



An Overview of Anti-Demand Efforts in Cook County, Illinois

**Summary Based Upon
Research from the Study,
“Developing a National
Action Plan for
Eliminating Sex
Trafficking”**

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An Overview of Efforts to Combat Demand in Cook County

This report provides an overview of efforts to eliminate prostitution and sex trafficking markets in Cook County, Illinois. The county has developed arguably the most comprehensive effort to combat demand in the United States. The report begins with a narrative of collaborative work to combat sex trafficking and prostitution in the greater Chicago area. While the approach was comprehensive and also addressed supply and distribution, many of the initiatives focused on combating demand for commercial sex. One of the central themes apparent in the evolution of their efforts was the indispensable value of coalitions and partnerships in reforming law and implementing programs and practice, a message repeatedly reinforced as we conducted research for this project. This brief provides an overview of a wide range of specific programs, practices, and strategies that can be employed to combat demand and the resources and steps taken to mobilize them.

When reading the description of efforts in this area, please keep in mind that we do not present them as representing all of the efforts ongoing in Cook County. Nor do the descriptions necessarily capture completely the partnerships involved or the programs and practices described. A true case study of the county and its array of programs is beyond the scope of this project. While limited, due to the inability to represent a wider range of voices to describe these efforts to combat sexual exploitation, we believe there is value in providing overviews that were possible to produce within current time and resource limitations.

This document describes a multi-faceted effort to combat sexual exploitation in the greater Chicago area by focusing on demand. The initial draft of this report was provided by Rachel Durchslag, the executive director of the Chicago Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation (CAASE), with the assistance of her staff. Much of the report focuses on the role of CAASE in developing the anti-demand initiatives. In response to a first draft, we received, and have integrated, material provided by End Demand Illinois (EDI), a collaboration of five main partners, including the Cook County Sheriff's Office (who provided material for this report). Assistance in drafting this timeline and report was provided by several EDI partners, with significant contributions from DePaul- Jody Raphael, Samir Goswami, Kaethe Morris Hoffer and Lynne Johnson, ICASA-Polly Poskin, Marian Hatcher, Terrie McDermott, Bradley Miles, and Karen Strauss. For the purposes of assembling this report, the material provided to Abt Associates has been edited slightly by Abt project team.

Overview of the Collaborators

Of interest to the creation of other campaigns designed to curb demand that are collaborations between many organizations is the structure of End Demand Illinois (EDI's). EDI has numerous collaborators and five main grantee partners: CAASE, the Voices and Faces Project, DePaul University, the Women of Power Alumni Association, and the Polaris Project. The campaign itself has a fiscal agent, the Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault. Funding for EDI from the NoVo Foundation goes to the fiscal agent and is then distributed to these partners. Funding amounts and activities are determined through a committee of these partners and undergo a six month and annual review.

On the various task forces and steering committees actively working to end sexual exploitation in Cook County are representatives from the following government agencies: The Circuit Court of Cook County- Juvenile Justice Division, The Circuit Court of Cook County- Child Protection Division,

U.S. Department of Justice/Federal Bureau of Investigation, Cook County Sheriff's Police Department, Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, State's Attorney of Cook County, Illinois Department of Human Services, Illinois Department of Children and Family Services, Chicago Police Department, Law Office of the Cook County Public Defender, Office of the Illinois Attorney General, City of Chicago, Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence, Cook County Sheriff's Office - Department of Women's Justice Services, Cook County Adult Probation Department, Cook County Commission on Women's Issues, Cook County Sheriff's Police, Office of Emergency Management and Communication, City of Chicago Corporation Council, Chicago Police Department Vice Control Section, Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy, and the Public Defenders Office.

CAASE is a nonprofit organization based in Chicago that is committed to building a global community free from sexual exploitation. CAASE was founded in June of 2006 by Rachel Durschlag, and works to eliminate sexual exploitation through litigation and advocacy, organizing and policy reform, and prevention and resource development. CAASE proceeds from the assumption that it is possible to stop sexual exploitation by directly addressing the culture, institutions, and individuals that perpetrate, profit from, or tacitly support sexually exploitive acts against people. To accomplish their mission, CAASE: seeks legal remedies on behalf of survivors and penalties for perpetrators of sexual harm; advocates for policies and legislation that hold sexual exploiters accountable; creates and implements prevention initiatives, including the provision of safe spaces for survivors to give testimony about their experiences; and develops resources that empower individuals and communities to stand with victims of sexual harm and take powerful actions against sexual exploiters.

A History of Efforts to Combat Demand in Cook County and Chicago

Cook County's focus on "demand abolition" evolved through a collaboration of survivors, advocacy organizations, law enforcement and the unique leadership of key elected officials.

In the spring of 2002, through the Prostitution Alternatives Round Table a group of survivors began confronting the Chicago Police Department (CPD) about their practice of arresting far more women for prostitution than men who buy sex in Chicago Police District 14 (a gentrifying neighborhood in the northwest side of Chicago). This organizing led to much local and national media attention and significantly contributed towards the beginning of a cultural shift within the CPD about the role that demand plays in prostitution, as well as funding from the City of Chicago for a housing program for women arrested for prostitution in that district. It was these organizing efforts that laid the foundation for much survivor organizing towards the eventual passage of the Predator Accountability Act (the Act was introduced in Illinois' General Assembly in 2003 and adopted in 2006).

In 2003, these survivors also organized a boycott of a Chicago tavern that was allegedly organizing sex-tours for its patrons to Costa Rica. As a result of these successful efforts, and the ensuing media attention, it was these survivors who created the anti-demand posters that were displayed throughout the city by the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless in 2008. It was also this organizing campaign that inspired the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless to assess the extent of "demand" in Chicago and it thus conducted and released the landmark study, "Buying Sex: A Survey of Men in Chicago" in 2004.

Also in 2003 the process of studying law enforcement's response (or lack there-of) to tackling demand began as a key focus of the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence's report, "*The Intersystem Assessment of Prostitution in Chicago*" that was eventually released in 2006. The collaborative

approach of this study prioritized involving law enforcement officials and greatly contributed to the cultural shifts within the Chicago Police Department that are on the verge of bearing fruit today. This report has already resulted in a steady increase in the arrest of johns in Chicago since 2004.

This historical progression towards focusing on eliminating demand as a method to combat sex trafficking and prostitution contributed to the creation of CAASE and served as the foundation that allowed the Justice Project Against Sexual Harm to collaborate in creating the End Demand, Illinois Campaign. These efforts were codified when Cook County Sheriff's Office worked with Cook County Commissioners to pass significant legislation in 2008 and when he made "demand suppression" a key element of his "Human Trafficking Response Team" in 2009, thereby serving as a living model to law enforcement to adopt this strategy.

CAASE was founded by Rachel Durchslag in June of 2006. She had spent the summer of 2003 on a small island near Bangkok working with young girls who had been kidnapped or sold into sexual slavery. Her experiences highlighted the need for work to be done on ending the demand for sexually exploited individuals, not only abroad but in her own community as well. CAASE emerged from this experience. Although anti-sexual exploitation organizations in Chicago were actively working to address sexual exploitation and sex trafficking, CAASE was the first local organization to focus specifically on eliminating demand as its core mission.

The following overview and timeline was provided by Terrie McDermott of the Cook County Sheriff's Office and her collaborators:

It is the commitment of key elected officials, the bravery of survivors and the tireless advocacy and service provision of public and private organizations that has created a climate in Illinois where we can realistically envision the significant curbing of demand as a policy and practice embedded in the state's laws.

Our history is not the story of one organization; it is the story of many public and private agencies working and advocating individually and collectively towards a common goal. It is the story of key elected officials using the authority of their office, in partnership with not for profit organizations to lead initiatives against demand and treat prostituted women as victims of sex trafficking. What most informs the formation of any national or local campaigns and coalitions around demand is Cook County's model of collaboration, and the events that brought us to where we are. Disseminating this history will rightfully honor those who have worked tirelessly to curb sex trafficking and demand in Cook County, will ensure that our local coalitions remain strong, and better inform the development of campaigns in other areas.

Below is a timeline that reflects key developments in Cook County that have contributed to our many successes and led to a collaboration formalized as the End Demand, Illinois Campaign. This timeline is an overview, and does not reflect the many public events, community organizing initiatives, workshops, and training sessions that have occurred over the past decade in Cook County that have contributed to a political climate where the desired change is possible.

2001:

- With a grant from then State Representative Tom Dart, the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless (CCH) hosts the conference, “*Prostitution: A Violent Reality of Homelessness*” and establishes the Prostitution Alternatives Round Table (PART) that for the first time brings together key allies to the same table to begin collaborative work. Initial goals are public education, technical assistance to service providers and legislative advocacy to create alternatives to incarceration for women arrested for prostitution. A key focus was organizing survivors towards legislative change. Key partners included the Center for Impact Research, the Cook County Public Defender’s Office, Cook County State’s Attorney’s Office, the Mayor’s Office on Domestic Violence, Chicago Legal Advocacy for Incarcerated Mothers, service providers, faith based organizations and area rape crisis centers. Major political support was provided by the Department of Women’s Justice Services of the Cook County Sheriff’s Office.
- The Center for Impact Research releases, “*The Prostitution of Women and Girls in Chicago: A Preliminary Prevalence Report*”.
- Advocates for Prostituted Women and Girls is established as Chicago’s first survivor led organization for prostituted girls and leads numerous public education initiatives (later becomes the Young Women’s Empowerment Project).

2002:

- The Center for Impact Research releases, “*Sisters Speak Out: The lives and Needs of Prostituted Women in Chicago*”, results from interviews with 222 prostituted women.
- State Representative Tom Dart holds a public hearing on prostitution in the Illinois House Judiciary Committee of which he is the chairperson.
- The Illinois General Assembly passes the “Residential Treatment and Transition Center for Mothers”, creating an alternative to Incarceration program for mothers convicted of felony crimes, including prostitution. This is an initiative of the Cook County Sheriff’s Office supported by the Chicago Legal Advocacy for Incarcerated Mothers and the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless.
- The City of Chicago Mayor’s Office on Domestic Violence (MODV) begins a three-year process of studying the region’s response to prostitution. A major focus is analyzing law enforcement’s response and engaging them in this project.
- CCH releases, “*Unlocking Options for Women: A Survey of Women in Cook County Jail*”.
- Women of Power Alumni Association is established with support of the Cook County Sheriff’s Office. WOPAA is Chicago’s second survivor-led organization offering supports to formerly detained women.

2003:

- Captive Daughters hosts, “*Demand Dynamics: The Forces of Demand in the Global Sex Trade*,” Chicago’s first conference on demand.

2004:

- CCH releases “Buying Sex: A Survey of Men in Chicago”, interviews with 159 men in Chicago.
- PART culminates two years of organizing survivors around demand and successfully pressures the Chicago Police Department to start increasing arrests of men who buy sex and simultaneously reduce the criminalization of prostituted women.

2005:

- The Salvation Army launches the PROMISE model in Chicago, bringing together all levels of local, state and federal law enforcement, as well as service providers to combat the sex trafficking of children.
- The Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault adopts a strong statement on prostitution as a violence against women issue and begins providing technical assistance to rape crisis centers throughout Illinois to serve prostituted women.
- CCH advocacy results in City of Chicago funding for Heartland Alliance’s Families Building Community program that offers housing and social supports to women arrested for prostitution.

2006:

- MODV issues their report, “The Intersystem Assessment of Prostitution in Chicago”. Key recommendations are to focus limited police resources on arresting and deterring men who buy sex, increasing the prosecution of traffickers, while offering services in lieu of incarceration to prostituted individuals.
- The Salvation Army’s STOP-IT program receives funding to offer direct services to victims of sex trafficking in Chicago and begins to assist victims of sex trafficking who are engaged by the Chicago Police Department.
- The Illinois General Assembly passes the Predator Accountability Act, result of a three-year advocacy, organizing and lobbying initiative led by the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless with many community partners.
- The Chicago Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation is established and begins to interview men who buy sex, utilizing the survey instrument developed by Prostitution Research and Education.
- BeyondMedia Education produces “Turning a Corner” an award winning documentary about survivor organizing on the Predator Accountability Act through CCH’s Prostitution Alternatives Round Table.

2007:

- The Illinois General Assembly passes the First Offender Probation Act, an initiative led by the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless in partnership with the Cook County State’s Attorney’s Office, granting prostituted individuals an alternative to prison for felony prostitution offenses.
- The Cook County Commission on Women’s Issues releases, “The Realities of Human Trafficking in Cook County: Strategies for Ending the Exploitation of Women and Girls”, which also recommends focusing on deterring the demand for commercial sex.
- Dream Catcher Foundation is established, Chicago’s third survivor-led organization that assists young women at risk of prostitution on the south side of Chicago.

2008:

- Cook County Sheriff's Office works with Cook County Commissioners to pass an ordinance that increases penalties on those who buy sex. This effort is supported by many Chicago based advocacy organizations.
- The Justice Project Against Sexual Harm (JusticePASH) is established and organizes support from the Illinois Senate, the Cook County Board of Commissioners, the Cook County Sheriff's Office and local advocacy organizations for the passage of the William Wilberforce Act. JusticePASH brings together key allies to create the End Demand, Illinois Campaign.
- CAASE releases its report, "Deconstructing the Demand for Sex", co-authored by JusticePASH's policy director.
- DePaul University releases its report, "The Domestic Sex Trafficking of Chicago Women and Girls", co-authored by a researcher from the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority.
- Cook County Sheriff Office creates the "Human Trafficking Response Team (HTRT)" and hires survivors of prostitution to intervene in every prostitution arrest his officers make. The HTRT is led by the Department of Women's Justice Services who invite various advocacy and social service organizations to be part of the initiative and relies on community partners to offer services.

2009:

- Cook County's Presiding Judge Criminal Courts, under the Auspices of the Chief Judges Office, begins a process to create the "Prostitution Court", a specialized court that treats prostituted individuals as victims and explores diversion programs. This process is assisted by the Department of Women's Justice Services and advocates from area not for profit organizations.
- Illinois Department of Human Services receives a grant to create Illinois Rescue and Restore.
- Cook County State's Attorney's Office begins partnering with the Chicago Police Department on reforming its practices by focusing on prostitution as sex trafficking and relies upon Salvation Army's STOP-IT program to provide services to prostituted women.
- CAASE acquires JusticePASH and thus the End Demand, Illinois Campaign (a project created by JusticePASH in the summer of 2008). The NoVo Foundation awards EDI a multi-year grant.
- DePaul University releases "Interviews with Five Ex-Pimps in Chicago".-20 additional interviews took place in 2009-2010 and will be combined with the original 5 interviewed in the pilot study, with a report forthcoming in September 2010 and unveiled at a public meeting.
- Illinois Attorney General Lisa Madigan's staff compiles data on Craigslist postings that is used extensively to highlight the abuses facilitated by the website.
- Cook County Sheriff Tom Dart sues Craigslist and gains national attention on his office's work to combat sex trafficking by focusing on demand and internet based exploitation. Sheriff Dart's efforts are also highlighted in a multi-city video conference organized by CAASE, DePaul University and the Hunt Alternatives

Fund.

- Cook County Sheriff Tom Dart successfully begins to implement the Cook County Ordinance to deter demand.
- Polaris Project, Polaris Project deepened its engagement with End Demand Illinois partners on legislative policy and on law enforcement training. In addition, Polaris Project participated in public outreach activities and assisted in gaining national exposure of EDI and its goals
- Polaris chaired or co-chaired with CAASE three meetings of a newly formed legislative policy committee during this period (7/30, 9/18, and 10/27).
- In the area of law enforcement interaction and training, Polaris and other EDI members initially met with representatives of the Cook County Sheriff's Office, Chicago Police Department, and the Cook County State's Attorney's Office to discuss issues and challenges in addressing prostitution and human trafficking.

2010:

- Cook County State's Attorney successfully lobbies the Illinois General Assembly to create the Safe Child Act, legislation that codifies in Illinois law that minors arrested for prostitution are always victims and never criminals. The Act also expands law enforcement's authority to investigate sex trafficking cases. EDI supports this legislation and assists in drafting and passage.
- CAASE pilots its curriculum aimed at deterring boys from buying sex.
- Cook County Sheriff Tom Dart launches a concentrated initiative in Leyden Township to deter men from buying sex.
- Trafficking Workgroup have drafted standards for rape crisis centers to use in developing services for victims of prostitution and trafficking in their local communities. The standards "Rape Crisis Center Response to Victims of Prostitution and Trafficking in their Local Communities," will be reviewed and recommended for adoption by the ICASA Governing Body at a special meeting on June 16, 2010. The standards specifically address Rape Crisis Center Response and Community Collaboration
- Polaris Project focused on legislative advocacy, and drafted a bill proposal for consideration by EDI a year earlier than planned. The CCSAO introduced the legislation (HB 6462), incorporating virtually EDI's entire draft bill. Polaris drafted supporting advocacy documents and testified in support of the legislation at its House committee hearing. Polaris also commented and testified in support of other legislation (HB 6195) that would increase penalties for pimps and johns, including increasing vehicle impoundment fees, a portion of which would be directed to victim services. Both bills passed the House, were merged in the Senate, and passed the Senate judiciary committee on April 22, 2010.

The Involvement of Local Government in Combating Demand in Chicago

The subject of "demand" was beginning to gain traction in Chicago in 2006, and it was an advantageous time for the creation of a demand-focused organization. At this time survivors and advocates were working with a community collaboration led by the Chicago Mayor's Office on

Domestic Violence, which over a period of three years conducted an assessment of prostitution and the systems with which prostituted people came into contact. Government agencies and departments, nonprofit organizations, and survivors of prostitution worked together, and in 2006, the “*Intersystem Assessment on Prostitution in Chicago*” was published. The Intersystem Assessment gathered data and presented findings about the scope and nature of prostitution in Chicago, and more critically, made policy recommendations. Chief among these recommendations was that *the demand side of the problem of prostitution must be more effectively targeted*.

At the same time that the group collaborating with the Mayor’s Office on Domestic Violence was paying increased attention to eradicating demand for prostitution, a growing recognition of the overlap between prostitution and “human trafficking,” often referred to as “sex trafficking,” was developing. This problem was widely regarded as an obvious human rights violation, but also was frequently assumed to involve the crossing of international boundaries.

The next year, following the release of the Intersystem Assessment by the Mayor’s Office, the Cook County Commission on Women’s Issues issued its own report entitled “The Realities of Human Trafficking in Cook County: Strategies for Ending the Exploitation of Women and Girls.” Like the Mayor’s Intersystem Assessment Report, the Cook County Report concluded that “there is a clear overlap between sex trafficking and prostitution” and that demand is the root cause of the sex trade and sex trafficking, to the extent that “unless police and law enforcement officials target pimps, traffickers, and the establishments that profit financially from the exploitation of trafficked human beings, the problem will not go away.”

While many of the specific policy recommendations published in the mayor’s report and the county report have yet to be implemented, the development and publication of both reports helped create and strengthen local alliances between survivor activists, government actors, and nonprofits, as well as enhance the political climate in Chicago, where supporting specific legislation or legal action against pimps and customers of prostitution is now regarded as legitimate, and much less controversial, than it might otherwise have been

Task Forces and Government Involvement

Evidence of this is seen in the number and type of government agencies that joined existing coalitions in Chicago focusing on sexual exploitation. These coalitions are:

- ***Partnership to Rescue Our Minors from Sexual Exploitation (PROMISE)***: The mission of PROMISE is to address, in a holistic manner, the problem of commercial sexual exploitation of all those under the age of 18 in the Chicago area by focusing on (a) prevention, (b) intervention, (c) outreach, and (d) service provision. The task force is comprised of over 24 governmental and non-governmental organizations that work together to eliminate the commercial sexual exploitation of children. PROMISE works in close partnership with the FBI initiative “Innocence Lost” that targets pimps and traffickers of sexually exploited youth.
- ***Chicago Mayor’s Office on Domestic Violence Demand Deterrence Committee (MODV)***: MODV was charged with overseeing an intensive effort to build Chicago’s capacity to more effectively respond and intervene in cases of domestic violence. For two years MODV coordinated a “Demand Deterrence” committee focusing on eliminating the demand for prostituted individuals in Chicago. Unfortunately, due to personnel changes within the department, this task force is no longer in existence.

- ***Prostitution Alternative Round Table (PART):*** PART is a network of city, state, county, private nonprofit organizations, and survivors of prostitution dedicated to addressing the many issues related to prostitution and homelessness in Chicago. PART is a project of the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless. PART has an active steering committee and a committee of survivors of prostitution who lead and organize its initiatives. PART has expertise in creating and passing legislation, such as the Predator Accountability Bill, that focuses on the demand side of the sex trade. PART also hosts community forums and implements publicity campaigns to raise awareness about the realities of the sex trade.
- ***Illinois Department of Human Services-Illinois Rescue and Restore Campaign:*** The State of Illinois has partnered with the federal government to combat labor and sex trafficking in Illinois. Consequently, Illinois has joined the Department of Health and Human Services and other law enforcement, social service, healthcare, and advocacy organizations across the state to fight modern-day slavery. To help deter demand for sexually exploited individuals, Rescue and Restore hangs posters all across Illinois to raise awareness about human trafficking and is beginning to coordinate a response protocol when victims are identified.

Legislation Targeting Demand

In Illinois, 2006 brought the establishment of a new civil rights focus on action for survivors of prostitution. The Predator Accountability Act, 740 ILCS 128, was designed to allow survivors of prostitution in Illinois to seek civil damages from individuals and entities that recruited, harmed, profited from, or maintained them in the sex trade[1]. Under the legislation predators can be held liable for economic loss, damages for personal injury and disease, and mental and emotional harm. Those who will most likely be held accountable under this law are individuals and entities that recruit, traffic, maintain, and profit from persons in the sex trade, including pimps, abusive family members, or agencies whose false advertising tricks persons into illegal sex trade activities. The law stipulates that the offense must have occurred after July of 2006, so as of yet no cases have been prosecuted.

In addition to establishing that Illinois survivors of prostitution can hold pimps, johns, and profiteers accountable for recruiting, maintaining, or harming them in prostitution, the process through which the law was introduced and established had certain other critical effects. Specifically, substantial numbers of policymakers, legislators, and thought leaders statewide were educated about the realities of prostitution in Illinois, frequently through discussions with actual survivors of prostitution. Furthermore, the passage of Predator Accountability Act helped shift the perception of women in prostitution from perpetrators of crime to victims of violence. Because survivors were full participants in lobbying legislators to support the Predator Accountability Act, elected officials were able to meet survivors, learn about their lived experiences, and gain respect for their perspectives. It also reinforced the conviction that this violence should be prevented and perpetrators held accountable.

- ***Massage Establishments and Massage Services (Chapter 4-92):*** This municipal ordinance strives to make it more difficult for pimps and traffickers to use legal venues, such as massage parlors, for illegal commercial sexual activity. Main tenets of the legislation are that it outlaws tinted windows for parlors, requires a waiting room for patrons that is visible from the outside, and creates stricter licensing criteria.

- ***Illinois State Senate Resolution 590:*** This legislation passed the Illinois State Senate in May 2008 and a similar resolution was passed by the Cook County Board of Commissioners in June 2008. The resolution urged US senators from Illinois to support HR 3887, the federal reauthorization of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act. This act introduces a cohesive legal framework to fight both domestic and international trafficking, constitutionally targets the demand for international trafficking by directly addressing the network that buys and sells women and children for commercial sexual exploitation, removes a barrier to effective prosecutions against traffickers by making “force, fraud, and coercion” part of aggravated trafficking rather than a requirement for all convictions, and makes sex tourism a more significant crime.
- ***Offenses Involving Public Morals Nuisance Violations Ordinance:*** In spring 2008, CAASE successfully lobbied for the new Cook County Public Morals Nuisance Violation Ordinance that allows the Sheriff’s Police to impose a civil penalty on pimps and johns and to direct revenues from fines to the Department of Women’s Justice Services. CAASE has been advising the department on implementation. During the summer and fall of 2009, they held several meetings with Vice Unit Detectives and the Unit’s Commander to create a protocol of implementation.
- ***Potential Consequences:*** Legal penalties for purchasing sex can include as much as \$1,500 in fines, having one’s vehicle impounded if the vehicle is used during the solicitation for sex, and a misdemeanor conviction. Felony convictions can be incurred for purchasing sex but rarely transpire.

CAASE’S First Three Years: Awareness Raising and Research

During its first two-and-a-half years, CAASE focused on three initiatives: ***prevention, community education, and intervention.*** Understanding the importance of preventing sexual exploitation from occurring, their preliminary prevention work investigated existing curricula aimed at high-school aged boys that addressed violence imposed by men against women. Simultaneously, the majority of the organization’s focus centered on raising awareness about issues of sexual exploitation, demand, and human trafficking throughout Chicago. They proactively engaged media to cover stories on the issue, launched city-wide protests against events that normalized the sex trade (such as Pimp N’ Ho parties and strip tease classes called ‘Turning Tricks’), created a book club centered around these issues, utilized the arts as a means of awareness-raising, hosted a three day “Art for Awareness” festival, screened films in the community on the issue, coordinated the Midwest launch of the groundbreaking film *Price of Pleasure* that investigates the pornography industry, and produced the plays *Becoming Natasha* and *Body and Sold*.

In 2007, limited research existed in the United States that offered insight into the behavioral and cognitive patterns and belief systems that drove the demand side of the sex trade. Without this empirical understanding, CAASE would have struggled to have created successful initiatives to curb demand. To address this problem, CAASE led the Chicago project of an international research study on men who patronize the sex trade. The study was developed and overseen by Dr. Melissa Farley, an internationally renowned psychologist who founded Prostitution Research and Education. A total of 113 men participated in and completed the research study, and preliminary findings from the interviews were released in May 2008. The findings are summarized below:

- Young men need to be exposed to the realities of prostitution and trafficking including the reasons women enter prostitution, the extent of violence in prostitution, and the physical and psychological harms suffered by prostituted individuals.
- Young men should be educated about the conflicted feelings of men who use women in prostitution and the potential adverse consequences that buying women for sex can have on their own sexuality and on their relationships with non-prostituted women.
- The link between pornography and prostitution should be further examined. Eliminating demand for prostitution and trafficking, and deterring young men from buying sex, includes challenging men's demand and need for pornography.
- Young men should explore, early on, their own definitions of what it means to be a man, and address cultural and peer pressures that might influence them, or their friends, to use women in prostitution.
- Community groups should design and implement awareness-raising campaigns that debunk prostitution myths by highlighting the realities of why women enter prostitution, the connections between trafficking and pornography, and the violence that women endure in the sex trade.
- Men should hold each other accountable for their patronage of the sex trade industry and cease perpetuating myths of "masculinity" that include domination and exploitation of women.
- Community residents should work with alternative policing groups to raise awareness about the existing criminal penalties for purchasing sex and to ensure that these criminal penalties are enforced
- Community residents should work with their local police departments to target the indoor venues where men purchase sex
- Community residents should work with their legislators to create and implement legislation that increases criminal penalties for those purchasing sex. Any measure taken that publicizes the identities of johns should only be implemented after conviction, not arrest.
- Existing "john schools" should be expanded to include individual sessions with clinical practitioners who should explore the varied psychological reasons that lead men to originally purchase, and continue to purchase, sex. Counseling should be available on a long-term basis.
- Service providers who already work with men to end violence against women, such as batterer intervention programs, should incorporate a discussion of prostitution into their work. They should explore to what degree clients' propensity to tolerate violence against women might play a role in their decision to buy sex, as well as in their sexual and romantic relationships with non-prostituted women.
- Clinical practitioners working with regular users of the sex trade should assess for history of sexual abuse, development of healthy or unhealthy sexual behaviors, risk of unhealthy sexual behaviors, and history of mental health issues and substance use. Mental health practitioners should also assess if their client's outlook on prostitution changes as he continues to

understand his own sexual needs and behaviors.

Acquisition of the Justice Project Against Sexual Harm

On January 1, 2009, CAASE acquired the Justice Project Against Sexual harm (JusticePASH). JusticePASH was founded in February 2008 and was the only organization in the country assisting victims of sexual assault and exploitation through the use of civil law. JusticePASH also assisted survivors in navigating the criminal justice system to ensure appropriate prosecution of their perpetrators and engaged in policy reform to ensure that Illinois laws designed to counter sex trafficking and sexual exploitation were utilized appropriately. After the acquisition of JusticePASH, CAASE's three focus areas became:

1. Litigation and Advocacy

CAASE engages in civil litigation against perpetrators and facilitators of sexual harm, and advocates for appropriate and effective criminal prosecution of rapists, pimps, and people who buy sex. They also advocate for public policies that increase the efficacy of criminal and civil laws against sexual violence and exploitation.

2. Organizing and Policy Reform

CAASE creates and advocates for legislative and policy reform that strives to: increase the legal and social accountability of sex traffickers, pimps, people who buy sex, and rapists; promote broad community support for victim services; and advocate that perpetrators pay for the sexual harm they cause. CAASE also advises law enforcement, policymakers, and other stakeholders on best practices relating to sex trafficking, prostitution, and rape.

3. Prevention and Community Engagement

CAASE works to prevent sexual exploitation by increasing public understanding of the harms inherent in the sex trade through research and the arts. CAASE creates and implements educational curricula designed to encourage boys and men to work against sexual exploitation. Additionally, CAASE develops toolkits for nonprofits, faith-based groups, schools, businesses, feminist groups, and other communities and individuals to provide tangible methods people can use to prevent sexual harm.

CAASE's Current Work

Litigation and Advocacy (The Justice Project Against Sexual Harm)

The Justice Project Against Sexual Harm (JusticePASH) provides low-income survivors of sexual assault and exploitation with low- or no-cost civil legal representation, policy and media advocacy. JusticePASH takes the view that the fight against sexual exploitation is a critical front in the battle for social justice and equality. JusticePASH also believes that a proven method for creating social change in the United States—civil rights litigation by disempowered groups—has thus far been a radically underused tool in the fight against rape and sexual exploitation.

How JusticePASH Assists Individual Survivors:

- They *sue individual and organizational perpetrators* of sexual abuse, seeking to make perpetrators pay for the damage they cause;
- They *pursue litigation to prove that rape or sexual exploitation occurs*, seeking to empower victims and hold perpetrators publicly accountable;
- They *advocate for clients* when the crimes against them are (or are not) investigated and prosecuted by police and prosecutors;
- They *pressure the criminal system* to better respond to rape;
- They *provide free legal consultations* and advice to survivors who are seeking to learn more about their rights.

Public Policy and Advocacy

There are three main public policy and advocacy campaigns surrounding demand. These are:

1. Collaborating with the Cook County Sheriff's Office

Since the summer of 2009, CAASE has been working closely with the Cook County Sheriff's Office on implementing innovative protocols for handling prostitution and sex trafficking cases. Out of necessity, in the fall of 2009 they began working closely with the Cook County State's Attorney's Office and the Chicago Police Department to create an effective region-wide protocol. In early 2009, the Cook County Sheriff's Office implemented the Trafficking Response Team (TRT), run by the Department of Women's Justice Services (DWJS). Through regular meetings, CAASE-facilitated workshops and trainings, and continual technical assistance, CAASE has advised DWJS staff in creating a protocol for response to women arrested for prostitution. The TRT investigates prostitution offenses, and when prostituted women or girls are encountered, survivors (who are TRT members) provide the first intervention for them. The survivors offer crisis intervention and service referrals as a voluntary alternative to detention while law enforcement focuses on arrests of pimps and customers. The TRT is gradually moving toward the recognition that women in prostitution are in need of services, and a purely criminal justice response is a waste of scarce resources.

A frustration that is routinely expressed by Sheriff's police officers is the inability of the Cook County State's Attorney's Office (SAO) to charge offenders under Illinois' anti-trafficking statute. This hinders the sheriff's ability to appropriately investigate possible trafficking cases and the insurance of a successful prosecution. This frustration also underscores the need for an effective region-wide, law enforcement-based strategy to address prostitution and sex trafficking cases. Therefore, since the summer of 2009, CAASE has been working with the SAO and the Chicago Police Department (CPD) to assess their capacity and implement proven protocols to ensure that trafficking cases can be successfully investigated and prosecuted.

In September 2009, CAASE facilitated a meeting between the CPD, the SAO, the Cook County Sheriff's Office, the Salvation Army, and the Illinois' Rescue and Restore Coalition to promote system-wide collaboration. In February 2010 they hosted a conference call between the Dallas Police Department and District Attorney's office and the above Cook County law enforcement officials to learn about creating protocols that assist trafficked children and hold perpetrators accountable. Building upon these meetings, CAASE is currently working with these groups to create a protocol that (a) appropriately handles trafficking cases that involve youth, (b) implements best practices, and (c) conducts system-wide training to assure the appropriate management of these cases.

Currently, CAASE is contributing to the efforts of the Division of Women's Justice Services toward the creation of a "prostitution court" in Cook County. Though the current vision for the court is to house cases hearings for prostituted individuals, they are advocating that pimps and johns are also sent to this court. If this happens, they can train the prostitution court's judges on the available penalties to use against perpetrators and to help increase prosecution of these cases.

2. End Demand, IL

In January of 2009 CAASE began to consider whether or not Illinois would be able to pass legislation similar to the Swedish model. They brought together a key group of allies in Chicago to assess if people would be interested in pursuing such an initiative, and the response was unanimously positive. CAASE staff felt that Illinois would be a strategic place to launch the initiative because they had:

- **strong coalitions;**
- **relevant research** that specifically addressed the issue in Illinois;
- the **support of government and city leaders** such as Sheriff Tom Dart and the Chief of Chicago Police Department's VICE unit;
- multiple pieces of progressive **legislation;** and
- received **national support from advocates** who felt that Illinois would be an ideal location to attempt to pass such a progressive piece of legislation.

CAASE then put together a steering committee of 20 organizations which met every two months to develop the goals, mission, timeline, and projected outcomes of the campaign. End Demand, Illinois (EDI) became a policy and legislative campaign directed at increasing the ability of the criminal system to focus their efforts on the demand for prostitution, while simultaneously increasing services for girls and women at risk for, suffering in, or attempting to escape from prostitution.

Overview of the Campaign and Initial Activities and Successes: The EDI initiative is a grassroots effort to transform the state's response to prostitution and sex trafficking to reflect the philosophy that prostituted individuals are victims and should be treated as such and that law enforcement efforts should be focused solely on deterring men from buying sex and arresting and prosecuting pimps, panderers, and traffickers. Activities in the first half of the year include:

- 1) Raising the public's knowledge of the campaign and beginning to recruit supporters;
- 2) Beginning to collect necessary data and policy development ideas;
- 3) Drafting and introducing legislation to eliminate criminal liability for minors engaged in prostitution
- 4) Establishing and solidifying relationships with law enforcement and urging the adoption of model practices;
- 5) Recruiting and training survivors to assume leadership roles in the campaign;
- 6) Conducting national research on best practice models for services for prostituted people.

CAASE anticipates that they will begin outreach and education efforts outside of Chicago in the rest of the state in the fall of 2010. EDI is convened by CAASE, collaborating with the Women of Power

Alumni Association (WoPAA), the Polaris Project, the Voices and Faces Project (Voices), and the Schiller DuCanto and Fleck Family Law Center of DePaul University College of Law (Schiller), and the Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault, as campaign partners. EDI was officially launched (along with a new website) on September 17, 2009 at an event attended by over 200 individuals.

Public Messaging

In August 2009, volunteer Katie Feifer (also affiliated with the Voices and Faces Project) of San Francisco-based research group KGF Insights, conducted 31 one-on-one interviews with a diverse group of Illinois residents to glean their feedback on statistics, beliefs and slogan statements, and the philosophy and messaging employed by the campaign's public education efforts. The conclusions and recommendations from this report will serve as the basis of all campaign outreach materials.

Documentary Series

In August and September of 2009, Larissa Malarek, a volunteer documentarian, conducted 23 on-camera interviews with policymakers, law enforcement officials, service providers, and survivors throughout the state about prostitution, sex trafficking and demand in Illinois. These interviews will form the basis of the production and ongoing release of short documentary vignettes used for EDI public education initiatives. An initial clip was released at EDI's launch event in September.

Survivor Focus Groups

EDI researchers have conducted six focus groups with a total of 35 participants (two with formerly incarcerated women, one with transgender women, one with men and two with self identified sex workers). Participants discussed current engagement with Illinois anti-prostitution law and made recommendations for policy development.

Interviews with Ex-Pimps

During this time period, permission was received from the DePaul University Institutional Research Board to conduct interviews with ex-pimps and madams in Chicago to understand the financial organization of prostitution and sex trafficking rings, as well as effectiveness of Illinois' current legal system to address the industry. Eight in-depth interviews (including three of women) were completed and one interview with an ex-pimp who trafficked women internationally has been secured.

Freedom of Information Act Requests

With a goal of acquiring prostitution and trafficking arrest data from 21 select counties throughout the state, and with the pro bono assistance of the Kirkland and Ellis law firm, staff began sending Freedom of Information Act requests to police departments, state's attorney's offices, and sheriff's offices to these counties. This entails approximately 350 FOIA requests being sent out and then negotiated with the pertinent official. Thus far, about one-third of the requests have been sent out and the responses negotiated. Data are now being analyzed. The data will be used to determine prostitution activity throughout the state from a law enforcement perspective, the makeup of arrests, the disposition of cases, and the cost to law enforcement of arresting prostituted individuals.

Policy Development

EDI formed a public policy committee co-chaired by the Polaris Project and CAASE. Polaris Project staff led committee members through a section-by-section analysis of the Illinois and Cook County prostitution codes, with the goal of educating partners about the current status of the law and pointing out areas for recommended “ideal” changes. The committee has set priorities for statewide legislative change, deciding that the first major priority should address removing criminal responsibility for minor victims of sex trafficking. The committee determined necessary initial action items in the areas of research and document generation, and began the process of short and long-term committee action plans. Substantive legislation was introduced in 2010, one year ahead of schedule.

Direct Service Research

EDI established a Direct Services Committee to create a proposed model for a statewide comprehensive service delivery system for prostituted and trafficked people, with an emphasis on the provision of a continuum of housing supports. It has developed a work plan for its activities that includes research, data analysis, and policy formulation. In September 2009, the committee completed research on best practice service standards for providers in Chicago and Illinois. Of the 19 providers contacted, 13 provided submissions. In August 2009, the committee expanded its research to include national providers who specifically work with prostituted and trafficked people. As of April 2010, the committee has collected submissions from over 30 agencies or individuals. The committee expects to complete its research by June 2010. Throughout the summer of 2010, the committee will analyze the data and begin drafting their proposal for a statewide infrastructure of care for survivors of prostitution and trafficking.

Law Enforcement Pilot

EDI staff continues to work with the Cook County Sheriff’s Office on efforts to deter demand and assist prostituted individuals. CAASE serves as the advocacy partner on the sheriff’s office’s Human Trafficking Response Team (HTRT). The Team is enforcing a new county ordinance CAASE helped pass in 2008. The ordinance provides for the issuance of civil citations against pimps and johns, collection of fines, and the direction of those fines to support services provided by the Department of Women’s Justice Services. The team also goes out on stings to investigate prostitution-related crimes. The team includes survivors of prostitution who interact directly with the prostituted women and youth encountered on stings. The survivors offer them support and services, and at this point in the model’s development, if a prostituted person accepts services, the charges will not be pursued. In the summer of 2010, the HTRT will be developing protocols for improved response to victims.

EDI grant partner DePaul Law School will conduct a full evaluation of the Human Trafficking Response Team in the summer of 2010. The research will be led by Jody Raphael, senior fellow at the Schiller, DuCanto & Fleck Family Law Center and a community research intern from Duke University.

CAASE is the advocacy partner for the Cook County State’s Attorney’s Office and the Chicago Police Department’s Trafficking Initiative. In early 2010, CAASE submitted a

policy reform proposal to this work group proposing reforms to their current enforcement of prostitution offenses. Proposals included the establishment of a law enforcement response consisting of survivor-led intervention with prostituted people and the collection of fines from pimps, traffickers, and johns to support services for prostituted/trafficked people.

Recently, CAASE learned that the McHenry County State's Attorney's Office filed charges under Illinois' Anti-Trafficking laws—the first CAASE is aware of in the state. CAASE met with the prosecutor and victim witness advocates to share the work of End Demand Illinois and offer their assistance. Representatives from the office shared their belief that law enforcement and prosecutors around the state are unaware of the existence of their state trafficking code. As a result of this and similar feedback CAASE has received, their EDI campaign partner Polaris Project will begin a yearlong statewide training series for police and prosecutors to educate them about Illinois' trafficking laws and offer guidance for its effective implementation.

Organizing Survivors

The Women of Power Alumni Association (WOPAA) leads the EDI campaign's survivor organizing. WOPAA is a nonprofit leadership development organization of formerly incarcerated women that is associated with the Cook County Sheriff Department's Women Justice Services. A diverse group of 31 women were initially recruited by EDI's organizer of which a core group of nine have formed an Organizing Committee. Committee members have helped draft campaign messages, undergone three public speaking training sessions, and serve on EDI's Steering, Policy, and Direct Services Research committees. Committee members have also been interviewed and filmed for EDI's documentary series. They are now speaking to community groups to raise support for the EDI initiative.

Assessment of the Impact of EDI to Date. The campaign has already helped make substantive policy changes within the Cook County Sheriff's Office. Since implementing the ordinance in September 2009, the Office has issued 61 citations and collected \$16,000. The fines are directed toward support for the Department of Women's Justice Services, which intends to use the money to support new clinical positions within the department.

CAASE's work within the Cook County State's Attorney's Office has had a powerful impact. In March, State's Attorney Anita Alvarez agreed to support an EDI-drafted bill that would eliminate criminal liability for minors under the age of 18 engaged in prostitution. State's Attorney Alvarez's legislative team began working with the EDI Policy Committee to move the bill through the Illinois legislature, and on March 25, the bill was passed by the Illinois House. On April 28 CAASE will send two members of their Survivors Organizing Committee to their state capital to lobby the bill.

3. Community Engagement

CAASE believes that raising awareness about the actual lived experiences of individuals in the sex trade can deter men from purchasing sex. Research conducted by CAASE with men who purchase sex found that a substantial number of interviewees said that if they had known more about the harms of the sex trade, and about the common life experiences that lead women into entry, that they would not have purchased sex. Strategic messaging through creative means can shift the common conception of the sex trade from an inevitable and relatively harmless part of society to one that recognizes and widely accepts prostitution as harmful and avoidable.

This is achieved through:

- Lectures and presentations throughout the community
- Theatrical events such as the original play *The Johns*, being produced in May 2010
- Film screenings and festivals
- Poster campaigns that CAASE is currently designing with a local graphic design school
- A website filled with resources, research, action ideas, and film, book, and blog recommendations
- Research on other international demand initiatives

Developing Resources

Throughout its existence, CAASE has been strongly committed to creating tools and resources to help individuals, organizations, and communities conduct their own activism around issues of demand. Below is a list of both the research reports authored by CAASE staff as well as toolkits they have developed.

Research Reports

- “Deconstructing the Demand for Prostitution: Preliminary Insights Into Chicago Men Who Purchase Sex”
- “Demand Deterrence Strategies: International Initiatives to Eliminate Demand for the Sex Trade”
- “National and International Public Awareness Campaigns”
- “An Investigation into John Schools”
- “Engaging Young Men in Ending Commercial Sexual Exploitation: A Report, Curriculum, and Recommended Resources”
- A variety of fact sheets about the sex trade, human trafficking, demand, and civil legal options for survivors

Completed Toolkits

DEMAND CHANGE: 10 Actions X 10 Issues = 100 Steps Towards Ending Sexual Exploitation: This action guide identifies 10 different actions an individual can take to end the harms of the following 10 forms of sexual exploitation: the commercial sex trade industry, demand, international sex trafficking, the commercial sexual exploitation of

children, sex tourism, internet exploitation, pornography, rape culture, child sexual abuse, sexual harm, and rape.

Media Response Toolkit: This kit provides talking points to respond to harmful media messages about the sex trade as well as several sample letters to the Editor

Communities of Faith Toolkit (Jewish, Protestant, Catholic, and Eastern Orthodox with a Buddhist one in development): This toolkit provides clergy from all different faiths with resources to connect issues of sexual exploitation to religious passages and rituals.

‘Pimp N’ Ho’ Protest Toolkit: This toolkit is geared towards college students and provides ideas and actions to protest “Pimp N’ Ho” parties held on campus.

Lesson Plans for High School Coaches: These are five lesson plans on human trafficking and sexual exploitation that coaches can use with their teams. It was developed in partnership with Coach for America.

Toolkits in Development

Community Engagement Toolkit: This toolkit empowers communities to take specific actions against the demand for the sex trade in their neighborhoods. The toolkit provides both educational materials about why targeting demand is the most effective strategy to reduce prostitution, and offers a variety of concrete actions communities can implement.

Engaging Parents and Guardians of High School-Aged Sons in Stopping Sexual Harm: This toolkit is designed to inform and empower parents to begin an open dialog with their sons about issues of sexually exploitive relationships. The toolkit includes insights into the role of demand in prostitution, identifies some of the social pressures boys face to have sex, ideas on how to cultivate equality in relationships, and resources such as recommended books and local counseling services.

Accompanying Teacher Guide: This toolkit is provided to schools that have implemented the curriculum and provides lesson plans and ideas for engaging youth in a mature, thoughtful, and proactive manner about issues such as human rights and gender expectations that may influence, support, and even encourage sexually exploitive relationships. Complete with activities, recommended books for students, and movies to facilitate an interactive learning experience, the Teacher Guide provides the components necessary for reaching today’s young people about frequently unexplored issues.

Partnerships

Part of CAASE’s operating philosophy is to always work in collaboration with allies to leverage the impact of their work. During CAASE’s four years they have formed strategic partnerships with groups such as:

ILLINOIS COALITION AGAINST SEXUAL ASSAULT: One of the five lead partners on EDI and the fiscal sponsor for the initiative.

PROTESTANTS FOR THE COMMON GOOD: An EDI partner and active lobbying presence in Springfield on relevant legislation.

YWCA METROPOLITAN CHICAGO: An EDI partner.

CHICAGO COALITION FOR THE HOMELESS: Runs the Prostitution Alternative Round Table and helps lead lobbying initiatives in Springfield. PART is one of CAASE's key partners and they work together on many projects, such as poster campaigns. Also an EDI partner.

PROJECT IRENE: An EDI partner and active lobbying presence in Springfield on relevant legislation.

SALVATION ARMY - STOP IT: The sole nonprofit organization working to identify victims of human trafficking. They work with STOP IT on identifying places to bring the curriculum and they are an EDI partner

SALVATION ARMY - PROMISE TASK FORCE: An EDI partner and supporter of all of CAASE's work.

RAPE VICTIM ADVOCATES: An EDI partner.

SCHILLER DUCANTO AND FLECK FAMILY LAW CENTER, DEPAUL UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF LAW: An EDI lead partner and the organization in charge of all research. Currently working on the interviews of the eight pimps.

POLARIS PROJECT: Their EDI national partner who advises all of the policy and legislative aspects of the campaign.

WOMEN OF POWER ALUMNI ASSOCIATION: Associated with the Cook County Sheriff's Department of Women's Justice Services. An EDI partner and in charge of survivor organizing.

COOK COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE

PILLARS: An EDI Partner.

CLAIM: An EDI partner and active lobbying presence in Springfield on relevant legislation.

THE DREAMCATCHER FOUNDATION: An EDI partner.

THE VOICES AND FACES PROJECT: An EDI lead partner and in charge of most messaging work associated with the campaign.

COUNTERQUO.ORG: An EDI partner.

COMMUNITIES IN SCHOOLS CHICAGO: An organization in Chicago that works to connect public schools with social issue programming. This is the organization that is helping CAASE get their curriculum into schools.

FREDERICK DOUGLAS FOUNDATION: A national foundation working to bring curriculum and service learning projects to Chicago Public Schools. CAASE is developing the section of their curriculum that addresses demand.

TRAFFICK FREE: A local organization that works on awareness-raising initiatives.

SOROPTIMIST: An international women's rights initiative that strives to raise awareness about human trafficking. They have awarded CAASE a few small grants and partnered with them on the development of their DEMAND CHANGE toolkit.

IDHS RESCUE AND RESTORE: An Illinois coalition that CAASE works with on awareness-raising efforts.

Other Anti-Demand Initiatives in Chicago

There are only a few nonprofit organizations that have incorporated demand deterrence and demand intervention efforts into their activist and social service work. The first is the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless Prostitution Alternatives Round Table (PART). In 2008, PART launched a city-wide poster campaign to deter demand. The poster was designed by PART's survivor group. The campaign ran for six months and was displayed on several Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) buses that traverse the city on a daily basis. For at least two months, a poster was also stationed directly over a CTA subway entrance at a major intersection and on the backs of buses in 15 different bus routes throughout Chicago. A website was listed at the bottom of the posters (www.stopsexualexploitation.com) to direct viewers to more information and resources.

The subway location and bus routes were chosen based on documented and anecdotal evidence of high levels of prostitution. Of particular influence was the report "Domestic sex trafficking of Chicago women and girls" by J. Raphael and J. Ashley, produced jointly by the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority and DePaul University College of Law. This report pinpointed two areas—Midway Airport and Rush Street in Chicago's Gold Coast neighborhood. Preliminary findings from interviews with johns conducted by CAASE also reinforced that prostitution exists in these neighborhoods. Therefore, the poster was displayed on a panel over a subway station and on bus routes located in these two neighborhoods, among others. The posters were strategically placed on the CTA so that they would be visible not only by CTA riders, but by any other vehicle or pedestrian traffic in the area.

The campaign used two tools to measure the impact of the demand deterrence and awareness campaign: a newly developed website to track those who were drawn to learn more about the issue after seeing the poster and a brief survey of individuals passing near the CTA poster placements conducted by volunteers over two days in August.

Website:

The website, www.stopsexualexploitation.com, was created in July 2008. The website contains information on the specific criminal consequences to buying sex, facts about prostitution in Chicago, why PART's campaign is targeting the demand for the sex trade, why men buy sex (with specific data from CAASE's research), a list with brief descriptions and links to relevant resources, information about PART and its campaigns and activities, contact information, and a link to an online survey through www.surveymonkey.com.

There were 737 unique visitors to the website, with a total of 910 visits (1.23 visits per visitor). Many only visited the website briefly—on average 143 seconds per visit—and viewed an average of 2.1 pages per visit. The Chicago Coalition for the Homeless (CCH) and a few partner organizations posted links to the website, and a couple of pro-prostitution groups negatively discussed the ad campaign on their websites (www.boinkology.com, www.wisdomofwhores.com) with links to the website.

Unfortunately, there were very few people who filled out the online survey or contacted CCH staff directly. One lesson learned would be to make the website more interactive to engage more visitors and get them connected to PART/CCH and other partner organizations.

Survey:

The survey consisted of 6 questions plus optional gender identification. Over two days (four hours total) in mid-August 2008, 7 teams of 18 volunteers surveyed 303 individuals at 6 different locations. These locations were chosen based on where the poster advertisements were placed—on the panel above the subway platform in the Gold Coast neighborhood (Clark & Division) and at intersections and bus stops along routes where buses known to display the posters traveled. Armed with cold bottled water, volunteers approached individuals on the street, presented the poster to view, and asked the willing participants for responses to the six survey questions.

The survey took approximately five minutes to administer with the aim of understanding whether individuals were seeing the poster as they passed through the area, what they thought the message meant, whether it affected the way they thought about the sex trade, and whether viewing the poster might prevent a person from buying sex.

Lessons Learned from the Survey

CCH found that though the poster had been displayed on the CTA for at least two or three weeks, the overwhelming majority of those surveyed had not seen or noticed the poster (92%) before they were surveyed. This means that for a short-term campaign there would need to be greater saturation of the posters to even begin to engage one's target audience. CCH does not know how the response to the survey might have changed after another one to six months of advertising.

Upon viewing the poster, most participants were able to quickly ascertain at least a basic understanding of the poster's message. Sixty-three percent understood that the message was either to stop prostitution, stop the purchase of sex, and/or that many women and girls don't enter the sex trade by choice (starting as minors, etc.). However, another 34 percent confused the message to be targeting either young girls/teenagers or their parents. These individuals thought the message was either for parents to watch their daughters more carefully, for girls to stay off the street and out of trouble, for parents to make sure their daughters were picked up in the more innocuous sense (e.g., from school or a date), or for individuals to be aware of missing, runaway, or kidnapped children. The responses to this question informed CCH that future posters need to be bolder, more direct, and clearer in order for the general public to quickly comprehend the intended message.

Those surveyed were nearly evenly split on whether the poster had any effect on what they thought about prostitution. Forty-nine percent stated that it did not affect them. Of these, most (26 percent) did not elaborate as to why but 16 percent said that they had already thought prostitution was harmful as a reason why the poster did not affect them. Forty-six percent said the poster caused them to think differently. These individuals gave various explanations, all of which were ideas that PART would want to confer to the general public. For instance, 12 percent said it got them to think about a prostituted individual as a person with a family. The responses to this question are largely positive since the majority either began to think or had always thought that prostitution was harmful. Because a quarter of the respondents did not give any reason as to why the poster had no effect, it is hard to glean what message may have had more impact. However, it does reinforce the idea that a stronger, more direct message might be helpful.

Only 20 percent of those surveyed felt that the poster would deter someone from buying sex, either because it would cause the person to think more about the person they are “picking up” or because they do not want to go to jail. About 19 percent thought that *maybe* a few token men might think twice, if they even read the whole poster, or just simply expressed hopefulness that the poster would deter someone. A much more resounding 62 percent said that no poster would stop someone from buying sex, with some suggesting other issues like addiction or misogyny that present a deeper challenge or other interventions that would provide a greater deterrent effect.

These responses lead to several possible conclusions. One could assume that perhaps it is pointless to engage in a poster campaign to deter demand. One might instead argue that a poster deterrence campaign is more likely to be effective if it is matched by other community and police prevention and intervention work. Another conclusion might be that the posters should continue to target johns with a bolder, clearer, and more highly saturated advertising campaign. However, advocates might also shift their expectations to focus more on engaging the general public, changing how they think about prostitution, and providing tools for communities to help eliminate the demand for the sex trade rather than on directly deterring a person who is about to purchase sex.

The results of the surveys and the website usage demonstrate that the general public is interested and willing to engage in discussion about the issue of prostitution. In addition, once they are properly informed about the realities of the sex trade, they may begin to be more sensitive and compassionate to the women and girls victimized by the sex trade and by johns in particular. This is crucial to bring about real change and to move in a direction toward holding customers of the sex trade responsible for their actions.

The second nonprofit organization that works on demand issues is Christian Community Health Center’s *Footprints* program, which runs the city’s “john school” (called the *Amend Program*). This is a one-day seminar for men who have been arrested for soliciting a woman in prostitution. It educates men about the far-reaching consequences of their actions and discusses the behavioral issues associated with solicitation. Women with a history of prostitution speak to the men about their experiences in the sex trade. Participation in the program is an alternative to conviction. Money made from the program goes back into services for women impacted by sexual exploitation.



Additionally, in the winter of 2008-2009 the DePaul College of Law's Schiller DuCanto & Felck Family Law Center completed in-depth research with five ex-pimps in the Chicago metropolitan area. This research study presents important information about the role pimps and traffickers play in Chicago's sex industry.

Both city and county government have launched anti-demand initiatives. The Chicago Police Department, in conjunction with the mayor's office, has initiated a "shaming" intervention, making prostitution solicitors' information available online. Additionally, in 2009, both the Illinois Attorney General and the Sheriff of Cook County sought to hold Craigslist, Inc. accountable for the ways in which the Craigslist website promotes and profits from prostitution locally. Although a lawsuit filed against Craigslist by the sheriff was dismissed from federal court in October, Craigslist did increase the cost of advertising for "adult services" on its site, and publicly promised to direct those funds to agencies providing services to survivors of sexual exploitation. Recently, Craigslist retracted its commitment to direct a portion of its profits to services.

CAASE's Curriculum

Because of the lack of effort to educate young people about the harms of the sex trade, CAASE developed *Empowering Young Men toward Ending Sexual Exploitation*, the first curriculum in the country that directly addresses demand deterrence for commercial sexual exploitation and human trafficking with young men. The curriculum resulted from three years of research into various prevention education programming. It contains four sessions, and specifically targets young men in high school. The three educational goals of the curriculum are:

1. To inform men of the exploitative dynamics and sexual violence that occurs in the sex trade industry
2. To prevent young men's potential involvement in this industry as consumers
3. To engage young men as allies in understanding constructs of masculinity and gender-based violence, and to empower them to take action in combating these, particularly with regards to commercial sexual exploitation

By teaching young men about harm of purchasing sex for both the prostituted individual and the buyer, as well as helping young men understanding the cultural messages they receive that glamorize prostitution and normalize purchasing sex, CAASE hopes to not only clarify societal misconceptions about prostitution but also to empower young men to take action against it. They feel that education about the violent and exploitative dynamics of this industry will positively influence young men's decision to not patronize the sex trade and will further contribute to the movement to end sexual violence and sexual exploitation.

In March 2010, the project hired a part-time educator whose job duties include:

- conducting outreach with various schools and existing anti-violence training programs to forge collaborations and determine sites for pilot implementation;
- identifying ten schools in which to pilot the educational program and educate high school-aged young men;
- developing a formal, evidence-based evaluation system (in partnership with a research institution) to determine curriculum effectiveness; and
- analyzing the curriculum in light of evaluations from the pilot sites.

In March 2010, CAASE launched a pilot run of the curriculum with young men in the Juvenile Temporary Detention Center (JTDC) in Chicago. Five young men attended the multiple sessions. For a preliminary run-through, the facilitator, JTDC staff, and CAASE staff felt very positive about the results. The young men were engaged, reflective, and responded well to all of the activities. In April 2010, CAASE and the JTDC developed a partnership that will bring CAASE's curriculum facilitator into the facility each month to implement the curriculum.

Collaborative Partners

CAASE is currently working with Communities in Schools of Chicago (CISC) to promote the curriculum. Although they do not yet know how many CPS students they are likely to reach this year, it is an honor to be chosen to partner with CISC, as they are a critical and established organization in Chicago that addresses the gap between students' needs and schools' ability to respond to these

needs. They connect students with free social, emotional, health and enrichment programs, provide schools with strategic and tactical expertise in effective program coordination, and during the 2008-2009 school year, CISC partnered with 162 schools and served an additional 162 non-partner schools. During the 2009-2010 school year, their goal is to connect programs and services to more than 64,000 students. Together with a network of more than 125 service providers, CISC connected more than 1,170 programs and services to more than 61,000 students, at no cost to students or schools.

CAASE is also working with the Frederick Douglas Foundation to create a four session curriculum that incorporates a historical perspective on demand. This will be part of their broader curriculum on human trafficking that has both an educational and service-learning component.

Evaluation

Built into the curriculum are multiple evaluation tools. There are pre- and post-tests, a form to assess actions students might take in response to what they have learned in the curriculum, a feedback form for students, and a feedback form for the facilitator. Though they created some of the documents in-house, CAASE is working with a social psychologist from the University of Chicago to redo the evaluation tools. They will also have follow-up meetings with classroom teachers to obtain their feedback and to see if they utilized the material in the teacher toolkit.

Needs

When developing the curriculum, CAASE was fortunate to have had national educators, such as Jon McCain from DIGNITY (Phoenix) and Lisa Goldblatt Grace from My Life, My Choice (Boston), who reviewed the curriculum material and provided recommendations. However, it would have helped them to create the curriculum if they had an actual educator to guide its development. Additionally, CAASE could use help establishing relationships with schools and developing an evaluation tool to assess both short-term and long-term impact.

Key Individuals to Mobilize in Anti-Demand Efforts

There are a variety of key individuals whose help and support would greatly enhance anti-demand efforts in Chicago. These include the following:

Chicago Police Department: Though they have created a preliminary partnership with the Chief of Organized Crime at the Chicago Police Department, CAASE would like to see greater collaboration from law enforcement with targeting demand. Ideally, they would hope for CPD to institutionalize trainings on the issue for all new recruits and to have performance measures based on addressing root causes of sexual exploitation and human trafficking. It would be extremely helpful for the CPD to have a zero tolerance policy prohibiting police officers from engaging in any sexual activity with the prostituted people they encounter.

Legislators: CAASE would like to see a greater number of champions in both the senate and house who support their legislation and who proactively meet with other legislators to gain their support as well.

Cook County Commissioners: It was progressive for the Cook County Board of Commissioners to pass the Offenses Involving Public Morals Nuisance Violations Ordinance, and CAASE would like to see greater collaboration with the commissioners on future anti-demand work. A positive

development toward this goal is that CAASE's deputy executive director has been officially appointed to the Cook County Women's Commission by a member of the board.

City Aldermen: CAASE has yet to forge partnerships with local aldermen concerning their work, and they would like to begin developing relationships with aldermen to help with End Demand, IL's goals.

Judge Biebel and the Prostitution Court: There is an initiative underway in Chicago to develop a prostitution court, modeled after mental health and drug courts in Chicago and other cities. While the primary purpose identified by the Court for this endeavor is to see women charged with felony prostitution access social services in exchange for opportunities to avoid incarceration and an increased criminal record, CAASE is actively working to expand the scope of the court to aggressively prosecute pimps, johns, and traffickers. Ultimately, their goal is to see EDI succeed in discouraging a criminal justice response to prostituted people and ensuring that this new court would be in place and long experienced in the aggressive prosecution of the demand side.

Art Community: EDI has three social justice arts projects supporting the campaign's work. These are: an original play about men who purchase sex, a documentary film project, and art installations at bus shelters. Though these collaborations indicate a strong preliminary partnership with certain sectors of the arts community, CAASE would like to expand the number of artists working to raise awareness about the harms of the sex trade and the need for radical change.

Schools: CAASE hopes that more schools throughout the city will allow them to implement their curriculum.

Faith-based organizations: They have developed toolkits for communities of faith to use as both an awareness-raising tool as well as an activist guide. They envision faith-based organizations and religious communities playing a key role in their End Demand, IL efforts. They are working collaboratively with the Illinois Department of Human Services' Rescue and Restore Coalition to develop more partnerships with faith communities.

For-profit companies: Their efforts would be greatly enhanced with more support from the for-profit community. Specifically, they would benefit from the support of graphic design and PR firms, the donation of advertising space, and other services that could help them raise awareness.

Universities: As students become increasingly more aware of issues of human trafficking, they would like to utilize their momentum and interest in these issues to help them in their advocacy efforts.

Lessons Learned

Keys to Current Successes

CAASE's successes have frequently come out of their relationships with a variety of organizations in Chicago. By working in strategic alliances on all of their projects, they have increased their impact substantially. They have also helped re-frame issues of sexual exploitation, helping the broader community understand the role of demand and the importance of addressing demand in efforts to end sexual exploitation. As they strive to reach out to organizations to involve them in their work, CAASE continues to increase their advocacy base for making change.

Another key to CAASE's success is the work that preceded its formation. Specifically, the Prostitution Alternatives Round Table has been doing anti-sexual exploitation and anti-demand work for ten years, working diligently at educating elected officials, organizations, and the broader community about these issues.

Additionally, CAASE has a unique model that attempts to address demand on multiple fronts: from use of the civil court system to policy and advocacy work to prevention and awareness-raising initiatives. Together, the staff of CAASE brings over two decades of work experience on sexual violence issues. Utilizing their expertise, they are able to produce strong work partnerships to help further the goals of CAASE.

CAASE is also operating in a climate led by progressive political leadership in Chicago as well as a vibrant and well established women's rights community. Both help support and further their work. Another key element in the success of their work is the strong lobbying presence that the anti-sexual exploitation movement has in Springfield, including especially their EDI partner the Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault, Protestants for the Common Good, Project IRENE, and their frequent collaborator the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless. Multiple nonprofit and government agencies who support their work are able to further their legislative aims.

CAASE has been fortunate in Illinois to have experienced a lack of organized opposition to the work that they are doing. Though there is a chapter of the Sex Worker Outreach Project in Chicago, they have presented CAASE with minimal challenges. CAASE has also made a concerted effort to meet with the chapter to identify issues that both organizations agree upon.

Another key to the success of their programs is the survivor leadership that guides all of CAASE's initiatives. Survivor experience and expertise are essential in guiding the work of the organization. Chicago is unique in the number of strong survivor leaders who are actively involved in advocacy work. In many ways, their activism is a direct result of specific organizing methods and survivor trainings that were conducted in association with the campaign to pass the Predator Accountability Bill. Survivors involved in the passage of that legislation are now the leaders recruiting additional survivors to help with CAASE's work and the EDI campaign.

Keys to Program Sustainability

Consistent outreach, networking, and collaborations help sustain CAASE's work. By having multiple partners as stakeholders in all of their projects, CAASE expands the number of individuals who have an investment in seeing their projects succeed. Additionally, they regularly meet as a staff to identify ways to expand the scope of their work to include additional community partners and to ensure the sustainability of all projects.

CAASE has been fortunate to have the involvement of talented youth in their efforts. These include both high school students who work on messaging for the End Demand, IL campaign and the undergraduate and graduate students who make up their volunteer and intern base of over fifteen committed individuals who dedicate their time to the organization. These youth not only work diligently towards CAASE's mission but they also engage their peers to help further CAASE's work.

Their biggest challenge to sustainability remains financial backing of their work. Resources remain extremely hard to come by, and the need to constantly fundraise distracts them from being able to devote more time to their programmatic and advocacy work.

Challenges That Inhibit Action, and Overcoming these Challenges

One of CAASE’s most substantial challenges is helping people understand that prostitution as a human rights violation, not a choice that women and girls make. With mainstream culture constantly enveloping people in counter-productive and harmful messaging regarding the sex trade, they find that merely establishing that this issue *is* something that one should care about is a challenge. And where people fail to understand that human trafficking, prostitution, and sexual exploitation are serious issues—including in their community—inspiring people to activism is almost impossible.

A second challenge is that foundations are hesitant to fund CAASE’s work. Particularly in the current economic climate, many foundations appear reluctant to move beyond narrow interpretations of their mission and frequently they do not recognize their work as constituting human rights work or even women’s equality work or civil rights work. For the foundations that are committed to anti-trafficking work, few provide funding for the broad range of legislative, legal services, and prevention work they engage in.

A roadblock CAASE frequently encounters is what they refer to as a “boys’ club” mentality within Illinois’ legislature and law enforcement. When the Predator Accountability Bill was before the Illinois Senate, a state senator asked, on the record, whether or not he would still be able to get a lap dance that evening if he voted for the bill. This is a clear demonstration of this damaging mentality. Research in Chicago has also found that trafficking of young girls to Springfield increases when the legislature is in session. And representatives are not the only people who use the sex trade in Chicago. Survivors constantly share stories of abuse by law enforcement officials who force them to provide sexual services. These two examples highlight how overcoming the patriarchal entitlement entrenched in many mainstream and governmental organizations acts as a barrier in CAASE’s work.

Another challenge to their work is competition, and sometimes enmity between local political leaders. While many of the most powerful politicians in Chicago and Illinois have progressive views on prostitution and are willing to work with them in ways that further their goals, they frequently have relationships with each other that pose roadblocks to the kinds of effective collaborations that they seek to produce and support.

Current Opportunities

Though they do face some collaboration challenges with governmental organizations, they simultaneously see opportunity in the work they are doing with the State’s Attorney’s Office, the Cook County Sheriff’s Department, the office of the Illinois Attorney General and the Chicago Police Department---although their relationships with the CPD are less developed than with the prosecutors, the Sheriff, and the AG. CAASE says that all of these agencies are aware of them and regard them as experts and key players on these issues in Chicago and Illinois, and they frequently look to CAASE for expertise and guidance as they increasingly work to deal with survivors as victims and hold perpetrators accountable. Even though these entities sometimes have their own territorial issues with each other, they have all be open to working with CAASE and to be guided by them in their efforts against sexual exploitation.

Another opportunity is CAASE’s three-year commitment from the NoVo Foundation to fund the End Demand, Illinois campaign. Though the funds supplied by NoVo only cover half of the campaign’s

costs, they do provide a significant financial cushion. It also adds validity to both the EDI campaign and CAASE's work to have the NoVo foundation associated with EDI.

CAASE staff has put significant effort into building national alliances. Key in this alliance-building has been the development of a close working relationship with the Polaris Project. Serving as EDI's only national partner, Polaris has co-facilitated the EDI policy committee and has been instrumental in aiding them in their legislative work.

A partnership with the Juvenile Temporary Detention Center has also presented a great opportunity to pilot the curriculum and receive consistent feedback, which enables CAASE to update the curriculum so that it is as effective as possible. Another partnership that is helping to get the curriculum into schools and to further some of the other anti-demand initiatives is teaming with IDHS's Rescue and Restore campaign. Rescue and Restore has chosen CAASE as a key partner in its anti-trafficking work in Illinois, and often reaches out to them for consultation, strategy building, collaborative opportunities, and other venues to help further its mission.

As issues of human trafficking and sexual exploitation continue to gain prominence in the national and local spotlight, they find that this increases the number of people interested in supporting their work both financially and through in-kind services and volunteering. Greater awareness also results in more people being arrested specifically for human trafficking. When perpetrators are arrested and funneled to the State's Attorney's Office, it can translate into more collaborative opportunities for CAASE.

A legal venue that serves as an untapped opportunity is use of the Predator Accountability Act. Though the act was passed in 2006, no cases have yet used the civil option. They hope that once they have the opportunity to use this piece of civil law against a perpetrator, more legal cases will be brought forward utilizing the provision.

Moving Forward

There are a variety of supports that would aid in the furthering of CAASE's anti-demand work:

Financial Support: Financial support is greatly needed to fund both CAASE staff positions, such as a communications director, and direct programmatic work. CAASE would also benefit from more staff members who could dedicate the majority of their time to taking affirmative litigation against the organized parts of the industry (strip clubs, brothels, trafficking rings, etc.). Outside of CAASE, financial support on anti-demand work would allow for more reverse stings, monitoring of Craigslist and other prostitution websites, awareness campaigns, and the development of another john school in the city that takes more of a long term psychological focus.

Trainings: CAASE would like to see institutionalized trainings for all law enforcement that might interact with this issue and population. Additionally, CAASE would like to see media and communication trainings, as well as trainings for judges on civil options available to survivors. They would also like to continue providing trainings to survivors so that they can effectively lead community education about sexual exploitation throughout Illinois.

Information: CAASE would benefit from a mechanism that would allow them to access what other places are doing and how they evaluate their efforts. They would also benefit from the opportunity to

meet with national leaders on the issue at conferences to build alliances and to learn from each other's work.

Evaluation: A significant challenge that many nonprofits face is how to evaluate the multitude of efforts and advocacy work. It would be extremely beneficial to CAASE to have an external agency that could help organizations throughout Chicago develop and implement evaluation tools for their work.

Online Advocacy Software: CAASE's work would be more effective if they could take advantage of software that would engage their community in advocacy. Software such as Cap Wiz is costly- but it allows for large numbers of people to reach their elected officials with targeted messages and measure the impact of an alert.

Best Practice Model for Coordinating and Mobilizing Community Activism: Applicability for a National Campaign

CAASE leadership believes that many elements of both their work and the greater work of the End Demand, IL coalition point to a "best practice" model when working to end demand. By combining policy work, community engagement, survivor leadership, and litigation efforts they feel that the Chicago abolitionist community is comprehensively working on multiple levels toward systemic change. By engaging numerous systems and gaining wide-spread community support, they have made significant progress in the way that Chicago, Cook County, and Illinois responds to issues of sexual exploitation and human trafficking.

An Overview of End Demand, IL¹

Goals

End Demand, IL (EDI) advocates for the creation of resources and tools for law enforcement to hold perpetrators accountable, deter further exploitation, and increase options for prostituted and trafficked women and girls. EDI's extensive organizing and community education efforts is designed to shift public perceptions of commercial sex so that "pimping" is no longer glamorized and the stigma for the women involved in prostitution is reduced. EDI works for the adoption of sound public policies and practices that focus law enforcement efforts on protecting victims of the sex industry and prosecuting traffickers, pimps and other enterprises that profit from the exploitation of women and girls in the sex trade. Furthermore, they work to create an infrastructure of care for those involved in prostitution, and encourage Illinois residents not to tolerate the patronizing of sex trade venues and buying sex within their communities.

Philosophy and Background

In Chicago 16,000 - 24,000 women and girls are regularly involved in prostitution (i). Countless others, including men and boys, are also prostituted throughout the state. The public health risks

¹ Source: http://www.enddemandillinois.org/about_end_demand_il.html

associated with prostitution are well documented and acknowledged. Interviews of women in prostitution conducted in Chicago reveal that high percentages experienced physical and sexual violence, regardless of the type of prostitution activity.

Customers were the most frequently identified perpetrators of this violence, followed by intimate partners and pimps. A quarter of these women stated that police officers were responsible for some of this violence. Furthermore, sixty two-percent of women first exchanged sex for money before the age of eighteen, and large percentages experienced homelessness. (ii) Reasons for entering and staying in the sex trade vary. For some it is pure economic necessity; others enter and stay in the sex trade through some form of coercion exercised by another person (iii). No matter the reason for entry, it is clear that those who enter prostitution and are trafficked are often some of society's most vulnerable, and their experiences once in the sex trade are violent and often psychologically devastating.

Sources

- i Claudine O'Leary and Olivia Howard, "The Prostitution of Women and Girls in Metropolitan Chicago: A Preliminary Prevalence Report," (report, Center for Impact Research, Chicago 2001).
 - ii Jody Raphael and Deborah L. Shapiro, "Sisters Speak Out: The Lives and Needs of Prostituted Women in Chicago," (report, Center for Impact Research, Chicago 2002).
 - iii Ibid.
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