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Experiences of Youth in the Sex Trade in Las Vegas

By Brooke M. Wagner, Jennifer M. Whitmer and Andrew L. Spivak

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This study was conducted by faculty and graduate students at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas (UNLV). The Principal Investigators were Dr. Andrew L. Spivak, UNLV Associate Professor of Sociology, and Dr. Brooke M. Wagner, a former doctoral student in the UNLV Department of Sociology and now Assistant Professor of Sociology at Wittenberg University in Springfield, Ohio. Jennifer M. Whitmer, a UNLV sociology doctoral student, supervised field operations.

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Chapter 1
Introduction and Executive Summary

This report presents findings from a larger national study, funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention and overseen by the Center for Court Innovation, to fill the current gap in scientific knowledge regarding the size, needs, and characteristics of youth who exchange sex for money, housing, food, or other goods. Based on original research in six sites, including Atlantic City (NJ), the Bay Area (CA), Chicago (IL), Dallas (TX), Miami (FL), and Las Vegas, the larger study aims to estimate the size of the population of youth involved in the sex trade; to describe their characteristics, experiences, and health and service needs; to explore what services are available; and to analyze arrest patterns and prosecution and recidivism outcomes when these youth encounter the juvenile or criminal justice systems.

The current report represents one of six site-specific reports that provide systematic, detailed findings drawn from the youth interviews in each site (see, also, Jones and Gamson 2016; Marcus, Riggs, Rivera, and Curtis 2016; Martin et al. 2016; Maurasse and Jones 2016; Schaffner et al. 2016). A multisite report describes the overall study methodology; differences in how that methodology was applied by site; findings from a national and multisite analysis of arrest, prosecution, and recidivism data; themes emerging from social service provider interviews; and multisite quantitative findings from the youth interviews in all six sites (Swaner et al. 2016).[1] Because the multisite report has a primary quantitative focus, this report and the other five site-specific reports endeavor to provide a rich qualitative account that reveals and gives voice to the experiences, perceptions, and needs of the relevant population of youth.

The following report discusses the context, methodology, and overall findings from the Las Vegas site. This data was collected in two waves. In total, 169 in-depth interviews were conducted over a three-year time period with youth or young adults ages 24 and younger. The Las Vegas research team conducted and partially transcribed interviews in the Las Vegas sample.

[1] For all reports produced by this project, see www.courtinnovation.org/youthstudy.

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Throughout this paper we will use several terms from interviewee vernacular to describe prostitution. For example, participants often referred to prostitution as 'the trade,' 'the life,' or 'the game' which will be used interchangeably throughout the paper. Depending on the context, "sex work" or "prostitution" may also be used. However, in each instance we are strictly referring to the act of "paid sex," or exchanging sex for food, money, goods (like drugs or shelter), and/or services.

While analyzing the data, researchers were struck by the diversity of experiences in the informal sexual economy discussed by participants. Due to this diversity, our report primarily relies on themes and narratives expressed by the participants that demonstrate this variation. Though some quantitative figures are reported, the goal of this report is to reflect the lived experience of those interviewed. Additionally, the terrain of Las Vegas as both a physical and cultural landscape impacted both the research and participants involvement in the trade. For example, more interviews were conducted during warmer weather than cooler weather. We suspect that weather influenced the amount of time participants were on the street, thus limiting their ability to see a flyer or meet an outreach worker.

Furthermore, Las Vegas maintains a hyper-sexualized culture, where sexuality is sold at multiple levels from strip clubs to topless pools—all of which are advertised publicly. Thus, the commodification of sex and sexuality is ever present in the resident community. Although participants did not state that Las Vegas as a location influenced their entry, and sex workers can be found throughout the world, we argue that the sexualized cultural climate of Las Vegas strongly contributes to the way the trade is manifest here. We suspect that differences between our participants and those interviewed at other sites nationally may, in part, reflect cultural factors unique to the metropolitan area. Below are descriptive summary highlights:

- Thirty-seven percent of respondents were male, sixty percent were female, and three percent were transgender.
- Sixteen percent were 17 years old or younger.
- The sample was comprised of 58 percent African Americans, followed by 22 percent white, 6 percent Hispanic, and the rest of other or mixed race/ethnicity.
- Five percent of cis female respondents and three percent of cis male respondents reported having been arrested for prostitution in the past year.
- Eighty-four percent of respondents entered into the sex market before the age of 18, and another 12 percent were between 18 and 21.

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- The most common mode of entrance into the sex market was being approached by a customer. The second most common description of entering into the sex market was as a means of fulfilling survival needs. Others entered into sex work on their own, because they had friends and family engaging in sex work, because they were approached by a pimp or market facilitator, or to support a drug habit.

- Sixty-five percent of respondents reported making less than $200 the last time they saw a customer, with 24% making less than $50. Another 27% of respondents made between $200 and $500.

- The majority of participants negotiated their own prices without using a third party. Several participants who did not use a third party reported that they did not actively negotiate prices, but took whatever their customers offered them.

- Fifty-one percent of respondents reported sharing money with at least one other person, most often family, friends, or a pimp/market facilitator. Few mentioned giving a specific cut of money to anyone, and rather described more irregular patterns of sharing money like pitching in with rent or household expenses when able.

- For 62% of participants, exchanging sex for money was their only source of income. Other sources of income included legal work, state assistance, illegal means, and economic support from family or romantic partners.

- When deciding where to work, respondents were most concerned with the ability to find customers, the amount of police presence, the safety of the area, and the convenience of the location.

- Forty-three percent of participants reported seeing or being involved in a conflict while working. Most common were conflicts with customers over money. Very few respondents reported a specific strategy for dealing with conflict.

- Respondents used multiple methods for finding customers. Most respondents found clients through friends, referrals, on the street, or by using a website or smartphone app. The most commonly used website was Craigslist, although several respondents reported that they avoided Craigslist due to a fear of being set up by police.

- Thirty six percent of the sample stated that they had help meeting clients from a market facilitator. Only 24 percent of our sample considered the market facilitator to be a pimp or pimp-like figure. The reliance on pimps varied greatly among the sample, from solely relying on a pimp to connect with customers, to working with a pimp one time. Only nine percent relied on a pimp/market facilitator all of the time. The amount of control the market facilitator/pimp had over each participant varied.

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- Access to consistent and reliable health care was an issue for many respondents. Many respondents relied on the ER or drop-in clinics for their health care needs, the exception being the use of Planned Parenthood by some cis female respondents for gynecological health.

- Condom use varied throughout the sample. Many respondents noted that they 'always' use condoms, only to qualify that statement later in the interview to 'whenever possible.'

- Help finding employment, job training, and help finding and maintaining affordable housing were the most commonly listed needs by participants.

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Chapter 2

Las Vegas, Nevada: Overview of the Site

The iconic phrase "What happens in Vegas, stays in Vegas" paints the city as a hedonistic adult playground. The phrase was marketed by the Las Vegas Convention and Visitor Authority (LVCVA) to promote and capitalize on the "Sin City" reputation. Tourist attractions include bars and nightlife, international cuisine designed by the world's top chefs, and entertainment. If interested, one can also visit one of Vegas's adult businesses (e.g., strip clubs, topless revenues, burlesque shows, and the 'world famous' Green Door swingers' club).

There is a common misconception that prostitution is legal in Las Vegas. Street and escort prostitution are not legal in the United States, including in the state of Nevada. However, men and women are allowed to exchange sex for money in Nevada as long as they are working in a licensed brothel. However, brothels are not legal in Clark or Washoe Counties (where Las Vegas and Reno are located). Thus, buying and/or selling sex is never legal in Las Vegas. Still, on any given evening one can find magazines filled with photos and numbers of escorts, or be handed a card featuring a naked woman and phone number by a line of workers lining the hotel entrances and exists.

Between August 2005 and May 2007, 226 minors were adjudicated for prostitution or prostitution-related offenses in Clark County (Kennedy and Pucci 2007), and a recently interviewed sample (N=161) of juvenile girls in county detention found that 47 percent had prior involvement in prostitution (Kennedy, Ashby, Swanson, and Pucci 2009). Those in the sample who had been sexually exploited were significantly more likely to have experienced a number of

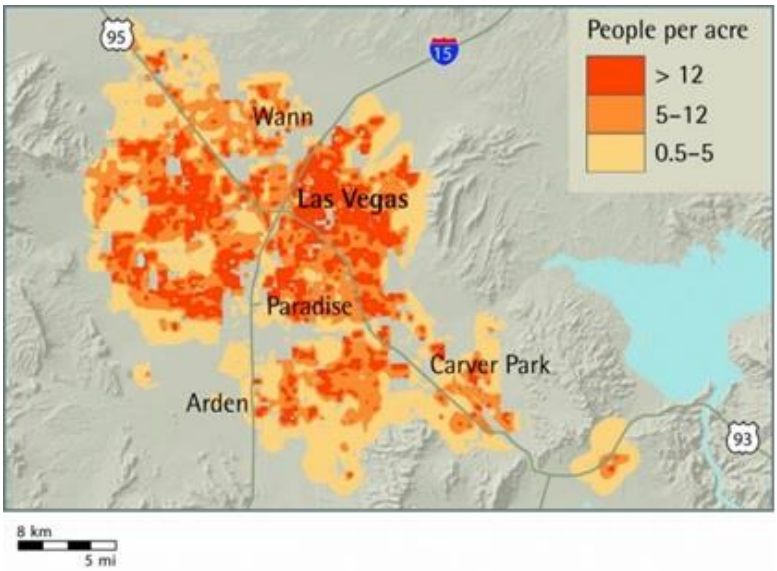

Figure 1: Population Density of the Las Vegas Metropolitan Statistical Area (Sightline Institute: Research and Maps 2014)

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challenges disparities, including physical and sexual abuse, hospitalization for mental health issues, abuse of alcohol and other drugs, and being runaways. These figures are, however, entirely from contacts with the criminal justice system.

According to the 2013 U.S. Census's American Community Survey, the Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise metropolitan statistical area (MSA) comprises the overwhelming majority of the state of Nevada's population: 2,027,868 out of 2,790,136, and the MSA had grown by 3.9 percent between 2010 and 2013. The population was nearly evenly gender-split (50.2 cis male/49.8 cis female), and a five-year age group breakdown (13 groups from <5 to >85) revealed all group percentages within two percent of the respective national figures. Finally, the MSA was comprised of 45.9 percent non-Hispanic whites, 30 percent Hispanic residents (of all races), 10.8 percent black (including Hispanic), and 9.3 percent Asian (U.S. Census 2013). Figure 1 shows the Vegas metro area with population density.

Two elements of motility make the Las Vegas MSA one of the most transient in the nation. The first has to do with the resident population. Until 2000, the decennial censuses asked households whether they had been living in the same state five years earlier. In 1970, only 60 percent of MSA residents had been living in Nevada five years earlier. This proportion increased to 63 percent in 1980, 66 percent in 1990, and 68 percent in 2000. However, the respective proportions for the nation were 84, 85, 88, and 89 percent. Thus, as late as 2000, nearly one-third of Las Vegas residents had moved from out-of-state within the past five years, while only 11 percent of Americans overall had done so (U.S. Census 2013).

The second element of transience is related to tourism. The Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority reports the number of visitors who travel to the city each month but, unlike the census population estimate, does not enumerate a figure for the average number present during a particular year. However, we can use the estimates of visitor traffic over time, as well as the average hotel/motel occupancy, to generate a rough estimate of the average daily visitor population. The LVCVA reports that 39,668,221 visitors travelled to Las Vegas during 2013 – between 2.9 million and 3.5 million per month. If each visitor stayed exactly one day, then the average visitor population would be 108,680 (39,668,221 visitors/365 days), meaning that on an average day we should estimate the total population as being the number residents *plus* 108,680 visitors. Similar figures are produced by using the monthly visitor volume estimates.

However, visitors to Las Vegas stay more than one day each. According to the LVAVC 2013 visitor profile study, visitors stay – on average – 4.3 days when they come to Las Vegas. Thus, the average daily number of visitors present in 2012 can be roughly estimated as the total number of visitors in 2013, times the 4.3 day average length-of-stay, divided by 365 days. The result, (39,668,221)*(4.3) / (365) = 467,324. Thus, at any static moment in time

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during 2013, the Las Vegas MSA had an average of 467,324 visitors present, nearly one-fifth of the total number of people (residents plus visitors), and an average daily turnover of about 108,680 arriving and departing. Of course, these figures fluctuate between busy weekends and slower weekdays, as well as seasonally across the year, but the result, combined with Vegas's hyper-sexualized "sin city" image, makes it a locale potentially suited to heightened activity involving the commercial sexual exploitation of children (LVAVC 2013).

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Chapter 3
Methodology

This research is part of an ongoing study sponsored by the U.S. Department of Justice (USDOJ) through a grant from the Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) to the nonprofit organization, the Center for Court Innovation, in New York City. The initial studies in New York City and Atlantic City were conducted by scholars at the City University of New York (Curtis et al. 2008; Marcus, Riggs, Rivera, and Curtis 2016), after which the Center for Court Innovation reached out to researchers at universities and consulting agencies in Miami, the Bay Area, Dallas, Chicago, and Las Vegas. The Las Vegas site's research team was based at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas (UNLV). The bulk of the grant money received for this project was used as stipends for respondents that chose to participate; additional expenditures included hourly compensation for graduate research assistants and general operation. The Las Vegas site began collecting data in February 2012. However, many of the interviews were completed from December 2013 through May 2014, following an administrative hold and subsequent restart process extending across parts of 2012 and 2013.

Preliminary Interviews

The year prior to beginning data collection, one of the Center for Court Innovation's researchers conducted interviews with stakeholders and social service providers in the Las Vegas area to assess local perceptions, including:

- William Voy, Chief Judge, Clark County Family Courts (oversees all juvenile prostitution cases).
- Brad Garrett, Psychological Services, Department of Juvenile Justice Services (interviews juvenile prostitute and pimp/trafficking defendants).
- Magann Jordan, Youth Advocacy Project, Interim Director (treatment provider for youth prostitutes).
- Shera Bradley, Psychologist (treatment provider for youth prostitutes).
- Darlene Terrill, Director, Westcare (women's/children's shelter)

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Data Collection Procedure

Initial study respondents ("seeds") were recruited by flyers containing a phone number – a toll-free 24-hour “800” number provided by the Center for Court Innovation – that potential respondents called to arrange for an appointment to be interviewed. The flyer asked “Have you ever exchanged sex for food, money, housing, or other goods?” (see appendix for example). Researchers also posted advertisements on Craigslist, Redbook, and Backpages using the same wording as the flyers, although we received few calls in response to those ads. Calls came into a cell phone which was monitored by project staff at all hours. When prospective research subjects called, the researchers negotiated a time and location in which to conduct the interview. Project staff screened callers by asking them their date of birth and their familiarity with the project. After it was determined that the caller had exchanged sex at some point and fit the age criteria, project staff arranged a date, time, and place to meet. Interviews were conducted at respondent-chosen public places, such as a coffee-shops and fast-food restaurants. At least two researchers were present at all times when interviews were conducted.

Sampling

As begun in the New York City study, which was conducted as part of an earlier project funded by the National Institute of Justice (see Curtis et al. 2008; Muslim, Labriola, and Rempel 2008), the research design employed a Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) system to continue recruitment beyond the “seed” interviews, in which seed respondents receive coupons that may be given to their peers. This sampling method is specifically designed to assess representative characteristics of hidden, underclass populations (Heckathorn 2002), and was utilized by all of the site studies. Researchers (all of whom have completed CITI training and an additional 8-20 hours of training) conducted the interview protocol, including both closed and open-ended questions.

Following interviews with the seeds (or initial respondents), each respondent was given three unique and coded coupons that they were instructed to pass along to other youth they knew who may be part of the teen prostitution population (see appendix for example). The numerical codes on the coupons included information that enabled us to prevent duplication, identify who recruited each respondent, and keep track of subsequent recruitment patterns. When a coupon was redeemed by an eligible respondent, we compensated their recruiter with ten dollars cash. We initially planned to give coupons only to respondents and to limit them

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to three coupons each. However, in both waves of data collection, we found several key informants who were ineligible to participate in the study but who were highly motivated to refer people who did fit the study criteria. In these cases, we sometimes gave out more than three coupons and gave coupons to people whom we did not interview.

Confidentiality

Great lengths were taken to assure respondent confidentiality. Upon meeting the potential respondent, researchers asked permission to: 1) conduct the interview, and 2) electronically record the interview. Most respondents agreed to be recorded, and those that did not agree were still interviewed. Respondents were read an informed consent statement. If the respondent wanted to continue, he/she was then asked to choose a study-participant pseudonym that was written on the informed consent documentation. The process of choosing a name served as a way to establish rapport between the interviewer and the interviewee, enabling a more naturalistic assessment of the prospective participant's ability to engage the study and give effective and informed consent.

Each respondent was also given an alphanumeric code (called an RDS number) that was unique in order to help assure that the research team did not interview the same respondent multiple times. The code was created from the following list of questions.

1. The second letter of your last name.
2. The first letter of your first name.
3. The first letter of your mother's first name.
4. The year that you were born (2 digits)
5. Your gender: M, F or T
6. Your racial/ethnic group: B, H, W, A, or O (other)

Stipends

At the end of the interview, each subject was paid forty dollars cash and given three coupons to give to others they knew in "the life." Subjects were told that they would be paid ten dollars for each person that contacted us and came in for an interview. After verifying that a respondent had successfully referred another person (through our RDS coupon manger program), the interviewer then met the respondent at an agreed-upon location. However, most often the recruiting respondents came accompanied by the referred participant to their interview.

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Interview Protocol

The interview questionnaire was designed by the Center for Court Innovation and contained 176 questions. Topics included respondent information, making and spending money, market involvement, customer, pimps and market facilitators, network, health and needs, experiences with the police, and expectations. The length of time to complete the interview varied from 45 minutes to 3 hours (in a few cases). Interviewers took detailed notes during each interview that was typed into a word document for future analysis. Most of the interviews were recorded. However, due to the public location (which was often very noisy) and the subject matter (which caused many participants to speak quietly) many of the audio recordings were not ideal for transcription.

Access

Original outreach efforts consisted of online advertisements (noted above) posted on websites like Craigslist and Backpage. After a week without response, members of the research team posted flyers in a half mile area of the city where street-level prostitution was rumored to occur. The team also held 'drop-in' hours in public locations for potential interviewees (advertised online). Very few participants were found in this early stage, and those that were interviewed were outside of the ideal age range.

Discouraged, we asked an LVMPD police officer (and UNLV graduate student) where he would recommend we looked for participants, or the known "tracks." He mentioned an area in town where police often arrested prostitutes and johns. The research team hung flyers around the area, but received little response.

At this point, some members of the team began to engage in street outreach efforts. Team members in groups of two began walking the known tracks handing out flyers with information about the project to people passed by on the street. Most street outreach efforts occurred early in the morning or late afternoon, always finishing before sunset.

Team members would typically say "Hi. I'm from UNLV and I'm out here doing some street outreach." Sometimes, a conversation would begin between the team and the potential research participant. We would use this time to discuss our project and ask others to spread the word. It is through these combined efforts (street outreach, posting flyers, and open hours) that we received our first wave of subjects. We continued using this approach

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throughout the rest of the project. When the research site became slow, or the researchers felt we were receiving participants who were not in fact eligible (i.e., people who were not in the sex trade but wanted to do the interview to receive the $40 stipend), the team would begin scouting a new location. (New locations were chosen by the research team during team meetings based on information gathered from sex workers during interviews.) However, if a respondent called in from another area of town, the team would always send two members to a public location in that area to conduct the interview. Thus, most interviews conducted in one area tended to occur during the same time period; however, this was a norm and not a rule.

Beginning November 2013, we began attempting to recruit participants along an area with a reputation for street prostitution. This track was located near a truck stop and we regularly observed young women conversing with truck drivers and getting in and out of semi cabs. While most women walked alone, some walked in pairs. The most active times of day were the early morning and night. As several participants explained, the track was a popular spot for construction workers to stop by on their way to work.

After a few weeks of posting flyers and speaking with people along the street, we had conducted very few interviews and there were signs that people were becoming hostile towards us. Driving along that street, we noticed flyers had been torn down. Several people told us that this street was the sight of numerous outreach efforts, and in conversation, it was clear that some people thought we might represent a religious organization. We conducted a handful of interviews in this area, but participants informed us that while this was a high prostitution area, most of the people exchanging sex for money along this track were older than our target demographic. Some suggested that people would be reluctant to talk because they were controlled by pimps, and we did note several men watching over women who were walking along the track.

After conducting eight interviews in this area, we decided to concentrate our recruitment efforts on other parts of the city. We moved on to downtown Las Vegas and spoke with a drug dealer, Jeff[2], who recommended we concentrate our recruitment efforts in a different area of town with a reputation for having a high population of homeless youth. After making this change, we began receiving more phone calls and began getting referrals across the Las Vegas valley.

---

[2] All names have been changed to protect the confidentiality of our participants.

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See the appendix for dates and mapped locations of outreach and interviewing activity.

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Chapter 4
Research Findings

In this section, we begin with a general demographic description of the sample population, followed by a discussion of the participants' interview responses on pertinent aspects of sex work, including money and market involvement, customers and pimps, health and other needs, experiences with law enforcement, as well as perceptions and expectations for the future.

Respondents

The researchers found two particularly unexpected characteristics of the sample. First, the majority of our respondents were "seed" recruits, obtained from outreach efforts, rather than RDS coupon holders. Second, 36 percent of the respondents were cis male.

General demographic characteristics are summarized in Table 1 (subsequent page). The age distribution ranged from 13 to 24 (only one respondent was 13). Twenty-eight participants were under 18 at the time of the interview, and 99 were ages 18-21. A much larger proportion of cis female than cis male respondents identified as bisexual, and only five respondents (2.9 percent) were transgender. The majority of study participants were African American, the rest primarily white, with some Hispanic and mixed race/ethnicity. While nearly one-in-ten cis males had some college, education levels overall were low.

Interestingly, just under one-third of participants did not have their first paid-sex experience until after the age of 18, although slightly more than one-fifth had their first paid-sex experience before they were 15. The wide distribution reflects a diverse range of sex work entry pathways, as we describe later in this section.

An especially contentious question among activists and scholars studying prostitution is the extent to which sex workers have pimps. While the interview protocol contained a number of questions to tease out the subtleties of participants' lives and relationships in order to answer this question – we discuss these responses in greater detail later in this section – Table 1 provides a crude summary via questions about whether anyone helps the respondent find customers. Overall, 37 percent of study participants have *some* kind of market facilitator, although further interview notes reveal that many of these are described as friends and family members.

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Entrance into the Sex Market

Sixteen percent of respondents were under 18 at the time of the study, but 71 percent (74 percent of cis females, 65 percent of cis males, and all trans participants) reported exchanging sex for something when they were under 18. Twenty-four percent reported first exchanging sex for something between the ages of 18 and 21. Sometimes participants reported multiple entrances into the sex market. For instance, one participant let classmates to touch her breasts and buttocks in exchange for money when she was a third grader. Later, when she was 18, she needed money and she went to a known track to look for customers. Some respondents described cases of childhood sexual abuse. For instance, one participant was 14 when her mother's boyfriend started molesting her. He bought her gifts and gave her money in exchange for her silence.

The majority of respondents entered into the sex market after first being solicited by a client. Fifty-six individuals (24 females including 2 transgender women; 29 males including 1 transgender man) entered into the sex market this way. Of the participants who entered the sex market after being solicited by a client, 17 of the 24 cis females, 18 of the 29 cis males, both trans women and the trans man were under 18 at the time. Ashley, a seventeen-year-old African-American girl, was fourteen the first time she was approached by a customer. She was walking down the street when a man in his twenties stopped his car and asked if she wanted to "have fun." It was only the second time she had ever had sex, and she and this man continued to have a "business relationship" for several months:

> *I was walking down the street and this guy pulled over and asked if I wanted a ride and I had gotten in the car and he asked, did I want to have some fun? And I was like, "What do you mean?" and he was like, "Do you want to have sex? I'll give you $40." And I did it… It felt weird at first. It just felt weird. It was weird because it was like, the second dude I'd ever did it with. After I got the money, it was so fast that I continued doing it.*

In some of these cases, the individual was unaware that they were being solicited at first. For instance, Skylar was 18 the first time she exchanged sex for money. Her mother had moved to Hawaii without telling her, leaving her alone in Las Vegas without money or a place to stay.

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Table 1: Percentage Distribution of Respondents for Selected Characteristics			
	Overall (N=171)	Female (N=107)	Male (N=64)
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Seed (vs Coupon)	66.6	66.7	66.6
Age			
13 to 17	16.4	20.6	9.4
18 to 20	40.9	43.0	37.5
21 to 22	23.4	20.6	28.1
23 to 24	19.3	15.9	25
Gender			
Male	36.3		
Female	60.8		
Trans	2.9	(3 respondents)	(2 respondents)
Orientation			
Straight	69.4	58.5	87.5
Gay	3.5	2.8	4.7
Bi	26.5	37.7	7.8
Race/ethnicity			
White	22.2	18.7	28.1
Black	57.3	57	57.8
Hispanic	10.5	10.3	10.9
Other/Multi	9.9	14	3.2
Last Grade Enrolled In			
<6	0.7	1.1	0
6 to 8	3.4	4.4	1.8
9 to 11	43.8	43.3	44.6
12 (or GED)	52.1	51.1	53.6
Age at First-Paid Sex			
<13	3.6	3.8	3.1
13 to 17	67.5	70.5	62.5
>18	29	25.7	34.4
Has a Pimp	12.9	16.8	6.3
Has a Market Facilitator who is Not a Pimp	24	23.4	25
Arrested in the Past Year for Prostitution	4.1	4.8	3.1

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> *I was walking to downtown and somebody pulled over and asked if I wanted a ride and I said, "Yeah," and then he pulled over and parked and like, grabbed my hand and made me touch his crotch area and he offered me $50 and I did it because I wanted to get a hotel room after that.*

Twenty-seven participants (18 cis female, 9 cis male) reported that they first exchanged sex in order to fulfill survival needs; fifteen (10 cis female, 4 cis male, 1 transwoman) self-initiated, entering into sex markets on their own; fifteen (12 cis female, 3 cis male) had friends or family in sex markets; eleven (10 cis female, 1 cis male) were first approached by a pimp; eleven (5 cis female, 5 cis male, 1 transman) entered into sex markets due to drug habits; nine (7 cis female, 2 cis male) were introduced to the sex market by a market facilitator; six participants (5 cis male, 1 cis female) described acting as a "sugar baby" to someone who would support them financially in exchange for sexual favors; and three cis female participants described their first time exchanging sex for money as rape.

These categories are not mutually exclusive, and participants' narratives were not always easy to categorize. In some cases, friends and family who knew the participant was in need of money would help them to find clients in order to help them make money. Sometimes participants who were in need of money would seek out clients, having seen friends or neighbors make money that way. Market facilitators were often friends or family members who were also involved in the sex market. In Paulette's case, when she was 13, she and a 12-year-old friend ran away together and both entered the sex market at once. In other cases, a more experienced friend or family member introduced them into the sex market. Chloe, a 16-year-old girl, was 14 when the following occurred:

> *I was with my old best friend and we were just walking and some guy asked if we needed a ride and we got into the car and he was talking to us and stuff and we lied to him about our age—I told him I was eighteen and she said she was 21, and he asked if we did any business and we said yes and we went back to his place and I had sex with him and he gave me $150 and my cousin had sex with him and he gave her $150, too.*

Later in the interview, Chloe revealed that this man had been a regular customer of her best friend's.

Raesha, a 21-year-old biracial woman, spoke with her boyfriend about her exchanging sex as a possible way to make money to help pay for their son's needs. Her earnings went toward supporting her boyfriend and son, but Raesha made and managed her money on her own.

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"We just did it because it was easy money. It was coming in fast and it was hard for me to get a job so I was like let me go out and try it for a little bit just until the money get up until we can support [our son]." She was coded as self-initiating. Some participants reported turning down offers to work for pimps. Kit, a 21-year-old white woman, first exchanged sex for money when a friend of hers who was a prostitute brought her to a bar and tried to recruit her to work for her pimp. Kit said no to working for her pimp, but she had sex with a man at the bar for $160.

Terracee, an 18-year-old biracial woman, ran away from home at 13 and stayed with a friend of her cousin's. He wanted one of them to have sex with him in exchange for staying with him and she was the one he chose. Terracee later found out that her cousin had offered her to him without telling her. Terracee awoke to find her cousin's friend attempting to rape her. Terracee's cousin negotiated the exchange, and would continue to negotiate future exchanges for Terracee in exchange for a cut of the money she earned. Terracee did not identify her cousin as a pimp, but due to the control her cousin had over her and her money, we coded her entrance into the sex market as a case of being approached by a pimp..

Some cases were more clear-cut. Sheila was 12 when she first exchanged sex for money. She had run away and she and her friend had been dating drug dealers in exchange for shelter, clothes, and food. When they met the man who would become their pimp, they assumed they would have a similar arrangement with him as they had with the other men they had stayed with.

> *Sheila: The boy just happened to be a pimp that we were going to meet and we didn't know. He took us to a room and had an ad in a newspaper… and the guys would come to the room…. He wanted to take pictures of us at first and we asked, "Why are you taking those pictures?" and he said, "I'm going to put an ad in the paper. You guys could make a lot of money." And it just escalated from there—bamboozled us.*
>
> *Interviewer: Did you think you were making money from the photos?*
>
> *Sheila: At first. Until they started knocking on the door.*
>
> *Interviewer: What happened when the first person came?*
>
> *Sheila: We fought him to get him out of the room and the guy came and said, "This is how you're going to make the money. Instead of sleeping with people*

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for a hotel room, sleep with someone and get your own money and buy your own stuff." And that kind of was convincing. (laughs)

Several participants described going in and out of the sex market. Nyeshia was forced into the sex market at 14 when a boy she had been dating for a month raped her and forced her to begin seeing customers. She worked for him until she was fifteen and moved in with her aunt in Las Vegas. She began exchanging sex again two years later with a group of friends. Other participants described attempting to stop exchanging sex, but picking it back up when they had difficulty finding legal work. As Leanne, a 21-year-old white woman described, "At first it was to survive, to have shelter. Then it was to take care of a drug habit. Then, I felt addicted to the money."

Making and Spending Money

We asked participants whether they worked on or off the streets. Some participants did not answer this question because they were no longer involved in the sex market. Though working as a sex worker was a requirement to be a participant, several participants noted that they were in-and-out of the field regularly. Due to the transient nature of the sex industry, some participants were not active sex workers at the time of the interview. However, of the 157 who did answer, 52 (33 percent) said they worked on the streets, 73 (46 percent) said they worked off the streets, and 28 (18 percent) said they worked both on and off the streets. Those who worked off the streets relied on referrals, escort services, or the Internet to find clients.

Of the 135 participants who were paid in cash and could recall how much they were paid the last time they had seen a customer, 24% made $50 or less, 24% made between $51 and $100, 17% made between $101 and $200, 27% made between $201 and $500. Eleven participants reported earning more than $500. However, based on their responses and the responses of others, we believe at least three of these participants were exaggerating the amount of money they made.

Eight participants reported being paid in something other than cash the last time they had seen a customer. For instance, Alfredo, a 21-year-old Hispanic man, often traded sex for drugs. The last time he saw a customer was when his best friend came out to him as gay. Alfredo received two bottles of vodka and a gram of cocaine in exchange for allowing his friend to perform oral sex on him. Tony, a 21-year-old homeless African American man who had been in the sex market since he was 15, last exchanged sex for shelter and some time watching television.

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Fifty-one percent of participants reported sharing their money with at least one other person. Of those who shared money, 33 (38 percent) shared with family, 22 (25 percent) shared with friends, 10 (11 percent) reported sharing with a pimp or market facilitator, nine (10 percent) shared with a former or current romantic partner, seven pooled their money with someone they worked with (8 percent), and five shared with a roommate who was not described as a friend or family member (6 percent). When answering the questions regarding whether they shared, with whom, and how much, few mentioned giving a specific cut of their money to anyone, and rather described more irregular patterns of sharing money, such as pitching in with rent or other household expenses or buying alcohol for friends when they were able.

When asked what they did with their money after they made it, forty-one percent responded that the first thing they bought was clothes or shoes; 37% said the first thing they bought was food; 24% bought drugs or alcohol, 8% bought cigarettes; 34% paid for shelter or utilities; 10% spent their money on things for their children like diapers and baby wipes. 28% spent money on other items, such as hygiene and beauty items, transportation, gambling, savings, and entertainment. Several participants said that they spent money on clothes and beauty in order to attract customers.

The majority of participants (78 percent) reported negotiating their own prices exclusively. Of those who did not negotiate their own prices, 10 (6 percent) reported using a pimp or market facilitator. Eleven participants (6 percent) said that they sometimes negotiated prices themselves and sometimes prices were negotiated by a pimp or market facilitator. Another nine participants (5 percent) reported that they did not actively negotiate prices, but rather accepted whatever customers were willing to offer them. As Skylar, a 21-year-old white woman described, "Usually they make an offer and I either take it or I don't…. I usually just take what they offer me because it scares me. I saw a girl severely beaten up by somebody, and that's never happened to me luckily, but it scares me, so I usually just agree." Seven participants (4 percent) said that they did not explicitly negotiate prices at all. These participants described relationships in which they acted as a "sugar baby" to a partner or multiple partners who provided them with shelter, gifts, and/or cash. For instance, Nancy, a 19-year-old white woman, entered into an arrangement with a twenty-nine-year-old family friend when she was sixteen. He offered Nancy an apartment and visited her twice a week over the course of a year in order to indulge a foot fetish, providing her with gifts and cash.

Several participants said that their prices differed based on the customers. If a customer was dressed well or drove an expensive car, they may raise prices. As Raesha, a 21-year-old biracial woman, put it, "When you know that somebody has money, you charge more.... They'd be flossin' their money like they got it and we would go out and get drunk and sometimes they'd

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pass out more money." Similarly, some described raising prices for less attractive customers. As Katie, a seventeen-year-old white girl, put it, "Depending on how he looked or who he was... So, some guys, if they were cute and charming and more closer to my age, I wouldn't charge them that much, but if they were older I would charge them as much as they were willing to give me."

For 62% of participants, exchanging sex for money was their only source of income. Of the 66 participants who had other sources of income, 41 percent received income from some sort of legal work, 30 percent received some sort of state assistance like Social Security or unemployment insurance, 18 percent received income from other illegal means such as selling drugs and robbery, and 11 percent relied on economic support from family members or romantic partners.

We also asked whether participants owed money to anyone. Twenty-two percent said that they did owe someone money. Of these, 24 owed money to family and/or friends, six owed money to a drug dealer, two owed money for bills, four owed money for rent or a hotel room, two owed money on a pay day loan, three owed money to the bank, and two needed to pay a court fine. Of the 38 who could remember how much they owed, 13 owed less than $100, 13 owed between $101 and $500, and eight owed more than $500.

Market Involvement

We asked participants how often they worked in the past week. Sixteen percent of respondents indicated that they had not worked at all over the last week. Forty-four percent stated that they had worked between one and ten hours during the week; 11% said that they worked between 11 and 20 hours; 4% reported working between 21 and 30 hours, and 7% said that they worked between 31 and 40 hours. Eleven percent of respondents said that they worked more than 40 hours in the last week. Although most participants said they worked weekends, many participants worked weekdays, and several noted working weekday mornings in order to find customers who were on their way to work.

Sixty-nine percent of participants had only exchanged sex for money in Las Vegas. Among those who had exchanged sex for money elsewhere, 70 percent (37) had done so in California, primarily Los Angeles. Fifty-seven percent (96) of participants gave specific reasons for why they chose to work in a particular place. Of these, 39 said they worked in spots that knew would have customers, 28 considered how to avoid police when deciding where to work, 12 considered how safe the area was, 13 chose to work in places that were conveniently located, five tried to avoid competition from others exchanging sex for money, six made the decision of where to work based on where their friends wanted to work, five

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tried to avoid pimps in deciding where to work, and three worked where their pimps told them to work. Jeff, a twenty-three-year-old white man, sought out customers at local gay bars. He considered when to work based on when he expected there to be more customers.

> *I go usually between the hours of 9 to 3:30 in the morning.... I just pick when to go depending on how many people are going to be there, so during those hours, there are a lot of people. Earlier there's no one, later there's no people.... Wednesdays is the best because it's underwear night and there would be a lot more people there.*

Sheila, who began exchanging sex when she was twelve, said she relied on rumors from others involved in the sex market, which was not always reliable:

> *Rumors from other girls. Girls talk and they brag and you have to go test it out and see. They really bragged about one track, "Oh, there's no police over there." As soon as we get there, we don't make no money, we don't make a dime and we go to jail broke. And we're standing out there naked. Uh uh.*

Forty-three percent of participants had seen or been involved in a conflict while working. As one participant put it, these conflicts could be over anything: "Someone stepping on someone's shoes, gang banging, you see all types of shit, being on the street."

Participants sometimes described more than one kind of conflict while working. Of the types of conflicts participants described, 24 were with customers, primarily over money. Laquita, a twenty-five-year-old black woman, once had a customer refuse to pay her and her friend $1,400. She had her brother retrieve the money for them without incident. Nyashia, who had been exchanging sex since she was 14, described a number of conflicts with customers. "A lot of people feel they don't have to pay because you're doing it because you want to, but that is not the case." In one case, a customer refused to pay and told her to get out of his car. When she refused, he started to hit her. She got out her pepper spray and he immediately gave her the money he owed her. Fourteen participants described working in areas with high degrees of domestic or other interpersonal violence, 14 described conflicts with pimps, 11 reported drug-related conflicts, six reported conflicts among those exchanging sex, eight described gang-related conflicts, and seven described conflicts with the police. Another six described being involved in conflicts with either their own romantic partner or their customers' romantic partners. Five participants said that they had been in conflict with workers at businesses who kicked them out for soliciting. Although Jeff initially said that he

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did not get into conflicts or altercations, when asked if he avoids any particular places, Jeff said that he avoided drawing the attention of bartenders in order to avoid conflict:

> *Jeff: I stay away from the actual bar because if the bartender sees what you're doing he'll kick you out, and it's cold outside, I don't want to be kicked out.*
>
> *Interviewer: Have you ever been kicked out?*
>
> *Jeff: Yeah. He saw what I was doing and said, "We don't do that in here, you need to leave."*
>
> *Interviewer: Do you have to avoid that particular bartender?*
>
> *Jeff: Yeah. I don't want to have the cops called on me.*
>
> *Interviewer: Have you ever had that happen?*
>
> *Jeff: Had the cops called on me? Yeah.*

Skylar, a 21-one-year-old white woman, was frightened of customers becoming violent with her. To avoid this, she avoided any conflict with them. "I'm just pretty much submissive to anything." She had never had a conflict with a customer, but her daughter's father had become violent when he found out that she had exchanged sex for money:

> *My baby's dad, he, when I met him--it turned into an issue with him and he did get abusive over it, but that's why I left him, because he didn't know about it when I met him because it's not something you want to tell everybody, especially if you like them. And so I did stop doing it when I was with him, but when he found out that I had been doing it he assumed I was while we were together.... He put a gun at the back of my head one time. I didn't see it, but his mom did and called the cops on him and SWAT came and shot tear gas through our window, looking for him. He ended up going to jail but only for two days.*

Only 34 participants described specific strategies to avoid conflict or protect themselves in conflicts. Most of these participants (71 percent) said that they "walked away" or "keep to [themselves]" or "avoid drama." Laquita said that she avoided physical altercations by working for herself and not having a pimp, although gang members have warned her against working in certain areas. Sheila said she sometimes got into fights with other people in the

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sex market. She and her friend came up with a way to fake having a pimp without having to contend with the rules and restrictions a pimp would place on them:

> *One girl told me that I was on her corner and another girl wanted to fight me because she said I was "out of pocket"--that's when you are talking to a pimp or looking at a pimp or I don't know what I did but she told me to give her my money and we had to fight for it. She had to really fight to get the money out of my shoes, my boots…. We'd just fake like we had pimps. I'm not gonna tell them because then they'll try and get your money all the time…. I started--I would call it the "build-a-pimp." We would meet a guy who was cool and we would tell him, "Watch our bags while we're out and we'll give you $50," then they start getting a little wiser and start wanting more. "Okay, we'll split it down the middle with you," but once we got to the middle point we'd start on someone else and keep it as low as possible.... It sounds crazy but it's survival!*

Leilani, a 21-year-old biracial woman, said that she tried to avoid conflicts by "keep[ing] my head down," but she sometimes got into conflicts when she felt someone was disrespecting her.

> *Some chick'll be like, 'Aw, you broke,' or they talk shit. Talking shit is disrespectful. Me, I don't say nothing to nobody. I keep my head down most of the time, so you take it upon yourself to invade my comfort zone. You got me fucked up... I get into it with dudes, too. They be being rude. They like to touch me. In my book, anybody can get it…. I keep my head down. I don't have many friends. I don't go out that much because I already know where I am and I know how it's set up. I know how the world is and it's not meant to be your friend, basically.*

Customers

Participants found clients from a variety of sources. Many participants found clients through referrals, either through friends (36%), a pimp (4%) or another source like clients or associates (19%). Forty-seven percent of participants reported finding clients on the street and 47% had used a website or Smartphone app at least once. Twenty percent found clients in casinos, clubs, and bars. Although some participants described being able to charge tourists more, many avoided Las Vegas Blvd. and Fremont East due to the increased security. For instance, Raesha, a 21-one-year biracial woman, said that although she could charge over $500 if she sought customers on Las Vegas Boulevard, she preferred walking the

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track behind the Strip because she felt it was safer. Four participants described being approached by clients as they were shopping at the mall or grocery store, and two reported using an escort agency to find clients.

The 80 participants who reported ever using a website or smartphone app to find clients named a total of 37 different websites and smartphone apps. Of these, only eleven were used by more than one participant. The most widely used website was Craigslist, which 25 out of the 80 participants who found clients via the Internet used. Not all who used Craigslist to find clients made clear in their personal ads that they were seeking to exchange sex for money. Junior, a 19-year-old Hispanic man would post ads on Craigslist, offering himself to women from out-of-town looking for fun with a younger man. He met with women at casinos, and only after sex would he ask for money. Several participants described avoiding Craigslist due to a fear that they may be set up by the police. In addition to adult-oriented personals and dating sites, forty-four participants reported using social networking sites. Popular websites included Facebook (20), Backpage (13), RedBook (10), Mocospace (10), Myspace (7), Tagged (5), Sugardaddie.com (4), and Adam4Adam (4).

Many participants reported using multiple methods for finding clients. For instance, Erika, a 17-year-old African American girl, got referrals from friends and family who are also a part of the sex market. An ex-boyfriend of hers sometimes found clients for her and arranged for her to meet them in exchange for a $30 cut of what she made. When asked if she considered him a pimp, she tentatively responded, “Yeah, yeah, I guess so.” Erika occasionally found clients on her own by walking through casinos. Additionally, boys from school sometimes messaged her on Facebook asking for sexual favors, and she would ask them, “Where the money at?” Ashley, a 16-year-old African American girl, also used multiple methods to find clients. She walked several tracks in different parts of the city, although she avoided Las Vegas Boulevard and Fremont East at night to avoid fines for breaking curfew. She avoided pimps because she “refuses to get beat,” although she does occasionally pay a pimp she knows a $50 referral fee for finding clients for her. Several participants described a similar situation in which they explicitly denied working for pimps, although a pimp they knew might send customers their way, with or without a referral fee. In addition to referrals and self-generated clients on the street, Ashley also used multiple websites, including Craigslist, Facebook, Myspace, Backpage, Redbook, Tagged, and MocoSpace.

Some participants had been out of the sex market for some time and had difficulty remembering details of the last time they had seen a client. Of 159 participants who recalled the number of clients they had seen the last time they worked, 82 percent (139) had seen five or fewer clients. Eighty-three percent reported averaging five or fewer clients each time they

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worked. Participants went with clients to hotels (67 percent), cars (33 percent), their client's residence (31 percent), their own residence (27 percent), or to a public place (12 percent). Public places included public parks, public restrooms, alleys, and drainage tunnels. Several participants said they preferred hotels because they felt they were safer. Most often, clients paid for the hotel or motel room. However, some participants said they would pay for their own hotel room. For instance, Raesha, a 21-one-year-old biracial woman would typically get a motel room to host clients. Her boyfriend would get a room on the same floor so that he could ensure her safety.

Participants saw clients from a range of different ethnicities and several responded, "All of the above," upon seeing the options on the questionnaire. One-hundred and twenty saw white clients, 92 saw Hispanic clients, 79 saw Black clients, 33 saw Asian/Pacific Islander clients, eleven saw mixed race clients, and ten saw Native American clients. Even though 79 participants reported seeing black clients, eight reported that they avoided black clients. Of these, some referred to black clients as violent—for instance, one participant said black clients would "rob and rape you." Others believed black clients would try to pimp them or cheat them out of money. One 21-year-old white woman described it as a "personal preference." Others, though, could not give a specific reason. As one participant put it, "You just don't. Everybody knows that." One 17-year-old multiracial girl said that she and her pimp would trick Hispanic men into coming back to a hotel to be robbed. They did not target white men because they might be cops, and they avoided robbing Black men because they thought they might get violent.

Participants also saw clients from a range of ages. Twenty-one participants reported seeing clients of all ages, ranging from their teens and twenties to their fifties and above. Eight reported seeing clients in their teens and early twenties. Most participants (114) saw clients in their twenties, thirties, and forties. Twenty-four described seeing clients in their forties or above. Some participants said they preferred older clients because these clients did not always want to have sex.

Fifty-four participants (32 percent) did not know anything about their customers' marital status. Of those who did, 82 saw married customers, 50 saw single customers, 39 saw customers who were divorced or separated, six saw customers who were in relationships, and five saw widows or widowers.

Forty-three participants (25 percent) did not know their customers' professions. Of those who did, 45 reported their customers worked in business or sales, 28 reported seeing customers who worked in construction, 27 saw service industry workers, including bartenders,

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restaurant servers, nightclub workers, and retail employees, 30 saw medical professionals, 23 saw lawyers, 12 saw teachers, 14 saw people in creative professions, six saw police officers, six saw maintenance workers, and six saw drug dealers.

Many participants had steady clients. Most described their time with steady clients as different than their time with one-time clients. Emily, a 21-year-old white woman put it, "It's more comfortable, we are friends to a certain extent. Well, I don't like them, but it's okay. I tolerate them and it's cordial." Steadies would often pay more than one-time customers or give gifts or services in addition to or in exchange for payment. For instance, Kit, a 21-year-old white woman, had a police officer as a regular client in exchange for keeping out of trouble. Other participants reported clients would take them out to dinner or to go shopping, or would pay for them to get their hair or nails done. Some clients paid their rent or bills, or would give them drugs, gifts, or supplies like diapers for their children. However, in contrast, some steadies would try to get discounts.

Sometimes participants reported that clients would pay for their time without having sex. Tracie, a 17-year-old multiracial girl, described spending time with a 16-year-old friend of her pimp's. When he would pay to have time with her they never had sex, they would just talk for long periods of time, giving her a break. Angel, a 21-year-old white woman, had regular dates with two clients. These men often just wanted her as "arm candy"—while they sometimes engaged in sexual activities, oftentimes they would simply go out to dinner and spend time talking together. Kit said of her customers, "A lot like to talk about their families and wives. They get sad about their ex-wives," and she sometimes felt like a counsellor when they spoke about their problems.

Pimps and Other Market Facilitators

Many respondents in our sample found clients independently. However, some worked with a pimp or other market facilitator. Of the 169 respondents, 37 percent stated that they had help at some point meeting with clients, this help varied from pimps to friends, to family members. Thirteen percent worked with a pimp, and another 24% worked with a market facilitator that was not a pimp. Some utilized "spot pimps,"—people who are not pimps by occupation, but individuals involved in street life that refer clients to sex workers when asked. The sex worker then pays the individual or spot pimp a referral fee, which varies and is dependent on the amount of payment received from the client. The use of spot pimps is present in the literature on street life and prostitution (Marcus et. al. 2012).

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Some respondents noted that pimps/market facilitators used the Internet to help find/solicit clients. Ten percent of respondents indicated that their pimp or market facilitator used the Internet to help get clients, and many of these respondents noted that the Internet was their facilitator's main way of connecting to clients. When pimps were not utilizing the Internet to help find clients, they tended to work on the street and/or have a network of regulars that contacted them when in want.

Relationships to pimps varied throughout the sample. For example, one respondent noted that she loved her pimp and she desperately wished he felt the same way for her, and another noted that she hated her pimp. Some market facilitators were boyfriends or a 'baby daddy' and others were relatives, friends, and friends of friends. Though most market facilitators were cis males, there were some cis females. Cis female pimps/market facilitators were often considered good friends and/or sister figures to those that they helped. Additionally, in many of these instances the cis female market facilitator did not require any payment for their involvement in arranging an appointment. This was in stark contrast to cis male market facilitators, who usually expected some cut of the money (anywhere from all of it to a small percentage). Due to the varied relationships participants had with pimps, we will not present the information as a typology. Instead, we will describe some of the relationships with pimps as discussed by our respondents. Though most of the respondents were willing to be recorded, as noted above, many of the recordings were inaudible due to the noisy interview location and quite voice of the respondents. Quotes are used as often as possible, however, some information about pimps had to be pieced together by the interviewer after reflecting on the entire interview.

Jonathan (19) discussed his dependency on his pimp. He first got involved in street level prostitution after hearing about it in juvenile detention. He tried it on his own but was grateful when he met up with a pimp (who was a friend of a friend). When asked about their arrangement Jonathan noted "Because he does all the sorting, he does everything for me… He handles the money, and the schedule. I just do the job." The respondent stated he liked this relationship because it was easy. The interviewer noted that the respondent was a drug addict (meth), and his pimp kept him in supply of meth with a roof and some food. When asked about his feelings toward his pimp, he said "I don't really feel anything. He's my go to person. I like him in general… He is the money maker, he comes through if I need it… I do anything he asks me to do." Additionally, he felt that his pimp offered him a source of protection (as long as he followed the rules). "Rules are like house chores" he noted, and "stay in like, your zone." His pimp would protect him by setting up and transporting him to clients and negotiating price. Meetings with pimp-generated customers were much safer, according the respondent, who noted that when he met customers on the street they would

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often attempt to jump (assault and rob) or rape him. Though "they haven't gotten me yet" he said in regards to the multiple attempts of sexual assault he experienced.

Kristi (17) said that she was "turned out" by a pimp at 14. In the beginning, he acted like her boyfriend and bought her things. Soon after, he said she owed him sex for buying her things. Eventually, he expected her to have sex with others in exchange for the things he gave her. She moved in with him, and 11 other girls all under 18. She reported that some liked him, while others did not. She thought about leaving, but was too afraid, especially after her friend tried to escape and received a hot iron in the face as a warning. She was quiet and stayed to herself; never receiving any physical violence from her pimp. After two years Kristi was able to make contact with a family member, who hid her until her mother could wire her money to travel home across the country.

Teeny (22) noted working with a few pimps over the years. In fact, her first sexual experience was with a pimp who took her out to dinner to begin the process of turning her out at age 14. She knew he was pimp from stories she had heard from the "Hos" at the group home. When discussing feelings toward pimps, Teeny said "He's your best friend, your motivator, your protector…" On her current pimp, she noted "He won't ever hit me. He pays the rent, he pays the bills… he takes care of everything." She gave all of her money to her pimp, noting "at the end of the day, he saved me." This respondent felt a sense of freedom around her pimp "I don't act like… most hos know to keep their mouth shut and stay in a ho's place. I don't feel like that and I can talk when I want." Though she cared for her pimp, and believed that he cared for her, Teeny did note the limitations on their relationship in regards to status. For example, where she would take a bullet for him because she loves him, she noted "He won't take a bullet for no bitch… but that's a pimp."

Another respondent, Cieria (23) maintained a unique relationship with her pimp. She said, "I was walking home from about, kind of close to where I was but there was no bus on the street so I was forced to walk and he pulled up and said 'do you need a ride?' and I accepted it… it was really nasty outside… asked if I'd ever tried being an escort…. He had helped other girls do it and you know, you can make 1 grand in a night." Addicted to heroin at the time, Cieria felt he was offering a way to feed her addiction and become independent. In the beginning, "during the day, I would go over to his place and he would set me up on the computer and I would do just like, one day and take the money and go home." As their partnership continued, she eventually moved in with him and rented a motel room for meeting clients. He "coached" her, teaching her how to use the Internet to find johns and transporting her to meet with clients. She gave him half of everything she made. According the respondent, he was not cruel or disrespectful, they never had a sexual relationship, and he

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was equally dependent on her because he was an unemployed 'professional gambler.' She noted "I liked him, I kind of depended on him… If I didn't wanna spend money on something, he'd buy it for me, or food. Took me to California, paid for us to stay there." Their relationship ended because he was taken to jail for a tax violation. He persistently asked Cieria to return to their previous arrangement after he was released from jail, but she refused because she loved her boyfriend (whom she met while he was incarcerated).

Though some respondents worked with steady pimps, others worked with different pimps as they moved in and out of the life. For example, Ruthie (18) traded sex three times in her life –each with a different pimp. The first time, the arrangement was set up by her friend's boyfriend (whom she knew was pimp). Ruthie was 17 years old at the time. She said "I was with one of my friends and she was telling me that she did it and stuff. She was with this guy, and she said he was taking care of her, giving her money and food and she didn't have to worry about any of that stuff. And at that time, I was out on the streets and I needed money… I know it was wrong, but I just needed money, that's all I thought about the whole time… I was like I hope this night goes by so fast… I think I was paid…um…. 50 dollars. I didn't like it… um… I knew it was wrong." Afterward, her pimp was given all of the money. Because Ruthie did not choose to stay with the pimp, she never received any actual payment (in money, goods, or services) from the pimp. Interestingly, she said the pimp did not try to claim any ownership over her. The second time she sold sex, her mother (also a prostitute) set it up to help support her (the mother's) drug habit. She said "Mom introduced me to him, my mom does it all the time. I got 50 or 40 dollars." However, she had to give 30 dollars to her mother afterward for setting up the engagement. The third and final time she sold sex, she met the john through a cis female classmate who arranged the meeting. They met at a Motel 6, and he paid her 30 dollars (20 of which Ruthie had to pay to her classmate).

Lena (18) discussed working with her boyfriend, who helped her find clients, make ads online, and negotiate price. They shared her money, and he does not work with anyone else. This type of boyfriend/pimp relationship was common among respondents with pimps, and may better reflect the idea of a market facilitator.

Genie (15) was tricked into her first engagement by her friend/pimp. She was living with her friend Sasha -leaving home after being sexually abused by her grandfather. Her friend, Sasha, had been working in the life for a while (meeting clients online). Genie assumed Sasha thought she (Genie) would like the money, but did not know how to ask her if she was interested. So Sasha scheduled Genie a meeting with a cis male client. Genie did not know about the clients' expectations until she was alone with him. She said "I was angry at first, when she set me up. But then I got paid and it was alright." Genie moved in and out of the

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lifestyle, relying on her friend to make appointments for her when she wanted to work. In regards to paying her friend, she said "When my friend needs some, I'll give her some" but she never paid her directly for setting up appointments. When Genie asked Sasha if she expected some of the money, Sasha said "I'm doing this for you, I'm trying to help you out." This relationship only barely meets the requirement for a pimp. Money is shared (for household expenses) and one party is setting up appointments for the other, but the respondent thinks of her would-be pimp "like a sister" stating "she looks out for me and tries to make sure nothing bad happens." When the interviewer asked Genie if she had a pimp, she responded by laughing hysterically and pointing to another young woman across the room, Sasha who was also being interviewed. Once Genie told Sasha why she was laughing, Sasha began laughing as well. The idea of Sasha being a pimp was humorous to both parties.

Due to the cultural climate regarding sex work in Las Vegas, we also interviewed some respondents that were involved in other forms of sex work. For example, some respondents were involved (either entirely or occasionally) with escort services. Many of these respondents had a history working in strip clubs where they were introduced to an escort agency. Other respondents were involved in Internet cam work and/or pornography.

Some respondents shared unique information about pimping and street culture. For example, one respondent told a story about beating up another prostitute, causing that prostitute's pimp to come to talk to her about the altercation. She discussed how it was a difficult situation because she "can't look in his eyes, because this mean you's his bitch." When asked how she learned this rule, she told the interviewer that she has several family members involved in street life. Her sister was a 'ho', her mom used to be, her father was a pimp, and the rest of her family is 'full of gangbangers."

Another respondent showed researchers an invite-only Facebook page for pimps and hos used for networking. She also referred to her "street family," calling her pimp a "folk" and discussing her "wifeys," or "bitches with the same pimp."

Health and Needs

Lack of access to services for physical health needs was a problem for many of the respondents. Those that had regular access to health care were either underage receiving state insurance, still covered under their parents' insurance, or they had children and were eligible for Medicaid. However, several of those receiving Medicaid noted the inconsistency of the insurance and the hurdles they faced to maintain coverage. Still, many respondents had seen

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a doctor within the past two months by utilizing the ER or making an appointment at a walk-in care center that catered to the uninsured.

The lack of health care was problematic for many respondents, who noted many types of untreated illnesses, including HIV, seizure disorders, asthma, high blood pressure, drug and alcohol addictions, bipolar disorder, STIs, and chronic health issues involving kidneys, allergies, etc.

While conducting interviews in fast food restaurants for this project, it became common to see past respondents stopping in regularly for lunch or dinner. The research team noticed that the areas where many of the respondents worked lacked access to grocery stores. Thus, many of the respondents depended on fast food or processed food from gas stations or quick marts for their diets.

The majority of the cis female respondents received some gynecological treatment. Because regular pap smears are often required in order to have access to birth control, many utilized Planned Parenthood for this service. Many respondents noted the use of protection "all of the time" with clients—though the accuracy of this statement seemed unlikely. More accurately, they used protection whenever the client would allow, with condoms being the most common tool used for STI prevention. Many women also used birth control, including Depo-Provera, the pill, and IUDs. Interestingly, some of the underage girls noted the use of long-term birth control options like Mirena.

Respondents were less likely to practice safe sex with regular clients or intimate partners. A few respondents noted that they did not regularly use any form of birth control or condoms. Some noted latex allergies, the expense of condoms, and fact that they can charge more if they do not use a condom. One respondent noted that they used anything that was available, from condoms to alternative methods like Saran Wrap.

Of those that stated they had an STI, chlamydia was by far the most common, followed by gonorrhea, UTIs, trichomoniasis, syphilis, and herpes. Many respondents noted their ability to access medications to treat their STI.

Near the end of the survey, respondents were asked "If an agency existed to meet your needs, what would it offer?" The answers to this question were mixed. Many participants suggested services that addressed a particular need (like job training, healthcare, fiscal support) while others were appalled by the idea of using a service. Unfortunately, this was one of the last questions on the survey which the research team believes contributed to the lack of in-depth

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responses by many participants. Many of the participants showed signs of interview fatigue near the end of the interview. The main needs listed by respondents were help finding a job, job training, and help with housing (finding a place to live and/or help with a down payment). Counseling for drug addictions, past victimizations, and/or anger management were discussed as areas of need by several respondents. Respondents also requested help with transportation (vehicles or bus passes), day care expenses, and accessing state assistance like food stamps and TANF. The need for schooling (either help obtaining a GED, high school diploma, technical or college degree) was noted by some respondents. A few respondents emphasized wanting to be taught how to become self-reliant and to build confidence, and others just wanted "someone to believe in them." Finally, some respondents stated that they did not need any type of help from a social agency or "free money."

One juvenile participant, Ruthie (discussed earlier) had a positive relationship with a social service agency in the area that stood out. While in a temporary foster home, Ruthie was connected with a program that paid for her housing and a small living stipend so that she could live independently while finishing high school. In order to keep her apartment and stipend, Ruthie had to attend and pass school. Ruthie spoke very highly of the program and believed that it was an important factor in keeping her off the street (and therefore out of the life). Ruthie was the only participant that noted being part of this program.

Experience with the Police

Interactions with law enforcement officials were common among the respondents in our sample. In total, only 34 (20 percent) of the 169 respondents had not had any police "run-ins." Those that interacted with the police most regularly were usually sanctioned for an action unrelated to prostitution. Nineteen (70 percent) of the 27 juveniles in our sample had at least one run-in with the police. Among this group, truancy, breaking curfew, underage drinking, drug use, and shoplifting/stealing were the most commonly listed reasons for police interactions. Interestingly, the violation of status offenses was listed most often as their reason for interacting with the police. One underage respondent noted that she had been in trouble for a domestic dispute with her father. Eight underage respondents had been arrested. Only one respondent in this group noted that she was "hassled" for prostitution, stating that she had been stopped and talked to by the police at least four times but never arrested.

Among the adults, the frequency of police run-ins varied greatly. A small number of respondents noted police interactions as a very frequent occurrence, responding with "too many to count," "3-4 times per week," and "over one hundred." Including these respondents, 34 members of our sample had more than 10 interactions with the police, about a third of

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which estimated the interactions above 30 times. Among these responders, the most common offenses were shoplifting, battery, domestic violence, larceny, possession of drugs, jaywalking and trespassing. Many of the frequent offenders were cis male. Women were much more likely to have run-ins for solicitation than men. Thirty participants stated that they had run-ins with the police for prostitution and 14 stated they had been arrested as a result of these run-ins. Those that were stopped and talked to by the police tended to give fake names, while those formally arrested were more likely to give the police accurate identification information. Police seemed to hassle respondents when they walked the tracks, and tended to arrest respondents while working undercover. Five percent of cis female respondents and three percent of cis male respondents reported having been arrested for prostitution in the past year.

Most of the respondents had strategies to keep away from the police, often noting that they hid or ran away when they saw an officer. For example, Mandi said, "If we see a police officer, or whatever, we'll like go in a store or whatever's closest. And when we meet the tricks… The police officer, they won't let you touch them, like you can't touch a police officer. Right there, so… we'll be like, we'll touch them, and we'll tell them we know it's not a police officer."

Star discussed her impression of the criminal justice system. She said "For soliciting you don't really see a judge. You don't do nothin' they hold you for 48 hours and then let you go." This respondent in particular had been arrested several times, the most recent by an undercover officer. To avoid being picked up by an undercover officer now, the respondent asks new clients to "touch her boob" before negotiating prices under the assumption that police cannot touch a prostitute when on a sting.

Some participants discussed negative interactions with the police. For example, one respondent was picked up by an undercover officer who asked her to do something "disgusting" in order to avoid arrest. The respondent refused to discuss what the officer specifically asked her to do, but did say that she told the other police at the station and they laughed at her. Another respondent was asked by a cop to show him her breasts to avoid arrest. A different respondent had charges against her dropped due to police misconduct. She said "I got out of a case because the undercover did too much. Meaning, I gave head to an officer when he was on duty—and he was supposed to be. It was too much. He did too much, and he wasn't supposed to do that. So they didn't charge me."

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Perceptions

A majority of respondents turned to prostitution for financial reasons. Many of these respondents noted that they were in desperate circumstances the first time they engaged in sex work. Homelessness, drug withdrawal, or the need for money quickly were the most often cited circumstances leading up to entry into prostitution. Although a few used pimps their first time, more were taught by friends (some of which would fit the criteria of a pimp that we labeled as market facilitators in this paper), many were given the idea by a panderer. A panderer is defined as someone that propositions another to engage in prostitution; usually this is a john or client looking to purchase sex (Aronson 2006). In our study, panderers reached out to the respondents while they were sitting at a bus stop, walking home, or for one respondent while sleeping in a public bathroom. Among those that were initially picked up by a panderer, some noted being scared (indicating a possibility of coercion). Others noted that though they were surprised by the proposition, they were content with how things turned out, once they considered the time involved and money gained. Several noted early in the interview that they viewed prostitution as a steady form of income. A few respondents even pointed to the workers in the fast food establishments where interviews were held and noted that those types of jobs "aren't worth it," and they can make much more money on the street.

To better understand the draws of prostitution among our sample, we asked "Is there anything you like about this work?" and "If yes, what do you like?" Respondents were able to discuss more than one aspect. Seventy-seven percent of respondents stated that they liked at least some aspect of prostitution. Respondents were also asked "Is there anything you dislike about work?" and "If so, what?" Eighty-nine percent stated that they disliked something about the work. Below, we will discuss the common likes and dislikes among the sample:

Unsurprisingly, the top like from respondents was money. One hundred and eight respondents listed money as an aspect of work that they liked. For many respondents, money was the only thing they listed.

Self-sufficiency was commonly listed as an aspect of work that respondents liked. Though similar to money, some respondents went further to express the impact of this work in their understanding of how they meet basic needs. For example, one cis male respondent noted how he now has the "pleasures of getting things I need." A cis female respondent stated that she liked "having a job" and "being independent." Another cis female respondent noted that she liked the control and "being my own boss." In these instances, the respondents viewed prostitution as work. A few respondents noted how prostitution has helped them meet their

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needs specifically. For example, one cis female stated that this work "saved my life, I was homeless" and another stated "it's how I survive."

A small group of respondents noted that they liked the physical aspect of the work. In total, 15 respondents stated that they liked the sex. Cis males were more likely to state that they liked the sex than cis females. One cis male stated "I get the benefits of a relationship without getting hurt." Another cis male noted that he receives pleasure in pleasing his partners, calling it "an ego boost." Cis females also noted that they enjoyed the sex. One cis female noted that she liked getting "dicks and pussy" while another noted that she enjoyed "pleasing guys." Two respondents called the work 'fun.'

Some respondents stated that they liked meeting people and/or networking and sex work gave them this opportunity. One cis female respondent noted that she enjoyed "listening to the stories" of clients. A cis male respondent stated that he was "never lonely" and another noted that he liked "meeting different people... Cool people." In total, eleven respondents stated that meeting people was an aspect of the work that they liked.

Although many respondents noted positive aspect of the work, not all had positive views. Interestingly, the reasons for disliking the work were much more varied than the reasons given for liking it. Respondents were more likely to list multiple reasons for disliking it. For example, one respondent noted "The people, the clients are old and gross. They're rude and just tell me what to do." Responses like this were coded into several categories including client's physical appearance, client's attitude/behavior, and lack of control. Another respondent stated "It hurts, it's degrading… unhygienic. I could get killed or arrested or robbed… or an STD." This response was coded under violence, stigma, risk, and fear of arrest.

Whereas 15 respondents noted specifically that they liked the physical aspect of the work (sex), 39 respondents listed this as a reason they did not like it. Eight respondents said they did not like sex with 'random' people, and six stated their dislike for oral sex specifically. Connected to this idea, 15 respondents stated they disliked the people they worked with physically, meaning they were not attracted to their clients. Nine respondents stated that they disliked the attitudes/behaviors of clients.

Twenty respondents stated that they disliked everything involved with the work, whereas other respondents listed specific aspects of the job. Many respondents (15) described their dislikes in terms of the internalized stigma they received. For example, one respondent stated

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that she "feels dirty… like a different person," and others referred to the work as "nasty" and degrading." Eight respondents stated that they disliked "selling themselves" generally.

Overall, five respondents noted that they disliked the violence involved, five stated that they felt like they lacked any choice, and three stated their dislike of the force used by some clients in this line of work. One respondent commented that every day they were "putting their life on the line." The unpredictability was noted by three respondents in the trade. Three respondents considered the work inflexible, one stating "it's inconvenient, ya know? Can't have a normal job."

Seventeen respondents noted disliking the risks involved in the life. Though no respondents listed pregnancy as a worry, sexually transmitted infections and viruses (like HIV) were commonly listed among the risks. Fear of being arrested or locked up was discussed by nine respondents.

Finally, a few respondents discussed some emotional repercussions from participating in sex work. An underage cis female respondent stated "It feels awkward. It gives me flashbacks…" referring to a time she was molested. One cis male respondent stated that he disliked this work because it "feels like I sold my soul to the devil" while another respondent noted that after doing this work for so long "I no longer have any emotional response."

Expectations for the Future

Respondents were asked a series of questions to gather whether or not they had thought about or ever attempted to leave the life. Of the 154 respondents that were still working at least occasionally, 119 stated that they had thought about leaving at some point. Thus, 35 respondents had never considered leaving at the time of the interview. One of these respondents, cis male, defended his career choice stating "It is quick and easy money, and it is the only thing I know how to do. It beats selling drugs, stealing and selling appliances…"

Ninety-six percent (162) of respondents tried to leave at some point, 26 of whom were still out of the life during the time of interview. The most common reason discussed for returning to prostitution was financial. Many respondents noted the stable income as factor keeping them in the life. Though some respondents treated prostitution like a full-time job, working most days with a steady 'shift' of morning or evening customers, many moved in and out of prostitution depending on immediate needs.

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For example, one young cis female respondent stated "when I work, I work like crazy. I go out all the time and make as much as I can. When I get enough, I stop." For this respondent, prostitution was seasonal work. She would spend 2-3 months meeting with clients online, save her money until she had several thousands of dollars, and then quit until her funds were depleted again.

In total, only 82 respondents reported that they had talked about leaving to someone. Those that left pimps or felt especially stigmatized were less likely to talk about it than others. Those that did talk about it, tended to talk about it to others in the life, close friends, significant others, and family.

Respondents were asked "If you wanted to leave this life tomorrow, would you know how?" Not including the 15 respondents that had successfully left the life, 84 respondents said 'yes.' When probed with "how would you do this?" 81 respondents were able to give a few details on how they would leave, including themes like 'get a job,' 'move away,' or 'just stop.' However, one cis female respondent keenly noted "It isn't know how to leave, it is finding a way to get the same amount of money."

Among the 15 respondents that identified as no longer in the life, many had negative experiences which may have played a role in their decision not to return. For example, Ruthie (story above) noted three different times she prostituted over the span of almost two years. The first was with a friend's boyfriend, who kept all the money. The second time she used another pimp, a cis female friend from school. This time she received a small portion of the money, but did not think the financial gain was worth the experience. The third time she was forced into it by her mother, who pimped her for drug money. This respondent was set on never returning to the life. Though she stated "I don't regret my past," she was clear that she never planned on prostituting again, and noted several times that there was no real financial gain. One cis female respondent, Jayla (22) noted that she stopped prostituting after experiencing a sexual assault in the parking lot of a casino. Clearly shaken by the assault, she planned to never return to prostitution. However, within two months of making that promise to herself, Jayla was back working on the street in order to support herself and her one-year-old child.

Pria, a cis female respondent, was forced into prostitution through a "guerrilla pimp." Guerrilla pimping involves threats, intimidation and the use of violence to coerce individuals into prostitution (Batchelor and Lane 2013). In this case, the pimp pretended to be her boyfriend. She tried to leave once but was caught. She was 14 years old and after being caught she was not allowed to leave the apartment where she (and several other girls) were

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being held. Another girl, her best friend, tried to leave but when caught was burned in the face with an iron. Though afraid to leave, she took a chance and contacted her cousin where she hid out until she was able to contact her mother, who then wired her money for a bus ticket home.

Both Pria and Ruthie fit the category of trafficked victim. Other respondents that were forced into their first encounters exchanging sex still continued with 'the work.' But as noted with Jayla, wanting to leave is only part of the equation, having a plan to make ends meet after leaving is necessary to stay out of the life. Experiencing hardship was not a reliable factor for pushing respondents out of the life. Instead, hardship seemed to be viewed as not only a part of the job but also a normal aspect of life.

Many respondents were optimistic about their future and hoped for a greater level of stability. Positive plans for the future tended to fall into three categories: career, family, and travel. In the career category many respondents mused that in 10 years they would have jobs within the formal economy like nursing, lawyers, and private business owners (e.g., salons, restaurants, construction). Interestingly, jobs within the criminal justice system were one of the more commonly mentioned forms of employment. Though some respondents did not state what type of job they hoped to have, they still indicated that they planned to move up the social class ladder. For example, one respondent noted that in the future he would be "wearing business suit in Beverly Hills, driving a 750 BMW, and with three reliable incomes… making six figures, not hustling," while a cis female respondent noted that she hoped to marry "an old rich white guy."

Many respondents noted that they wanted a family in the future, often mentioning being married and having children (and sometimes noting the presence of a dog). Interestingly, few respondents listed a non-hypothetical person (like a parent, significant other, or child) that they hoped to be within 10 years. Others stated that they hoped to not be living in Las Vegas, "anywhere but here" was a common sentiment. Other locations where respondents hoped to live one day included places such as Miami, Texas, Chicago, Europe, and Australia.

A final group of respondents, mostly cis male, did not hold optimistic views for their future. For example, one stated that he expected to be in "prison, maybe dead," and another stated "can't say, hopefully not dead or cut up." These comments were particularly challenging for the researchers, who often felt an impulse to employ some level of support or counseling that was ultimately outside of their training.

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Chapter 5
Conclusion

This study sought to understand the size and characteristics of the youth population in Las Vegas, NV involved in the sex trade. Understanding the attitudes, perceptions, and norms of this population is essential to help guide social service and harm reduction efforts. While the sample in this study is certainly subject to methodological limitations, we believe that the respondents provided substantial insight about the way they navigate the often harsh physical and social environment in which they live.

While only 16 percent of the Las Vegas sample were technically children by legal definitions, and most could be appropriately referred to as adolescents, those who were just a few years older—an additional 28 percent were between 18 and 19, and an additional 30 percent were 20 or 21—provided compelling narratives of similar lived experiences. As the Respondent Driven Sampling system confirmed, minors do not exist in the sex market socially apart from those who have crossed the legal line into adulthood, and a large proportion of those 18 or older began their involvement in the sex trade when they were 17 or younger.

Pathways into the trade varied widely. Many participants simply happened into situations, such as being approached by a stranger and propositioned, in which they discovered that a quick, seemingly simple transaction could alleviate dire economic hardship. The idea of "survival sex" was prevalent in many of the narratives, including those who were introduced to prostitution by friends or family. The uniqueness of Las Vegas as a destination likely contributes to the prevalence of paid-sex activity, as well as normative perceptions of sexual commerce as being perhaps less deviant than in other places.

Particularly notable was the fact that many respondents drifted in and out of the sex trade, engaging in paid sex transactions when quick money was needed, but also going through non-working periods. This fits with the instability participants faced in living situations and relationships. Some youth would run away from home, go back, and leave again, as well as go to school, stop going to school, return to school, and so forth.

We found it notable that younger participants tended to make less money, and that wide disparities existed in the amount of income earned, how money was shared or not shared, and how customers were procured. While pimps and other market facilitators were certainly an

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important factor in the participants' experiences, these third parties rarely dominated the youths' lives to the extent commonly imagined. Only 11 of 169 respondents described being introduced to the sex trade by a pimp from the outset, although 40 described using facilitators at some point. Eleven respondents described using "spot pimps" that they recruited themselves. Respondents ranged in their attitudes toward facilitators from affection to hostility, and like so much in the youths' lives (family, school, living arrangements, finances), facilitators—even the ones respondents refer to as pimps—often come and go. Such fluctuations were part of the competing dynamics of coercion and agency that we observed in the youths' descriptions of their dealings with family, friends, facilitators (pimps), customers, and nearly everyone in their social world.

Youth in the population of interest regularly face substantial hazards, and the physical dangers and logistical challenges of the sex trade were certainly prevalent aspects of these youths' narratives. More than two fifths of respondents saw or were involved in a conflict while working, especially with customers over money. Youth were also continually cognizant and fearful of the possibility of police intervention, and partly made work location decisions on perceptions of police activity. Some were also worried about police using their online ads for sting operations. Only one-fifth of participants had never had any kind of "run-in" with the police.

The population experiences a multitude of disadvantages for which social services are certainly needed, including health care, mental health care, substance abuse, education and training to give them the option to choose other vocations. The respondents in particular cited job training, transportation, and housing. Hopefully, this project has provided empirical data that will contribute toward understanding how to best address these needs.

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Appendix A. Flyer

Have you ever traded sex for food, money, shelter or anything else you needed?

Get $40 - $70 for a one-hour interview

Las Vegas Youth Research Study

Hablamos Español

Call or text 1-800-750-1221 to set up an interview

Confidentiality Assured

(We will not ask your name or any identifying information.)

UNLV
UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA LAS VEGAS

Conducted by University of Nevada, Las Vegas researchers (coordinator: Andrew L. Spivak, Department of Sociology) in partnership with the Center for Court Innovation (CCI), New York, NY. This project is a replication of studies completed or ongoing in New York, Miami, San Francisco, Dallas, and Chicago.

1-800- 750- 1221	1-800- 750- 1221	1-800- 750- 1221	1-800- 750- 1221	1-800- 750- 1221	1-800- 750- 1221	1-800- 750- 1221	1-800- 750- 1221	1-800- 750- 1221	1-800- 750- 1221

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Appendix B. Resource Card: Front

Community Resources

Counseling

Jane Heenan, MS MFT (nevada license 0917, July 2002)
7465 W. Lake Mead Blvd., Ste. 107, Las Vegas, NV 89128
702-810-4159

Family and Child Treatment Center of Southern Nevada
1050 S Rainbow Blvd, Las Vegas, NV 89146
702-258-5855

Bridge Counseling
1701 W Charleston Blvd, Las Vegas, NV 89102
702-369-8700

Girls and Boys Town
821 N Mojave Rd, Las Vegas, NV 89101
702-642-7070

Nevada's Children's Center
2929 S Decatur, Las Vegas, NV 89102
702-221-4900

Shelter & Housing

Safe Place
1-866-U-ARE-SAFE (1-866-827-3723)
(Nevada Partnership for Homeless Youth),

Street Teens
1-877-LV-TEENS 24-hours a day

Westcare
385-3330
5659 Duncan Street, North Las Vegas NV 89130

HELP of Southern Nevada Youth Center
385-3776
1417 Las Vegas Blvd. North, Las Vegas NV 89101

Center for Independent Living Emergency Shelter
385-1764
6039 Eldora, Ste. H-8, Las Vegas, NV 89146

Nevada Homes For Youth
(Transitional housing for teens)
380-2889
525 S. 13th Street, Las Vegas, NV

Housing for Adolescent Girls
call Regina Hall (702) 565-9925

Medical

Huntridge Teen Clinic 732-8776
Southern Nevada Health District 759-1000
Clinic on Wheels 870-7201
Planned Parenthood 878-7776
University Medical Center Hospital 383-2000

Sex Worker Support Group

Sex Worker's Outreach Project-Las Vegas
1-866-525-7967, ext. 701

Suicide Hotlines

Nevada Suicide Prevention Hotline (702)731-2990Adolescent Suicide Hotline (national) (800) 621-4000

Additional Community Resources

Alcohol and Drug Abuse	(702) 385-3332
Child Protective Services	(702) 399-0081
Rape Crisis Center 24-hr hotline	(702) 366-1640
Adult Education	(702) 651-4487

Other Services

Clark County Poison Control Center	(702) 732-4989
Clark County Child Abuse Hotline	(702) 399-0081

Clark County Family and Juvenile Justice
(702) 455-5200/5450

Nevada Division of Child and Family Services
(702) 486-7800

Secret Witness	(702) 385-5555
Clark County Social Service	(702) 455-4291
Clark County Legal Services	(702) 386-1070

LGBT (lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgender) Community Center
(702) 733-9800
953 E. Sahara #B-31 (in Commercial Center)
**The Center has three social support groups for teens.*
**Free HIV and STD testing (with Nevada ID) Monday & Thursday, 1:30-6:00 pm*

Gender Justice Nevada
Queer Anti-Violence Project
Therapy Groups for Survivors of Sexual Violence
"Standing Tall" Thursdays 6p to 730
"Standing Up" Sundays 30 to 430p
7465 W. Lake Mead Blvd., Ste. 107
Las Vegas, NV 89128
info@gjnv.org -- 702.425.7287
No-Cost -- Inclusive and Non-Judgmental

Teen Parent Resources

Baby Your Baby Referral	1-800-429-2669
Child Protective Services	702-399-0081

Las Vegas Urban League
930 West Owens Avenue, Las Vegas, NV 89106
(702) 636-3949

Other Counseling & Services

Clark County Poison Control Center	702-732-4989
Clark County Child Abuse Hotline	702-399-0081

Clark County Family and Juvenile Justice
702-455-5200

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Appendix C Resource Card: Back

Nevada Division of Child and Family Services
702-486-7800

Clark County Social Services	702-455-4291
Adult Education	702-651-4487

Legal Assistance

Clark County Legal Services	702-386-1070
Nevada Legal Services	702-386-0404
Secret Witness	702-385-5555
Nevada State Bar Lawyer Referral	702-382-0504
Legal Aid Center of Southern Nevada	702-386-1070

Sex Worker Outreach Project
(Including assistance from jail)
24 hour hotline: 1-877-776-2004

Email locally:JennyH@Swop-LV.org

Substance Abuse Treatment Centers

Alcohol and Drug Abuse	702-385-3332
Adoleson Clinic	702-383-9890
Vegas Valley Treatment Center	702-383-9890
Solutions Recovery, Inc	702-228-8520

Resources for Youth with Disabilities

NAMI of Nevada (National Alliance for the Mentally Ill)
702-341-6019

NAMI of Southern Nevada
702-258-1618

Nevada Disability Advocacy and Law Center
1-888-349-3843

Food Pantries

Three Square
4190 N. Pecos Rd., Las Vegas, NV 89115
702-664-3663

Food Bank of Northern Nevada
550 Italy Drive, McCarran, NV 89434
775-331-3663

Las Vegas Rescue Mission
480 West Bonanza Road, Las Vegas, NV 89106-3249
702-382-1766

Employment Training

Urban League
930 West Owens Avenue, Las Vegas, NV 89106-2516
702-636-3949

Creative Arts/ Recreation

Springs Preserve 702-822-7700
333 S. Valley View Blvd. at US 95
(Open Daily From 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. They offer classes on gardening, crafts, and more, as well as educational tutorials on dinosaurs, animal feeding, and science. Classes range from free to $15)

Tonopah Community Garden
702-636-4152
715 N. Tonopah Drive, Las Vegas, NV 89106
(Free. You can help take care of plants, feed the bunnies and goats, and learn about environmental sustainability! In the upcoming year, there will also be classes on cooking and gardening)

Kidz Creative Korner @ The Arts Factory
702-383-3133
107 E Charleston Blvd
Las Vegas, NV 89104
(Free. This event happens every 1st and 3rd Sundays at the Bar + Bistro. Make art!)

Las Vegas- Clark County Library for Teens
702-507- 3436
1401 East Flamingo Road
Las Vegas, NV
(Free. Arts and crafts every Saturday at 3PM. They also host annual poetry and writing contests. More info here: http://www.lvccld.org/teen/index.cfm)

Weekly Poetry Slam
702-944-5029
Coffee Bean and Tea Leaf
4550 S Maryland Pkwy
Las Vegas, NV 89119
(Free. Open mic night at Coffee Bean and Tea Leaf Tuesday evenings, starting at 7:00)

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Appendix D.
Respondent Drive Sampling (RDS) Coupons

Las Vegas Youth Study Call 1-800-750-1221 *300* *Ref:*_____ *Date:* _____	Las Vegas Youth Study Call 1-800-750-1221 *301* *Ref:*_____ *Date:* _____
Las Vegas Youth Study Call 1-800-750-1221 *302* *Ref:*_____ *Date:* _____	Las Vegas Youth Study Call 1-800-750-1221 *303* *Ref:*_____ *Date:* _____
Las Vegas Youth Study Call 1-800-750-1221 *304* *Ref:*_____ *Date:* _____	Las Vegas Youth Study Call 1-800-750-1221 *305* *Ref:*_____ *Date:* _____
Las Vegas Youth Study Call 1-800-750-1221 *306* *Ref:*_____ *Date:* _____	Las Vegas Youth Study Call 1-800-750-1221 *307* *Ref:*_____ *Date:* _____
Las Vegas Youth Study Call 1-800-750-1221 *308* *Ref:*_____ *Date:* _____	Las Vegas Youth Study Call 1-800-750-1221 *309* *Ref:*_____ *Date:* _____

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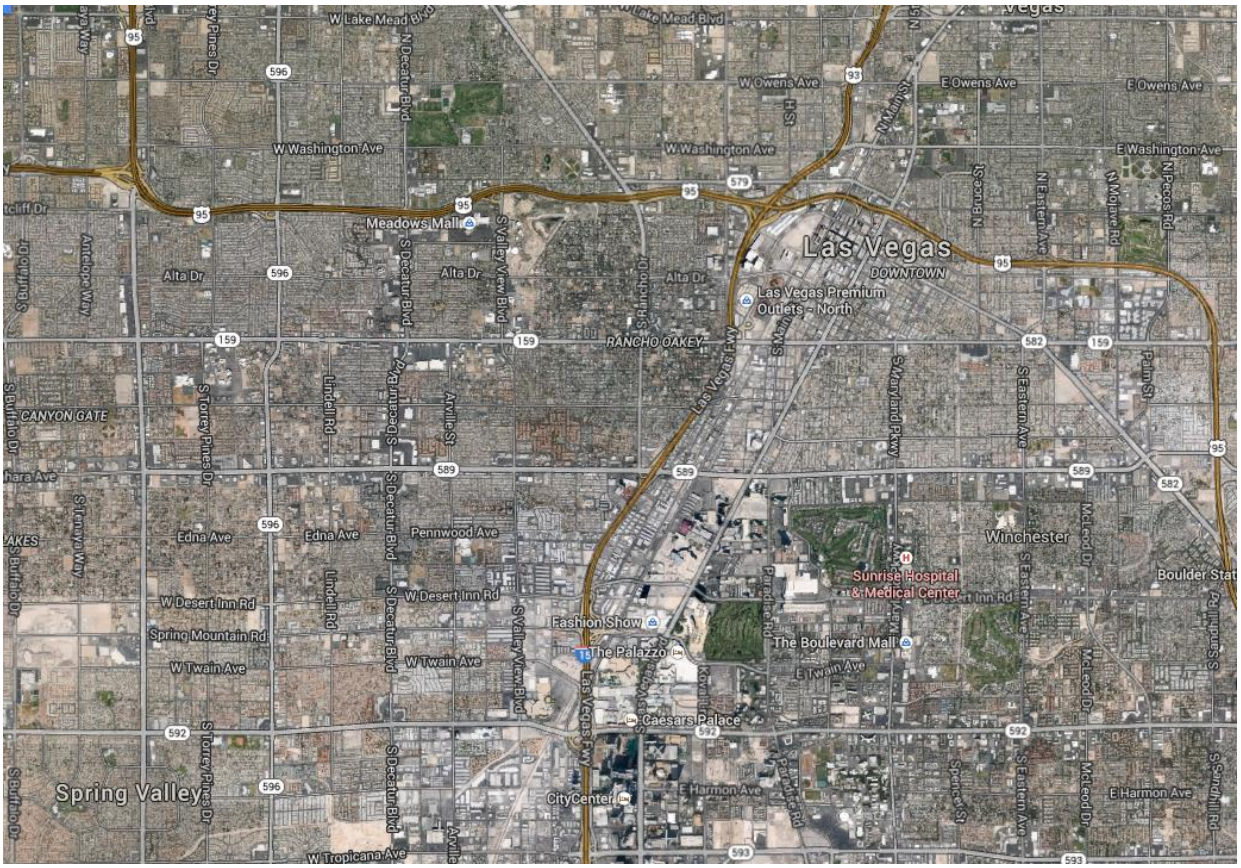
Appendix E. Map of Field Operations



Legend

Dates indicate both outreach and interviewing activity.

Maryland & Katie: Feb 2012, Jan 2014

Boulder Highway: Feb 2012 – Mar 2012

Maryland & Sahara: Mar 2012

Tropicana & Industrial: Dec 2013

Charleston & Eastern: Jan 2014 – Apr 2014

Sahara & Eastern: Jan 2012 – Apr 2014

Paradise & Twain: Mar 2014 – Apr 2014

Buffalo & Washington: Mar 2014

Owens & Eastern: Mar 2014 – Jun 2014

Lake Mead & MLK: Apr 2014 – May 2014

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