitution Exiting from prostitution in early years is fraught with dangers
from within the system and rejection and aban-
donment from without. All of these women
demonstrated that as time goes by and they
reach their late twenties and thirties, the main-
taining features of prostitution no longer hold
sway. They are less marketable. There is little
money, safety, or protection. Gradually some
respond to a helping hand and begin to work
on leaving the business. The integration into
straight life is not easy. The memories of
prostitution haunt them and play a role in
their sense of feeling “different.”

Some of the factors that deter women from
continuing in prostitution are

- an increased dislike of the customers
- an awareness that they have gained no
  financial security from their activities
- health issues
- age
- incarceration
- outreach by streetworkers

These issues occur, in part, with personal
reflection that often accompanies growing
older. This review can trigger a recollection of
the extensive abuse to which they have been
subjected, as well as the realization that pros-
titution is a repetition of earlier abuse pat-
terns. As a result there can be an extreme
intensification of rage towards themselves and
their customers, who they now perceive as
offenders.

In summary, a troubled and abusive fam-
ily history is common in the life histories of
juvenile prostitutes. The type of prostitution
practiced by juveniles is determined, in part,
by their relationship with a pimp. Violence is
an accepted part of prostitution and nega-
tively impacts physical and mental well-be-
ing. Although many of the juveniles have a
negative reaction to their customers, several
reported positive relationships. In order to
survive, juveniles developed an illusion of
control over their work with money becoming
the focus and reality. Typically juvenile pros-
titutes assume different identities while in
prostitution and for practical reasons, to at-
tract new customers and to avoid detection.
Exiting prostitution is fraught with dangers
but was accomplished by all the women in this small sample by age 30.

Pimping and Strategies for Procurement

It is instructive to hear from pimps themselves about how they view their entry into pimping and their strategies for procuring and maintaining prostitutes. A group of six pimps were interviewed. Four agreed to the interview provided they were paid. The negotiations for the interview illustrate what these pimps prized as their skills: hustling and conning. For example one pimp would not continue the interview unless he was paid additional money. He then attempted to strike a deal with the interviewer that if he brought in another pimp, he would be paid a finder’s fee.

The interviews extended over a two- to three-hour period. The pimps were paid $50 per interview. Of the pimps who were interviewed, their value system was such that “some money is better than no money,” and “no matter what you do, you always get something for it.” As one pimp said, “Ten dollars is better than no dollars, so every bit counts.”

In essence the value system exhibited by these pimps was supported by the premise that “anyone can be purchased.” Those pimps were willing to sell for the lowest price as well as for the highest price. Ultimately they would sell out for any price.

Al and Joe At the time of the interview Al, aged 41, and his 39-year-old brother Joe had been convicted of conspiracy to commit murder, had served thirteen years of a fifteen year prison sentence, and had a long history of being involved in prostitution.

The two brothers were raised in an unstable, middle-class home environment with an older sister and a younger brother. Their father had childhood polio that left him disabled. His sons believe this handicap led to his heavy use of alcohol. As a result the father was unable to hold a steady job. Their mother worked as a private-duty nurse. Al and Joe were raised by their maternal grandparents apart from their parents. Their parents would visit on occasion, and the boys had most of their parental contact with their father.

While their father was frequently intoxicated, their mother had bouts of depression resulting in a number of suicide attempts. The brothers witnessed family arguments including beatings inflicted on their parents by their paternal grandfather. Al and Joe attended military school for two years between the ages of 10 and 12. Their sister became pregnant at age 15, ran away from home, and never returned to the family. The brothers described their grandfather as the disciplinarian who was strict, fair, and dependable. His death, which occurred when Al was 18, was a major loss for both brothers. Joe admitted to drinking heavily as a teenager. Al denied drug or alcohol use.

Al started snatching purses as a teenager and before the age of 16 had committed assault with a deadly weapon and stolen a car. At age 16 Al and another teenager robbed a grocery store and spent one year at a reformatory. During his incarceration Al listened to the older inmates talk about criminal activity. Al shared two important lessons that he learned in the reformatory. First, as the youngest in the institution, he was vulnerable to sexual advances by other inmates. He discovered that if he fought them, the harassment would stop. Second, he learned that organized crime offered him an opportunity to make money.

Al claimed that after the reformatory he did try to get into legitimate business activities but, without an education, he was only able to
get a job washing cars. He reflected that, when he was released, he found his former buddies' behavior too juvenile. In addition his former interests and his new criminal interests did not match.

Al joined his brother Joe initially after reform school and did some construction work and house painting. Al smashed his finger while working and was put on state compensation. That gave him money and time off from work. He claimed he drifted into fencing stolen goods because he could make in one day what he made in one week working construction. He added illegal gambling to his new-found business.

Al had decided in reform school that he wanted to make a lot of money as quickly as possible. He renewed a friendship with a high school girlfriend who also had been in reform school. He claimed she suggested they go into the prostitution business. She had a trick book and told him how she was approached for the business. The book had been compiled from names of customers coming through a house of prostitution where she had worked. Al estimated the cost of a good trick book at the time was approximately $10,000.

Another young woman joined the team, and Joe began pimping the two women. The three were arrested after police raided the apartments they had used and discovered carefully documented trick books containing the names of well-known people, among them a prominent criminal lawyer, a socially active architect, a judge, several businessmen, and several professional athletes. While in jail they met another prostitute who referred them to a lawyer who defended many prostitutes. The trio pleaded guilty to misdemeanor charges, and their sentences were suspended. They then moved the business to another section of the city.

Over a five-year period, from 1968 to 1973, Al estimated “working” hundreds of prostitutes. He claimed his enterprise had a good reputation because the prostitutes were protected and had periodic health checkups. Apartments were used as meeting places on both the east and west sides of town.

Through their gambling enterprises the brothers met many pimps and prostitutes. These relationships furthered their education, and they decided to invest and expand their prostitution business. This expansion consisted of procuring additional names of customers and purchasing and managing various apartments throughout the city. These apartments housed the prostitutes and brothels. Some of these subsidiary enterprises were managed with the assistance of madams.

Al drove elaborately decorated and equipped limousines. He dressed in flashy clothes: blue, purple, or green suits with patent leather shoes to match. He bought horses and a boat. Although only in their twenties, the brothers had built a network of contacts from doctors to bartenders who referred clients to them.

Prostitution was not only a means of making money, it was also an opportunity for the brothers to associate with the “underworld characters” they admired. They liked the "gangster role" and wanted to be the top procurers of prostitutes.

The brothers worked hard. Along with their thriving prostitution business, they developed legitimate interests. Joe’s business card identified him as an investment broker. The brothers bought beauty shops because that gave them access to more women. Al bought commercial property and apartment buildings. They consolidated all of their businesses under one holding company.
When Al and Joe were arrested for interstate prostitution, agents had prepared a search warrant. They located ledgers that revealed the brothers had earned $250,000 during the previous five years in prostitution alone, or $50,000 per year, tax free.

During the interview Al and Joe discussed how they worked as pimps and differentiated levels of the business. The lowest level being street prostitutes. High risk was involved because of exposure to law enforcement, potential customers, and the community. Drugs were often involved, and the prostitutes tended to be young. In addition Al and Joe revealed that, both at the street level and at what they defined as higher, more sophisticated levels of prostitution, interstate transportation of prostitutes took place. The pair viewed this aspect as comprising risks they wished to avoid. Federal prosecution of interstate transportation cases is usually rigorous with tough sentences and fines.

Al and Joe also discussed the fact that control of the prostitutes often involved threats and violence. Recruitment required seduction and time. The more lucrative and less risk-laden organization relied on a trick book as well as on contacts made through legitimate escort services. The brothers acted as booking agents. They would be contacted by a customer and would either dispatch one of their prostitutes or contract with another pimp or madam. They arranged for the time and location of the meet.

Al and Joe described the prostitutes they most frequently worked with as coming from a variety of backgrounds. They defined one group as consisting of “housewife prostitutes.” These were women who freelanced and came into the city from the suburbs one or two nights a week “to make money.” Al and Joe claimed these prostitutes were bored and wanted some excitement. They viewed these women as most desirable candidates, apparently receiving the preferred assignments. The more expensive services tended to be provided by attractive women dressed specifically to appeal to the upper middle-class clientele or those customers who could afford to pay high prices.

Price was also set by level of deviancy and perversion. Young children, bondage, and sadomasochistic sex were at the expensive end of the scale. Al and Joe made a point that they were not the primary source of this latter group of prostitutes, but they did have contacts who could provide these services.

Al and Joe talked about how they worked as pimps and about their perceptions and values regarding the prostitutes. They claimed that every prostitute wanted to be one by choice. They emphasized that pimping was a business proposition, the wise pimp did not use coercion, and the prostitutes were free to come and go.

These statements were contradicted, however, by the pimps’ description of how they recruited and maintained the prostitutes. Al and Joe emphasized that the prostitutes were dependent and wanted to remain dependent. The job of the pimp was to find out exactly what these young women wanted and to use their “wants” to control them and hold them in a relationship. They described how the first step was to befriend the young woman and not even raise the question or suggest that she become a prostitute. During that time the pimp provided care and attention. For example if the teenager was a runaway the pimp would find shelter for her, sometimes taking her back to his own place. Sometimes he would turn her over to a madam who understood how to enhance the dependency of the young person. Often this special friendship created an emotional bond between the young woman and the pimp.
Somewhere at the juncture of this established dependency a move was made to initiate and define the young woman as a prostitute. The pimp would engage her in sex and in some way force or coerce her into having sex with another person. Sometimes the pimp would deliver her to another pimp who gained control through beating her and informing her that she was committed and sold to him. The message was "he owned her." Then the woman was "turned out" to the streets to work.

According to Al and Joe the pimps and prostitutes watched for the young and vulnerable. They evaluated what the young woman needed, created the dependency, and then took advantage of that dependency. Transients or street people, including runaways, were motivated to prostitute for money, food, clothing, shelter, and drugs. Sometimes runaways banded together and shared their money. But more likely runaways were spotted by pimps loitering in bus stations who approached the teenagers almost as they exited the buses. Pimps and madams worked street prostitutes hard because they knew their time was limited. Young prostitutes tended to burn out or leave the streets.

Al and Joe established their territory (a bar, corner on a street, or truck stop) by maintaining their domain and keeping other pimps, prostitutes, or madams from coming into their area. Violence was a danger to runaways in these high crime areas (areas involving drugs, pornography, or topless/strip bars). The pimp or prostitute might even have victimized the runaway if it appeared that the teenager was cutting into his or her territory. Often he or she would "rescue" the runaway or act as her protector, thus fostering dependence.

Andy is a 29-year-old pimp who is separated from his common-law wife of five years with whom he has stepchildren. His wife is not a prostitute, but at the time they began living together, she knew he was a pimp. Difficulties in the relationship revolved around the fact that while Andy lived in a house with his wife, his prostitutes lived in other apartments that he frequented.

At the time of the interview Andy was living with another young woman who is not a prostitute. He claimed to work full-time at a car wash.

Andy stated that pimping was his life. He grew up in a small town in the South where he was very poor and neglected. The family moved frequently when he was young. At age 11 Andy left the family to live for six months with a woman who was a prostitute. During this period of time Andy defined himself as "her pimp."

The woman introduced Andy to the world of prostitution. As her pimp his job consisted of bringing customers to the apartment or hiding in the closet while customers came to the apartment. He was instructed about what to do if any violence occurred (e.g., to run and get help). Andy claimed that through this woman he began involving himself with other prostitutes and negotiated being their pimp.
After six months Andy returned to his family. While he was gone his family (mother, father, four sisters, and one brother) continued their transient lifestyle. His parents abused alcohol and their job searches generally met with failure.

Andy denied that violence and abuse were present within the family structure. Rather he presented a picture of unpredictable parents who, on occasion, could rally to take the children fishing and admonish them to work hard in school. Beyond that his parents had little to offer and retreated from the world by drinking.

Andy claimed he first had sex when he was 6 years old with a 5-year-old girl. At age 18 he was charged and convicted of assault on a boy and possession of drugs. He consequently served five years in prison, although he denied the charges. His victim was the son of his prostitute.

Andy considers himself a loner. For two years he dealt drugs, but claimed he did not get any satisfaction out of using them. He stopped dealing claiming to make as much money in prostitution. At the time of the interview he considered himself an alcoholic. He said his alcoholism started when he got out of prison. Andy denied any victimization in prison.

Andy claimed that he never knew another pimp like himself. He said, "[Pimping is] life; it's reality. This is what you have to do and do it well." Andy explained that through conversation he could convince young women to become prostitutes and could control them and make them do whatever he asked them to do. He denied the use of violence or psychological threats. He stated that he did a lot of "living" with his prostitutes (e.g., talking, walks, and picnics). He also had sex with them.

The benefits of pimping for Andy were the monetary rewards. Pimping, he emphasized, was all in the mind. "It is knowing how to use your mind to control and manage all the things you have to do as a pimp." Andy was unwilling to reveal the precise nature of how he talked to his prostitutes to gain control over them.

Andy claimed he has "worked" more than forty-three women and that even while he was in jail, he obtained money from "prostitutes." A typical "con" used by men in prison was to advertise in personal columns for pen pals. When women responded they engaged them in a sort of "love affair," convinced them to visit, and then sent them a "pimp letter" asking for money. Although these women were usually not prostitutes, the men called this pimping.

Andy claimed he did not have to bring people into prostitution; the women knew of him and came to him. He was considered a good man and had a good reputation as a pimp which he attributed to his charm and personality and the way he treated the women. He said he did not have to beat them or curse at them. Andy's prostitutes came from all ethnic backgrounds and all age ranges, including some younger than 16. When asked about how he treated the younger prostitutes, he said, "You have to treat them different." He said he was nice to them and gave them what they needed, rather than what they wanted, as a method of control. For example if they wanted more clothes, he would pay to send them to the hairdresser. His relationships with the women lasted from six months to two years. When asked why the relationships ended he said the prostitutes "just ran off."
Bob was the youngest of eleven children (two boys and nine girls). His mother owned the house in which they were raised and did a variety of things to earn money. She was a craftswoman and made quilts and pottery, and she worked a considerable amount of time. Bob's father left his mother before Bob was born and worked steadily in the post office. Bob said that his father did not contribute any money to the family. During Bob's interview he said he did not know why his father left, and expressed anger because his father gave no explanation for his separation from and lack of involvement with the family. Bob did know, however, that his father was involved in pimping and prostitution.

Bob claimed not to have involved himself in pimping and prostitution until he was around 18 years old. He stated that he did not decide to become a pimp, but that "Life and circumstances led me," adding, "We all are capable of doing a lot of things." In fact he did not consider himself a pimp, but "a jack-of-all-trades, a hustler." He always "hustled" to make money. As an example of the many things he did for money he described in detail how, for fifty cents, he would rub a man's head every day putting grease in his hair.

When asked if he had ever been approached or involved in any sexually exploitive experiences when he was younger, he denied any but said that when he was 7 or 8 years old, he went to a teenager's house and was offered seventy-five cents to perform fellatio on the teenager. He was not sure what this meant but, when the teenager went into another room, Bob took the seventy-five cents and ran out of the house. The teenager went to Bob's mother and accused Bob of stealing. His mother became furious and kept Bob confined in the house for two weeks. To this day Bob's anger about this incident is apparent.

Bob claimed that he did not actively recruit women. Like Andy, he boasted, "They [came] to me." Later in the interview, however, he explained the elaborate seduction scheme he used to convince a "square" (nonprostitute) woman to work for him. He first wined and dined her. Then, he explained, "I [got] her to understand that she [had] been giving it up for free and that why not get something out of it? And if she [didn't] have any money, if she [was] talking about she needed food and she needed this in her house, then why not go turn [a trick]?"

Bob may be classified as an angry pimp. He has a deep anger and contempt for women and prostitutes. In explaining this anger, Bob related how, at approximately age 18, before he became a pimp, he befriended an older woman. She used to leave him her money when she was away for several days. Then she would return. He claimed he did not fully understand what she did during her absence, but she was his friend. He felt very close to her. One day when he had not seen her for a while, he observed her walking down the street toward a man coming from the opposite direction. When this man finally met her he took a chain out and wrapped it around her neck and dragged her over to Bob, asking her, "Is this who you're giving the money [to]?" Bob said nothing, and the man proceeded to beat the woman with the chain in front of Bob. Bob's response was anger. He turned and walked off. Bob used this episode as the rationale for his behavior toward women and his justification for entering pimping and prostitution. Over the years his belief that women are untrustworthy has been reinforced. He complained, "The hardest thing to get in this business is honesty. It's all about being crooked and dirty as they can be."
Bob claimed to have been a pimp to about fifteen women in a ten-year period in Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota. These relationships lasted from a few days to a few months. According to Bob an old pimp adage was that pimping "is a cop and blow game," based on the idea that a pimp must get as much money as quickly as possible from a woman because she will run off. Thus the profit was in high turnover and volume. A less common philosophy, explained Bob, was to try to get one steady woman and work her for as long as possible (with some others on the side, if possible). This second approach was more difficult for women to extricate themselves from because it had elements of a normal relationship.

Bob said that women gave him their money because he "[took] care of those things that [they] want[ed], that [they] need[ed]." He claimed that he kept them happy by keeping them working. "[They were] happy because everything [was] taken care of and they [knew] they [had] a nice place to come home to and they [were] not [going to] lose [anything] and they [knew] that I [was] gonna take care of all [their] needs. All [they had to do was] work."

Bob claimed that he never tried to stop a woman from leaving him, but then qualified his statement by adding, "They [had to] go broke. That's the only rule for them leaving [was] that they [had to] leave broke. They [couldn't] take [anything] with them. They [couldn't] take [anything] from me. If they [left] me they [had to] pay [walking] out the door."

Bob used social isolation to keep women tied to him. He achieved this by prohibiting their friendships with other women. He found it unnecessary, however, to stop women from contacting their families, explaining that "usually their relationship [was] bad with their parents. That's what caused this to work so well. That I [was] the only parent that they [had]."

Bob identified loud talking, mouthing off, back talk, or refusing a request (especially in public) by "his" prostitutes as disrespectful. When asked how he handled disrespectful behavior, he responded, "I [didn't]. That's another one of those things that they better make sure they're out of reach and distance. I think I [would have] hit anybody if they created friction and they were standing too close or sitting too close. I got a temper."

Bob admitted that he verbally abused his prostitutes and threatened to destroy their clothing or property. When pressed further he said, "Many of them got, had to [get], beaten...I have to confess that I have broken fingers and done some damage. Quite a few times I've had to do that to protect myself and that's with whores and straight women." Bob has been arrested and charged for assaults against numerous women, but he claimed the women always dropped the charges.

Bob claimed to have been in therapy at different times for his alcoholism, but the event that was most significant in changing his behavior was the experience of being born again in his religion at age 31. For the next year and a half, Bob not only stopped pimping, he also gave up alcohol, drugs, and sex, and he attended church regularly. He abandoned his faith about four months prior to the interview, however, claiming that the members of his congregation were hypocritical and expressed the belief that "in times of need people will desert you." Bob claimed to be searching "both avenues" (religion and the streets) for answers.
Henry grew up in Jamaica where he was raised by his grandmother who owned a combination grocery store and bar. Henry and his siblings (four sisters and three brothers) lived with her because their mother had a job waitressing in another city. Henry's father, who their mother later divorced, lived in the United States. When his father was in the home, Henry and his siblings witnessed their father beating their mother.

Henry lived a relatively uneventful life in Jamaica. He went to school and church and played cricket with his friends. He denied having experienced sexual abuse or exploitation; however, he did relate two incidents that he described as sexual interactions with older women. When Henry was 14 he had a relationship with a middle-aged woman. Henry said the woman lavished attention on him, holding him, kissing him, and giving him money and treats. He admitted that the woman did not initiate any sexual behavior with him; nonetheless he interpreted her behavior as expressing sexual interest. Sometime between the ages of 14 and 15 he had a sexual relationship with a 26- or 27-year-old woman. When asked how he felt about this experience he replied that it made him feel “like a man, I had power.”

Henry immigrated to the United States when he was 15. At that time his mother had moved to New York with an American man whom she had married to secure citizenship. She moved to the Midwest and sent for her children. Henry claimed that he had a good relationship with both his mother and stepfather. Both maintained steady employment, and there was no abuse or criminal activity in the family. In fact it was so comfortable that Henry lived at home on-and-off until he was 25. During that time Henry was expelled from high school for gambling and received his GED at age 22.

Although Henry first heard about prostitution when he was 12, he said he did not think about it much until he came to the United States, where “people said you could get rich having a girl sell her body for you.” He said he learned about pimping at local nightclubs. He was very impressed with the money, cars, and jewelry that the men in these nightclubs flaunted. Long before he actually pimped, he emulated pimps in clothing and attitude. “I used to hang around them trying to pretend like I was one. I used to dress [like them], had the same hair perm. I’m looking neat, have money in my pocket. I always [bought] a woman a drink and [tried] to recruit her.”

Henry described pimping as acting out a dream and believed that pimps got more attention and respect from women than other men. “That was a style of living back then just like your gangs and... all this dope and crack that’s going on... every year is change.”

In fact Henry did not actually “pimp” a woman until he was 19. Although he claimed to have recruited the 26-year-old woman in a bar, the woman expressed a sexual interest in him, was already a prostitute, and knew the “rules.”

Henry pimped the woman for six months, a period when both of them lived with their mothers. He claimed that once he had a little experience pimping, he let the woman go because he wanted “a finer woman.” From that point on he focused on recruiting poor, homeless, or runaway women. He offered little more than food, clothing, and a roof over their heads. He denied trafficking juveniles, claiming fear of deportation, but does admit “running” 18-year-olds.

Like Bob, Henry denied forcing a woman to stay with him against her will. He contradicted himself, however, when he explained that a woman could leave him only if she gave him a month’s notice and during that month
she continued to work for him. He said that if a woman wanted to leave he would “trip on her” (threaten her) but that he did not mean it. Like Bob, he also explained that she “had to go broke,” adding that she could take only her clothes when she left.

Henry admitted to verbally and physically abusing women but rationalized his violent behavior by saying he did not mean it; it was just something he had to do. He described this as “pimp slapping.”

Henry was a pimp for about eight years. He claimed he stopped pimping when he met a nonprostitute woman who later became the mother of his son. The relationship lasted a few years; however, Henry continued to live the pimp lifestyle (e.g., gambling, drugs, alcohol, barhopping, etc.), and his partner eventually threw him out. He claimed that after he lost her he lost his desire to hustle, realizing that it had cost him the two people who were most important to him in his life.

At the time of the interview Henry described himself as “straight.” He was living in his sister’s house. He was unemployed having been laid off from his last factory job. Although he said that his main source of income at that point in time was from catering private parties and pool hustling, he had a reputation in his neighborhood as an occasional, small-time cocaine dealer.

Henry kept his pimp work separate from his family. While he was a pimp he felt closer to the prostitutes, except when he had problems managing them. Then he would consult other pimps for suggestions.

When asked how he felt about having been a pimp, Henry said, “It was just an experience, a lifestyle. No big deal.” When asked about using women, he said it did not matter to him. For him this past experience of pimping was like a fantasy that had ended.

Henry reported his feelings about women as follows. “If you have [it] together, you can bluff any woman; you can feel that power. When you feel that power you know that usually works. You have them under your control.” To him “there is no difference between prostitutes and ‘square’ women.” Although they lead different lives, both types of women are "stupid," according to Henry.

When asked if a pimp relationship is really what he wanted with a woman now, Henry said no. He claimed that he no longer thought about pimping and hated to hear the word now. Nonetheless Henry continued to socialize in neighborhood bars and clubs frequented by pimps, prostitutes, drug users, and drug dealers.

Henry tried to explain that he had not squandered his money like other pimps, but in reality, he has no money. He recounted how money was easy to get and easy to spend on clothes, jewelry, and drugs. At the time of the interview he had vague dreams of being a chef and of opening his own restaurant.

Kent, a 32-year-old male, is the youngest of nine children. He lived with both his natural parents until age 9 when he was sent to live with his grandmother. “Gram,” as he called her, also had custody of his other siblings. She was a devoutly religious woman and sent the children to church regularly. As a single woman she supported the children through a combination of government aid and odd jobs. Kent claimed that he was sent to his grandmother’s home to live because his mother was too busy working. He said he “felt hurt for a minute [about that]...but grew out of it.”

At age 1 Kent contracted polio which left him permanently disabled. He has a slight build and cannot walk unassisted. He asserted that his disability had not prevented
him from driving or impaired his ability to engage in sexual intercourse. He denied that his disability had shaped his life in any way. He claimed that “nobody else considers me a handicap, so I sure don’t.” He mentioned, however, that his grandmother babied him and his brothers were protective of him.

Kent explained that he grew up around older youths in the neighborhood and learned to hustle from them. His brothers were also a great influence on him. “I [saw] them making a lot of money, coming in, talking, bragging, about things they have. I wanted to be like them, so I did what they were doing.” All but one of Kent’s older brothers was involved in criminal activities (drug sales, pimping, armed robbery). Although he denied it, both of his sisters were involved in the sex industry.

Kent was 16 when he recruited his first prostitute. Like Henry, he just got lucky. He met a 19-year-old prostitute who, “knowing the rules of the game,” gave him money once the relationship started. By age 19, however, Kent was actively recruiting women into prostitution.

He moved to Minnesota because he had heard that there was more money to be made there. “If you look good and drive a big car, then they’re fascinated with you...and a lot of them are young, spoiled.”

It was not, however, just naive young women Kent preyed upon; he also kept an eye out for the “desperate.” “A lot of time[s] I’d pick up these junkie girls that I knew I wouldn’t have...longer than a week, two weeks at the most...but I played it cause I knew that was money for two weeks.”

Kent preyed on prostitutes and nonprostitute women alike. He explained that he would hang around buildings in the business district and strike up conversations with women who appeared well-to-do. If a woman responded to him he would return the next day with the goal of making her acquaintance. If he was successful Kent would take her out on dates and prime her for a scam. At some point he would invent a financial crisis and convince her to get a loan, or to use her savings to help him. By the time she realized she had been taken advantage of he would be gone. Kent stated that he never tried to recruit a straight woman for prostitution because “it was a waste of time—she had all the money I needed.”

Kent’s view of money is instructive. “Fast money goes fast. [I used it for] dope partying—I partied every night—flashing, buying cars, keeping my house real nice. I had to be flashing...but [in] the end I didn’t accumulate anything...you get it, you got it, it’s gone. Basically that’s just about every other hustler’s story.”

Kent does not consider himself a pimp and is offended if anyone refers to him as one. “I never did like the word pimp or the meaning of the word...a dude who got a woman hooked up on drugs, beat the hell out of them every day, day in and day out. That wasn’t my deal. I see myself as a money maker, a hustler.”

Although he claimed he never used coercive methods to get money from a woman, he admitted that he would blackmail women if they did not fall for his scam by threatening to tell the woman’s family about her sexual activities. He also denied beating his prostitutes, but after closer questioning admitted using verbal abuse and harassment as well as slapping a woman to control her behavior. He also said that he would get another woman to beat up his woman if she did not come through with his share of the money.

Kent rationalized his economic exploitation of women by referring to his childhood environment, lack of economic opportunity, and the need to prove that he was as much of a man as any able-bodied male. He explained:
When I was younger I used to look at my handicap as if, 'Man, I'll never get a woman. Who's gonna want somebody on crutches.' I wanted to prove to everybody that Kent can do just about anything you guys can do, if not better, so I had to get out there and do it. One thing was I'm making all this money selling this dope, so I had to do it. I wasn't raised around [people] working good jobs, dependents was gonna be set up in a good college, get a good job. I wasn't around those people.

Kent expressed altruistic reasons for participating in the interview. It was in truth, however, the need for immediate cash that motivated him. At the time of the interview, he had just been evicted from his apartment. He learned about the interview from his sister and approached the interviewer asking if he could be paid in advance. The interviewer refused not trusting that he would return. On the day of the interview he arrived with his two children and many of their belongings in tow.

He wanted to give the impression during the interview that he was in the process of going straight, stating that eventually "your game gets old" and complaining that the younger hustlers—dope dealers—have ruined the pimping game. At the time of the interview he was living on a combination of government aid programs and had custody of his three daughters. Although he admitted heavy use of crack cocaine during his mid-twenties, he claimed to be drug free at the time of the interview. Discussion with other family members, however, revealed that each day Kent smoked crack valued at about $100, and that his latest ruse was to go to hospital emergency rooms and get prescriptions for such drugs as barbiturates and sedatives, which he then sold on the street. His brother was an active crack addict and was awaiting trial on drug charges.

When asked how he felt about the period when he was a pimp, Kent said, "I don't feel good about it or brag about it." He claimed that he had attempted to dissuade his nephews from following in his path; however, he denied responsibility for his behavior, stating, "During that time, it was something I had to do because I wasn't getting [good] job offers. I wasn't working a good job where I was getting paid every week or every two weeks, so it was something I had to do."

Characteristics and Summary
Findings of Interviews With Pimps

A review of the histories related by this small sample of pimps provided a summary of the following characteristics.

The Pathway to Pimping Unstable family lifestyles predominated the childhoods of all the pimps interviewed. Not infrequently attachments arose with older boys on the street or older brothers, cousins, and uncles. It is within the context of this male group that the boy first learned about prostitution and the possibility of making money by selling sex. (It is important to note that the prostitute is often cast in the role of a mature woman despite the realities of her age and her vulnerability.) Young men learn the process by gleaning information from experienced pimps who were found in reform schools, bars, nightclubs, and other gathering places. Sometimes the young male was exploited by an experienced prostitute to be her protector or pimp. A distorted sense of self-worth and monetary gain can lead a young man into procuring women or children for his own income and use.
Family Backgrounds Knowledge of the relationship of the pimp to his family of origin was very guarded during these interviews. The men were reluctant to reveal that sometimes sisters, brothers, fathers, and uncles were involved in the sex industry. Ambivalence toward the female was revealed in protective ness toward his mother’s and sisters’ reputations and, at the same time, a sense of entitlement and anger toward women, a belief that he has the right to use them for his personal financial gain. Pimps often draw the distinction between straight women and prostitutes. Upon in-depth questioning regarding the differences between the two women, these men tended to group both types of women together.

Unlike the juvenile prostitutes interviewed, these pimps did not give a clear history of childhood abuse. Their histories indicated that pimping and prostitution took place within their families. They claimed they were free to do anything they wanted to do. They may have been neglected and thus turned to the streets to hustle.

Control The ego strength of most pimps was derived by an exaggerated sense of self-importance gained by controlling others. Pimping entails the rationalization that the pimp has power and control over the prostitute, her customers, the law, and even the community. To maintain this sense of control the pimp might utilize both physical force and emotional coercion.

The pimps interviewed were very reluctant to admit to the amount of force they used. They lied about it or minimized it as “pimp slapping” when in actuality it might have been a severe beating. Some excluded themselves from the label of pimp not wanting to portray themselves as the type of “man” who controls women through physical force. They wanted to be identified as mind controllers, experts in understanding the vulnerabilities and dependencies of women, and men who knew how to control and exploit their participation in prostitution.

Money Money was a prime motivation to enter and remain in the world of prostitution. It provided a measurement for “success” and increased the ability to control others.

Little money was provided to the prostitutes. The pimps justified this by claiming that the money earned by the prostitutes was needed to cover the expenses incurred in “caring for” the prostitutes. They often spent the money on themselves buying expensive cars, clothes, and drugs. Many were unwilling to provide funds for the health care and hygiene of the prostitutes.

The men interviewed revealed that despite all the money they have taken in, little, if any, was saved. More often than not they have also used, lost, or had taken from them any properties they had gained from the prostitution.

Exiting pimping Several factors may have motivated these men to leave pimping: lack of revenues, age, attachments, and incarceration. Reflection sometimes resulted in the realization that he had retained little of the financial gains from pimping. Emotional attachments may have led him to make lifestyle changes to less exploitative behavior. Breaking through the pimp’s self-denial regarding his behavior was not easy.

Motivation and Maintaining Factors These pimps were motivated by a number of factors that include money, power, and control. Pimps like Al and Joe were motivated to make money and develop new business deals. Henry, on the other hand, was enamored by the criminal
lifestyle and was influenced by peer pressure. Andy was an insecure young man whose sense of identity was tied to domineering women. Bob expressed hostility toward women who became the victims of his rage. Some entered the world of prostitution to support drug habits.
2. Establishing a Program to Help Victims of Child Prostitution

Overview

Establishing a program to provide services to better address a community's child prostitution problem takes time and effort. The size and scope of the program will depend on community needs and available resources.

This chapter reviews several important steps necessary to develop a program for sexually exploited youth within a community. There is a need to work on several steps simultaneously, letting the results of one step feed into and modify the work on the others.

Also it is important to recognize that none of the steps is ever accomplished once and for all. Strong, dynamic programs continually reevaluate their services and the needs of their target population and adjust to changing circumstances.

Eleven Crucial Steps

Step 1. Conduct a needs assessment. To begin, determine the scope of the sexual exploitation problem in your community, decide what services the community needs most, and identify potential supporters. To accomplish this, you might consider these activities:

- Observe activity on the streets and in businesses such as pornographic bookstores and peep shows to assist in identifying the magnitude, location, and scope of the problem.
- Consult agencies that serve the client population (including law enforcement, child protective services, juvenile courts, other street outreach programs, and providers of emergency medical services and shelter) to learn other perspectives on the problem.
- Talk with adult and juvenile prostitutes about their needs.
- Examine any current service delivery systems and assess their abilities and willingness to address the problems.
- Review reports, materials, and documentation on the problem, both locally and nationally.
- Find out what public and private resources may be available to support the program.
- Interview representatives of public and private agencies and elected officials to learn their willingness to participate in and support the program.

Step 2. Lay out a program plan. This plan should present your understanding of the problem, as supported by the needs assessment. Also it should state your initial program priorities and address the following:

- goals and specific objectives
- target population(s) and area(s) to be served
- direct services to be provided
- agencies you will work with routinely
- your organizational structure and staffing pattern
- people (agency) responsible for implementation
- a timetable for implementation
- resources needed to operate the program
- a way to measure progress toward goals
- a way to measure quality assurance
You may want more than one version of the plan. A long version can serve as the nucleus of a funding proposal, and a short version can be shared with others that may be involved—community residents, resource agency staff, prospective board members, staff, and volunteers.

**Step 3. Select a board of directors.** Identify and develop your board of directors. The board will be critical in ensuring financial support, program stability, and growth. This initial group will need to develop a mission statement for the board and the program, establish essential policies and procedures, and help elaborate and refine the program plan.

**Step 4. Examine legal requirements and statutes.** Legal requirements for incorporating, establishing a board of directors, and operating services such as a residential facility vary by state. Before proceeding too far with implementation, the board of directors must ensure that these requirements can be met. Examine federal, state, and local laws and regulations dealing with:

- the non-for-profit or tax-exempt status of an organization
- multiple-dwelling residences or group living, including fire, health, medical, and building codes
- custody of minors
- reporting suspected cases of child abuse, runaways, or missing children
- confidentiality of client information
- obligations to notify and involve parents or guardians
- use of photographs of minors
- insurance requirements when using personal automobiles for transporting clients
- personal liability insurance requirements for staff and board members

**Step 5. Develop a budget.** Establish realistic expectations and goals for financial support through grants, donations, and contract fees. Develop a working budget that matches those expectations. Make sure your budget covers all the personnel, tools, and facilities to carry out the program, including the following:

- staff salaries and benefits
- equipment and supplies, including office furniture and any special items such as a mobile van
- office expenses such as telephone, photocopying, and postage
- housing and utilities
- newsletter production
- fees for client services such as medical examinations and counseling
- travel and training
- insurance

Consider which budget items might be supported through in-kind services. For example, keep costs down by using volunteers, particularly to perform administrative tasks, and finding health care professionals and vision care centers that will agree to a sliding fee scale.

**Step 6. Raise funds to support the program.** Fund-raising is a never-ending struggle for most nonprofit organizations. The following steps may be useful in attempting to raise funds for your program:

- Designate someone to take the lead in fund-raising.
- Select board members who are willing and able to assist in fund-raising.
- Monitor the priorities of federal, state, and local government agencies and respond to funding opportunities that arise.
• Keep public officials informed about the community problems and social issues the program addresses.
• Identify and contact local foundations, civic organizations, and businesses that might underwrite a portion of the program. Even groups without large budgets can contribute by donating goods and services or paying for the transportation and materials needed to make a single education presentation at a school.
• Let people know that the program needs financial and in-kind support whenever you make a presentation.
• Keep past contributors aware of the program's progress through a newsletter or other means.

If you cannot find financial support for all the items in the budget, consider phasing in various program components over a longer period of time.

Step 7. Hire professional staff members to fill key roles in the organization. Once you complete the needs assessment and select a board of directors, choose a team to find an executive director and other key program staff members.

Step 8. Locate volunteers and support services. Begin recruiting volunteers as soon as you have someone who can supervise them. Make your need for volunteers known whenever you do presentations about the program.

Step 9. Educate the public. Design and implement an effective public education campaign. Contact local government officials as well as private citizens and interest groups—they all can have a tremendously positive effect.

Be aware that publicity also can have negative effects. Unfortunately many people do not view young prostitutes as victims. Often the public believes these youth are victimizing others and making the streets and neighborhoods dangerous. Thus public education must be carefully planned and skillfully carried out. Otherwise the program risks creating doubt about the program itself and the need for services.

Developing a public education campaign begins with a needs assessment and continues throughout the life of the program. A carefully planned and executed public awareness campaign must gauge community attitudes to anticipate areas of support and resistance. Public attitudes toward similar problems or programs, toward prostitution, and toward youth issues are clues to the prevailing climate. Use a variety of public education approaches such as speeches, newspaper articles, or a newsletter. Whatever the medium, ensure the material is accurate and complete and that it honestly spells out the goals and objectives of the program. At the same time be sure to identify what the community can do for the program.

Using the community to provide volunteers and other program support keeps the program budget down and establishes a sense of community pride.

Step 10. Coordinate with other programs and build a referral network. To avoid service duplication and maximize available resources, develop strong relationships with other agencies in your community. Start to build relationships as you conduct your needs assessment. Identify agencies through telephone calls, meetings, attendance at public seminars and hearings, streetwork, prevention education sessions, and other contacts in
the community. The discussion of program coordination and networking will provide ideas about the types of organizations that are most responsive. Continue to build your network throughout the life of the program.

Step 11. Implement the program. The final step is to hire staff members and initiate the various program components. Keep in mind that the program you implement today may look very different one, two, or five years from now. Remain alert to the changing needs and scope of your client population and to what is going on in the broader community.

Three Essential Services That Need to Be Provided

No matter what the specific needs of a community to address their particular child prostitution problem, there are three essential services that any program should provide: prevention education, streetwork outreach, and a transitional living component.

Prevention Education Carefully select and train your prevention education staff members. They must thoroughly understand the dynamics of prostitution, the street environment, and the dangers it poses to teenage prostitutes; the available resources in the community; and federal, state, and local legislation that will affect their roles and responsibilities. The staff members also need to communicate effectively, anticipate the wide array of issues that may arise during the sessions, and feel comfortable fielding direct and sensitive questions.

In designing your presentation, be sure to protect the confidentiality of the young people and other individuals portrayed in the case histories of child prostitutes presented and slides or films shown depicting their lifestyle. Do not include slides in which minors are identifiable.

Before your initial presentation, conduct a “dry run” for other staff members within the organization; the board of directors; and, if possible, individuals who are not familiar with the subject matter to get their reactions to the presentation’s visual and verbal content.

Since community needs may change over time, the presentations must recognize, adapt to, and reflect those changes. Review your education program regularly and modify it as necessary. Make sure the slides effectively convey their intended message. Do not use slides solely for shock value, instead use them to depict an accurate profile of the particular community and jurisdiction.

Keep your educational program flexible and adaptable to the needs of each audience. Be prepared for new challenges, including complaints and questions from parents or school officials. If legitimate concerns exist, reexamine your program and modify it accordingly.

Develop and implement your education program in stages. For example you can prepare new educational materials, data surveys, and visual aids as you identify and reach out to new target audiences.

Streetwork Outreach Highly qualified, dedicated, and concerned staff members are the most critical component of streetwork. Be prepared to invest sufficient time and effort in recruiting, screening, and training staff. Remember that they must be comfortable working with the target population and be able to cope with the dangerous and difficult situations that arise on the streets.

Outreach staff must always be conscious of their own safety and the safety of others.
Staff members can mitigate some dangers of streetwork by careful observation and assessment of variations in street life that may indicate potential problems. Teams should become intimately familiar with their areas by locating telephones, safe areas, other service providers, law enforcement, and medical services to deal with emergencies.

Constant communication among staff is imperative before, during, and after streetwork. Team members must always keep other staff informed of their whereabouts, plans, and activities.

Outreach workers sometimes need to bring other persons onto the streets. They may take new employees out for training or bring representatives of referral agencies, local government agencies, or funding sources out to see the program in action or show the magnitude of the problem. Caution these observers not to interfere or impose themselves on either workers or the youth. In all instances you must protect and maintain the often fragile trust you are developing with clients on the street.

Because street youth have multiple needs and problems, coordination and collaboration with other community agencies is essential. Before beginning streetwork, make sure that other agencies know about your program's purpose and goals. This is particularly important for organizations that are potential allies, referral sources, support mechanisms, or advocates of the program. These include local law enforcement, social service agencies, shelter facilities, and medical service providers.

Before you make referrals, carefully screen organizations, agencies, and individuals to assess their availability, ability, and willingness to cooperate in serving your clients. Periodic screening of these agencies and referral resources is also useful.

**Transitional Living** In designing your transitional living program for clients carefully consider the age of the youth to be served. To serve youth under the age of majority in a residential setting, you must have proper authorization from parents, legal guardians, or the court. Furthermore you cannot legally transport minors across state lines without permission.

There are two options for youth under the age of majority in any jurisdiction—referring them to the local social service agency or facilitating their return home. Make every effort to ensure that you do not send minors back to families where abuse and exploitation occur. Consult the client, family, local authorities, and social service agencies to determine the feasibility of sending a youth home. For minors unable or unwilling to return home, other services such as shelters and social service agencies are available—but remember, parents or guardians of these minors must be informed.

Each state, county, and community has its own set of rules and regulations on multiperson occupancy. Research these codes before opening a facility.

Careful screening of families mentoring clients is imperative for the integrity of your program. Look for families that show sincere concern for the well-being of the young people, are willing to open their homes and lives to them and possess patience and perseverance. Although you do not pay families for their efforts, give them support from staff members, volunteers, board members, and the staff psychologist when needed.
3. Case Study: The Paul & Lisa Program, Inc.

The Paul & Lisa Program was established in 1980 as a small, all-volunteer street outreach effort to assist young women who are victims of sexual exploitation and help them find solutions to their health, financial, educational, legal, and emotional problems; empower youth to take control of their lives and leave the streets; educate and inform the public about the sexual exploitation of young people and its consequences; and cooperate with other individuals, groups, and organizations that share similar objectives.

Today the program has four full-time and eight part-time staff members and approximately twenty volunteers. The prevention education program now averages 100 presentations per year involving about 6,000 students and adults. The streetwork outreach workers make fifty to sixty contacts per calendar quarter with prostitutes working on the streets of New York City offering support and services to meet the needs of each client. The client rehabilitation program has worked intensively with clients in its newly established group home offering them a transitional living situation from their former lifestyle.

Since 1980 Paul & Lisa has helped 62 young female prostitutes leave the streets and return to their homes or establish new, independent lives. This case study highlights the work of the Paul & Lisa Program and the specific steps they have taken to establish and maintain a program to address the child prostitution problem in their community. We hope this example will aid others in the establishment of such programs in their communities.

Organization and Management

Staff members are deployed among four major activities: program administration, prevention education, streetwork outreach, and transitional living.

The key leadership positions in the organization include a president and executive director. The president (and founder) of Paul & Lisa works only part-time because he has other responsibilities as an executive of a local corporation. He serves as the principal liaison with the board of directors, works with the executive director to publicize the program, raises funds, and builds interagency networks. The executive director works on a full-time basis and is responsible for all aspects of program administration, staff recruitment/supervision, and service delivery. Also the executive director plays a central role in publicizing the program, educating the public about the problems of sexual exploitation, raising funds, and promoting improvements in coordination of services among different agencies.

The program has an assistant project director. This staff person helps the executive director in day-to-day project administration, supervises office staff, recruits and supervises volunteers, and oversees data management and reporting. Reports include documents that are required by various funding sources, information reported to law enforcement and other agencies regarding potential sightings of missing children, and informational pieces shared with other crime victim organizations.
On the direct services side the program employs two full-time staff members. The director of outreach and prevention education supervises both the prevention education and streetwork outreach programs. The client supervisor manages the transitional living program.

What is not readily apparent from the organization chart is that many members of the Paul & Lisa staff wear two or three hats. The president, executive director, and assistant project director all make presentations for the prevention education program and conduct street outreach activities. The president oversees the transitional living program. The assistant project director and the director of outreach and prevention education participate in the transitional living program as members of its advisory team.

Screening and Background Checks Paul & Lisa relies heavily on volunteers and part-time staff members. The organization has found that the quality, not the quantity of the staff and volunteers are most critical. Great care, however, must be used when recruiting and employing personnel to work in agencies that provide direct services to children and youth. Diligence in both the recruitment and screening of staff and volunteers is needed because these organizations are particularly vulnerable to the interest of those individuals who seek sexual gratification from children. Thorough and extensive criminal background checks must be made of all individuals being hired or given a volunteer position. Therefore it is important to develop cooperative agreements with the local law enforcement agencies within your community who can assist with this screening process. (Also see screening document entitled "Applicant Disclosure Affidavit," Appendix IV, p. 76.)

Careful screening and selection of staff is of paramount importance to the Paul & Lisa Program. The executive director shoulders the primary responsibility for staff hiring, training, and supervision. Paul & Lisa gives considerable attention to recruitment to ensure that job qualifications are met and to avoid hiring employees who are biased or have ulterior motives for seeking this type of employment. To ensure an effective selection process, staff members:

- Develop job descriptions with specific information about the roles and responsibilities of each position, the skills and expertise required, the salary range, and other pertinent features. The position descriptions used at Paul & Lisa (found on pages 37-38) can provide a starting point for your organization.
- Conduct initial screening to eliminate clearly unqualified applicants and those who appear to have ulterior motives. A telephone interview, followed by a careful review of the written application and résumé, will help weed out inappropriate candidates.
- Use a team approach to review and interview applicants. The team should include the executive director, board members, and other staff member(s) with whom the applicant will work.
- Check the applicant's records to ensure that individuals hired by the organization are honest, trustworthy, and appropriate. Paul & Lisa conducts background checks on all potential employees by calling former employers, schools, personal and professional references, etc. All prospective employees, volunteers, and board members must agree to submit to a background check that includes a review of local police and criminal justice
records. Law enforcement is enlisted to provide this service.

- To be considered for employment, promising job candidates must sign the "Applicant Disclosure Affidavit" and interview with many staff members.

Recruitment The program advertises vacant positions in local newspapers and other daily and weekly publications. Also word of mouth is a very effective recruitment tool because the referring agent often knows the applicant. Registration with placement services, university job locator services, and a human service coalition has also been helpful.

Orientation and Training Staff orientation and training vary by position. Paul & Lisa staff members use the following approach:

- Start with introductions to staff members and an overview of the program. Provide copies of program materials, regulations and procedures, and a suggested reading list so newcomers can learn more about the problems and issues associated with child prostitution, street life, and at-risk youth.
- Allow new recruits several weeks to become familiar with the programs through observation and communication with staff members and volunteers. Paul & Lisa’s new staff members tour streetwork outreach locations and observe the outreach team in action, attend prevention education sessions, meet and talk with former prostitutes, and speak with board members.
- As new staff members become more familiar and comfortable with the program, they can become more active in service delivery. New hires are paired with seasoned staff members for on-the-job training.

Supervision, Management, and Evaluation

Paul & Lisa staff members must complete written reports and document each activity and client contact. Record keeping by the prevention education, streetwork outreach, and transitional living programs is extensive and the forms used are found in Appendix IV. The relatively small number of staff members makes it easy for members to communicate regularly. The program holds bimonthly staff meetings and special meetings when needed. All staff members contribute to the agenda for each meeting.

Paul & Lisa staff members are evaluated continually by the president and executive director in consultation with other key staff members. Since staff members usually work in pairs or teams, there are many opportunities for observation and assessment. Staff members receive immediate feedback on the quality of their work. Inappropriate behavior or actions—such as reckless or dangerous behavior on the street—are grounds for immediate dismissal. Although initial uneasiness with outreach work is expected, persistent anxiety may be cause for concern and, therefore, further training and group work may be required.

Volunteers are important to an organization such as Paul & Lisa because limited funds do not allow for adequate staffing. Volunteers bring a wealth of expertise, experience, and commitment to the project. Paul & Lisa depends on an active, dedicated group of volunteers including the board of directors which is composed of volunteers who play a key role in several aspects of program delivery.

It is imperative that the needs of your organization and the prospective volunteer are compatible. During the interview process, Paul & Lisa staff members explain the role of volunteers, assess the applicant’s interest and availability, and dispel any misconceptions.
about the program. Other screening activities are similar to those used for paid employees of the organization and include a background check for most positions, particularly those that are controversial or involve confidentiality.

Paul & Lisa recruits volunteers from several sources including:

- Local civic organizations, churches, volunteer placement agencies, and community service programs.
- Local universities and colleges (e.g., practicums).
- Senior citizen organizations. Retirees often seek rewarding opportunities to volunteer.

Volunteer Activities Paul & Lisa finds that one of the most productive ways to use volunteers is in administrative and promotional activities. These activities do not present the risks of streetwork nor do they require training in counseling or social work. Consider having volunteers assist with your organization's newsletter, fund-raising activities, and general office duties. In addition they can offer support for the prevention education and transitional living programs.

Board of Directors The board of directors is particularly important to the Paul & Lisa program. An agency's board can play a variety of roles—policy making, working, or advisory. Paul & Lisa has found the policy making board to be most effective. This board decides policy issues, rules on program expansion or changes in program structure, and allows staff members to manage and operate the program.

It is critical that board members understand and agree with the mission of the board and the organization. For maximum effectiveness, members should be powerful and dynamic, offer credibility to the board and the program, and have both the time and a commitment to serve. While state laws may govern the composition of the board of directors, the selection process should consider members who:

- represent various segments of the community (e.g., business leaders, educators, religious leaders, public figures, social service agency staff members, active citizens)
- are recognized, influential members of organizations, the community, or public agencies (e.g., business executives, civic leaders, or politicians)
- can provide some type of service or donation to the organization, including money, goods, or other in-kind services
- are skilled and knowledgeable about sexual victimization and child prostitution
- show a commitment to the issues addressed by the organization
- display tact and professionalism when dealing with the public and accurately represent the organization to others

To successfully recruit board members, Paul & Lisa staff members:

- Develop a list of potential members who might both preserve and carry forward the mission of the organization. Paul & Lisa uses the “Board of Directors Member Questionnaire” (see Appendix IV, page 74) to ascertain the qualifications, interest, and possible areas of support of each potential board member.
- Prepare brief statements about the organization and the functions and responsibilities of the board.
- Solicit board members through word of mouth, referral, and contacts with other
agencies and organizations in the community.

- Board members must sign the "Applicant Disclosure Affidavit."

Once the board members are recruited and selected, the executive director and president of the board should orient them to the program and provide a review of the history of the organization; program goals and objectives; bylaws, financial reports, and basic operating procedures; personnel policies and job descriptions; and general information on requirements for client confidentiality.

Financial Management Paul & Lisa is a tax-exempt, not-for-profit organization incorporated in the state of Connecticut. Because each state has specific regulations and requirements regarding incorporation and tax-exempt status, consult an attorney and a qualified accountant to ensure that your organization conforms to federal/state laws and regulations. These professionals can help develop bylaws, policies, and accounting procedures that are workable and acceptable to funding and regulatory agencies.

Keep in mind the need to comply with federal, state, and local requirements on affirmative action, drug-free workplaces, and handicapped accessibility.

Coordination and Networking Paul & Lisa relies heavily on other public and private agencies for help in meeting the needs of the youth involved in its program. The executive director and assistant project director devote a major part of their time and energy to building and maintaining this network. Many agencies have proven helpful to Paul & Lisa including law enforcement agencies, public social service agencies, junior and senior high schools, and public officials.

Implementation of Program Services

This section describes, in detail, the three main services offered by the Paul & Lisa Program and highlights the many resources needed to provide these services.

Prevention Education The purpose of the prevention education component at the Paul & Lisa Program is to:

- promote understanding of the dangers of running away, including exposure to drugs, physical and sexual abuse, and sexual exploitation
- intervene early in situations that place young people at risk of abuse and exploitation
- educate professionals who work with young people about how to meet the needs of youth who are abused, sexually exploited, or at risk of exploitation
- teach parents and the public about the risks and consequences of drug and alcohol abuse and sexual exploitation

Target Populations Staff members present the prevention education program to:

- students in junior and senior high school
- teachers, social workers, health care professionals, youth service professionals, law enforcement officers, and agencies that work with young people
- religious organizations, chambers of commerce, civic groups, universities, and the public

Paul & Lisa's geographical target for presenting this program is the New York City metropolitan area which includes Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York. Staff members make presentations to organizations outside this tristate area, on request, if funds are available.
Description  Prevention education consists of information-sharing sessions or seminars that include lectures and group discussions. These typically last about an hour and include a slide presentation that vividly depicts life on the streets of New York City. To implement the prevention education program, staff members:

- advertise the program. Staff members periodically send information about the program to schools, colleges, universities, and community groups. The program also makes direct personal contact with schools and other organizations, especially when reaching out to additional communities that could benefit from the Paul & Lisa education program.
- plan the sessions. Before scheduling a session, the requesting organization discusses the presentation with a liaison from Paul & Lisa to ensure that the requester understands the purpose of the sessions and the content, which includes some explicit slides, and any sensitive issues that the audience may raise. At this time the nature of the audience should be determined. Audiences vary in age and knowledge of the subject matter. With younger audiences staff members would simplify terminology, eliminate slides that are too complex or too explicit, and allow extra time for questions and answers. Also, because attendees sometimes approach staff members to divulge that they have been or are being abused, Paul & Lisa requires that a professional, trained in crisis intervention or counseling, be available during and after the presentation. School counselors, psychologists, social workers, and nurses are excellent resources. All allegations of child abuse are reported to child protective services by the appropriate party. If an incident is reported directly to a Paul & Lisa staff member, a report is made by that person or cooperatively with school officials.
- scheduling. A master calendar and log are maintained in the central office to track sessions, which are often scheduled up to a year in advance. Staff record information for each session on an “Education Presentation Form” (see Appendix IV, p. 70) that presenters should take to the session.

When making the presentation, teams of two or three presenters:

- Introduce themselves and share their personal experiences in working with sexually exploited youth.
- Discuss the scope of sexual exploitation and present statistics on the problem.
- Present slides and share case histories of teenage prostitutes.
- Encourage discussion in a question-and-answer format.

Afterward staff members are available to answer confidential questions or provide assistance with personal problems. As necessary, staff members refer participants to outside services. Staff members follow up by telephone with referral agencies or school staff members to ensure that referrals are completed.

At the end of each session presenters distribute anonymous program evaluation forms (see Appendix IV, pp. 67-69) to participants. Results are compiled on the "Education Pre-
sentation Form.” These evaluations help assess program effectiveness and identify trends among respondents. Also the evaluations are used to flag potential concerns such as an unusual number of respondents reporting abuse or exploitation. When appropriate, staff members alert school authorities, school counselors, and government agencies such as child protective services or social services.

**Staffing** Paul & Lisa prefers a team approach in planning and delivering the prevention education program because multiple staff members can more effectively assess audience needs and interests, field and respond to questions, and keep the presentation flowing.

The director of outreach and prevention education supervises the prevention education program, directs the preparation of education materials, and serves as a presenter. The regional director of prevention education is charged with enhancing and expanding the program.

Lecturers/presenters include the president, executive director, and other program staff members with extensive knowledge of the child sexual exploitation problem. They also help prepare the materials distributed during the sessions. Before making their first presentation, all lecturers attend several education sessions.

**Streetwork Outreach** The purpose of streetwork outreach is to:

- gain the confidence of young prostitutes and other street youth in order to develop trusting relationships with them
- locate and provide resources to meet the immediate medical and subsistence needs of the street youth
- help street youth find appropriate medical, social, and psychological resources that will encourage and support a transition from street life to independence.

**Target populations** include youth engaged in prostitution.

**Description** Paul & Lisa staff members concentrate on several areas of Manhattan where there is a high number of young prostitutes. For four or more nights each week a staff team walks through these neighborhoods to offer counseling, intervention, and referrals for young prostitutes. Paul & Lisa now uses a mobile van as a base of operations for streetwork, although the program initially operated without one. The van has a telephone for emergencies and provides a secure environment for outreach staff members and youth who wish to talk privately. The van is easily identifiable by “Paul & Lisa” signs on its sides. Streetwork outreach involves several of the following elements:

- Initial contact outreach workers gradually initiate conversation with street prostitutes, always conscious of the need to meet young people on their own terms and not demand, threaten, or impose upon them.
- Information and Referral Through conversation and skilled observation, outreach team members assess each youth’s emergency needs. If a youth requires emergency services (e.g., food, shelter, medical attention, or drug or alcohol treatment), the staff can make referrals to a network of local social service agencies and hospitals. Staff members may provide transportation (to health services, shelters, etc.), offer food or clothing, or provide information on health care and hygiene.
• Counseling. Over time, often many months, outreach workers strive to develop trusting relationships with the young prostitutes to replace the negative, dependent relationships the youth have with their pimps. Staff members try to help youth recognize that they have opportunities for rehabilitation.

• Transition. As the staff-client relationship develops, a worker begins to talk more aggressively with a young woman about leaving the streets and starting an independent life. The staff member discusses available alternatives, including independent living, returning home, or entering Paul & Lisa’s own transitional living program to then move on to reside in a group home or apartment. Staff members work with each young woman at her own pace. She is not pushed toward independence. Staff members see themselves as resources ready to offer assistance, support, and encouragement throughout the difficult decision-making process.

• Monitoring. Youth on the streets are transient and mobile. To track youth who have been contacted, Paul & Lisa staff members use the “Outreach Client Intake” sheet (see Appendix IV, p. 61) to record each contact with a youth at risk, note the location of the contact, and record any problems noted or referrals that were made. The “Outreach Client Intake Form” (see Appendix IV, page 63) is used to record the client’s demographics including her migration pattern, family and social relationships, health and substance abuse, employment, legal status, and victimization experience.

A permanent case file at the organization’s headquarters contains entries for each contact on the street and in the community. To protect the confidentiality of each client, staff members use numerical codes to identify clients and maintain basic case information.

The streetwork outreach program analyzes these data to identify trends or changes in population needs, migration, and age and to develop appropriate responses. For example, if the data revealed an increase in the number of youth with tuberculosis (TB), staff members would look for additional resources to solve this problem and make a concerted effort to include information about TB prevention and treatment during street outreach. Also staff members might try to arrange for a mobile medical unit to provide TB testing and medical outreach on the street.

Networking. Outreach staff members work closely with other volunteer and charitable organizations, businesses, religious organizations, and government agencies to help clients and avoid duplication of effort. For example, Paul & Lisa street teams will often work with the Board of Health to use its mobile medical van; cooperate with other agencies that do streetwork to ensure adequate coverage and avoid duplication; make referrals to and distribute information from diverse organizations including clinics, social services, food and meal services, and other programs dealing with street youth problems; and the New York Police Department (NYPD). Recently the Public Morals Division of the Organized Crime Bureau and the Runaway Squad began allowing Paul & Lisa staff members to visit the young women brought in during the initial NYPD intake process at various stationhouses. In the safety of a police interview room, staff conduct an initial screening interview lasting fifteen to twenty-five minutes, inform clients of the services available through the Paul & Lisa Program, and offer service referrals.
Staffing  Streetwork requires an experienced, compassionate, and committed staff of outreach workers. They always work in teams or pairs. This team approach helps prevent potential accusations by youth that staff behaved inappropriately toward them. This arrangement also enables workers to observe clients and street activity better and provide more information and support.

The senior member of the team serves as the outreach team leader. This person, a more seasoned and experienced staff member, provides continual supervision, support, and feedback to the other worker, but otherwise performs similar kinds of services for clients.

The director of outreach and prevention education supervises the outreach team, recommends social work programs for clients, and develops or assembles program materials for distribution on the street. He or she also works on the streets, sometimes acting as an outreach team leader.

Transitional Living Program  The purpose of the transitional living program is to:

- aid youth in making the transition from street life to independence
- teach youth important living skills that will help them lead productive, independent lives
- help youth return home, if and when feasible

Target populations  to receive this service include young people who have decided or may be persuaded to leave the streets.

Description  This program assists young people during their transition from street life. It provides support services and access to intensive counseling from the moment a youth leaves the streets. Services continue for as long as the individual needs them.

Although outreach encompasses a wider age range, Paul & Lisa's transitional living program generally focuses on the 16- to 21-year-old youth target group. Potential client living arrangements include supervised apartments, group homes, family host homes, foster care, or institutional placements depending upon age, needs, and capabilities. The precise mix of services that can be offered in any given case depends on available funding, regulatory constraints, and specific client needs. For example, with 16 and 17 year olds, Paul & Lisa works in cooperation with licensed child placement agencies and emphasizes a family foster care model. With older individuals a group home or supervised apartment model is more typical. Whenever possible, and appropriate, an individual is assisted in returning home or to another suitable environment (e.g., extended family members). This is particularly the case with children under the age of 18. Attempts are made to help all child clients either return to their home or that of a relative, whenever appropriate. If there is no home or no other safe alternative, then placement is sought. Due to the special nature of Paul & Lisa's clientele, these alternative living arrangements are made in locations that are distant from the New York City metropolitan area.

The transitional living program recognizes that many young prostitutes (and other youth) lack independent living skills. For example many are unfamiliar with money management, banking, housekeeping, hygiene, securing employment, obtaining prenatal and child care, and driving. Some do not have a Social Security number. Furthermore they often have difficulty interacting appropriately with others.
While transitional living officially begins when a prostitute asks for help leaving the streets, many services are provided to prepare a young woman for this moment. These services include counseling and referral to medical or psychological treatment that addresses her anxieties about leaving the streets and starting a new life in unfamiliar surroundings. Program staff members, volunteers, members of the board of directors, and representatives from resource agencies meet with and help each client prepare for the changes to be faced.

For youth under the age of 16, staff members will:

- help establish contact with the family
- contact the department of social services, law enforcement, juvenile authorities, or other service agencies in the youth’s hometown. Those agencies can determine whether or not the family situation and circumstances are appropriate for her return. If the family circumstances are not appropriate for the young woman to return home, social service agencies may explore other alternative housing options.
- make transportation arrangements. Staff members have located funding through Travelers Aid, the Salvation Army, airlines, and other groups; make reservations; purchase tickets; provide transportation to the point of departure; and sometimes accompany the youth home.
- identify appropriate support and counseling services in the youth’s home community to ease the transition. It is important to ascertain that all referral agencies have sound reputations.
- contact the young woman and her family to offer assistance and support after her return home. This helps bridge the gap between Paul & Lisa’s involvement and the assistance and support of local service providers.

Whenever necessary and appropriate, staff members arrange temporary lodging for one or two nights with a church group or another safe location in Connecticut. The goal is to distance the young woman quickly from her pimp and other negative influences that may undermine her decision to leave the streets.

After two or three days, or as soon as possible, youth are placed in a supervised living arrangement. (Youth do not stay with Paul & Lisa staff members.) Currently the placement of choice, for those older than 18, is the structured group home. The women share living responsibilities and support each other during their transition to independence. After successful placement in the group home they can move on to independent living.

Until the group home opened, the program used its network of supporters and resource agencies to locate appropriate placement. A young woman shared an apartment with another program client or lived alone, depending on her needs and abilities. Typically apartments were furnished through donations. Apartment dwellers usually were matched with a volunteer family willing to help staff members provide encouragement and mentoring. Although the program now concentrates on providing services through its group home setting, staff members expect the program eventually to provide other housing options. For example, with 16 and 17 year olds, family foster care is the method of choice.

Whatever the living arrangement, within two weeks after placement, the young women undergo a complete medical assessment, which includes drug and AIDS testing, a dental examination, and a nutritional evaluation to determine existing medical conditions and the need for immediate or long-term medical
care. Program funds pay for medical examinations, but local physicians and dentists, some of whom are on the program's board of directors or are volunteers, often conduct these examinations at no charge. If a young woman needs additional medical services, the program seeks funding from other agencies and organizations.

The program also arranges for a mental health assessment. With this initial evaluation, the clinician can develop both long- and short-term treatment plans. Subsequent services may include individual treatment, crisis intervention, group counseling, and referrals to outside support groups. If intensive treatment is necessary, staff members coordinate with local treatment centers.

Once settled in a living arrangement, each young woman prepares an individualized contract with Paul & Lisa, identifying her current or desired employment, education, and social and independent-living goals. This contract is an integral part of rehabilitation because it reflects the young woman's commitment to attain goals, follow rules, meet responsibilities, and acquire skills for independent living. Each youth is expected to establish and maintain acceptable educational or employment habits, develop positive relationships with others inside and outside the program, explore motivations for prior behavior, and accept responsibility for her behavior.

The first four to eight weeks are critical. In that time, a young woman typically tests the unfamiliar boundaries of the new living situation. Frustration often peaks because the streets can be perceived as an easier environment than the rules of the new life. Many young women see life on the streets (even when controlled by a pimp) as complete freedom compared to the constraints of an apartment or group home. They tend to rebel, sometimes attempting to return to the streets or use drugs and alcohol. Working a "regular" job for minimum wage is also difficult for someone who made significantly more money on the streets.

Regardless of the specific placement option utilized, progress through the transitional living program depends on the ability to comply with house rules and individualized contracts. House rules forbid alcohol, drugs, and physical violence and require adherence to a curfew and participation in household chores. Youth are encouraged to find jobs and are expected to save a portion of the money they earn and often also share living expenses. This requirement also provides participants with the opportunity to make financial decisions and learn money management.

During the initial period, mental health counseling is available to help the client manage anxieties associated with the transition from street life to independence, understand the demands of her new way of life and establish realistic and positive goals, develop the social skills to achieve positive reactions and results in the community, and address personal problems. It should be stressed that each young woman progresses through this stage at her own pace. No time limits are set for goal achievement.

As needed, staff refer clients to services such as drug or alcohol counseling, job placement, remedial education, vocational training, and life skills training. They also provide transportation to medical appointments and job interviews.

Because staff members are aware of the difficulties inherent in learning these new skills and behaviors, they offer constant support and counseling to make the transition from street life as smooth as possible. The program provides a safe and nurturing environment while promoting independence among participants.
Once the youth assumes responsibility for her own needs and personal growth, she moves to an independent living arrangement. This takes an average of six months. Indicators of a youth’s readiness to move to independent living include enhanced interpersonal skills, vocational skill development, employment, proper hygiene practices, and appropriate handling of household responsibilities.

A youth may undergo a “rite of passage” ceremony from the program, which acknowledges her success in obtaining an independent living status and accomplishing the goals set for recovery. While she receives a certificate of achievement and moves out on her own, her emotional ties with staff are maintained, and staff members continue to offer support as needed.

At this stage a client can become a sponsor for another youth who leaves the streets and enters the client rehabilitation process.

Staffing The transitional living program is supervised and managed by a client supervisor who provides case management and consistent support to all clients and, in the case of group living arrangements, primarily runs the household. This staff member also coordinates training in life skills, arranges referrals to community resources, and monitors client progress. An assistant client supervisor aids with these functions. Neither staff member lives with any client, but the group home has an extra bedroom for staff or volunteers if an overnight stay is necessary. The program routinely arranges for overnight supervision while a client is acclimating to the facility or going through a crisis.

The group home advisory team, which acts as a supportive resource to staff members, especially those who were formerly on the streets, is composed of the executive director; other Paul & Lisa staff members and volunteers with a broad experience with the client population; selected board members; medical professionals; and specialists in mental health, employment, education, and/or vocational fields.
Appendices
## Appendix I

### Prostitute Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case #</th>
<th>Age Began</th>
<th>Age Ended</th>
<th>Pornography</th>
<th>Drugs/Alcohol</th>
<th># of Children</th>
<th>Who Has Custody</th>
<th>Pathway to Prostitution</th>
<th>Type of Prostitution</th>
<th>Violence</th>
<th>Health Issues</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Made/used it</td>
<td>Before, during, after prostitution</td>
<td>Boy age 9</td>
<td>Ex-husband</td>
<td>10-year sexual/physical abuse by father, Runaway, Foster homes, Thrownaway, Pimp bar, Pimp turns her out, Pimp major support, Feels made her own decisions</td>
<td>Hoteling, Streets, Houses, Apartments, Motel, Controls sexual acts: no bondage/intercourse, Sex with males and females</td>
<td>Raped, Stolen/robbed at knife point, Arrested but not prosecuted</td>
<td>Two abortions, Practiced birth control, Several GYN problems, Heart trouble, Drug addiction, VD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Made it</td>
<td>Before, after prostitution</td>
<td>Girl age 16</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Father inflicted physical abuse, Mother promiscuous, Sexual abuse by stepfather and stepfather's friends, On streets, Pimps sold into prostitution, Believes she made her own decisions</td>
<td>Streets, Moteling, Bondage, Sex with males and females</td>
<td>Abducted/sold, Repeated rapes and beatings, Life threatened with guns and knives</td>
<td>Facial injury from beatings, GYN problems, Two abortions, Drug addiction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Made/used it</td>
<td>Before, during, after prostitution</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Father inflicted physical/psychological abuse, Needed money, Met pimp at sex party, Pimp introduced her to madam, Madam maintained control over sex via violence and threat of turning customers in for violations of the conditions of their furlough programs</td>
<td>Houses, Special parties</td>
<td>Intercourse and S &amp; M, Physical abuse by madam</td>
<td>VD, Infertility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case #</td>
<td>Age Began</td>
<td>Age Ended</td>
<td>Pornography</td>
<td>Drugs/ Alcohol</td>
<td># of Children</td>
<td>Who Has Custody</td>
<td>Pathway to Prostitution</td>
<td>Type of Prostitution</td>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>Health Issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Made it</td>
<td>Before, after</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>• Sexually abused by stepfather at age 9</td>
<td>• Streets</td>
<td>• Beaten by customers/boyfriends</td>
<td>• Post Traumatic Stress Disorder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>prostitution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• On streets with peers</td>
<td>• All forms of sexual acts: no control</td>
<td>• Raped by therapist/guards</td>
<td>• Suicide attempt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Drugs</td>
<td>• Parlor</td>
<td>• Out calls</td>
<td>• Infertility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Made/used it</td>
<td>Before, during</td>
<td>Boy age 4</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>• Raped at age 7 by teenage boys</td>
<td>• Wives-in-law</td>
<td>• Raped</td>
<td>One abortion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>after</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Stepmother inflicted physical abuse</td>
<td>• Primary woman of pimp</td>
<td>• Pimp beat her</td>
<td>Drug addiction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>prostitution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Foster home</td>
<td>• Moteling</td>
<td>• She beat wives-in-law</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Runaway</td>
<td>• Streets</td>
<td>(young prostitutes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Thrownaway</td>
<td>• Massage parlors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Lived on streets with other children</td>
<td>• Controlled sexual acts: no bondage/anal sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Turned out by friends to get money</td>
<td>• Had &quot;Sugar Daddy&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Turns with pimp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Believes prostitution lifestyle was her choice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Used it</td>
<td>Before,</td>
<td>Girl age 9</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>• Brother inflicted sexual abuse from age 6 to 24</td>
<td>• Streets</td>
<td>• Early abuse by brother/ parent/stepparent</td>
<td>Childhood constipation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>during,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Parlor</td>
<td></td>
<td>Severe drug/alcohol abuse (numerous hospitalizations)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>after</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Brothel</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Gang raped by pimps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>prostitution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Businessmen’s shops</td>
<td>• Marital abuse</td>
<td>• Sexual abuse by drug counselor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Plant store</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Striptease</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• On street with other kids</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Freelanced as a prostitute</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Age 15 setup by pimp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Raped by pimp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Age 17 to 22 married and abused by husband</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case #</td>
<td>Age Began</td>
<td>Age Ended</td>
<td>Pornography</td>
<td>Drugs/Alcohol</td>
<td># of Children</td>
<td>Who Has Custody</td>
<td>Pathway to Prostitution</td>
<td>Type of Prostitution</td>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>Health Issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Made/used it</td>
<td>Before, during, after prostitution</td>
<td>Boy age 4</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Beaten by father</td>
<td>Street</td>
<td>Father beat her</td>
<td>Abortion guilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sexually abused by stepfather</td>
<td>Parlors</td>
<td>Pimp beat her</td>
<td>Cocaine addiction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mother and stepfather were alcoholics</td>
<td>Apartments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mother was a manic depressive</td>
<td>Out calls</td>
<td></td>
<td>Seizure disorder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Runaway</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turned tricks for drugs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Was wife-in-law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dealt in drugs/prostitution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Made/used it</td>
<td>Before/during prostitution</td>
<td>Girl age 3 months</td>
<td>Boy age 3</td>
<td>Physical abuse by father</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Raped by stepfather</td>
<td>One abortion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mother married twice and goes to street with older men/promiscuous</td>
<td>Brothels</td>
<td>Gang raped by stepfather's friends</td>
<td>VD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Raped by stepfather at age 11; stepfather continuously raped sisters aged 5 and 7</td>
<td>Streets</td>
<td>Frequently beaten by pimp/boyfriend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stepfather forced mother to take drugs and she eventually died</td>
<td>Limits sexual acts to vaginal/oral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Goes on street and reads books about prostitution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Freelance prostitute</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pimp boyfriend</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Controls sexual acts via relationship with pimp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case #</td>
<td>Age Began</td>
<td>Age Ended</td>
<td>Pornography</td>
<td>Drugs / Alcohol</td>
<td># of Children</td>
<td>Who Has Custody</td>
<td>Pathway to Prostitution</td>
<td>Type of Prostitution</td>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>Health Issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Used it</td>
<td>Before None</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Physically abused by mother</td>
<td>Street</td>
<td>Raped / choked / abandoned</td>
<td>Pregnant VD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>During</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Started running away at age 10</td>
<td>Motels</td>
<td>When young, beaten by younger sister</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>On streets at age 13/14</td>
<td>Control over sexual activity</td>
<td>Beaten by pimp if she looked at certain men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thrownaway because wouldn’t follow religion of parent</td>
<td>Parties</td>
<td>Sprayed customer with mace paying for not</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Went to live with an aunt / uncle who set limits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Responded by leaving / turning tricks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Boyfriend turned her out</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>She teamed with other prostitutes and started freelancing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Got pimp from one of those prostitutes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Child/adult / S &amp; M / couples</td>
<td>During prostitution</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Sexually abused at age 13 by father and male cousins</td>
<td>Street</td>
<td>Raped by pimp and customer</td>
<td>Infer- tility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Physically abused by father</td>
<td>Corporate parties</td>
<td>Beaten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sex with pimp at age 15</td>
<td>Hotels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Befriended by pimp / boyfriend</td>
<td>Private homes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Promise of good life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Got out after reading about Paul &amp; Lisa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Child</td>
<td>During prostitution</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Physically abused by father and stepmother</td>
<td>Street</td>
<td>Raped by pimp</td>
<td>VD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sexually abused at age 5 by stepcousin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Befriended by a pimp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case #</td>
<td>Age Began</td>
<td>Age Ended</td>
<td>Pornography</td>
<td>Drugs/Alcohol</td>
<td># of Children</td>
<td>Who Has Custody</td>
<td>Pathway to Prostitution</td>
<td>Type of Prostitution</td>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>Health Issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Child</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>• Physically and sexually abused at age 9</td>
<td>• Street</td>
<td></td>
<td>VD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>During prostitution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Raped by mother’s boyfriend</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Befriended by pimp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Used it</td>
<td>During Prostitution</td>
<td>Five children aged 6-13</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>• Befriended by pimp</td>
<td>• Street</td>
<td>• Raped by pimp and customers</td>
<td>Broken bones, Hearing loss, VD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Wanted excitement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Children used as pawns</td>
<td>• Held at knife point by customers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Used it</td>
<td>During/after prostitution</td>
<td>Boy age 6 Girl age 8</td>
<td>Ex-husband Mother</td>
<td>• Recruited by pimp at a bar</td>
<td>• Street</td>
<td>• Beaten by pimp and customers</td>
<td>Liver disease, VD, Addicted to drugs and alcohol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix II

### Pimp Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Age Began</th>
<th>Method of Procuring</th>
<th>Control of Prostitute</th>
<th>Style of Pimping</th>
<th>Pathway to Pimping</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Seduction over time</td>
<td>Threats &amp; violence</td>
<td>Enterprise: finds girls/ sells out to madams &amp; other pimps</td>
<td>Witnessed family violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Exploitation of dependency</td>
<td></td>
<td>Physical abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reform school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Seduction over time</td>
<td>Threats &amp; violence</td>
<td>Enterprise: finds girls/ sells out to madams &amp; other pimps</td>
<td>Witnessed family violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Exploitation of dependency</td>
<td></td>
<td>Juvenile delinquency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Seduction</td>
<td>Mind control</td>
<td>Solo pimp</td>
<td>Family impoverished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Had wives in-law (young prostitutes)</td>
<td>Abandoned at age 11 and stayed with older female who was a prostitute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pimping was his life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Seduction (&quot;They came to me&quot;)</td>
<td>Force Social isolation Exploitation of dependency</td>
<td>Angry pimp (contempt for prostitution) Solo</td>
<td>Father deserts family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Father involved in pimping/prostitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Teamed with prostitute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Began pimping own stable of girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Seduction Befriended</td>
<td>Abuse Intimidation</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>Witnessed family violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Age 12 heard about money from prostitute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>As young child pretended to be pimp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Learned from pimps in night club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Began with 26-year-old prostitute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Seduction Befriended</td>
<td>Blackmail Force Threats</td>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>Contracted polio at age 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Learned about hustling in neighborhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Older brothers &amp; sisters in crime/sex industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Took on 13-year-old prostitute as first pimp experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Denies he was a pimp because he did not beat women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix III

Resources

National Center for Missing and Exploited Children
2101 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 550
Arlington, Virginia 22201-3052
(703) 235-3900

The National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC), established in 1984 as a private, nonprofit organization, serves as a clearinghouse of information on missing and exploited children; provides technical assistance to citizens and law enforcement agencies; offers training programs to law enforcement and social service professionals; distributes photographs and descriptions of missing children nationwide; coordinates child protection efforts with the private sector; networks with nonprofit service providers and state clearinghouses on missing persons; and provides information on effective state legislation to ensure the protection of children per 42 USC 5771 and 42 USC 5780.

A 24-hour, toll-free telephone line is open for those who have information on missing and exploited children: 1-800-THE-LOST (1-800-843-5678). This number is available throughout the United States, Canada, and Mexico. The TDD line is 1-800-826-7653.

In April 1990 NCMEC merged with the Adam Walsh Centers. For information on the services offered by our branches please call them in California at (714) 997-1392, Florida at (407) 820-9000, New York at (716) 461-1000, and in South Carolina at (803) 254-2326.

A number of publications addressing various aspects of the missing and exploited child issue are available free of charge in single copies by contacting the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children's Publications Department.

The Paul & Lisa Program, Inc.
P.O. Box 348
Westbrook, Connecticut 06498
(203) 399-5338

The Paul & Lisa Program, Inc., is a nonprofit, service organization dedicated to prevention and intervention efforts with runaway, missing, exploited, and homeless children and youth. The program's various components include:

- in-school and community-based educational programs focused on preventing runaway behavior and other precursors to sexual exploitation and detecting child abuse or similar causative factors
- outreach efforts, primarily through direct street work with the target population, including crisis intervention, information, and referral to supportive services such as health clinics, drug/alcohol rehabilitation, shelter programs, and other agencies that provide basic necessities and subsistence
- transitional housing for homeless and exploited youth with the goal that participants will ultimately gain independence and avoid long-term dependence on governmental or private support programs
- professional and preprofessional training for health care, educational, social service, legal, law enforcement, and related personnel regarding their respective roles in addressing the problems of runaway, missing, exploited, and homeless children and youth
- participating in the network of nonprofit organizations of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children to identify and return children to their homes whenever possible and appropriate, and otherwise networking with individuals and agencies involved in this area
The Office for Victims of Crime (OVC) in the U.S. Department of Justice is the Federal focal point for victim issues. Established by the Victims of Crime Act of 1984 (VOCA), OVC oversees the dissemination of formula grants to the states that support local victim assistance and compensation programs. OVC provides direct assistance to victims of Federal crime and awards national scope training and technical assistance grants designed to improve the treatment of crime victims. All funding provided by OVC for these programs is derived from the Crime Victims Fund in the U.S. Treasury, a source of revenue that comes solely from the fines and forfeitures of convicted Federal criminals—not hard-working taxpayers. Finally OVC monitors Federal compliance with Federal victim legislation, such as the Victim Witness Protection Act of 1982 and the President's Child Safety Partnership.

WHISPER
1821 University Avenue, South, Suite 287
St. Paul, Minnesota 55104
(612) 644-6301

Since its inception in 1985, WHISPER (Women Hurt in Systems of Prostitution Engaged in Revolt) has grown from a small, grassroots movement to a respected national organization in the twin cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota. WHISPER educates the public about prostitution as a system of exploitation and abuse and advocates the expansion of services to women and adolescents attempting to escape the sex industry. WHISPER’s members, staff members, volunteers, and members of the Board of Directors are a diverse group of survivors of prostitution and other concerned women’s advocates. This coalition has resulted in an effective blend of compassion, personal experience, a commitment to feminism, and a history of organizing against violence focused toward women and children.

Based on its advocacy and organizing efforts, WHISPER has developed an analysis of prostitution as a system of oppression that differentially harms both women and children. By documenting the violence and manipulation used to recruit and trap women in the sex industry, WHISPER has come to realize and attempts to educate others that prostitution is not a victimless crime, but rather that prostitution creates an environment in which crimes against women and children are defined as a commercial enterprise.

WHISPER's oral history projects are designed to document lives of the women used in prostitution. To ensure confidentiality and to protect the identity of these women, WHISPER assigns code names and numbers to each participant in the project. The oral history projects are then used as a guide in the development of effective prevention and intervention programs and provide factual information with which to discredit pervasive mythology about prostitution.

WHISPER offers a variety of services and programs to the community at large. Some of these programs and services are as follows:

- Information, Referral, and Advocacy. Advocates are available to assist any female who is seeking to leave prostitution or who is dealing with legal or other problems resulting from her experiences in prostitution.
- Juvenile Prostitution Prevention Curriculum. The most poignant telephone calls received at WHISPER are from therapists and counselors working with teenagers who have been used in both pornography and prostitution. Studies of adult prostitutes reveal that the average age of recruitment is 14. In an effort to educate juveniles about prostitution, WHISPER has developed a curriculum using volunteer speakers to conduct presentations in classes or teen groups on the issues of prostitution and pornography. WHISPER also distributes informational posters to schools, youth centers, and other community agencies in an effort to educate the public about the various strategies and tactics used in the sex industry.
- Action Groups. Action groups conduct training and organize social actions on public policy issues regarding prostitution. Transportation and child care stipends are provided to members to attend such groups.
- National Newsletter. WHISPER publishes the only national newsletter focusing solely on issues of commercial sexual exploitation. The newsletter can be found in universities, libraries, feminist bookstores, and women’s studies programs throughout the United States and Canada. The newsletter is also available through prison outreach, direct service providers, and battered women’s shelters.
- Documentary Video. “Prostitution: A Matter of Violence Against Women” is the only audiovisual program of its kind. The documentary video was conceived and produced entirely by prostitution survivors and presents an in-depth analysis of prostitution as a system of oppression.
Appendix IV

Sample Forms to Execute a Program to Help Victims of Child Prostitution

The "Applicant Disclosure Affidavit" in this Appendix was provided by the Missing and Exploited Children Comprehensive Action Program. All other forms in this Appendix were provided by the Paul & Lisa Program, Inc.

OUTREACH CLIENT INTAKE

Case Number:
Date:
Time:
Report by:
Subject:
Sex:
Age:
Race:
Descriptive Features:
General Health:
Known Diseases:
Pregnant:
Location:
Nature of Contact:
Contacts in Quarter:
First Contact:
Total Number of Contacts:
Additional Contacts:
Date of Arrival in Area:
State of Origin:
Method of Transportation:
Reason(s) for Leaving:
Are you a runaway? [ ] Yes [ ] No
Migratory Patterns:
Involvement in [ ] Pornography How long?
[ ] Prostitution How long?
[ ] Drugs How long?
How did involvement begin?
Past History of Abuse:
Have you received any support from social/human services organizations?
WOULD YOU BE INTERESTED IN RECEIVING SUPPORT FROM THEM?

REFERRALS MADE [ ] NO [ ] YES DATE:
TO WHOM?

FOLLOW UP ACTION:

COULD/WOULD YOU RETURN HOME IF THE OPPORTUNITY AROSE?
EXPLAIN:

CANDIDATE FOR TRANSITIONAL LIVING COMPONENT? [ ] YES [ ] NO
LICENSE PLATE(S) OF PIMP(S) AND/OR DRUG DEALER(S):

COMMENTS:

(Additional pages added as needed.)
GENERAL INFORMATION

CLIENT ID#: NAME:

DATE OF FIRST CONTACT: STREET NAME:

LOCATION:

1. SEX: [ ] FEMALE [ ] MALE

2. DATE OF BIRTH

3. SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER

4. WHAT ETHNIC RACE DO YOU IDENTIFY YOURSELF AS?
   [ ] CAUCASIAN
   [ ] AFRICAN-AMERICAN
   [ ] HISPANIC
   [ ] ASIAN
   [ ] OTHER (Please specify)

5. WHERE WERE YOU BORN? CITY: STATE:

6. WHEN DID YOU COME TO THIS AREA? MONTH: DAY: YEAR:

7. WHERE IS THE LAST STATE YOU WERE FROM BEFORE COMING HERE?

8. HOW DID YOU COME TO THIS AREA?
   [ ] ON YOUR OWN
   [ ] BROUGHT BY SOMEONE
   [ ] OTHER

9. WERE YOU REFERRED TO THIS ORGANIZATION BY ANOTHER SOURCE?
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO
   IF YES, BY WHOM?

COMMENTS:

FAMILY/SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

1. DO YOU LIVE WITH ANYONE AT THE PRESENT TIME?
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO

2. HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN IN THIS LIVING SITUATION?
   [ ] YEARS
   [ ] MONTHS
   [ ] DAYS

3. MARITAL STATUS
   [ ] LEGALLY MARRIED
   [ ] COMMON LAW
   [ ] MARRIED
   [ ] REMARRIED
   [ ] WIDOWED
   [ ] SEPARATED
   [ ] DIVORCED
4. WITH WHOM DO YOU LIVE?

5. ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH YOUR LIVING SITUATION?
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO

6. IF LEGALLY MARRIED, HOW MANY TIMES?

7. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN PREGNANT?
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO
   IF YES, HOW MANY TIMES?

8. DO YOU HAVE ANY LIVING CHILDREN?
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO

9. WHEN YOU HAVE PROBLEMS, WHO DO YOU TURN TO FOR HELP?
   [ ] SPOUSE/SEXUAL PARTNER
   [ ] MOTHER
   [ ] FATHER
   [ ] SISTER/BROTHER
   [ ] FRIEND
   [ ] OTHER

10. WHY DID YOU LEAVE HOME?

HEALTH

1. DO YOU HAVE ANY MEDICAL PROBLEMS THAT REQUIRE SPECIAL ATTENTION OR THAT CONTINUE TO INTERFERE WITH YOUR LIFE?
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO
   IF YES, WHAT IS THE PROBLEM?

2. ARE YOU TAKING ANY PRESCRIBED MEDICATION ON A REGULAR BASIS FOR:
   A. DIABETES
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO
   B. BIRTH CONTROL
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO
   C. ASTHMA
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO
   D. HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO
   E. HEART
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO
   F. ULCEIR (stomach problems)
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO
   G. HIV (AZT)
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO
   H. HEADACHES
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO
   I. ARTHRITIS
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO
   J. OTHER
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO

3. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN TESTED FOR AIDS?
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO

4. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOUR PRESENT HEALTH?
   [ ] EXCELLENT
   [ ] GOOD
   [ ] FAIR
   [ ] POOR
5. WHEN IS THE LAST TIME YOU HAVE BEEN TO SEE A DOCTOR OR A NURSE FOR ANY REASON?

[ ] YEARS
[ ] MONTHS
[ ] DAYS

EDUCATION

WHAT IS THE LAST GRADE THAT YOU WERE IN WHEN YOU LEFT SCHOOL?

SUBSTANCE ABUSE INFORMATION

1. HAVE YOU EVER USED ALCOHOL, CRACK, COCAINE, MARIJUANA, ICE, HEROIN, PCP, OR ANY OTHER DRUGS?

[ ] YES
[ ] NO

IF YES, PLEASE SPECIFY THE DRUG AND HOW YOU USED IT

TYPE OF DRUG USED: AGE FIRST USED FREQUENCY/AMOUNT OF DRUG USED

A. ALCOHOL
B. CRACK
C. COCAINE
D. MARIJUANA
E. ICE
F. HEROIN
G. PCP
H. OTHER

2. DO YOU FEEL THAT THESE DRUGS HAVE BECOME A PROBLEM FOR YOU?

[ ] YES
[ ] NO

3. HAVE YOU EVER HAD FLASHBACKS OR BLACKOUTS?

[ ] YES
[ ] NO

4. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN TESTED FOR DRUG/ALCOHOL PROBLEMS?

[ ] YES
[ ] NO

IF YES, WHERE AND HOW LONG AGO?

5. HAVE YOU EVER OVERDOSED ON DRUGS?

[ ] YES
[ ] NO

IF YES, WHEN?

[ ] MONTHS AGO
[ ] YEARS AGO

LEGAL

1. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN A CRIME VICTIM BEFORE COMING TO THIS AREA?

[ ] YES
[ ] NO

IF YES, WAS IT:

A. SEXUAL ASSAULT
B. RAPE
C. MUGGING
D. ROBBERY
E. CAR THEFT
F. PHYSICAL ABUSE
G. OTHER
2. IS THIS THE REASON YOU CAME TO THIS AREA?
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO

3. SINCE YOU'VE BEEN IN THIS AREA, HAVE YOU BEEN A VICTIM OF ANY CRIME(S)?
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO
   IF YES, DESCRIBE IT (THEM):

4. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN ARRESTED?
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO
   IF YES, HOW MANY TIMES?
   FOR WHAT CRIME(S)?

   ARE YOU PRESENTLY AWAITING TRIAL OR A SENTENCING HEARING?
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO
   IF YES, WHEN IS/ARE YOUR COURT DATE(S)?

   ARE YOU PRESENTLY ON PROBATION OR PAROL?
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO

5. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN INVOLVED IN PORNOGRAPHY?
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO

   IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN:

EMPLOYMENT

1. ARE YOU PRESENTLY EMPLOYED?
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO

   IF NO, HOW DO YOU SUPPORT YOURSELF?

   IF YES, HOW MUCH DO YOU MAKE?

   HOW DO YOU EARN IT?

2. DO YOU HAVE A PIMP?
   [ ] YES
   [ ] NO

   IF YES, WHAT % OF THE MONEY YOU BRING IN DO YOU KEEP?

ANY OTHER COMMENTS YOU WISH TO MAKE?
DATE:
AGE:
SEX:
(No names please)

Please briefly comment on the following:

1. Do you feel that the Paul & Lisa educator(s) present were able to communicate clearly and effectively?

2. (a) Did the educator(s) adequately cover the topic?
   (b) Did they try to cover too much material for the time allotted?

3. What most interested you about the program and the material covered?

4. Did you learn something new from this presentation?
   [ ] yes
   [ ] no
   If so, what?

5. Will you be able to apply what you have heard to your personal life?
   [ ] yes
   [ ] no

6. Have you ever been a victim of exploitation?
   [ ] yes
   [ ] no
   If yes, at what age?

7. Do you know anyone who has been a victim of exploitation?
   [ ] yes
   [ ] no
   If yes, at what age was that person a victim of exploitation?

8. Has anything ever made you feel like running away?
   [ ] yes
   [ ] no
   If yes, at what age?

9. Have you ever runaway?
   [ ] yes
   [ ] no
   If yes, at what age?

10. Have you ever known anyone who has runaway?
    [ ] yes
    [ ] no
    If yes, at what age did they runaway?

11. Comments:

(Use back for additional comments if necessary)
ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM EVALUATION

DATE: 
AGE: 
SEX: 

(It is not necessary to place your name or any other identifying information on this form unless you desire to do so.)

Please briefly comment on the following:

1. Do you feel that the Paul & Lisa educator(s) present were able to communicate clearly and effectively?

2. (a) Did the educator(s) adequately cover the topic?
   (b) Did they try to cover too much material for the time allotted?

3. What most interested you about the program and the material covered?

4. Did you learn something new from this presentation?
   [ ] yes 
   [ ] no 
   If so, what?

5. Will you be able to apply what you have heard to your personal life?
   [ ] yes 
   [ ] no 

6. Have you ever been a victim of exploitation?
   [ ] yes 
   [ ] no 
   If yes, at what age?

7. Do you know anyone who has been a victim of exploitation?
   [ ] yes 
   [ ] no 
   If yes, at what age was that person a victim of exploitation?

8. Has anything ever made you feel like running away?
   [ ] yes 
   [ ] no 
   If yes, at what age?
9. Have you ever runaway?
   [ ] yes
   [ ] no
   If yes, at what age?

10. Have you ever known anyone who has runaway?
    [ ] yes
    [ ] no
    If yes, at what age did they runaway?

11. Comments:

(Use back for additional comments if necessary)

We want to keep you informed about the Paul & Lisa Program. Please fill out this portion of the form if you wish to have your name and address added to our mailing list.

NAME:
ADDRESS:
CITY: STATE: ZIP CODE:
EDUCATION PRESENTATION FORM

REGISTRATION INFORMATION

DATE OF PRESENTATION: 

TYPE OF PRESENTATION: 

SPEAKER: 

NAME OF ORGANIZATION: 

LOCATION OF PRESENTATION: 

ADDRESS: 

CITY: STATE: ZIP CODE: 

NUMBER OF PRESENTATIONS: 

LENGTH OF PRESENTATION: 

ANTICIPATED ATTENDANCE: 

CONTACT PERSON: 

CONTACT ADDRESS: 

TELEPHONE(S): 

School: 
Home: 
Business: 

GROUP TO CONSIST OF: 

[ ] Adults only 
[ ] Teens only 
[ ] Children only 
[ ] Some mixture of the above groupings (please specify) 
[ ] Other (please specify) 

CAN SUPPLY: 

[ ] Movie screen 
[ ] Videoplayer 
[ ] 16mm projector 
[ ] Slide projector with carousel 
[ ] Television 

SPECIAL NOTES OR REQUESTS: 

DIRECTIONS: 

DONATION OR HONORARIUM: 

ATTENDANCE:
VERBAL SELF-REFERRALS AT PRESENTATION:

☑ Prostitution
☑ Runaways
☑ Pornography
☑ Drug abuse
☑ Emotional abuse
☑ Physical abuse
☑ Sexual abuse

PRESENTERS FOLLOW UP COMMENTS ON SELF-REFERRALS:

STATISTICS AND DATA COLLECTED FROM EVALUATION FORMS

NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS:

☐ Male
☐ Female
☐ No response

NUMBER OF EVALUATIONS

☐ Male
☐ Female
☐ No response

BREAKDOWN OF AGES:

☐ 12 and younger
☐ 13-14 years old
☐ 15-16 years old
☐ 17-18 years old
☐ 19-20 years old
☐ 21 years and older
☐ No response

EVALUATION OF PRESENTATION CONTENTS

1. COMMUNICATED CLEARLY AND EFFECTIVELY?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ No response

2. (a) ADEQUATELY COVER THE TOPIC?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ No response

(b) ENOUGH TIME ALLOWED?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ No response

3. WHAT INTERESTED THEM MOST IN THE PRESENTATION?

(a) [ ] Statistics
[ ] Slides
[ ] AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases
[ ] Parents who exploit their children
[ ] Young age of exploited youth
[ ] Facts and realities of street life
[ ] Large number of youth on street
[ ] Services that Paul & Lisa provide
[ ] Percent of males being exploited
[ ] Prevention message
[ ] No response
4. WHAT DID THEY LEARN FROM THE PRESENTATION?

(a) [ ] Dangers and realities of street life
[ ] Prevention measures
[ ] Statistics
[ ] Young age of victims
[ ] Number of males who prostitute
[ ] Parents who pimp their children
[ ] No description
[ ] No response
[ ] Negative response

(b) Please note sampling of written comments received

5. WILL THEY BE ABLE TO APPLY TO PERSONAL LIFE?
[ ] Yes
[ ] No
[ ] No response

6. (a) HAVE YOU EVER BEEN A VICTIM OF EXPLOITATION?
[ ] Yes
[ ] No
[ ] No response

(b) AT WHAT AGE?
[ ] 12 and younger
[ ] 13-14 years old
[ ] 15-16 years old
[ ] 17-18 years old
[ ] 19-20 years old
[ ] 21 years and older
[ ] No response

7. (a) DO YOU KNOW ANYONE WHO HAS BEEN A VICTIM OF EXPLOITATION?
[ ] Yes
[ ] No
[ ] No response

(b) AT WHAT AGE?
[ ] 12 and younger
[ ] 13-14 years old
[ ] 15-16 years old
[ ] 17-18 years old
[ ] 19-20 years old
[ ] 21 years and older
[ ] No response

8. (a) HAS ANYTHING EVER MADE YOU FEEL LIKE RUNNING AWAY?
[ ] Yes
[ ] No
[ ] No response
9. (a) HAVE YOU EVER RUNAWAY?
   [ ] Yes
   [ ] No
   [ ] No response

   (b) AT WHAT AGE?
   [ ] 12 and younger
   [ ] 13-14 years old
   [ ] 15-16 years old
   [ ] 17-18 years old
   [ ] 19-20 years old
   [ ] 21 years and older
   [ ] No response

10. (a) HAVE YOU EVER KNOWN ANYONE WHO HAS RUNAWAY?
    [ ] Yes
    [ ] No
    [ ] No response

   (b) AT WHAT AGE?
   [ ] 12 and younger
   [ ] 13-14 years old
   [ ] 15-16 years old
   [ ] 17-18 years old
   [ ] 19-20 years old
   [ ] 21 years and older
   [ ] No response

11. SAMPLE COMMENTS:

ANALYSIS, OVERVIEW, AND CONCLUSIONS:
BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEMBER QUESTIONNAIRE

Name
Residence address
Apartment Number
City State Zip Code
Telephone

[ ] Unlisted Today's date

EMPLOYMENT
Business title Date started
Office address
City State Zip Code
Telephone

Name of assistant:

Previous Employment (during the past 10 years)
Position Company Location

EDUCATION

College/University Name/location Class year/ years attended Degree(s)
High School
College affiliations, activities, fraternities/sororities, etc.
College honors and achievements

BOARD MEMBERSHIPS
Please list offices held and date of affiliation
College/ university boards
Corporate boards

Foundation boards

Please note any family members, friends, or business associates who are members of other corporate/foundation boards

Name

Affiliation

Please include titles and committee posts held, dates of appointment, and so forth.

Professional organizations

Civic organizations

Educational or philanthropic organizations

Social organizations or clubs

PERSONAL

Date of birth

Place of birth

Marital status:

[ ] single
[ ] married
[ ] divorced
[ ] widowed

Date of marriage

Spouse's name

Spouse's maiden name (if applicable)

Spouse's college/university, location, class/years attended, degree(s)

Spouse's employment

Title:

Company:

Children:

Name(s)  Date of Birth  College/school  Class year/years attended
Our agency screens prospective employees and volunteers to evaluate whether an applicant poses a risk of harm to the children, youth, and families it serves. Information obtained does not automatically bar employment or volunteer opportunities. Relevant circumstances are appraised. This disclosure is to be completed by applicants prior to further consideration. Any falsification, misrepresentation, or incompleteness in this disclosure is sole and adequate grounds for rejection or termination.

STATE OF ____________________________  
COUNTY OF ____________________________  

The undersigned applicant states under oath (or affirmation) that:

I HAVE NOT at any time, either as an adult or as a juvenile:

- Been convicted of;
- Pleaded guilty to (whether or not resulting in a conviction);
- Pleaded no contest or no contest;
- Admitted;
- Have had any judgment or order rendered against me (whether by default or otherwise);
- Entered into any settlement of an action or claim of;
- Had any license, certification, employment, or volunteer position suspended, revoked, terminated, or adversely affected because of;
- Been diagnosed as having or have been treated for any mental or emotional condition arising from; or,
- Resigned under threat of termination of employment or volunteerism for;

any conduct, matter, or thing (irrespective of the formal name thereof) constituting or involving (whether under criminal or civil law of any jurisdiction):

- Any felony;
- Rape or other sexual assault;
- Physical, sexual, emotional abuse and/or neglect of a minor;
- Incest;
- Exploitation, including sexual, of a minor;
- Sexual misconduct with a minor;
- Molestation of a child;
- Lewdness and indecent exposure;
- Lewd and lascivious behavior;
- Obscene or pornographic literature, photographs, videos;
- Assault, battery, or any violent offense involving a minor;
• Endangerment of a child;
• Any misdemeanor or other offense classification involving a minor or to which a minor was a witness;
• Unfitness as a parent or custodian;
• Removing children from a state or concealing children in violation of a court order;
• Restrictions or limitations on contact or visitation with children or minors;
• Any type of child abduction; or,
• Similar or related conduct, matters or things,

EXCEPT THE FOLLOWING (if none, write "NONE"):

DESCRIPTION DATES

DATE Applicant's signature

Subscribed and sworn to (or affirmed) before me this ___ day of __________________, 19__.

(official seal) Notary Public's Signature

ADAPTED FROM RECORD SCREENING & SELECTION PRACTICUM, BY THE MISSING AND EXPLOITED CHILDREN COMPREHENSIVE ACTION PROGRAM.
Female Juvenile Prostitution: Problem and Response

Preface

Introduction

1. Case Histories

2. Establishing a Program to Help Victims of Child Prostitution

3. Case Study: The Paul & Lisa Program, Inc.

Appendices:

I. prostitute Matrix

II. pimp Matrix

III. Resources

IV. Sample Forms for Executing a Program to Help Victims of Child Prostitution