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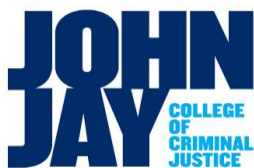
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Experiences of Youth in the Sex Trade in Atlantic City

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This study of youth exchanged in the sex trade in Atlantic City, New Jersey was conducted by the Center for Court Innovation and the John Jay College of Criminal Justice. An earlier study in New York City was funded by the National Institute of Justice (see Curtis et al. 2008; Muslim, Labriola, and Rempel 2008). The current study, funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, added six additional sites, of which Atlantic City was selected as a pilot site. The six sites are the Bay Area (CA), Chicago (IL), Dallas (TX), Miami (FL), Las Vegas (NV), and Atlantic City. Our aims were to produce a nationwide prevalence estimate and population description, which could provide an empirical foundation to better inform policymakers, professionals, researchers, and advocates about the extent and nature of the problem and about the needs of youth involved in the sex trade.

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; Martin et al. 2016; Maurrasse and Jones 2016; Schaffner et al. 2016; Wagner, Whitmer, and Spivak 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, Labriola, Rempel, Walker, and Spadafore 2016).¹ Because the multisite report has a 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.

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

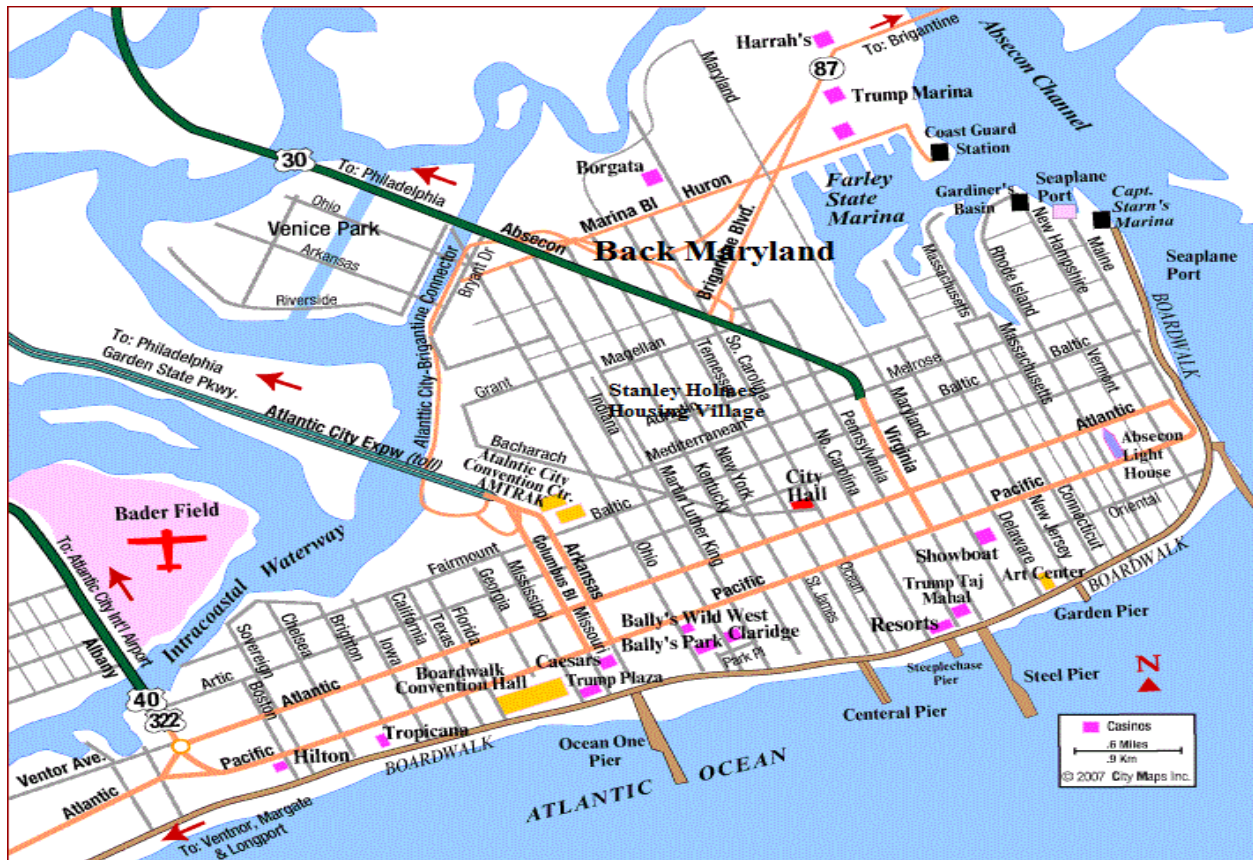
Chapter 2

Atlantic City: Cultural Geography, Rationale for Site Choice, and Evolving Expectations of the Study

Atlantic City, New Jersey, has a permanent population of 39,558 people, living on the roughly ten square miles at the northernmost tip of Absecon Island—a slender eight mile barrier island sitting between the Atlantic Ocean and Absecon Bay. Located about 120 miles south of New York City and about 60 miles southeast of Philadelphia, Atlantic City is the second largest gaming market in the United States (after Las Vegas), with 11 fully operative and licensed casinos, a 2010 revenue of \$3.6 billion (Walters 2011), and roughly 30 million tourist visits per year. Despite its notoriety in popular culture as a center for deviance and prostitution, as well as a destination for runaway youth, there has been no empirical research on either the youth sex market or sex markets generally in Atlantic City. Indeed, at the onset of this study, knowledge of Atlantic City sex markets was largely based on rumor and the impressions of members of the local Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) task force.

Much of the Atlantic City is impoverished; urban blight surrounds and is visible from the edges of the tourist strip. The glass and steel skyscrapers housing casinos along the boardwalk stand in direct contrast to the vast numbers of sandlots, substandard housing, and empty buildings, locally known as “abandominiums,” that are present on nearly every block in the city. It is often noted by local residents that there is not a single supermarket currently open in the city.

The city is racially and ethnically diverse, consisting of African-Americans (38.3%), whites (26.7%), Asians (15.6%), and individuals identifying with other races (19.4%); and with Hispanic/Latino residents (of any race) comprising 30.4% of the population. Median household income in 2010 was \$30,237, compared to \$55,146 in New Jersey, and 25.3% of the population lives below the poverty line, compared to 10.3% in New Jersey (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). With approximately nine police officers per thousand residents, Atlantic City has one of the largest per capita police forces in the United States. Over the last decade, violent crime and robbery rates rose considerably in Atlantic City, while all of these indices declined statewide. Atlantic City’s serious crime problems are largely confined to the low-income neighborhoods of Back Maryland and the Stanley Holmes Housing Village. Prostitution and panhandling are prevalent in tourist areas near the Boardwalk.



New Jersey, like most of the United States, prohibits prostitution, solicitation, and loitering for the purposes of engaging in prostitution and other related crimes. New Jersey state law defines prostitution as “sexual activity with another person in exchange for something of economic value, or the offer or acceptance of an offer to engage in sexual activity in exchange for something of economic value.” Engaging or attempting to engage in sexual activity with a person under the age of 18, regardless of whether actual age is known, prostituting or promoting such activity for or by a minor, as well as living off of the wages of the prostitution of another are also prohibited (NJSA 2C: 34-1).²

Atlantic City was selected as a key site for the following reasons: 1) as the second largest gaming market in the United States, it stands second only to Las Vegas in its reputation as a hub of prostitution and other related illegal leisure activities; 2) with the only no-charge beach in New Jersey and a boardwalk that runs nearly the length of the island, the city is, during the summer months, a magnet for runaway youth; 3) a robust sex market was detected in early

² See http://www.njleg.state.nj.us/20122013/A1500/1135_I1.HTM.

reconnaissance trips. The site was also attractive due to its proximity to New York City, where the research team was located.

It became quickly apparent to the research team that, while street sex markets were indeed robust, the number of underage individuals involved in sex market activity in Atlantic City was relatively low. More importantly, the small number of underage youth recruited for the study in its initial phase did not exist within a separate market or within exclusive social networks, but were, instead, scattered throughout the larger street-based sex market in the city and networked with older individuals involved in the sex trade. This demographic situation rendered the planned Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS), which depends on peer recruitment and had been the basis for the population estimates in New York City, ineffective. This was due to the shortage of minors involved in street-based sex markets who could refer others like themselves. The research team made the decision to expand the study's eligibility criteria to include young people under 19 years who had exchanged sex for money for the first tier of interviews and under 25 years for a second tier. This decision regarding eligible ages for study inclusion, in turn, informed the study eligibility criteria applied to the five subsequent sites (San Francisco/Oakland, Miami, Dallas, Las Vegas, and Chicago). A discussion of the implications of this decision is included in the methodology section and the findings section below.

Chapter 3

Methodology

The John Jay College research team was charged with using Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) for an investigation of the size, demographic characteristics, needs, and geographic spread of the youth population of interest. This section describes the sequence of steps that the research team followed to reach those goals, and is organized into three main sections:

1. A discussion of the data collection methodology that the research team initially envisioned as the most appropriate for this study and an overview of how that method works.
2. An overview of the preparations that the research team made before data collection began, including:
 - a. Preliminary field trips to Atlantic City, New Jersey; and
 - b. Specialized training that focused on engaging with youth involved in the sex market.
3. A description of the data collection process, including a discussion of what worked and did not work, and how the research team adapted the original methodology in response to conditions in the field and seasonal changes in street-based sex markets.

The John Jay College research team was selected to conduct the pilot, in part because of the success of a previous study based in New York City that had employed Respondent Driven Sampling to locate hard-to-reach populations (Curtis et al. 2008). The John Jay research team was composed of students at both the undergraduate and graduate level, and was led by Anthony Marcus and Ric Curtis of the Department of Anthropology, who between them have more than 50 years of ethnographic experience working with hidden, stigmatized, and street-oriented populations engaged in illegal activity.

RDS Methods and Techniques

RDS is used to recruit statistically representative samples of hard-to-reach groups (for example, criminal offenders) by taking advantage of intragroup social connections to build a sample pool. RDS starts with a small number of initial research subjects called “seeds” who are recruited, interviewed by the researchers, and paid for their time and effort. Following these interviews, the seeds receive three numbered coupons with instructions to give them to friends or associates who share similar characteristics. When coupons are redeemed by eligible research subjects, their recruiter is compensated for each one. The eligible subjects

referred by the seeds comprise the first wave of the sample and they in turn are each given three coupons to recruit the next wave of study participants. Study participants are recruited in this fashion until the desired sample size is reached. If recruitment chains do not develop as expected, additional seeds may be recruited as replacements.

Using RDS, the researchers are introduced to each new unnamed research subject by a friend or associate who can describe the non-threatening nature of study participation beforehand, and vouch for the researchers' good faith. The numbers on the coupons allow researchers to: identify each subject (names are not used); prevent duplication; identify who recruited each participant; and track recruitment patterns. RDS is similar to the well-known and often-used recruitment strategies of "snowball sampling" and "chain referral sampling." However, unlike those methods, whose primary utility is generating a large number of research subjects, RDS also provides a powerful set of analytic/statistical tools for creating weighted population estimates, which are at least as robust as those generated through more common inferential statistics.

Preparations and Research in Atlantic City

After a reconnaissance trip to Atlantic City in October of 2009, in which a robust sex industry that included the targeted demographic was observed, the principal investigators designed an instrument, received IRB approval, and began training the research team. Further preparations included renting an office in a building with enough different tenants to ensure anonymity for the interviewees and setting up a toll-free number so that potential research subjects could contact the research team. In addition to receiving guidelines for interviewing, fieldwork protocols, and safety awareness, team members also received training from Professor Betsy Hegeman, who is an expert in issues of social trauma and sexuality, about the potential difficulties of working with sexually exploited children. During this training, the research team engaged in directed and supervised role playing under the guidance of professors Hegeman, Curtis, and Marcus.

During February and March of 2010, Professors Curtis and Marcus began organizing a series of day trips to Atlantic City in search of the first "seeds" for RDS. The plan was to start with local social service providers who are part of the federally sponsored Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children Task Force in Atlantic City. Many of the agencies in Atlantic City provided services to youth once they were in the system, but had few contacts with those that were not. In addition, rules about client confidentiality prevented some of the agencies from

helping us. As a result, the John Jay team decided to make its own connections in street sex markets in order to find initial interview seeds.³ This represented a significant challenge, since Atlantic City is over two hours by car from the research team's headquarters in New York City, making it very difficult to keep an active research presence on the streets. In considering issues of distance, cost, and coverage, the research team decided to reduce its presence on the streets of Atlantic City until warmer weather and the summer tourist season arrived in May. This also coincided with an increase in both supply and demand in street sex markets as young people flooded into Atlantic City.

Data Collection Procedures

A series of day trips were organized over the course of April and the beginning of May 2010, with small groups of faculty and students who spent time trying to make contact with underage participants in the sex trade. The primary sex market was said to be on Pacific Avenue, the long boulevard that runs parallel to the beach and adjacent to the major casinos. Although researchers encountered, and were able to talk with, several street-based sex workers, none of them knew anybody whom they could say was clearly under 18 years of age. There was little evidence of any market for teenage prostitution outside of advertisements on the Atlantic City Backpage website. At the same time, the Center for Court Innovation was conducting institutional interviews to gain the substantive perspectives of service providers in Atlantic County (the larger administrative unit in which Atlantic City sits) that suggested that, in fact, service providers in the area had little contact with minors who were consistently involved in trading sex for money. The prevalence of minors in the local sex market, cited by relevant authorities with access to the case files, was consistently under two percent. However, all providers believed that the numbers would go up in the summer.

When the school semester ended (around June of 2010), the research team decided to adopt a more ethnographic approach by getting to know drug dealers, hustlers, and teenagers hanging out on Atlantic and Pacific Avenues and in the impoverished African-American neighborhoods next to the main avenues. The idea was that if those who engage in illegal street-based activity in the neighborhood came to recognize and grow accustomed to the

³ Many of the Atlantic City-based social service providers with whom we met were wary of the project. They expressed the legitimate concern of having their child clients return to the street to find and refer other youth for interviews.

research team, they might refer young people to the study. The research team decided that all trips to Atlantic City would now be for at least two days and one night and that the research team would be divided into two groups. This meant that trips could be staggered, and that the team could maintain a presence in Atlantic City for at least four days per week for the duration of the data collection period.⁴

The first fieldtrip using the revised methodology was a nighttime visit to one of the streets that had a reputation for illegal drug activity. The street was filled with African-American men between the ages of 15 and 30, many of whom were selling illegal drugs. Researchers began trying to talk with this crowd of young men and met with a suspicion that is entirely understandable given that Atlantic City has one of the highest police to population ratios in the United States. However, as the men standing out on the street found that the team, who had considerable experience studying illicit drugs, was versant in the vocabulary and contours of illegal drug activity, they became more interested in talking. The research team made it clear that they were not interested in buying drugs nor in buying sex, but that they were writing a book about teenage prostitution. Men on the street seemed quite surprised when the team left for the night without any attempt to purchase anything. It took several days of socializing with men with a variety of hustles, including making money by referring tourists to sex workers for a small commission, to finally begin to see a small trickle of eligible respondents. Soon this trickle turned into a steady stream of interviews. However, despite the success by local contacts of referring many adolescent sex workers who arrived in town for the summer and the noticeable increase in street-based commercial sexual activity, the number of underage sex workers (legal minors or even sex workers through the age of 18, our first tier target population) continued to remain low. In the early stages of the research, it seemed that, contrary to what was expected and contrary to the results of the New York City study (Curtis et al. 2008), very few of the teenagers selling sex or being sold for sex were networked to each other. Although the sex workers that we did meet were usually willing to do an interview for \$20, the referral payment of \$10 (an additional incentive for making an eligible referral of another youth in their network) did not inspire them to open

⁴ The research team was quartered in a variety of casino hotels during the week, when room rates were low, and in the downscale hotels further out of town during weekends, when casino prices were prohibitive. This gave the team a three-to-four night per week window into sex markets inside the casinos, as well as in the outlying suburbs where the commercial sex acts were reputed to often take place.

their networks to us, nor did many intimate that they knew about underage girls that we had missed.

However, the men who set up the interviews, several of whom called themselves “spot pimps,” were all networked. Unlike the sex workers, who were almost all between the ages of 17 and 25 and had little interest in talking about their work, these men were of varied ages, backgrounds, and temperaments, and were helpful. Despite this, they rapidly ran out of minors to refer to us for interviewing. This led to the decision to expand the interview eligibility criteria to anybody aged 21 and under. The hope was that by providing more opportunities to make referrals, our recruiters would remain interested in contributing to the research and we would receive referrals for all new minors who came to town. In fact, this is what did happen, but as we exhausted the pool of sex workers under 21 who were available for interviews, we were decided to raise the age limit again, to 24.

The rationale for this strategy was that if we disqualified people who were not eligible for the study because they were older than the age limit, we would reduce the opportunity to recruit eligible subjects because sometimes they were networked with younger people who were eligible. As part of the RDS screening process, potential research subjects were asked how many other youth they knew who were eligible for the study, and they sometimes said that they knew several other youth who they could refer. Indeed, the older youth often came to the study in groups, and they could point to their network members who were hanging out nearby waiting for the interview to end, as evidence of their ability to recruit eligible subjects. Many of those who were found to be too old during the course of the interview had compelling accounts that described their experiences of getting involved in exchanging sex for money that often began at a young age. Excluding these research subjects from the database because they were a bit too old (e.g., in the second tier 19-to 24-year-old age range) would have deprived the project of crucial information about a social network of late adolescents who have similar experiences.

Interview Procedures

We discovered early in the research that respondents were not willing to go to the office that had been rented. Respondents were either concerned about safety, concerned about missing opportunities, or simply felt that it was not worth the trip for \$20. Instead, it was decided that we would do interviews in a variety of public locations that included streets, parking lots,

stoops, the boardwalk, fast food restaurants, and sit down restaurants—public places that the youth suggested they felt most comfortable at.

Coupon Design and Subject Recruitment

RDS recruitment works with populations that are networked, but its success hinges upon people giving the numbered coupons to others in their network who are then recruited into the study. The design of the coupons can sometimes be critical to the probability that research subjects will hold onto them and then give them to others. To enhance this probability, it is generally regarded as best practice to use coupons that mimic paper money in size, appearance, and “feel,” because it is thought that people intrinsically value items that have the same qualities as money, and are less likely to throw them away. Initially, several hundred were printed; however, when we discovered that the highly humid warm coastal air combined with perspiration quickly rendered the coupons unreadable once they had been folded in respondents’ pockets, they were scrapped. The research team switched to matchbooks with the toll-free number and the RDS identification number affixed inside. This proved more successful, as people valued the matchbooks, and they were more durable.

Screening Prospective Research Subjects

In most RDS research projects, subjects who redeem coupons that they receive from a peer do so at an office where their eligibility is assessed. Those who do not qualify for the study are not interviewed or given coupons to refer more people, and the person who referred them is not paid for sending an ineligible subject. In this study, screening potential research subjects was more difficult; given the small number of market-involved minors and their seeming integration into larger adult sex markets, the RDS was failing to grow robust network trees. The research team’s need to build and maintain an active network of recruiters combined with a dearth of eligible respondents made negotiation with potential respondents a part of the screening procedure.

Typically, a preliminary assessment was done over the telephone, involving an explanation of the study and the eligibility criteria. If the person calling (either respondent or referring friend) seemed to understand the study and claimed eligibility we set up a face-to-face meeting and if the person who showed up appeared to be close to the age that had been promised, and seemed to have some genuine knowledge of local sex markets, they were interviewed despite possibly not meeting the age criteria. However, these interviews (anyone 25 years or older) are not included in the analysis. Respondents who did not have stories that suggested a genuine connection to street-based sex markets were not interviewed and their

recruiter was not paid. These respondents were often easy to identify because their stories were too clichéd, flat, or outrageous to convince interviewers, who quickly became familiar with the types of narratives that respondents who were genuinely involved in street based sex markets generated. Interestingly, we encountered many situations in which a recruiter brought a young person who had not been fully apprised of the nature of the study and when informed that we only wanted to talk to youth engaged in the sex trade that person refused to be interviewed, preferring to lose the \$20.

Informed Consent

The prospective (most of the first tier) research subjects targeted by this research were minors, who by legal definition, were not able to give “consent,” but rather, could only give their “assent” to participate in the research. To ensure that the youth who were recruited into the study would not be further endangered by their participation in the research, staff members on the project drew on their training to assess each prospective research subject across a variety of dimensions, including their psychological state of mind, their physical condition, the degree to which they appeared to fully understand the aims of the study, the extent to which they assented to participate in the study, and the relative degree of freedom that they appeared to exercise in making decisions. After conducting an evaluation of each prospective research subject, the interviewer, in collaboration with either Professor Curtis or Professor Marcus, decided whether the person in question appeared to be eligible for inclusion in the study: that is, do they meet the age criterion, and are they involved in sex market activities? Those who were found to be ineligible for the study were not interviewed. An informal estimate, based on a review of field notes and post-interview video debriefings, suggests that ineligible respondents were far more numerous than eligible ones.

Confidentiality

To preserve the confidentiality of research subjects (participation could not be anonymous because RDS relies on research subjects referring each other to the study), the youth were allowed to orally waive written documentation of their informed consent/assent to participation in the study. They were allowed to do this because the research team believed that the main threat to their confidential participation was the existence of written documentation of their participation in the study, such as would be created by signing a traditional informed consent/assent form. Further, the IRB agreed that the study presented no more than minimal risk of harm to participants beyond the considerable risk that they already faced, and involved no procedures for which written consent/assent was normally required outside of the research context. Potential participants were read the Documentation of Consent/Assent and Waiver of Written Consent/Assent (see Appendix). Interviews began

with oral assent to the waiver of written informed consent/assent with participants being identified on audio recordings only by their unique identifier number.

The Interview Process

The interview (see Appendices in Swaner et al. 2016) consisted of the following domains: 1) *demographic characteristics* (14 questions, including race/ethnicity, age, living situation); 2) *market involvement* (28 questions, including age and means of initiation, location of work, and type of involvement); 3) *network size and characteristics* (15 questions, including information about pimps and customers); 4) *health and social service history and needs* (14 questions); 5) *experience with law enforcement and courts* (12 questions, including number of arrests, charges, and arrest/court outcomes); and 5) *future expectations* (10 questions).

The number of questions was limited because of the beliefs that: 1) youth might not have much time to meet with researchers if they had a pimp who monitored their movements; 2) youth might not want to participate if the questions became too intrusive; and 3) some youth might have a short attention span given that the amount of money that they could earn from the interview was only \$20. A payment of \$20 cash for interviews was selected because this payment had been deemed an appropriate stipend and successfully utilized in the New York City study.

The research team was repeatedly reminded of the potential for psychological stress that the interview process might produce and, as part of the IRB requirements, were required to report any adverse reaction that subjects had to being interviewed. Regardless of whether youth explicitly sought assistance, the researchers were also trained to provide the research subjects with an opportunity to seek help or obtain help. With advice from our collaborative partners, a referral card was created that provided telephone numbers for various agencies throughout the city that specialized in assisting young people. This information was given to all study participants, and upon request, immediate transport would be offered to them (via taxi or project vehicle) to the service provider of their choice, though no one requested it.

Redeeming Coupons

For those who did make referrals to others in their network, in order to get paid for successfully distributing RDS coupons, research subjects had to re-contact the research team. While there were many cases where referrals came in from respondents who had been interviewed, the failure to grow network trees that went more than two steps out from the first person interviewed made interviews about how coupon distribution and referral had occurred unnecessary.

Administration of the Interview Instrument

As noted above, the questionnaire that was constructed for the project was relatively short, because of the fear that young people would not, or could not, devote much time to answering a lengthy set of questions, and because too many intrusive questions might decrease their willingness to participate in the study. Both of these assumptions were only partially correct: The fear that pimps might be lurking nearby and that the young people they controlled would be rushed to finish their interviews was rarely an issue for the project, as most participants did not have pimps and the few who did were typically in relationships that were far more complex than we had assumed when the study began. Indeed, many of the youth that were interviewed for the study were willing to talk at length; however, they often had friends waiting nearby, and there was sometimes peer pressure to complete the interview quickly. The interviewers were also somewhat constrained by other youth waiting nearby for their turn to get interviewed. Finally, because many of the interviews were conducted under less-than-ideal conditions (i.e., in the street) they were briefer than those that were not affected by external distractions like pedestrians, blaring music from the Boardwalk, or police and FBI agents, who were often curious about the presence of interviewers in their jurisdiction.

Study participants were given a choice of who they wanted to conduct the interview (there were normally at least two interviewers present, but sometimes, more than two were there), but most of the time, they simply took the next interviewer who was free, regardless of age or sex. The interview did not include questions relating to childhood sexual abuse for a variety of reasons connected to the “here and now” focus of the study and concerns about the possibility of re-traumatizing these youth. However, a number of participants wanted to talk about these issues. A few youth did find some of the questions painful to answer, but the stigma that the research team had feared would impede the willingness of youth to participate in the study was far less of an issue than had been anticipated. There was a social worker on call in case any youth became upset or wanted to speak to one for any reason during or after the interview, and at the interviewer gave the youth a resource list for local service providers.

Chapter 4

Research Findings

Respondent Information

As noted above in the Methodology section, the John Jay College research team discovered early in the study that Atlantic City had neither a separate, street-based market for underage youth involved in exchanging sex for money, nor a large number of juridical minors participating in the larger sex market—or at least not a large number who accessible to visitors or visible to social service providers, criminal justice agents, or those working in the underground economy that the researchers connected with. Thus, in order to understand more about youth participation in sex markets in Atlantic City, the team recruited 119 respondents involved in sex markets who were both under and over the age of 18. The analysis presented in this report draws on respondents under 25 (n=98). While only 12 of these respondents (12%) were under 18, 54 (55%) were between 18 and 21, and 32 (33%) were between 22 and 24. Of the 98 respondents, 69% were female, and 31% percent were male (none of the sample self-reported as transgender). The age breakdown of respondents according to sex shows a higher percentage of males ages 18 and older (28 of 86 respondents in this age group were male, for 33%) than in the under 18 category (2 of 12 respondents were male, 17%).

Despite making up 38% of Atlantic City’s population, there were only 24 African-Americans in the sample of 98 (25%). Over half of the respondents (53%) identified as white, and only 9% identified as Hispanic/Latina/o. More than half of all respondents (51%) reported that they had not graduated from high school; over one-third (39%) had obtained either a high school diploma or a General Equivalency Degree (GED), with 4% reporting having had at least some college. These education percentages were relatively consistent across sex, with the exception that some females reported having attended college while none of the males in the sample did.

Nearly half of all respondents (46%) reported having children, with females reporting children (53%) at a significantly higher rate than males (30%). Only 4 of 13 respondents under 18 indicated that they had children.

When asked about their sexual orientation, more respondents said that they were bisexual (52%) than heterosexual (46%), and that only two individuals identified as homosexual, both females.

Homelessness was reported by 20 of the 98 respondents, though many more appeared to be unstably housed. Males reported being homeless (40%), or gave answers to housing-related questions that suggested homelessness, at a higher rate than females (12%). It is important to note that these homelessness figures may underestimate the problem of housing for the sample. When asked, “Where do you live currently?” some respondents answered that they were “homeless” or that they lived “in the streets,” but many others indicated that they lived with “friends” or with a “girlfriend” or “boyfriend.” In an attempt to untangle whether such responses indicated a legitimate roommate situation, a momentary reprieve from being homeless, or a precarious housing situation, responses to questions such as “How long have you lived there?” “How many places have you lived in the last year?” and “Who pays the rent?” were considered.

How and Why Respondents Entered the Sex Market

The research team asked respondents several questions related to respondents’ first experiences of the sex trade. In the following excerpts from the data, all names have been changed to protect the anonymity of the participants. Although only 12 respondents were under 18 years old at the time of the study, 60 of the 98 respondents (40 females and 20 males) reported that they had first exchanged sex for something while under 18. Some respondents considered childhood sexual abuse in which they were given money, drugs, or gifts afterwards to be the first time they had exchanged sex for something. For instance, Mike,⁵ a 25-year-old white male, reported that, “My mom’s friend paid me to have oral sex with her when I was 12.” Similarly, Patrick, who was also 25 years old, white, and male, said that at age 16, “I had sex with my Dad’s friend for weed.” And Curtis, an 18-year-old black male, described how when he was 14, “A family friend offered to buy me things if I showed him something, played around.”

In some cases, stories of childhood sexual abuse and exchange at a young age were accompanied by other narratives describing later entry into the trade of sex for money, as in the case of LaRhonda, a young African-American woman who the interviewer described as “shy and naïve.” She completed the seventh-grade at a local school, before dropping out during her eighth-grade year. She discussed having been homeless for the six or seven months preceding the interview and noted that she lived at The Mission, a local shelter. LaRhonda claimed to be 18 years old, but her answers to other, age-related questions suggested that she was likely 19. She said she had been exchanging sex for money and/or other necessities for about a year and a half, which would have put her at about age 17 when

⁵ All interviewee names have been invented for the purposes of this narrative.

she first started. However, she offered two other narratives about “first” exchanging sex for money. In the first, when she was a child, her uncle, “used to wake me up...and take me to the bathroom and give me bags of candy and money....[He was] basically buying me to stay quiet.” In the second narrative, she described having first exchanged sex for money with a stranger at about age 15, when someone “I met through my cousin knew I needed money and offered to buy me sneakers for a blowjob.”

As LaRhonda’s case suggests, for many participants, the line as to what constituted their first sex for money/goods exchange was not always clear-cut. Nor did an initial exchange necessarily lead to sustained involvement in the sex trade. Indeed, for some respondents, sex exchanges tended to have occurred intermittently as a result of immediate needs, such as a place to stay, or money to avoid the discomfort involved in withdrawal from illegal drugs, as well as needs like “sneakers.” In addition to the 60 respondents who reported having exchanged sex for “something” before their 18th birthday, a further 31 indicated having done so between the ages of 18 and 21.

When asked how they first became involved in the sex trade, respondents offered a host of narratives that were not always easy to fit neatly into categories. Complicating the process of determining how their entry into the sex trade occurred was the fact that some respondents’ stories stressed why they became involved rather than how. Jesse was a 21-year-old African-American female who was 18 when she first had sex in exchange for something. She noted that, “...when I moved out of my family house, I was really naïve and these guys and girls were doing it and they started talking me into it. I was homeless and needed to eat. I didn’t know too much about the world so I did it to make money.”

Similarly, Miguel, an 18 year-old originally from South Philadelphia, who identified as African-American and Hispanic, described leaving his family home at age 16 where he had lived with his mother and his older sister. At the time of the interview, he was living with his aunt in Atlantic City. He was 16 when he first exchanged sex for money:

Well when I left home from my mother, I actually got kicked out. And I didn't have a place to go. One of my friends he had a house. That was a crack house. So I kinda got sucked into it.... For awhile, you can say, I was hooked onto it.... So this guy was like, ‘If you really want some money I got something for you but you gotta do oral sex.’ You have to do what you gotta do to support your habit.

Both Jesse and Miguel offer some information about how they got involved, peer pressure in Jesse's case and approach by either a client or a market facilitator in Miguel's case, but their stories emphasize their first time as a function of their needs.

In attempting to categorize the complicated stories about how individuals entered sex markets we found that of those who could be categorized, 19 (9 females, 10 males) first entered the sex trade after being solicited by a client; 8 did so after being approached by a market facilitator (6 were females); 4 (all females) did so after being approached by a market facilitator who was a pimp; 10 self-initiated their entry; 18 entered due to money or survival needs (15 females, 3 males); 16 entered because a friend or friends were doing it, and 12 indicated that drug use led to their entry (7 females, 5 males). While many of these responses are not, of course, mutually exclusive, we accepted whatever answer was presented as the priority in the respondent's initiation narrative.

Of those who said that they entered the market via a client soliciting them, 6 of the 9 females and 6 of the 10 males said that they were under the age of 18 at the time. Of those who said that they were introduced via a market facilitator, 5 of the 6 females were under 18 at the time, but the two males that mentioned a market facilitator assisting their entry to the market were both over 18. Of those who mentioned drugs as the reason for their entry to the market, only 2 of the 7 females were at under 18 at the time, but 4 of 5 boys were.

In terms of gaining an understanding of how respondents became involved in exchanging sex for money, one of the most crucial distinctions researchers needed to make was that between somebody who facilitated participation in sex markets, what we refer to as a market facilitator, and somebody who engaged in the same activities, but self-identified as a pimp. All of the responses in which the respondent used the term "pimp" were placed in the pimp category. For example, a 17-year-old Hispanic/Latina female named Jennifer said that at age 16, "I was struggling.... I was in the street. I had to do what the pimp said. I got half of \$1000." In addition to Jennifer's response and two others that mentioned pimps, the fourth response placed in the pimp category came from 21-year-old Amanda, who identified as "mulatto." She noted, "I met a guy who taught me what to do when I was 15."

In Amanda's case, the determination was based on ethnographic observations in which researchers learned that in addition to exchanging sex for money herself, she also served as a "female pimp" for a few other girls. Her indication of a mentoring type of relationship with the "someone" she met at age 15 suggests that this person was a pimp.

In all of the cases categorized as “Approached by a Market Facilitator,” researchers could determine no reason to define the market facilitator as a pimp. Justin, a white male who was 23-year-old at the time of the interview, offers a narrative that is a case in point:

I was 19, um, I wasn't heavily on drugs or anything like that, like an addict, but my girlfriend at the time was really into kinky sex, so, like, she would bring guys to have sex with me. They would pay me, and she would just watch; she was into that stuff. And that's how I pretty much got started out here cause I needed money badly. Like, I would last days and weeks without eating, you know, so I knew how it was going to be like; I just knew the quickest and easiest way to make money.

Similarly, a 22-year-old Hispanic/Latino male who first exchanged sex for money at 16 and whose name was Manny, reported: “I needed money and met an older woman who found me a client.” And DeShawn, a 17-year-old African-American male, said that earlier that year, “A friend arranged a date for money.”

Neither these specific responses, nor anything researchers observed during the course of fieldwork, nor the respondents' answers to other questions, indicated that any of the force, coercion, or manipulation typically associated with pimping was present in these initiation narratives, nor was there any indication that the market facilitators in question identified as pimps.

Interestingly, some respondents did mention pimps but indicated that they had refused their “services.” Juanita, a 17-year-old African-American female only a few weeks out of high school where she completed the eleventh-grade, told researchers that at age 16, “My friend introduced me to some pimp that wanted me to work for him, but I rather work for myself. It's more money.”

It is also important to note that these initiation stories often contained elements that could have led to placement in more than one of the categories. Virginia, whose age data was deemed unreliable, said that she was 16 when: “I left home; I needed money, and wanted to get paid.” This response could have been placed in the self-initiated category due to the respondent's explicit claim of agency (“I...wanted to get paid”), but the narrative actually says nothing about the *how* of first entry and was thus placed in the “Money/Survival” category. In a similarly ambiguous but practically opposite case, 18-year-old African-American Dre noted that his first time occurred because: “I was hungry and a guy offered, ‘Come to my house and watch TV and hang out.’”

Dre's response might easily have been categorized as "Money/Survival"; however, it was placed in the "Approached by Client" category under the logic that the *how* of first entry should trump the *why* when possible, given the phrasing of the original question.

An example of a response in which the *how* was clear even though a *why* was offered came from Brenda, a multi-racial 18-year-old female, who said she got involved because, "I was needing to survive. I was on Pacific Avenue, and I had just broke up with my boyfriend and a man came up to me and asked me if I was working. I didn't know what working was, and he asked me how much. I said a hundred dollars."

Like Dre's response, Brenda's was placed in "Approached by Client." Any further analysis of the data from this question about market entry should recognize the complexity of this issue.

Making and Spending Money

When asked whether they worked on or off the streets, 43% of respondents reported working "off" the streets; 21% reported working "on"; and 35% reported working both "on" and "off". Whether they worked on or off the streets, 58% of respondents reported having made less than \$200 the last time they saw a client; of these 50% reported making under \$100 and 50% reported making between \$100 and \$199.

Most respondents (64%) reported that they shared their money with someone, while just over one-third (36%) said that they did not share. Of those who did share, 36% said that they shared with family, 30% shared with a boyfriend or girlfriend, 32% shared with friends or people they "hang out" with, and only 13% said that they shared with a pimp or other market facilitator. Several respondents reported sharing with multiple people. In response to this question, Justin, described above, told the interviewer that he often shared with strangers:

Yes, with anyone who needs it. Like, that's just who I am; I'm very giving, and it helps me feel better about myself, you know. I'm a people person. Like, I'm an open book man; I could sit with a total stranger and just talk and be honest about myself. It's easier for me than to do that with friends cause, like, they could judge you and think different about you, but a person who you don't know, they can't judge you. Know what I mean?

A 23-year-old African-American female named Keisha described what seemed to be a particularly formalized example of this type of sharing relationship:

I mean, we have, like, the group that I'm in, it's not like a hos/pimp situation. It's more like guys working together. Basically, we, like, do for each other; we protect each other, and we go out together and make sure everything is good. So I don't wanna say, like, I pay someone; it's like [we put money in] a pot cuz we have goals; we all go to school. Everybody I go out with, we all have goals. Like, we pay for each other's schooling, like, vacations to see your mom.... It's like that.

Additionally, respondents reported sharing with people when they needed favors in return, like a “place to crash.”

Among responses to the question of what respondents do first with their money after they make it, buying drugs was the most frequent answer given by 41% of respondents. The next most-often-cited response was paying rent and/or bills (30%) and buying food (31%). Buying cigarettes was mentioned by 18% of respondents, clothes by 18%, and buying items for their children was mentioned by 13%. Thirteen percent of respondents gave other responses such as hygiene items and condoms.

An overwhelming majority of respondents (84%) reported that they negotiate their own prices with customers, while 13% said that a market facilitator (e.g. a friend, boyfriend, family member, or pimp) did so. Of those who indicated that a market facilitator negotiated the price, 36% (4 respondents) indicated that this market facilitator was a pimp. For 51% of respondents, exchanging sex for money was their only source of income. Among those who had other sources of income, 52% reported that it came from State Aid or “unemployment,” 22% reported that it came from selling drugs or “hustling,” and 25% reported that it came from legal employment, though typically, off-the-books work like “cleaning houses.”

Market Involvement

Of the 77 respondents who gave information about which specific days they had worked in the previous week, Friday and Saturday were the most often cited days, by 66 and 55 respondents, respectively; every other day of the week was cited by between 42 and 46 respondents.

Tricia, a 19-year-old African-American female who identified as homosexual, discussed how she negotiates where she works and some of the conflicts that arise from these decisions:

[I usually work in] like different hotels around the area, and it's the pricing of the hotels [that determines where I work], I would say, because they change, you know.

Like during the weekend, they might be a bit pricey, so I try to find the lowest price on hotels. It also depends on if the person is already in their own hotel room. [In terms of whether clients pay for the hotels,] it's like, I would say, it's up to them. I would ask them, but if they can't, I guess I would pay for it, uh, out of pocket, but if, um, I already have the hotel room, they don't pay for it, but if I'm just starting the day, I would ask my customer. He might pay for it, or he might not. It's up to them.... I was living in a hotel for a little bit and, he (the owner/manager) used to complain about [people coming in and out], and also got into an altercations with the cops. This guy didn't wanna pay me the money that I was supposed to get so I kinda, I got angry about it. He called the cops on me, and they came upstairs, and they had to escort me out of the building. I believe it was the Taj Mahal. Yeah, he called the police, and of course we can't let them know why I'm there, so we had to, I had to just, you know, submit. No, [they didn't arrest me]; they just took me outside.

Like Tricia, 35 (44%) of our respondents reported that there were conflicts in the areas where they worked; and while 44 others (55%) stated that their place of work was conflict free, 19 respondents (30%) said that altercations had led to physical fights.

An 18-year-old African-American male named T-Ride talked about his market involvement and discussed his experiences with conflicts in the neighborhoods where he worked:

[I usually move around] because of police. Somebody snitched on me; somebody rat on me that I was out there; somebody knew I was out there...and they snitched on me.... I stopped. I stopped for awhile, and then I walked back up in front of the porn (or pawn) shop. [Last week, I worked] every day, practically. I never had a day off. [I've had fights], yeah, 'cuz I was takin' they money from them and they girls. They girls would stop prostitutin' and come see me. They pimp'll get mad. They'll quit with them, and they'll come to see me.

Interviewer: So were you working as a pimp then?

Yeah, so I was both at the same time, but ain't nobody know.... [I've had] fist fights, knife fights, [but I try to] talk people out of it. I say, 'It don't have to go this far, and, yo, you don't wanna do this to yourself,' or something.

Respondents reported taking various measures to protect themselves while working. For example, seven males said they carried a knife, blade, or shank; 6 females said the same, and 7 more said that they carried mace or pepper spray. However, the most frequently cited

response that 36 participants gave was that they mind their own business, avoid conflicts, or just walk away. Tricia, the 19-year-old described above, talked about how she avoids conflicts:

Yeah, I don't really like to argue with my customers about pricing because I'm normally scared because I don't have any type of protection. So I try not to negotiate too much with them because most times they don't wanna comply with certain things that I want. [And] I just don't come out, like, when it's too late. Like if I'm just outside, working but like outside, and I see someone and they know me, they wanna try to convince me to come to them or, like, one time, I went to the 7-11 and this guys said like, 'Oh she works at, um, the strip club, and I seen her there and I paid her a lot of money.' So I try not to come out on the street too late when I know people are out that have seen me while I'm working.

JaRon, an 18-year-old male from the West Indies, discussed how he moves around to avoid the conflicts with the police and how he protects himself:

[I move around] just to not be noticed, to not be seen, to not stand out. If the cops drive by and see you in the same spot every day, they're going to question why the hell you're standing there. [And I've had trouble with drug dealers.] They tryna' say you fake stuff, how you suck dick for money, something that's not 'real.' They talk about what you doing 'cause they don't like it. [And I had a fight recently.] Yeah, it was a guy (a customer), and he didn't want to give me that money that I was asking for, so I was arguing about that.... [I always carry around] maybe a pocket knife or something like that.

Echoing these sentiments, 17-year-old Noemi, a Latina, noted that she moved around while working on the street and generally avoided conflicts by just walking away:

If we stay in one spot the police would come...and you'll get arrested or you'll get a ticket. [I do have conflicts,] mmm hmmm, [with] the 'hos, females, hatin,' because other pimps try to talk to us, but we not supposed to, and [the other pimp's girls] be like, 'What? You think you too good to talk to my pimp? They get mad [when you ignore their pimps. But I] just walk away.

Donna, a 17-year-old white female, discussed her market involvement and talked about how she has someone who “watches her back”:

I usually work the same spot, but it changes from time to time. Lately, I've been working on Arctic Ave. I try to stay off Pacific. Too many cops....well there's a lot of cops in AC. They're everywhere. I usually have regulars, and I call them. Sometimes I walk down

Iowa to Arctic. Those are the only places I can go because I'm trying to stay off Pacific. I work all week. I don't take breaks. I don't sleep. I fell asleep at 7 this morning, and I just woke up. I don't have a regular sleep schedule, so I'm not sure how much I work. I stay up for 3 days and then sleep for 24 hours. I try to work at night. I like to work at night, but daytime is when I work with my regulars, and I try to work at night. I'm going to rehab in 2 weeks 'cause I've been arrested twice for prostitution. I don't have a pimp. I'm renegade basically. I sometimes fight with a vulgar old man, about 45, who thinks that he's a pimp. He likes to bother people and all the girls don't listen to his BS. I see him all the time....but he wants what he can't get. He'll get pissed off because he's been looking for me. But he's ok, he's a nut. Someone watches my back, but I don't have any way to protect myself, like a weapon. My friend watches my back. We'd like to have a relationship, but with what I do, we can't. But we're working on it.

Customers

In order to better understand respondents' experiences with customers and to document some basic characteristics, the interview included several questions about the individuals who buy sex. Respondents reported that they either obtained customers "on the street" (61%); through referrals (22%); at strip clubs, other clubs or bars, in casinos, or at private parties (29%); or via the Internet (13%). A small percentage of the sample reported getting customers in other ways or other places. (Reported percentages exceed 100%, since many respondents obtained customers through multiple methods.) Of the 12 respondents who said they had used the Internet, 7 used Craigslist, 6 used MySpace, and 4 had used Backpage. Respondents generally met their customers on a designated street corner in Atlantic City, assessed each other, and then drove to a motel on the Blackhorse Pike, just out of the city.

Some respondents reported that they used to work on the streets but had changed methods as they grew more experienced. Tiffany, who had left her family home at age 15, was a 19-year-old woman with a one-year-old child and a three-year-old child. She had recently moved off-street, not because she was worried about competition or about pimps, but because she now had customers calling her in response to Internet advertising. She said the customers, "... pretty much ask for the same thing. I try to stay away from the pervs but ran into a couple wanting to do some weird stuff—kinky stuff. I don't like doing the kinky stuff but it's hard to find a job and I have two kids so I do what I have to do."

Respondents often reported multiple methods for procuring customers. For example, Papito a young bisexual, Hispanic/Latino male described meeting customers on the street, using

Internet sources such as “Backpage,” and getting referrals from friends. He said, “I don’t do pimps... I usually get someone’s attention by maybe blowing a kiss or calling out to them... You would be surprised how many people are in the closet.... Some of them are married.... Some are lawyers, mostly over 30.... They’re never locals.”

Another male respondent, a white 19 year-old named James, described his typical process of getting customers on the street:

Well today I have to go to out-patient [drug treatment] at one o’clock and leave out-patient at 3-4 o’clock and usually don’t really do anything before the sun starts going down. So I start walking up the boardwalks and head down east-side streets like New York [and] Ocean [Avenues] until it gets dark and stroll for the porn shops as it gets later. Sometimes I go into the porn shops, go into the booths and usually they have the see-through glass on the doors and guys will look in of course and someone will ask you something.

When asked how many customers they saw the last time they “worked,” the vast majority of those responding (79%) reported seeing five or less. In terms of where respondents go with customers, most reported going to hotels, motels, or casinos (89%), client’s residences (24%), cars (33%), or outside venues like parks/alleyways (20%), with almost all respondents reporting multiple locations. Results did not differ significantly between male and female respondents.

Respondents overwhelmingly reported that their customers were racially/ethnically white (39 females, 21 males), with only 20 reporting that customers were Hispanic/Latino/a, only 14 reporting that they were Black/African-American, and smaller percentages reporting that they were other races or ethnicities. Five females said that they would not serve Black men (“too violent,” said one), but no other ethnic groups were singled out for exclusion. When asked what ages their customers generally were, only 5 respondents reported that they were below the age of 25. Most respondents provided a range for ages of their customers; 13 said that they serve adults of all ages, but the majority (41) indicated that they generally served men over the age of 35.

A 22 year-old white male named Eric described his impression of the customers he encounters and offered a narrative describing his experience with the S&M sector of Atlantic City’s sex trade:

The weirdest thing I've noticed is like, these high-class business class people with so much money, when they're behind doors they're not the same people. I've ran into some pretty freaky people that I didn't expect to be that way. I actually had a dominatrix once, up on the boardwalk. She was just dressed normal, with the tight leather clothes and everything. She walked up to me and was like, 'Are you into fetish?' She just told me to come with her so I did. We went back to her room and she had two other guys already tied up. She paid me to be submissive, and I didn't really care cause I like that kind of thing. I like to be beaten with whips and stuff like that. It was funny 'cause I didn't expect her to be a dominatrix. She looked totally normal and everything. The guys, I didn't recognize them. She had the latex masks on them, football pads, and all that.

LaRhonda, the young African-American female discussed earlier, noted that most of her clients are married or separated and that:

They all have girlfriends. They just want to have fun.... They usually treat me well, except for when I got scared because one client got too high... They treat me with respect; they don't treat me like I'm one of the girls on the block; they treat me like I'm actually with them [in an intimate relationship].

She estimated that she had seen about 50 clients over the past year and claims to have about 20 regulars who she sees about three times per week and who pay her about \$400.

Leon offered further insight into issues related to customers. An 18-year-old white male who identified as bisexual, he said he was 16 when he first exchanged sex for something. He reported working on the streets, where he negotiates a fee of around \$100 an hour. As well as the street, he also finds customers via the Internet and through referrals from friends. When he gets money, the first things he purchases are food and then drugs. Of his customers, he said they were a:

Good mix of men and women. The men seem to feel somewhat out of place; they seem a little bit uncomfortable. A couple of them have tried to get a little too close, but I like to keep it strictly business. There was one old man who didn't really want anything [sex], and paid me 200 dollars just for my company.

Over the past year, Leon reported having worked with around 200 customers. And, of these 40 to 50 are steadies/regulars. Besides money, some of his regulars pay him with drugs and paraphernalia.

Pimps and Other Market Facilitators

While it was clear that many respondents had people who helped them find clients, it was far less clear that these market facilitators were pimps. When asked whether they had someone who helped them find customers, 49% of respondents answered yes and 51% answered no. One interesting feature of this split was that females more often said that they did *not* use someone to help them find customers (56% did not use someone), but males were more likely to use someone to help them find customers than not (64% used someone). Among the 16 males that said that they used someone to help them find customers, half of them explicitly said that it was a woman that helped them.

Many of the females in the sample showed a marked aversion to the “helpers” that were rife on the streets of Atlantic City, preferring to work alone or in tandem with their girlfriends. One petite 19-year-old white woman from a nearby town in New Jersey who partnered with her 17-year-old female friend to work the streets of Atlantic City was emblematic. She said that she and her friend had recently arrived in Atlantic City, and that they preferred to work the streets together and avoid pimps and other exploiters. A few months later, we conducted a follow-up interview with her and asked her about her experience with pimps over the summer in Atlantic City: “There’s lots of fake pimps,” she said, “all they want to do is take your money.” “How do you avoid them taking your money,” we asked? “I cross the street,” she replied. Their success in navigating the thicket of market facilitators over the duration of the summer was evidence of the weak ties that most females had to men that wanted to or purported to help them.

Indeed, of the 27 women who said that someone helped them find customers, only 2 of them used the word “pimp” to describe that person, while only another 5 said that their “man” or “boyfriend” helped them; the remainder used girlfriends or “friends” that were not described as pimps. The handful of females that admitted to having a pimp or a man help them find customers were all between 17 and 19 years of age.

In categorizing market facilitators as either pimps or not pimps, researchers considered responses to a series of questions which started with: Do you have someone who helps you find customers? These questions, in order, were: If yes, who is (s)he? How do you feel about her or him? How important is this person to you? How did you get to know this person? How do you get along with this person? Does this person have rules? And if so, what are the rules? In addition, researchers relied on data from other parts of the interview and on ethnographic observations.

Of the seven respondents (2 male, 5 female) categorized as having a pimp, not all of them unambiguously admitted to having a pimp, and not all of those men were clearly pimps, but we categorized them as such regardless. (Note that seven respondents had a pimp at the time of the interview, as opposed to the four respondents, cited above, who were recruited into “the life” in the first place by a pimp.) For example, Lenisha, a 17-year-old African-American female categorized the person who helped her find customers as a “friend” who was “very important” to her, but she also said this person did have rules and that the rules were that: “everything goes through him; he decides when and how much.” Similarly, 18-year-old Bethany, a white female, called her market facilitator a “boyfriend,” about whom she said: “I love him to death; he proposed to me.” While her boyfriend might have been a pimp and she said that he “can talk with other girls, but I can’t talk with other guys,” she also said that she met him when they were both residents of a local social service provider for young adults, which casts some doubt on his role as a pimp.

In Bethany’s case, researchers knew from other parts of the interview and from ethnographic observations that the young woman was not quite as business savvy as many of the other young females and males in the business, and that the “boyfriend” had been taking the money the young woman made to buy pot for himself. The two of them had been kicked out of a local social service shelter and had been living under the boardwalk. While the homeless young man is clearly not what one normally associates with the term “pimp,” researchers wanted to err on the side of caution when categorizing people as pimps or not pimps, and this young man’s willingness to take advantage of a clearly vulnerable young woman seemed to evidence enough manipulation to warrant placing him in the pimp category.

LaRhonda offers a narrative that is instructive regarding the unwillingness of some respondents to categorize their market facilitator as a pimp. LaRhonda said she did not have a pimp, but her description of the person who helps her find customers was fraught with contradictions. She noted that he was

... pretty cool; he’s like a big brother...a big brother that really loves you [but] I wouldn’t mind if he get locked up tomorrow, but he means a lot to me, because he has my back, you know, when I have problems and I’m in...need of things. [How I get along with him] depends on his damn mood... ’cause he has girls. If they doing what they supposed to do and not upsetting him, then he’s fine, but if somebody get him upset, then he likes to take it out on everybody.... But I don’t get that that often, ’cause when I see his eyes...I just get away.’

Despite her claim of not having a pimp, LaRhonda's story suggests otherwise, and thus she was counted among those who had pimps.

By contrast, some respondents who claimed to have pimps offered narratives that suggested these people were "pimps" only in the sense that they helped them find customers and benefitted from their sexual labor. For example, Miguel, the 18-year-old discussed above, claimed to have two "pimps," one who was a female friend, and another who was a friend of his aunt, with whom he was living. He said the market facilitation relationship with them had started one day when

... they realized I am a freak. I guess I didn't have any morals. So they said why don't I make some money off of that. I was like I probably could. So they called me one day and they were like, 'Do you wanna make some money off of it? I got this guy.' I thought it was gonna be this one time.... Yeah they are important [to me because] they bring in the customers [but] I get into fights with them because I get fed up with them.

Miguel went on to note that although he did not like these people, he refrained from telling them so because they helped him get customers. He said he currently owed them \$120 dollars and that he was the only one working for them. Although the two people Miguel described are clearly benefiting from his sexual labor, they do not seem to be pimps in any common understanding of the term. Rather than a relationship sustained through force, coercion, or manipulation, this one seems to be sustained through the benefit Miguel perceives to be receiving from it. Thus, Miguel was included among those respondents who had market facilitators who were not pimps.

A 21-year-old African-American female named Valerie discussed her perception of pimps, their rules, and how to avoid them:

Say if I'm working on the track and a pimp comes up to me and try and talk to me and I respond to him. Then I have to give him all of my money. If you don't wanna pimp, then you not supposed to talk to him; you not even supposed to look at them. You supposed to put your head down or look the other way when you see them. If I talk to him, then he has a right to take all my money. I have to give it to him. It's called out of pocket. That's against the rules. There is a lot of rules. But most of the rules apply to the girls who have pimps. But, most of the pimps down here will snatch a girl up against her will. So you gotta be real careful.

Valerie's depiction of pimps highlights the coercive character these relationships can take, but far more prevalent than pimps were other types of market facilitators. In general, when no evidence of force, manipulation, or coercion was evident in the relationships between the respondents and their market facilitators, they were categorized as "not-pimps." Most respondents called their market facilitators either "friends" or "girlfriends/boyfriends" or other "associates." Often, respondents used the plural in describing their market facilitators, as in responses such as "street girls," "male and female associates," "friends," "girls who help," etc. These were clear cases of "not pimps," since pimps by definition typically have exclusive management rights over a person. Researchers learned early in the study that the young men and women selling sex on the street often referred customers to each other and that some of the young, African-American males who sold drugs on the strip often acted as self-described "spot pimps." In other words, they would refer customers to a particular young man or woman "on-the-spot" occasionally for a fee of usually \$10 or \$20 dollars, but had no exclusive management rights over any particular person. Thus, when respondents used the plural in describing their market facilitators, they were likely talking about other young sex workers and street denizens or about these so-called "spot pimps."

One discussion relevant to the distinction between these "spot pimps" and "real" pimps came from a 24-year-old African-American woman named Porschea whose family history included a mother who had owned a brothel in Atlantic City. In addition to exchanging sex, Porschea also served as a mentor and market facilitator to other "girls." She said,

My mom used to own an escort service in AC. [It was called] Lovable Ladies. Before that, She used to work at the Playground. [As for me,] I walk out and I get stopped. I have people if you know what I'm saying...with me...you know that I look after...that needs answers and, you know, help too so they don't get hurt.... I'm...like a, not a pimp. I'm not, I don't like calling it that.... I guess [there are] a lot [of pimps] but they all hate me so, you know, cuz I'm on my own if you know what I'm saying. The fake ones [pimps] want you to give them money, and I think it's just to get the money, and then they try to be like real pimps. I think there's like 40 of em...that I've came across. I mean, I've seen like real pimps that actually take girls and out of town, you know, put them up. [But there are only] maybe like 10 that I've seen. [I try to give] yeah, advice....young girls that...come and ask me questions.... They say, "Can you help me out with this?" I try to lead them towards the right direction.... Hopefully I can run a service like my mom [some day].... I would just have to go get my business license, advertise it, get the women, get the power, you know.

In addition to Porschea's type of market facilitation and that of the "spot pimps," another type of market facilitation relationship was described by a 20-year-old bisexual-identified white male who had been exchanging sex for money since he was 17. His name was Brandon, and he noted,

Well I got two girls I hang out with, you know, like we all roll together, so we all share everything. We have friends...we try to roll...you know. You choose people you know in the streets. Mostly the girls set 'em up [the tricks]. Mostly, I hang out with 2 girls and they set 'em up. Like I said, we all hang together. We all do everything together. We're all in the same game.

Other examples of market facilitation relationships that did not fit the criteria of pimping emerged as well. For instance, a 25-year-old white female named Melissa said that the person who helped her find customers was an "older woman" known on the street as "Auntie." From ethnographic observations, researchers knew that Auntie ran a boarding house for homeless people who traded sex for money and that she arranged "dates" for some of them. Auntie did charge for the service and for rent, but her place was known as a safe haven for young people who had no place to go. In the opinion of the researchers, Auntie is a classic case of a market facilitator who is not a pimp. In Melissa's words, "She's really cool. [She's] as important for living as for getting dates."

In a similar but far less safe and organized version of Auntie's type of market facilitation, a male sex worker and local drug user named Billy had an apartment in which some young people selling sex in Atlantic City would stay on occasion. One of them was 18-year-old Georgia, who identified as multi-racial. She knew Billy because,

He's my roommate. I live with him. I pay him rent. My clothes are there. We get high together. Uh, he gets me dates. And when he gets me dates, I give him, you know, \$30-\$40, depending on how many hundreds I get.

Interviewer: *So does that make him your pimp?*

He's not a pimp. Like, if she gets me a \$200 date (points to a young female friend sitting nearby), I'm gonna give that bitch \$50, but she's nowhere near my pimp.

Another respondent was Carly, a 22-year-old white female who said that the person who helped her find customers was "... a friend who works maintenance at an apartment complex. I met him through my husband's friend, and then we became friends."

Carly noted that this friend did not have any rules and that she “trusts him.” In this case and the others just described, the relationships were missing any hint of force, coercion, or manipulation, the guiding principles used to determine whether a market facilitator was a pimp or not.

Health and Social Service Needs

Researchers asked various questions related to health and social services. The majority of respondents (70) reported having seen a doctor within the six months previous to the interview. When asked whether they had any health problems, 41% of responses were in the affirmative. The two most frequently reported health problems were Hepatitis C (9) and Asthma (6).

Nearly all respondents (87% of those who answered) said that they “always” used “protection” when having sex. Among those who reported using “protection,” condoms were the only method of disease prevention that was used, but eight women said that they used some form of birth control. Nineteen respondents (22% of those answering) reported that they had had a sexually transmitted disease (STD) or a sexually transmitted infection (STI), 16 females and 3 males. Of the respondents who reported having had an STD or STI, 10 said that they had had Chlamydia, 3 reported having had Gonorrhea, and there was one case each of Human Papilloma Virus (HPV), syphilis and herpes reported by respondents.

When 19-year-old white male Lenny was asked about using protection, he reported that he always used condoms to protect against pregnancy and STDs. He noted that he had contracted Chlamydia in the past and that now, “I’ve had sex with over 100 men in the past year. I keep a box of condoms. I count the condoms at the end of the year....”

In addition to questions about health, Lenny also responded to questions about social services. He said that he had visited Covenant House, a local shelter organization, for housing but that “I didn’t like them because they were too strict and had no beds.”

Like Lenny, most respondents were aware of local social service agencies, and many had attempted to access some type of services from them. When asked what social service agencies they were aware of, of the 81 that responded to the question, only 12 respondents (15%) said that they did not know of any local agencies. The others who said that they were aware of social service agencies listed numerous local church-based organizations, state-based aid programs (like welfare), and local non-profit organizations. Among these, “welfare” was the most often reported agency, with 20 respondents reporting having visited

the agency. Among the respondents who had visited a social service agency to access services, 17 accessed food services, 11 accessed shelter, and seven accessed “counseling” or one type or another.

Tiffany, the young woman with two young children described above, noted that Welfare was paying her rent at the time of the interview. She also described how she had been to Welfare twice while under 18 and had been refused help on the grounds that she was underage. Since turning 18 she had gone back and had received help.

An overwhelming number of respondents reported that they used some type of illicit substance. While only 22% of the 98-person sample reported using no drugs, 49% reported using marijuana; 35% reported using heroin; 43% reported using crack or powdered cocaine, with some respondents reporting using more than one drug. In terms of money spent on drugs per day, 59% spent less than \$50; 12% spent between \$50 and \$99; 12% spent between \$100 and \$200; and 17% spent more than \$200.

Victor was a Hispanic/Latino male who was 25 at the time of the interview. He identified as bisexual and said he had been “hustling” since the age of 22. He told the interviewer,

Been working the streets, doing drugs, and making money for three years. Living this life...most of the time I'm just trying to eat, so if I have to have sex, then that'll pay for what I want. In a week, I can make a thousand. I try to do it every day. I need the money. No one else is going to feed me or whatnot. This life ain't for me, this isn't what I want to do, but I only have a short while to go anyways before I have to rededicate myself and change my life. I'm not staying here longer than another week.

Experience with the Police

Most respondents reported having some experience with police contact. While 20% of the 75 respondents who answered the question reported having no “run-ins” with police, 23% reported having had one to two run-ins, 27% reported having had three to five, 7% reported having had six to eight, 3% reported having had nine to 11, and 21% reported having had more than 12 encounters with police. Most of these run-ins, according to respondents, were over prostitution (21), drugs (24), and shoplifting/theft/robbery (13).

When researchers asked 22-year-old Eric, described above, about his experience with police, he noted,

I was arrested for being intoxicated in public. June 3. It was actually on my birthday. They took me to the holding cells for the night and let me go in the morning. It sucked 'cause I had the worst hangover of my life. I didn't really know I was arrested till I woke up the next day. [I don't usually give them my real identifying information and] that's usually what gets me in trouble, cause they got that picture identification now. That's why they make you stand in front of the cop car with your hands on the car. The camera turns and scans your face and sends it through the database and your picture comes back with your real name, so if it's something serious, where they're gonna make me do that, I'll tell them my real name. But if it's not anything serious, I'll lie 'cause I'd rather be left alone.

Tiffany, the 18-year-old with the two kids, described how she had had three run-ins with the police for being out so late at night:

I told them I was walking from a friend house to another person's house. Two of them happened on Pacific Avenue and the other on Atlantic Avenue and they told me to go home. I try hard to stay away from the police because of my 2 kids.... I go the opposite way or go into a store, anyway to just get away from them.

Nineteen-year-old Lenny, described above, also discussed how he avoids the police: "I stay away from the heavy traffic areas and try to be discrete; try not to be dirty; if you look dirty and wander the streets, the police have the tendency to stop you, and you look more noticeable. I try to stay clean; change my clothes 2-3 times a day."

In addition to having run-ins with the police, most respondents had been arrested. Donna, a 17-year-old white female discussed above talked about her experience with police:

I've had two run-ins with the police, one was a week ago. I jumped into a car with an undercover, and I got arrested for prostitution....both times, and that's why I don't get into cars anymore, 'cause they're out to get me. They know me. See, they're doin' it to help me, you know. They didn't tell me that, but my aunt told me that. And I think that I'm one of the youngest girls out here right now, at least on my part of town. I don't see many my age. When I got arrested, I gave them my real name and everything. The last time, they were going to send me to juvie, but since I didn't get to my first court date for my first prostitution charge, my mom came and picked me up. That's the good thing about being 17. Besides not getting into cars, there's no other ways that I use to avoid the police. [And then,] when I was 14, I got arrested for shoplifting at Walmart.

In general, the vast majority of respondents reported having been arrested (only eight respondents reported that they had never been arrested), with most respondents reporting multiple arrests. The majority of these arrests were over prostitution (41%), drugs (41%), and shoplifting/theft/robbery (18%).

Perceptions and Expectations

The study aimed to ascertain how respondents perceived their involvement in exchanging sex for money and to understand their expectations for the future, including what they would need if they wanted to stop exchanging sex for money. When asked if there was anything they liked about “the life,” 39 respondents answered “Yes,” 28 answered “No,” and 31 did not provide an answer. But when respondents were asked to say what they liked about “the life,” an additional 7 appeared to change their initial reaction about liking the life from “no” to “yes,” and 46 of them reported that they liked the money. None of the other responses given—autonomy, the people, attention, companionship, fun—were cited by more than a few respondents. Significantly, those respondents who said that they liked the money often noted that they liked it because it was “fast money,” “quick money,” or “easy money.” For those members of the sample with substance use and/or housing issues, the ability to make money quickly often made the difference between satisfying an addiction or suffering the discomfort of withdrawals and/or between having a place to sleep for the night and sleeping on the street.

Eighteen-year-old Leon, described above, was asked if there was anything he liked about this work, and his answer is rather typical in its focus on money:

Yes, [it is] something that I love; I have fun. [But I don't like] the dirty people. [I've thought about leaving this line of work] but the money is too good. I always walk away with a smile on my face. [I would only leave it] to make better money than what I'm currently doing. Something within the computer field, programmer or technician. [In ten years] I hope to be pursuing another career and making something of myself.

LaRhonda, the young woman with a pimp she described as “like a big brother,” echoed Leon’s and other respondents’ feelings about the money:

[I like] the money...just the money. [What I don't like] is catching feelings. I get emotionally attached...to my regulars. [I'd like to stop this work] but that's not where my mind is at right now.

Like Leon and LaRhonda, the vast majority of respondents reported that there were things they disliked about the work. In all, 56 (88%) of the 66 respondents who answered this question said that there were things they disliked, but 32 respondents did not answer, and eight of them said that they did not dislike anything or were uncertain about it. Unlike what respondents liked about “the life,” what they disliked showed considerable variation. Out of 79 respondents who said there were things they disliked about the work, 23 said that they disliked “everything,” 10 said that they disliked that “It’s degrading/dirty/disgusting,” others said that they disliked “the sex/sex acts,” disliked “the clients/the people,” disliked “the risk/danger,” disliked “that she/he has to do it to survive,” disliked “everything but the money,” and disliked “the emotional attachment to clients.”

Aside from “Everything,” what respondents disliked most often about exchanging sex for money was that the practice was dirty, disgusting, or degrading. Often, these responses involved issues of self-esteem impacted by the way they were treated by clients. For example, Lisa, a 22-year-old white female, reported that she did not like “the disrespectful attitude of the ‘dates.’ It makes me feel low.” Other responses in this category involved shame, as when 17-year-old Hispanic female Eva said she disliked it “when my parents come to look for me and see me all fucked up.” And still other responses in this category involved feelings brought about by the requirements of the occupation. Brandon, the 20-year-old white male discussed previously, reported that he did not like “having to do the things they want you to do. You feel dirty.” Responses in this category thus often overlapped with responses in the third most frequently cited dislike: The sex/sex acts. Another often-cited response for what respondents disliked involved the clients and the other people involved in the exchange of sex for money, including other sex workers and police officers. Those involving clients mentioned how “clients are weirdos,” “child molesters, crazies, and crack smokers,” “dirty men,” and “assholes” or how they were “picky and wanted what they wanted when they wanted it.”

James, the 19-year-old white male described above, noted that what he disliked about the work was “... just the way it’s all [about] using [people]; it’s like a game...you know. It’s all about me, me, me. That’s what I hate about it. Nobody cares about you. You know what I mean? They can care less. It’s here—take your money. I got what I need and get the fuck out.”

In addition to questions about respondents’ perceptions of the exchange of sex for money, the interview included questions related to their expectations for the future and what they would need in order to stop exchanging sex for money. Seventy-four of 80 respondents who answered the question said that they thought about going back to school. However, when

asked what they would do if they wanted to leave “this life” tomorrow, only 3 respondents, out of 64 who responded, said that they would get an education. By far the most common response to this question, among those who responded, was “look for a job,” with 26 citing it; the response “get off drugs” occurred next most often, cited by 9 respondents. An overwhelming 74 of 85 respondents reported that they had never been approached by any social service agency, with only 11 reporting that they had been.

Valerie, the 21-year-old African-American woman discussed above, described how difficult it was for her to exit “this life”:

Yes, I've been trying to do it the right way, but it just never worked out. I always end up homeless. So I just do it this way. This is the only way I know to survive. If I know I could have a normal life, like go to work and have a normal, 9-5 job and have an apartment, I would do it.... I wanna better myself. I always thought [that] when I reached 21, I would be someone great. I just had goals for myself when I was a little girl. I used to look at them girls who had sex for money and said I would never ever do that and look what I'm doing now. Like, my parents instilled a lot in me. I wanna be like my parents. I wanna live a normal life. I wanna get married, have kids. I don't want to have to do illegal things and stuff like that to get by 'cause I know that's not the type of person I am.

In terms of getting help from social services, James said he had never been approached by a social service agency and felt that

Social services doesn't help anybody. You go to the office, and it takes you 2 months to get any type of help.

LaRhonda reported that she had been approached by social services but expressed mixed feelings about it:

I have this one lady. She gets on my nerves. When she's not working and she sees me, out there [on the street], she'll talk to me and she'll ask me, you know, do I wanna come and get some rest and talk and stuff like that and I don't want to. At that moment, when I'm out there, I don't wanna hear what she got to say. [But if I were in trouble] I would call her. [I just need] a home and a job.

At the end of the interview, respondents were asked, “If a social service agency existed that would meet your needs, what would they offer?” Of the 78 respondents who responded, 40 (51%) reported that their perfect social service agency would offer housing, by far the most often-cited response. The two next most often given responses were “a job” and

“counseling,” mentioned by 29% and 28% respondents, respectively. Following these categories were food, money, help getting off drugs or alcohol, education, clothes, medical care, childcare, and nothing.

In terms of what a perfect social service agency would offer, Tiffany’s response was characteristic. Tiffany is the 18-year-old African-American woman with the one-year-old child and the three-year-old child. She said a social service agency that existed to meet her needs would offer housing, better education, a babysitter, help finding a job, and cash assistance in the meantime. She noted that she would like to live somewhere:

... not in the hood, somewhere secure where if I can’t pay my rent, it can be paid for a year, [and I could] just to be happy. [I just want] all the good stuff in life—essentials. Just a shoulder, support. We’re all people; we need help, that little shoulder to cry on, that little respect at the end of the day. We’re still a person no matter what we do.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The Atlantic City study was a pilot for a national study in six cities. The number of respondents was smaller than expected, with a total of 125 completed interviews, 98 of eligible youth ages 13-24. Given the stated goal of producing a population estimate based on robust five-, six- or seven-step RDS network trees, the pilot was more useful for generating methodological and practical lessons learned for the full study.

The process of using classic street ethnography gives our study particularly strong insight into the nature of street-based sex markets in Atlantic City and its surrounding environs. Although RDS was not able to generate the statistically representative sample of the market-involved adolescents in Atlantic City that would be necessary to produce strong demographic conclusions or scientific comparisons, we believe that our extensive ethnographic presence, connections and collaborative key informants in a city that is geographically compact, with a small resident population and an even smaller street-based sex market, makes our survey closer to a complete census than most methods in existing research. This ethnographically-informed knowledge of street-based sex markets allows us to offer the following conclusions about the nature of youth sex markets in Atlantic City.

Assumptions about the general demographics of market-involved minors that are derived from academic and popular sources, as well as institutional interviews with law enforcement and service providers, are largely correct. The typical market-involved minor or adolescent in Atlantic City is white, uses drugs regularly, is a runaway from a highly problematic family situation, has experienced rape or other sexual abuse at some time in his or her life, and is highly vulnerable to street-based violence. The typical pimp is a juridical adult who derives his or her primary means of support from the sexual labor of one or more of these market-involved youths with whom he or she probably shares a domestic unit. If there is no pimp, the part-time market facilitators that vie for tips, tolls, and small extortions are also typically adults who derive significant income from the sexual labor of shifting groups of market-involved adolescents.

However, many popular assumptions about the way in which market-involved youth experience the exchange of sex for money proved inaccurate. Among the surprises that we encountered was, first and foremost, the relative invisibility of street sex markets. Perhaps

the large number of police in Atlantic City makes this situation unusual, but we would speculate that the growing importance of the internet to sex markets may make Atlantic City typical of what is occurring in sex markets elsewhere.

Over the course of the roughly nine months that we studied Atlantic City, we logged hundreds of hours on the streets and in motel parking lots at every hour of the day and every day of the week, and regardless of whether they were juridical minors or adults, there was little in the way of visible sex market activity. Our respondents simply did not advertise on the streets, preferring to stay in hotel lobbies, boarding house rooms, bars and restaurants and under the boardwalk. During that period, the most common figures of relevance to the study that we observed on the streets were the market facilitators we have called spot pimps.

We observed little of the power that is typically attributed to pimps. For the part-time relationships of opportunity that we have called “spot pimping,” the remuneration was negligible. For the small number of young people in our sample who did say that they had pimps with exclusive management relationships, there was far more mutuality than was expected and far lower standards of living than are typically attributed to pimps. This may provide some of the explanation for the far lower percentage of adolescents who either reported having pimps or gave answers to other questions that suggested that they might have a permanent full-time manager.

However, most of our informants suggested that our findings related to the relationships between our sample and pimps represented a problem with our sample, which selected for younger sex workers who are typically less in demand, less able to charge high rates for sex, have reduced access (due to a drinking age of 21) to the casinos where higher paying customers are present, and therefore were more amenable to our small incentive for doing an interview. In Atlantic City, underage sex work appears to be driven by the subsistence or survival needs (e.g., housing, food) of the adolescents involved.

Our numbers also suggest that very few of the street-based sex workers in Atlantic City are under 19 years of age. Furthermore, our inability to grow robust RDS trees suggests that in addition to low prevalence, the sparse networks upon which street-based sex markets are built do not segregate by age or division of labor. Our first-tier eligible respondents proved to be networked to adult sex workers, drug sellers, spot-pimps, and other street hustlers, rather than to each other, making a general survey of street-based sex markets a more effective approach for generating a prevalence estimate in Atlantic City.

Finally, our sense, after passing thousands of person hours intensively studying street sex markets and the participation of adolescents, is that the sale of sex in street markets by juridical minors is but one problem in the life of “lost boys and girls.” This is how they typically describe it themselves. To them, “the life” was a secondary or subsidiary effect of being adolescent and tossed away. Their future is one of earning minimum wage in legitimate jobs, having little or no access to credit and therefore a lessened ability to make contracts such as a lease on favorable terms, and the expectation that schooling and other specialized training which involves a combination of parental permission and support, is not an option for them.

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Appendix A

Assent Narrative and Consent Form

Purpose of the Study

You are invited to help us do a study of teenagers who engage in sex for money in New York City. The information I will give you can help you make a good choice about joining or not joining the study. We hope that the information we collect will help solve some of the problems that you and others in your situation face, and ensure that these problems become smaller and not bigger.

You are invited to be part of this study because you said you have had sex for money and you said you are less than 18 years of age. This study - sponsored by the National Institute of Justice - is being done by researchers from John Jay College.

Procedures

If you agree to take part, you will participate in a 30-40 minute interview about prostituted teenagers in New York City. You may refuse to answer any questions at any time for any reason. If you refuse to answer a question or do not want to participate any further, you will not be penalized in any way.

Since we are interested in interviewing people like yourself who know about teens who have sex for money, after your interview, we will explain how you can help us recruit other people to participate in the study. If you want to end your participation at this point, you will not be penalized in any way. If you don't want to talk with us, you can stop at any time.

Risks

There are minimal risks from being in this study, but our interview may cause you some stress. Remember, you are free to not answer any questions or stop the interview at any time, but our staff is trained to help you with your problems, and not make you anxious. All the answers you give will be kept private and confidential. They will not be given to the police or anyone else.

Benefits

Benefits you may get from being part of this study include referrals to local social service programs that can offer help for a wide variety of needs, including health and housing, to

name a few. Our staff is specially trained in making appropriate referrals for you, and they will provide you with as much or as little help as you request. If you want us to take you to one of the places that can offer you help, we will do that.

Another benefit is that this study will help professionals learn more about how to better deal with the problems that you and others like you face.

Compensation

To account for your time in answering questions, we will pay you \$20 at the end of the interview or give you a gift certificate for the same amount

If you agree to participate in helping the project recruit additional people to interview, you will be paid \$10 (or a gift certificate) for each eligible person that you recruit who completes the interview.

Persons to Contact

This study is run by Ric Curtis, a professor at John Jay College. His phone number is (212) 237-8962. You may call him with any questions about your participation.

If you have questions about your rights as a study participant or if you feel that you have been harmed, contact Dr. James Levine, the Dean of Research at John Jay College. His phone number is 212-237-8422.

Privacy Statement

Your participation in this study is anonymous. Only a pseudonym (a fake name you pick) will be attached to your responses. No one except the study staff at John Jay College will have access to anything you tell us. The report on our findings will not be written in a way that would let someone who reads it figure out who you are.

While your responses are confidential, there is a very slight chance that an unauthorized person may get access to them. To prevent this from happening, you will not be asked to give your name or the names of persons you know to any member of the study team. Any answers that you give us on surveys or in interviews will be kept in a locked file cabinet at the study office, to which only specific study staff will have access.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal Statement

This study is VOLUNTARY. You are not giving up any legal claims or rights because of your participation in this study. If you do join, you are free to quit at any time.

Agreement

Are you willing to be in this study?

Consent Form

I have talked with _____, to assess their psychological state of mind, their physical condition, the degree to which they appear to fully understand the aims of the study, the extent to which they have given their assent to participate, and the relative degree of freedom that they appear to exercise in making decisions. After examining all the factors and information available to us, I believe that this young person is fully capable of and willing to participating in the John Jay College study on prostituted teens in New York City.

Child Advocate: _____

Date: _____