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Final Report on the Evaluation of the First Offender Prostitution Program

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Abstract

The First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP) is designed to reduce the demand for commercial sex and human trafficking in San Francisco by educating men arrested for soliciting prostitutes (or “johns”) about the negative consequences of prostitution. The program is a partnership of the San Francisco District Attorney’s office (SFDA), the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD), and a local nonprofit organization, Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE). Eligible arrestees are given the choice of paying a fee and attending a one-day class (known generically as the “john school”), or being prosecuted. Fees support all of the costs of conducting the john school classes, as well as subsidizing police vice operations, screening and processing arrestees, and recovery programs for women and girls involved in commercial sex. The evaluation described in this report addresses three priority issues: the effectiveness, return on investment, and transferability of the FOPP. Data collection efforts included site visits, police “ride alongs,” interviews, collection of program documents and administrative data, structured observations of john school classes, pre- and post-class surveys of participants, and assembly of criminal history data regarding men arrested for soliciting prostitutes in San Francisco and throughout California. We found that the FOPP:

- (1) Is well conceived and based upon a logically sound model.
- (2) Has been implemented as intended.
- (3) Has been organizationally stable and sustainable.
- (4) Has been effective in substantially reducing recidivism among men arrested for soliciting prostitutes.
- (5) Is cost-effective, operating for over 12 years at no cost to taxpayers and generating nearly \$1 million for recovery programs for providers of commercial sex.
- (6) Is transferable, having been successfully replicated in 12 other U.S. sites and adapted in over 25 additional domestic sites over the past decade.

The report also offers several suggestions for program improvement, such as adding curriculum elements that build skills necessary for men to meet their needs by means other than commercial sex; adding aftercare; and pursuing web-based reverse stings to respond to changes in the commercial sex market. We also provide suggestions for future research and providing practical information about john schools to those involved in implementing or planning programs elsewhere.

Acknowledgements

It would not have been possible to complete this evaluation without the assistance of numerous individuals. Over 100 individuals contributed to this report, and we wish to thank them all for their help. We would like to describe all the ways in which each individual was helpful to us, but so much assistance was provided by so many people that it would require a separate report to describe. The following lists will have to suffice.

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The evaluation of the FOPP's impact on reoffending would not have been possible without the data provided by the California Criminal Justice Statistics Center. Vicki Sands, a systems analyst at the CJSC, was extremely helpful in providing the data and patiently answering a long string of questions. We also wish to thank Tony Crittenden for processing our requests to acquire to the data.

For our assessment of the FOPP's transferability to other jurisdictions, we conducted brief interviews with 50 individuals from 40 other sites scattered throughout the United States. In particular, we wish to thank Steven Sawyer, Sgt. Anita Johnson, Lt. Bill Margolis, Cindy Sikkema, Nature Carter, and Stephanie Davis. We also extend our gratitude to Phil McDonald, Chief Dennis Richards, Tonda Wilde, Shelley Alicea, Rachel Durchlag, Kenneth Burnett, Tammy Palomino, Tiffany Lauck, Margaret Ogelby, Chris Pleasanton, Michelle Waymire,

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While we were helped by many, the content of this report (including any errors there may be) is the sole responsibility of the Abt Associates evaluation team. Our interpretations, conclusions, and recommendations do not necessarily represent those of any of the aforementioned individuals, or the positions of any of the aforementioned organizations.

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Executive Summary

In September 2005 the National Institute of Justice awarded a grant to Abt Associates Inc. to evaluate the First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP¹). The program is designed to reduce the demand for commercial sex in San Francisco by educating “customers” (or “johns”) about the negative consequences of prostitution. The program is a partnership of the San Francisco District Attorney’s office (SFDA), the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD), and a local nonprofit organization, Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE), with assistance from the San Francisco Department of Public Health and several non-governmental organizations.

Men arrested for soliciting prostitutes in San Francisco are screened by the SFDA for program eligibility, and those who qualify are given the option of paying a fee and attending a one day class (known generically as the “john school”) or being prosecuted. Fees partially support police operations resulting in the arrests of virtually all of the FOPP participants, and fully support processing participants and conducting the john school classes. A portion of the fee revenue also helps to support SAGE programs for women and girls involved in commercial sex. During nearly 13 years of operation (March, 1995 through January, 2008), 5,799 men have attended the FOPP’s john school.

As directed by NIJ, the evaluation addresses three priority issues: effectiveness, return on investment, and transferability. The study has the following primary components:

1. A **process analysis**, which includes production of a program logic model, a description of the program’s operations, and presentation of descriptive data on program activities and performance.
2. An **outcome evaluation**, examining program impact by analyzing data on recidivism of offenders arrested for soliciting commercial sex.
3. A **cost assessment**, documenting the resources required to support the program.
4. An **assessment of the program’s transferability**, which explores whether the conditions exist elsewhere in the U.S. that would support successful replication or adaptation of the program.

What immediately follows is a summary of data collection efforts and key findings from the evaluation. In the full report we provide a summary of our literature review, describing the context within which the FOPP program operates and the issues it attempts to address. We then provide an overview of the program, followed by a description of our data collection efforts, presentation of the program’s logic model, and the results of our process evaluation. We then present the methods employed and the results of our impact analyses. We also describe the

¹ The FOPP has several components, including programs for survivors of commercial sexual exploitation that is separate from the diversion program for male “consumers” of commercial sex that is the subject of this evaluation. In this document, when we refer to the FOPP we are referencing the diversion program for men featuring the john school. The programming for women and girls (which is partially supported by the funds generated by the FOPP) is outside the scope of this evaluation, and is the subject of a separate NIJ-sponsored evaluation currently being conducted by Development Services Group Inc.

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program's costs, assess the program's transferability, and discuss the evaluation results' implications for policy and practice.

Data Used in the Evaluation

This report presents results of analysis of secondary data sets and data from interviews, structured program observations, and program documentation. Between September 2005 and November 2007, the evaluation team conducted:

- Nine site visits to San Francisco.
- 99 interviews with 31 individuals associated with the FOPP.
- 65 interviews with 50 individuals associated with 40 additional actual or potential john school sites throughout the U.S.
- Three "ride alongs" with the SFPD Narcotics/Vice Division during reverse sting operations targeting men soliciting street prostitutes.
- Structured observations of all john school classes occurring from March 25, 2006 to March 24, 2007.
- Pre- and post-class surveys of 198 FOPP participants.
- Program document collection.
- Web searches and reviews of professional and research literature.
- Acquisition of data from course evaluation forms completed by 535 FOPP participants.
- Acquisition of criminal history data on over 100,000 men arrested for soliciting prostitutes in San Francisco and throughout California from the 1970s through 2005.
- Acquisition of data on all men screened for FOPP eligibility and all john school attendees.
- Collection of cost data from the SFDA, SFPD, and SAGE.

Key Findings

Evaluating the FOPP's Design and Implementation

- ***Program Design and Logic Model:*** The program design is well-conceived and logically sound. There is a good fit between the program's goals, resources, activities, intended outcomes, and impact.
- ***Program Implementation:*** The program implementation is consistent with the program design. Police conduct highly efficient "reverse sting" operations, which target johns by using female officers posing as prostitutes. The SFDA screens arrestees for FOPP eligibility, establishes and collects fees, and monitors compliance with program requirements. SAGE staff facilitates john school classes, arranges for class presentations by community representatives and women who have been involved in commercial sex, and uses a portion of the fee revenue to support programs for victims of commercial sexual exploitation. All three primary partners contribute to the classes by giving presentations and monitoring and managing participants. The classroom presentations

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are usually consistent with the curriculum and generally are of good quality, but could be improved.

- ***Program Stability and Sustainment:*** The program has been operating under the same structure, administered by the same set of partners (SFDA, SFPD, and SAGE), and pursuing the same set of goals for over 12 years. The program has a strong revenue stream in the form of the fees paid by participants, and the program has solid support in the community and the partner agencies and organizations.
- ***Trends in FOPP Participation:*** The annual number of participants rose from 276 in 1995 to a high of 822 in 1999, and then declined to a low of 132 in 2006. Reasons for the decline may include:
 - Fewer SFPD vice operations, due to scarce resources.
 - A declining proportion of arrested individuals who are eligible for the FOPP, due in part to the cumulative effect of hundreds of reverse stings over the past 15 years.
 - A portion of the commercial sex market shifting away from the streets and toward the Internet, while the SFPD continues to rely upon street operations to populate the FOPP.
 - Consumers of commercial sex becoming more skilled at avoiding arrest.

Participation in the FOPP increased dramatically in 2007 - more than doubling the previous year's attendance - due to an increase in reverse stings and more aggressive recruitment of eligible arrestees.

- ***John School Curriculum:*** The curriculum currently features six primary content areas that generally correspond to separate sessions within each john school class:
 - ***Prostitution Law and Street Facts,*** focusing on the legal consequences of subsequent offenses and addressing johns' vulnerability to being robbed or assaulted while involved in prostitution.
 - ***Health Education,*** describing the elevated risk of HIV and STD infection associated with prostitution, and stressing that many STDs are asymptomatic and/or difficult to detect and have long term negative impacts on health.
 - ***Effect of Prostitution on Prostitutes,*** focusing on numerous negative consequences for women serving as prostitutes, such as vulnerability to rape and assault, health problems, drug addiction, and various forms of exploitation.
 - ***Dynamics of Pimping, Recruiting, and Trafficking,*** featuring discussions of how pimps and traffickers recruit, control, and exploit women and girls for profit, and the links between local street prostitution and larger systems of human trafficking.
 - ***Effect of Prostitution on the Community,*** describing the drug use, violence, health hazards, and other adverse consequences that co-occur with street prostitution.
 - ***Sexual Addiction,*** focusing on how involvement in commercial sex may be driven by sexual addiction, and where help for this condition can be sought.

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- ***Amount of Instruction:*** Each john school class lasts eight hours from the beginning of registration through the end of completing the class evaluation or survey. There was an average of five hours of instruction delivered in each of the seven classes observed, and about three hours spent on breaks, registration, and course evaluations or surveys. The greatest allotment of instructional time is for describing the impact of commercial sexual exploitation on prostitutes, followed by legal consequences, pimping dynamics, and health consequences.
- ***Presentation format:*** The basic format for the presentations is lecture, with little discussion and with infrequent use of media to enhance presentations.
- ***Participant Accountability for Learning Material:*** There is no system for ensuring that offenders learn the material presented in the john school. As long as they attend the full day and are not disruptive, they make it through the class successfully.
- ***Provision of Printed Material for Future Reference:*** Representatives from SAGE, SFDA, SFPD, and SOS rarely offer materials for participants to take with them (aside from the course agenda). Sex Addicts Anonymous and the public health counselors were the only presenters observed to consistently provide handouts.
- ***Aftercare:*** There is no aftercare component to the program, and aftercare has been found to be important to the success of most offender treatment programs.
- ***Coverage of Replacement Behaviors:*** Virtually all of the attention in the classes was given to presenting reasons to avoid sex with prostitutes, but there was very little guidance provided about alternative means of meeting the participants' demonstrated needs.

Evaluating the FOPP's Effects on Knowledge, Attitudes, and Rearrest Rates

- ***Changes in Attitudes and Knowledge Levels:*** The FOPP intends to change behavior by providing information meant to change the attitudes and beliefs of participants. Evidence from our pre- and post-class survey suggests that the program effectively informed johns about the consequences of participating in prostitution, but did not significantly lower the self-reported likelihood of soliciting in the future. This result is consistent with the findings from our john school observations: the sessions focused on conveying facts, and did not attempt to develop problem solving skills or provide practical guidance about alternative ways of meeting their needs.
- ***Impact on Recidivism:*** To evaluate the program's impact on recidivism, we analyzed time series data for San Francisco and the rest of California for 10 years prior to implementation and 10 years after implementation (1985 through 2005). In San Francisco, there was a sharp drop in recidivism rates in the year of implementation (1995), and these lower levels were sustained over the subsequent 10 years. A similar pattern was observed in San Diego, where recidivism rates following implementation of a

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john school were less than half of the pre-program levels. There were no significant statewide shifts in either 1995 or 2000 (the year of San Diego's implementation) that might explain the recidivism declines in either San Francisco or San Diego. The results were repeatedly confirmed when applying various statistical modeling techniques and examining different subsets of arrestees over different timeframes. The collective evidence strongly supports the conclusion that the FOPP significantly reduces recidivism.

Assessment Program Costs

- **Revenue Generated by FOPP Fees:** The total fee revenue generated during the life of the program was over \$3.1 million. The fee revenue from the FOPP has been approximately evenly split among the SFDA, SFPD, and SAGE, with each of the three partners receiving about \$1 million between March 1995 and July, 2007. The fees have covered:
 - All of the direct costs of the john school classes.
 - All FOPP administrative costs incurred by SFDA, SFPD, and SAGE.
 - Most (88%) of the SFDA's costs for processing arrestees referred to the program.
 - About one-third of the cost of the SFPD's reverse sting operations.

In addition, approximately \$980,000 in fee revenue has been generated to support programs for women and girls involved in prostitution. Almost all (94%) of SAGE's share of the FOPP fee revenue is used to support survivor programs.

- **Program Costs:** Since the SFPD is responsible for enforcing prostitution laws regardless of whether there is an FOPP program, and the SFDA must process those arrested by the SFPD, the reverse sting operations and processing arrestees cannot be regarded as unique program activities. It is debatable whether these activities should be included when calculating program costs. The main direct costs of the program are for holding the john school classes, which occur just six days per year. The classes require employees from the SFDA, SFPD, and SFDPH to be compensated for their work. Translators and staff from community groups and non-profits are paid modest stipends. The program uses existing, public-sector equipment and meeting space, and incurs no other significant direct costs aside from labor.
 - **Direct Costs of John School Classes:** Using data provided by the three primary FOPP partner organizations, we have calculated the average cost per class for "external" expenses (i.e., presenters and translators not employed by San Francisco criminal justice or public health agencies) to be \$758, and the mean per class cost of government employee labor to be \$2,341, for an average direct labor cost of \$3,099 per john school class. This cost can be offset with an average enrollment of four participants per class.
 - **Administrative Costs:** The SFDA is the managing partner of the FOPP, and over the life of the program the agencies administrative costs have totaled an

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estimated \$143,000. The SFPD and SAGE also have an administrative burden (e.g., updating curricula, meetings, drafting MOUs, and accommodating visitors, researchers, and the press), and their total costs are approximately \$71,000 and \$30,000, respectively. The total cost of administering the program over 12 years is approximately \$244,000, or about \$20,000 per year.

- **Cost of SFPD “Reverse Sting” Operations:** The median labor cost of reverse sting operations (usually involving three to five officers during the street operation, and spanning four or five hours including setup and report writing) was \$2,142. The mean cost per john arrest was \$356, and per FOPP participant was \$896. When offset by the fee revenue received by SFPD, the average net cost for police operations that place offenders into the FOPP was \$418 per participant. Over the life of the FOPP, it has cost an estimated \$3,516,479 for SFPD reverse stings. Close to one third of those costs were recovered through the SFPD’s share of fee revenue (\$1,047, 706).

Assessing Program Transferability

- **Prevalence of John Education Programs in the U.S.:** In addition to San Francisco, we have identified 47 U.S. cities and counties that have offered broad-spectrum education programs for men arrested for soliciting in lieu of, or in addition to, criminal penalties. Of those 47 sites, 39 have programs that are still operating. An additional 11 john education programs were identified that are restricted to health topics.
- **FOPP Replications and Adaptations:** Programs modeled after the FOPP have been implemented in at least 29 U.S. sites. Programs at all but two of these sites are still operating. The programs operating at 12 sites are close enough to the FOPP in their structure and operations that they can be considered replications. Four of these sites (Tacoma, Lakewood, Fife, and Pierce County, WA) share a program, so there are nine distinct FOPP replication programs known to be operating in the U.S. The currently active john school programs have been operating an average of over 7 years, and four of the programs have operated for 10 years or more.
- **Variations on the FOPP Model:** None of the other programs are structured exactly like the FOPP. Most have adapted to local needs by making substantial changes to the FOPP model. For example, the FOPP is a diversion program, but at least 12 sites use john schools as a condition of a criminal sentence, and four additional sites offer the john school either as a diversion or sentencing options. While the FOPP has a one-session, classroom format, at least 12 other programs involve multiple sessions in counseling formats. At least six other john school programs require community service and 11 require health screening in addition to completing the educational component.
- **Sites Considering or Planning John Education Programs:** We identified 49 U.S. cities and counties that have considered or are actively planning to implement john school

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programs. Four of those sites (Atlanta, GA, Dayton, OH, Los Angeles, CA, and Madison, WI) have programs scheduled to come online in 2008.

- **Fees.** Fees for johns school programs range from \$0 in Hartford, CT to \$1,000 in San Francisco. The program in Norfolk, VA is a sentencing option rather than a diversion program, and levies a fine of \$1,500. While the FOPP model generates money for restorative justice programs, the majority of the “replication” programs use their fee revenue only to support the program. The FOPP and the john school program in Tacoma, WA are the only ones known to reimburse the police for their reverse sting operations.
- **Geographic Distribution:** John school programs have been implemented in at least 24 states plus Washington, DC, and are currently operating in 21 states and Washington, DC. While the FOPP operates in a major city (population = 776,733), programs have been implemented successfully in several cities with populations under 100,000. The town of Fife, WA (pop. = 2,784) participates in a program shared by other communities in Pierce County, and Ypsilanti, MI (22,362) has its own john school. The largest cities with john schools are Chicago (2,896,016) and Brooklyn (2,465,326), and programs are being planned in Los Angeles (3,694,820) and considered in New York (8,008,278).
- **Prospects for Additional Replications:** Future replications are likely, given (1) the level of current interest in these programs; (2) the flexibility of the FOPP model for adaptation to meet local conditions; (3) their ability to be financially self-sustaining from fees extracted from offenders; and (4) the 2005 reauthorization of the Trafficking Victim Protection Act (HR972) requiring the establishment of a federal grant program to “establish, develop, expand, or strengthen” education programs for “persons charged with, or convicted of, purchasing or attempting to purchase commercial sex acts” [HR972: Sec 204 (a)(1)].
- **Potential Replication Sites:** A precondition for a sustainable john school program is a sufficient flow of eligible participants. In general, this requires a proactive approach on the part of law enforcement to conduct operations designed to arrest men for soliciting. We have identified over 400 cities and counties in the U.S. that conduct reverse sting operations focusing on arresting male customers of female prostitutes. When eliminating sites that have populations smaller than the least populous current john school site and those that already have john schools, there are at least 300 potential replication sites.
- **Keys to Successful Implementation:** First, there must be a commitment by local law enforcement to focus on arresting customers of commercial sex, since without participants there can be no program. Second, statutes or city ordinances must be in place supporting the education of johns either as a diversion program or sentencing option. Third, a sensible curriculum must be established. Fourth, a commitment must be made to ensure that qualified presenters will be consistently available to deliver the curriculum. In addition, the chances of successful implementation are greatly enhanced by access to information about prior programs, and how the basic john school concept can be adapted to fit local conditions.

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Conclusions

- ***Design and Implementation:*** The FOPP is well conceived and has been implemented as intended. Some parts of the curriculum could benefit from being updated, the use of media could be expanded to better support the john school presentations, and more “take-away” materials provided in class could improve the program.
- ***Effectiveness:*** The program is effective in producing positive shifts in attitudes and gains in knowledge. More importantly, the program was found to have reduced recidivism.
- ***Cost-Effectiveness:*** The FOPP was found to cost little and to be highly cost-effective. The only costs unique to the program are those incurred by conducting john school classes and in providing program oversight and administration, and fees paid by arrestees cover all of those costs. Fee revenue also subsidizes functions that normally occur without any cost recovery: fee cover nearly all of the SFDA costs of processing cases and about one-third of the costs of the SFPD’s reverse sting operations, functions which are not unique to the program and which are normally unreimbursed. In addition, the program generates revenue that supports programs for survivors of commercial sexual exploitation.
- ***Transferability:*** The FOPP model is replicable, adaptable, and sustainable. While the program was not the first john education program in the U.S., it has served as a model for at least 25 subsequent programs. The majority of john school programs that have been implemented since 1997 are still operating. At least 49 additional sites have considered implementing or are planning john schools, and our preliminary assessment finds that the key conditions are in place to successfully implement john school programs in hundreds of additional sites.

Key Recommendations for the FOPP

- ***Conduct More Web-Based Reverse Stings.*** Police should respond to shifts in the commercial sex market by increasing the use of web-based reverse stings, which have been successfully employed in many other cities in California and throughout the Nation.
- ***Consider Refinements to the John School Curriculum.*** We urge the partners collaborating on the FOPP to pursue evidence-based refinements to the curriculum. For example, other studies find that effective treatment programs provide more practical guidance and skill development for participants, and those successful in addressing addictive behavior offer support for relapse prevention. Whether such modifications of the john school curriculum would improve the program is an empirical question that is best answered by experimentation.
- ***Add Some Form of Program Aftercare or Referrals for Community Services.*** The most effective offender programs feature some form of “after-care,” which helps to maintain whatever gains are made in the main intervention and apply what they have learned in the program to their daily lives. While the cost of a full-scale aftercare program may be

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prohibitive, the gap could be partially filled at minimal cost by providing participants with more reference materials and lists of resources available in the community.

- ***Explore Collaborating with Nearby Communities.*** If the FOPP continues to hold john school classes well below capacity, it could be mutually beneficial to the program and to surrounding communities if arrestees from outside of San Francisco were sent to the program. A model for sharing a single john school among several communities has been operating for the past three years in Pierce County, Washington.
- ***Consider Expanding Beyond First-Time Offenders and Pre-Trial Diversion.*** There is no insurmountable reason why the program must be restricted to first time offenders, or is offered only as a pre-trial diversion option. Although statutory or regulatory modifications may be required before the FOPP could serve repeat offenders or accept men ordered to attend as a condition of a criminal sentence, the program should be appropriate or beneficial for a wider range of offenders than those presently served.
- ***Initiate an Ongoing Data Collection Program Supporting FOPP Performance Monitoring and Future Evaluation.*** Complete and accurate offender-level data that can be reliably linked to the statewide criminal history database would allow for ongoing program performance monitoring that would be useful to program managers. It would also allow researchers to assess the program's effectiveness on subsets of offenders, evaluate whether changes in the curriculum change reoffense rates, and would support the develop of risk-needs assessments to better tailor the curriculum to meet offenders needs.
- ***Adapt Core FOPP Messages for Broader Public Awareness and Education Campaigns.*** Given the evidence that the educational intervention works, there may be value in broadcasting it beyond men who have been arrested. A small number cities (e.g., Atlanta, Minneapolis, Phoenix) and the U.S. Armed Forces have already developed campaigns that attempt to prevent, rather than respond to, men engaging in commercial sex.

Key Recommendations for Technical Assistance

The following recommendations are not restricted to the FOPP, but apply to all U.S. sites with a need to pursue sex trafficking demand reduction. While there are many possibilities, it is likely that no single community or state would be able to act upon the following recommendations, and that either federal assistance or help from private foundations would be required. That said, we recommend:

- ***Creating a Vehicle for Diversified, Practitioner-Led Technical Assistance.*** Given the broad variation in local conditions (e.g., level and nature of the local sex trafficking problem, state statutes and local ordinances, local law enforcement resources, and social service infrastructures) and the level of local innovation observed in meeting diverse challenges, a single source of technical assistance is not advisable. We recommend that practitioners from throughout the U.S., who are engaged in a wide range of program

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models, be supported in providing information and assistance to other sites seeking to improve existing programs or implement new ones.

- ***Creating an Infrastructure for Circulating Information About Sex Trafficking Demand Reduction.*** It is evident that there is great demand for information about effectively combating the demand for commercial sex. Information exists that could be immediately helpful to practitioners and policymakers, but to make it more readily available to those who need it most, a web-based, user-driven infrastructure could be developed to: (a) gather information and source materials, (b) compile, screen, and organizing the information and materials, and (c) provide a means of proactive and reactive dissemination.
- ***Creating an Infrastructure for Restricted-Access Communication Among Practitioners.*** Not all information about john schools and other demand reduction efforts is appropriate for public broadcast, such as detailed descriptions of law enforcement reverse sting tactics. A restricted blog and/or bulletin board for registered practitioners could contain more detailed operational information and a forum for closed communication with other practitioners.

Recommendations for Additional Research

There are a number of unanswered questions about the FOPP, other john school programs, and other demand reduction approaches. We recommend that future studies pursue the questions:

- ***Why was the FOPP Effective?*** Examine which program elements were responsible for the FOPP's effectiveness in reducing recidivism.
- ***For whom was the program effective?*** Examine which subsets of offenders were most responsive to the messages of the FOPP and altered their behavior.
- ***Is the FOPP more or less effective than other john school models?*** Evaluate other U.S. john school programs, particularly those implementing different program designs; e.g., those structured as multiple session counseling programs, those in which education is coupled with community service requirements, and those in which participation is a mandatory condition of a criminal sentence.
- ***Could john school curricula be better targeted to meet offender needs, and to more directly address their risk factors?*** Develop a risk/needs assessment tool that would allow the information provided in the educational intervention to be tailored to be more responsive to offender needs, and to work directly on reducing offender risk factors for reoffending.
- ***What do we know about john school programs and other demand reduction approaches implemented nationally?*** Through systematic data collection, develop descriptive profiles of all known john school programs (and better still, of all sex trafficking demand reduction initiatives) to form the foundation for selecting sites for

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future evaluations and to develop “best practice” guidance for practitioners and policymakers.

- ***What do we know about john school programs abroad?*** There are at least 20 john school programs operating outside of the U.S. (e.g., the national program in the Republic of Korea, about 12 operating in Canada, and several operating in the United Kingdom) that should be inventoried, described, and evaluated.

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Chapter 1: Program Background and Description

Like the market for any commodity or service, the illicit commercial sex market is a function of supply and demand. Through the mid 1990s, criminal justice systems trying to suppress street prostitution focused largely on interrupting supply by arresting and sanctioning the providers, but largely ignored the individuals creating demand. While arresting street prostitutes may temporarily clear an area of visible activity, driving it to other neighborhoods or indoors, experience shows that this strategy alone produces few lasting benefits. Prostitutes cycle through the criminal justice system often and rapidly, typically returning to the streets within hours of being arrested. Moreover, women and girls arrested for prostitution are rarely provided with services to help them address the issues that make them vulnerable to further sexual exploitation.

Given the demonstrated ineffectiveness of sanctioning providers (e.g., Demuth & Steffensmeier, 2004; San Bernardino County Sheriff's Department, 1993), some cities, including San Francisco, had attempted to reduce demand for sex trafficking by conducting police operations targeting male "customers" (or "johns") that feature female police officers posing as prostitutes¹. While rearrest rates for johns were low, it was widely believed that most men did not stop soliciting prostitutes, but instead took their activity elsewhere or became more careful to avoid rearrest. As was the case with prostitutes, little or nothing was done to address the issues driving men to seek commercial sex. Prior to 1995, just two cities – Grand Rapids, MI and St. Paul, MN – are known to have attempted to address the demand side of commercial sex by providing educational programming or treatment for men arrested for soliciting prostitutes.

The First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP)² began operating in San Francisco in 1995. The program introduced several innovations in the effort to combat commercial sex and human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation (CSE). The key innovations include (1) developing a one-day, broad-spectrum educational program for consumers of commercial sex, and (2) using revenue from fees paid by arrested consumers of commercial sex to fund programs supporting survivors of commercial sexual exploitation.

In the FOPP, arrestees meeting eligibility criteria are offered a diversion option in which prosecution can be avoided by paying a fee and attending a class about commercial sex and human trafficking. The classroom component of the program is designed to deter men from pursuing commercial sex by educating them about the legal, health, and crime victimization risks inherent in the activity. The classes are also intended to reduce the motivation for involvement in prostitution by building empathy for the providers of commercial sex and for the inhabitants

¹ While males can and do serve as prostitutes (to both male and female "customers"), the FOPP serves only adult males arrested for soliciting female prostitutes. Since the focus of this evaluation is restricted to the parameters of the FOPP, comments in this report about prostitutes or providers of commercial sex refer to women and girls, and comments about consumers of commercial sex refer to men, unless otherwise noted.

² The FOPP has several components, including programs for women that are separate from the diversion program for men that is the subject of this evaluation. In this document, when we refer to FOPP we speak of the diversion program involving the john school for men operated by the SFDA, the SFPD, and SAGE. SAGE programs for women and girls, supported in part by the funds generated by the FOPP, are outside the scope of this evaluation.

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of communities degraded by street prostitution. Fees paid by offenders pay for all direct costs for the education component of the program (the police decoy operations and the prosecutor's processing of offenders are not unique FOPP costs, since enforcing prostitution laws are preexisting and independent obligations), so the FOPP places no burden on taxpayers. Fee revenue also helps to fund programs supporting women and girls attempting to exit and/or recover from commercial sexual exploitation.

The development of the FOPP was driven by an intimate understanding of the harm resulting from street prostitution. The San Francisco Police Department and District Attorney's office knew from experience the many negative effects of prostitution for the providers, consumers, and the neighborhoods in which it occurs. These criminal justice agencies had grown frustrated by the evident ineffectiveness of the typical "revolving door" process of arresting, fining, jailing, and then rearresting prostitutes. The FOPP's other primary partner, SAGE, was founded by a survivor of commercial sexual exploitation who had previously worked as a street prostitute in San Francisco, and understood the personal and social consequences of this form of commercial sex. The founders also examined police statistics on calls for service and arrests, individual criminal histories, and aggregate trends and patterns of prostitution in the city. While the body of research on many aspects of sex trafficking was too underdeveloped in the early 1990s to inform the design of the FOPP, the team's collective anecdotal and experiential understanding of commercial sex led them to conclude that street prostitution is demonstrably harmful to all parties involved and is unresponsive to the traditional focus on punishing providers, and that new approaches should be developed.

In this chapter of the report, we review literature addressing problems associated with prostitution and human trafficking, and law enforcement efforts designed to intervene. We then provide an overview of the FOPP. In Chapter 2, we present the program's logic model and provide an assessment of whether the program is implemented as intended. In Chapters 3 and 4 we present evaluations of the program's effects on attitudes and opinions, and impact on offender recidivism. Chapter 5 describes our assessment of FOPP costs. We present an assessment of whether the program is transferable to other communities in the U.S. (Chapter 6), and in Chapter 7 we present conclusions and recommendations based on our evaluation findings.

Research on Commercial Sex and Human Trafficking

There are long-running debates about the level of harm resulting from commercial sex, and its proper legal status. At one end of the spectrum is the position that prostitution is inherently harmful and should be treated as a crime (Audet, 2002; Coulter, 2007; Davis, 2000; Farley, 2004; Raymond, 2003, 2005). At the opposite end are arguments that prostitution involving adults is victimless and should be legal and regulated like other businesses, and that commercial sex workers engage choose to exchange their time and services for money, as in any legitimate employment arrangement (see *The Economist*, 2004; Kempadoo, 2005, 2007; Klinger, 2003; Kuo, 2002; Liberator, 2004; Sex Workers' Project, 2005).

Evidence can be marshaled in support of either position, and sometimes the same evidence is used to support opposing conclusions. For example, prostitution opponents point to the drug abuse, community deterioration, and ancillary crime that invariably accompany street

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prostitution as evidence supporting criminalization. Those supporting legalization argue that these same dysfunctions are driven not by prostitution itself, but by the criminal status of the enterprise, much like alcohol prohibition fosters black markets, organized crime, and street crime. Legalization proponents generally assume that prostitution cannot be stopped, and argue that legalized prostitution would allow commercial sex to be taxed and regulated, and the conditions for prostitutes improved by the same kinds of oversight and legal protections provided in other workplaces.

The different positions are reflected in the language used to describe commercial sex and those involved in it. The term “prostitute” is seen by some as a pejorative, stigmatizing label that attempts to define people simply by their role in commercial sex. The term also fails to convey the exploitation to which the providers of commercial sex are often subjected, and can be interpreted as implying a level of self-determination that is seldom realized by prostitutes with pimps or victims of traffickers.

Many opponents of commercial sex refer to prostitution with the term “commercial sexual exploitation,” and refer to those serving as prostitutes as “prostituted women,” “victims of commercial sexual exploitation,” or “survivors.” Johns are described as “offenders,” or “exploiters” rather than as “clients” or “customers.” The use of these terms is an attempt to describe commercial sex in the language of crime and exploitation, and to convey the sense that prostitution is something detrimental and done *to* women for the benefit of others, rather than something done *by* women to benefit themselves. Proponents of decriminalization or legalization prefer the phrases, “the sex trade,” “sex work,” or “the sex business,” and refer to the providers of commercial sex as “sex workers” or “providers,” and to the consumers of commercial sex as “clients” or “customers.” These terms seek to legitimate prostitution by describing it in the language of the conventional workplace.

As evaluators, we are bound to approach the subject as objectively as possible. However, it is difficult to choose terms that avoids the appearance of adhering to a particular ideological position. Any terms we use are value laden and will be objectionable to some. For readability, we use a variety of terms to describe the subject of the FOPP, and have chosen the most neutral language possible while realizing that there is no truly neutral language that can be applied to this subject. We have opted to use the range of terms most consistent with the language choices made by the staff operating the FOPP, although there is a wide range of terminology used by program staff. For example, the curriculum provided by SAGE includes: “Impact on the prostitutes,” “Testimonial presentation about prostitution given by prostitute survivors of the sex industry;” and “Gives the John’s (sic) a sense of the prostitutes as people/victims.” In this report, we use the terms “prostitute,” “provider of commercial sex” and “survivor” interchangeably. Similarly, we frequently use the terms “prostitution” and “commercial sex,” and we refer to the consumers of commercial sex as “johns” or “consumers.”

Stratification of the Commercial Sex Industry

Understanding that the commercial sex “business” is highly stratified and segmented is a key to resolving the conflicting portrayals conveyed by proponents and opponents (e.g., Chapkis, 2000; Lowman and Fraser, 1996; Porter and Bonilla, 2000). By all accounts, street prostitutes occupy

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the lowest rung on the commercial sex ladder (e.g., Sanders, 2005; Scott and Dedel, 2006). They make the least money, are more likely to be drug addicted, subjected to violence, and otherwise distressed, and those who are pimped have the least control over their workload, choice of “clients,” and the money earned. Somewhat better conditions are generally (but not always) available to those working indoors in brothels, massage parlors, and clubs (e.g., Albert, 2001; Church et al., 2001; Sanders & Campbell, 2007; Whittaker & Hart, 1996). Operating at the highest levels of the commercial sex business are elite escort services, which some have referred to as serving the “luxury prostitution” market (e.g., Ringdal, 2004). The images of commercial sex portrayed by proponents of legalization best fit the conditions of women working as self-employed escorts or in the higher-end, more professionally run brothels and clubs. In those market segments, women are less vulnerable to violence, drug addiction, and sexually transmitted diseases, and are more likely to have greater control over their “careers,” to be more selective about clients, and to make (and keep) more money (e.g., Albert, 2001; Brents & Hausbeck, 2005; Jeal & Salisbury, 2007; Sanders & Campbell, 2007).

The FOPP targets street prostitution, and is not structured to address prostitution occurring at various indoor venues, arranged online, or provided by escorts³. Throughout the remainder of this report, when we refer to prostitution, commercial sex, or sex trafficking, we are referring to street prostitution and trafficking for the purposes of street-level commercial sex, unless otherwise stated.

Human Trafficking and Street Prostitution

While the operational focus of the FOPP is street prostitution, the program is also intended to impact human trafficking. The links between street prostitution and both domestic and international trafficking have been empirically confirmed (see reviews by Farr, 2005; Leidholt, 2003; O’Connor and Healy, 2006), with the market forces of prostitution driving the demand for most human trafficking (Farley, 2003; Hughes, 2001; International Human Rights Law Institute, 2003; Joe-Cannon, 2006; Mameli, 2002; United Nations, 2006). Estimates of the overall magnitude of human trafficking into and within the United States are the subject of debate and are derived from data and methods with substantial limitations (e.g., Clawson et al., 2006), but most studies find that the majority of trafficking is for the purpose of commercial sex (Ugarte et al., 2003; Wilson & Dalton, 2007). For example, the United Nations (2006) estimates that 87% of trafficked persons are sexually exploited, primarily through prostitution. One of the objectives pursued by SAGE has been educating law enforcement, social service providers, and policymakers to view prostitution as part of a much larger system of commercial sexual exploitation (Bales, 1999; Farr, 2005; McGill, 2003; United Nations, 2006) rather than merely a local, low-level street crime.

There is currently no firm answer to the question of what proportions of U.S. street prostitutes in any given area have been trafficked internationally, trafficked domestically, pimped locally, or are engaging in prostitution independently. While these distinctions are crucial for those

³ The arrests of virtually all FOPP participants result from “reverse stings” in which female police officers pose as street prostitutes. Nothing else about the program would preclude it from serving male customers of escorts or brothels, or commercial sex arranged online, but police operations limit the program to serving men seeking street prostitutes.

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involved in prosecuting offenders (i.e., pimps and traffickers) or serving the providers of commercial sex, the distinctions are relatively unimportant for attacking demand for street prostitution. Pimped, trafficked, and independent prostitutes serve the same market, and if that market is weakened by attacking demand, it will impact trafficking as well as local prostitution.

Vulnerable Women and Girls Drawn Into Prostitution

Most studies find the average age of entry into prostitution to be between 12 and 16 (Boyer et al., 1993; Estes and Weiner, 2002; Farley et al., 2003; Silbert and Pines, 1982), and the vulnerabilities leading girls and young women into commercial sex often conspire to keep them there. Women and girls drawn or forced into prostitution typically are economically and emotionally vulnerable, with most having been scarred by childhood sexual and physical abuse and other forms of dysfunction in the home (Earls & David, 1989; Earls & David, 1990; Janus et al., 1987; Nandon et al., 1998; Michaud, 1988; McCarthy, 1995; McClanahan et al., 1999; Seng, 1989; Simons & Whitbeck, 1991; Sullivan, 1986; Tremble, 1993; Webber, 1991; Walker, 2002; Weisberg, 1985). For example, Farley et al. (2003) found that 63% of the prostitutes they interviewed in nine countries had been sexually abused as children, and 57% of the U.S. respondents also reported childhood physical abuse. Similarly, McIntyre (1999) found the majority of prostitutes have a history of sexual and physical abuse (82% and 75%, respectively).

Traumatic childhood experiences contribute to prostitution via homelessness and a lack of economic self-sufficiency. Sexually and physically abused children are at an increased risk of running away (e.g., McCarthy, 1995; McClanahan et al., 1999; Michaud, 1988; Webber, 1991; Widom & Ames, 1994), and women and girls who are unable to sustain themselves financially are highly vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Prostitutes are found to have high levels of childhood truancy, poor education, poor employment skills, and high levels of debt (e.g., Crime and Misconduct Commission, 2004; Walker, 2002a; Weisberg, 1985). Studies repeatedly find that among the most important predictors of prostitution are running away from home and homelessness (Bittle, 2002; Crime and Misconduct Commission, 2004; Farley et al., 2003; Greene et al., 1999; McClanahan et al., 1999; Nandon et al., 1998; Stark & Hodgson, 2003; Walker, 2002; Sullivan, 1986; Weisberg, 1985). The Minnesota Attorney General's Office (1999) found that many youths are approached for sex within 48 hours of becoming homeless. Many runaway and homeless youth are too inexperienced, unskilled, drug addicted, traumatized, and/or young to maintain legitimate employment, and turn to prostitution to survive.

Negative Impact of Commercial Sex

Impact on "Providers"

Once drawn into commercial sex, prostitutes are at high risk for many kinds of additional trauma (Brewer et al., 2006; Campbell et al., 2003; Farley et al., 2003; Newman, 2006; Nixon et al., 2002; Romero-Daza et al., 2003; Scott and Dedel, 2006; Walker, 2002). A recent study found that the vast majority of women and girls trafficked internationally are physically (95%) and sexually (59%) abused while being trafficked (Zimmerman et al., 2008). A U.S. study of nearly 2000 prostitutes followed over a 30-year period found prostitutes to have mortality rates almost 200 times greater than those found among other women with similar demographic profiles

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(Potterat et al., 2004). In that study, the most common causes of death were, in order: homicide, suicide, drug- and alcohol-related problems, HIV infection and accidents. The homicide rate among active female prostitutes was seventeen times greater than the rate for age-matched females in the general population (Potterat et al., 2004). After conducting a literature review and an analysis of nine different data sets, Brewer and colleagues (2006) concluded that, "Prostitute women have the highest homicide victimization rate of any set of women ever studied."

The vast majority of prostitutes become victims of violent crime committed by customers, pimps, and/or traffickers (Baldwin, 2003; Hunter, 1994; Miller, 1995; Miller & Schwartz, 1995; Nixon et al., 2002; Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Schissel & Fedec, 1999; Urban Justice Center, 2003; Valera, 2000; Walker, 2002). For example, Farley and colleagues (2003) found 73% of prostitutes interviewed in the United States to have been raped while providing commercial sex, and 59% of that group had been raped more than five times. Involvement in prostitution is also linked to a variety of health problems, including tuberculosis, HIV, STDs, anemia, and hepatitis (e.g., Campbell et al., 2003; Farley et al., 2003; McDonnell et al., 1998; Nixon et al., 2002; Walker, 2002a; Wood et al., 2007). The various physical traumas resulting from commercial sex often lead to psychological distress, including Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (e.g., Campbell et al., 2003; Farley et al., 2003; Roxburgh et al., 2006; Valera, 2000; Walker, 2002a). Non-assaultive commercial sex can also be traumatic, especially for underage girls newly involved in prostitution. For example, one study found that 90% of a sample of prostitutes had lost their virginity in an act of commercial sex (Silbert, 1984).

Although some work independently, studies find that up to 80% of samples of women and girls serving as prostitutes had been coerced or forced to engage in prostitution by pimps or traffickers (Chapkis, 2003; Farley et al., 2003; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002; Raymond et al., 2001). In a comparison of female prostitutes with pimps to those without, Norton-Hawk (2004) found that pimp-controlled prostitutes were more likely to have an inadequate education, to be chronically unemployed, and to have been younger when they first had intercourse, tried drugs, and engaged in prostitution. Women with pimps usually have financial quotas to meet, and are subjected to many forms of manipulation and abuse designed to keep them under control and generating money (Albert, 2001; Hoigard & Finstad, 1994; Kennedy et al., 2007; Maher, 1996; Miller and Schwartz, 1995; Royal, 1998; Schwartz et al., 2007; Sterks, 2000; Williams, 2007; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002). Prostitutes often keep little of the money they generate: Scott (2002) reports that pimps take an estimated 60% to 70% of the money earned, and much of the remainder goes toward satisfying addictions. Prostitutes in Nevada's legal brothels keep less than half of their earnings after paying half to the brothel, paying various fees and charges for food and supplies, tipping support staff, and paying pimps (Albert, 2001).

Studies have found that most prostitutes want to exit "the life," but the emotional and physical harm resulting from commercial sex, compounding pre-existing vulnerabilities, can make it difficult to leave. Farley & Barkan (1998) found 88% of a sample of female sex workers in San Francisco to report a desire to leave prostitution. Compromised health, addiction, PTSD, and a lack of employment skills can narrow options for developing financial self-sufficiency, and this creates dependency upon prostitution as a means of support and, in many cases, perpetuates dependency upon pimps. After years of manipulation and exploitation, women who have been controlled by pimps and traffickers can have difficulty separating (e.g., Kramer, 2003). Pimps

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and traffickers will combinations of force, manipulation, fraud, and intimidation to maintain control of what, for them, is a financial asset (e.g., Kennedy et al., 2007; Maher, 1996; O'Connor, 2004; Royal, 1998; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002). Raymond and colleagues (2001) found more than half of the women who tried to leave prostitution were threatened, stalked, abused, and/or forcibly returned.

Pre-existing conditions, subsequent traumas, and market forces converge to keep women and girls involved in commercial sex. Those who were not initially addicted to drugs often become so soon after becoming involved in prostitution (Chapkis, 2000; Kramer, 2003). Drug addiction and poverty serve to keep prostitutes destabilized and dependent. Substance abuse is a factor in both the initiation and persistence of prostitution (Farley et al., 2003; Campbell et al., 2003; Kramer, 2003; McClanahan et al., 1999; Romero-Daza, Weeks, & Singer, 2003; Silbert, Pines, & Linch, 1982; The Urban Justice Center, 2003; Walker, 2002a). The trauma experienced by prostitutes can result in greater dependence on drugs (Romero-Daza et al., 2003; Silbert et al., 1982), both as a means of self-medicating (Kramer, 2003) and to support a drug habit (Nixon et al., 2002), sometimes through exchanging sex for drugs (O'Leary & Howard, 2001). Interactions among prostitution, abuse (physical, sexual, and emotional), addiction, compromised health, diminished self-sufficiency skills, and other dysfunctions can send the lives of prostitutes in a downward spiral from which exit becomes progressively more difficult.

Impact on "Consumers"

While the providers of commercial sex suffer the most serious consequences, the consumers are also negatively affected. Although they are more often the perpetrators of violence, johns are also vulnerable to being victimized. Their involvement in a criminal act makes it unlikely that they will report victimization that occurs while they are with prostitutes. Prostitutes and pimps are fully aware of this and some take advantage of the opportunity by setting up johns (e.g., Flowers, 1987; Miller, 1993). For example, Sterk & Elifson (1990) found two-thirds of prostitutes in Atlanta and New York to admit to having robbed johns, and Arnold and colleagues (2001) found 56% of the prostitutes they studied to report having assaulted clients for reasons other than self-defense. In addition to criminal victimization, johns are at elevated risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases (e.g., Fernandez et al., 2005; Gil, 1996; Remple et al., 2007; Rolfs et al., 1990; Simonsen, 1988). Some johns' involvement in commercial sex is the result of addictions or compulsions, making life difficult to manage by damaging relationships, employment, and undermining financial stability.

Impact on Communities

Prostitution is associated with community degradation. Among the immediate safety problems are used condoms, syringes, and other hazards left in public areas where prostitution occurs (see review by Scott & Dedel, 2006). Surveys of business owners and community organizations find that street prostitution negatively affects local businesses and lowers the quality of life within communities (e.g., Russell, 2006). Collaborative problem solving efforts over the past 20 years have repeatedly determined prostitution to be among the higher-priority problems plaguing communities throughout the nation (Sampson & Scott, 1999). For example, Web searches and literature reviews conducted by our evaluation team have identified more than 30 communities

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that have targeted prostitution as a focus of their Weed & Seed initiatives. More than a dozen nominees and winners of Goldstein Awards from the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing⁴ have named prostitution as a high priority issue and have developed collaborative responses. Appendix A presents an illustrative sample of sites known to have engaged in formal collaborative problem solving processes resulting in targeting commercial sex trafficking.

Burden on Law Enforcement and Other Public Services

State crime statutes categorize common street prostitution involving adults as a low-level misdemeanor, public nuisance crime. Advocates of legalization of prostitution view it as a victimless crime, while others see the community where soliciting occurs as the “victim” because prostitution negatively affects neighborhoods and attracts other criminal activity. These perspectives have led many cities to enforcement policies oriented to accomplishing short-term goals of cleaning up particular street corners and business districts; cities often tolerate prostitution activity confined to restricted locations. Frequently, enforcement activities involve arresting prostitutes followed by short-term punishment and no provision of services. Thus, police departments and district attorneys’ offices process a large number of recidivist prostitutes with unaddressed service needs, but prosecute few johns.

Prostitution places a large burden on the criminal justice system and on providers of public health and social services. Before 1995, the San Francisco police department made 4,000 to 5,000 arrests of prostitutes each year, most of which were arrests of repeat offenders. Over the past five years, there has been a national average of roughly 80,000 prostitution arrests per year reported in the Uniform Crime Report (e.g., Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2007), two-thirds of which were arrests of women serving as prostitutes. Prostitution and drug-related offenses account for 26.2 % of arrests of women in the U.S. (FBI 2004). These numbers underrepresent the scope of prostitution and the burden on law enforcement. In many jurisdictions, soliciting prostitution is a lower-level misdemeanor, a civil infraction, or a municipal code violation, for which offenders would be cited rather than arrested (e.g., Alexander, 1987; San Francisco Task Force on Prostitution, 1996). Such cases would not usually be counted as arrests and would not appear in UCR reports, but still involve police activity and court processing. One study conducted in the 1980s found that 16 U.S. cities each spent an average of \$14.5 million in one year for prostitution control (Pearl, 1987), in 2007 dollars. More recently, Allard and Herbon (2003) estimated that prostitution arrests in 2001 cost the city of Chicago over \$10.6 million (in 2007 dollars).

Those involved in prostitution are typically in need of other public services. As we’ve discussed, prostitutes are often sexually assaulted, and victims of sexual assault present an array of service needs ranging from the need for employment; refuge from abusers; child care; and legal advocacy to addressing psychological problems resulting from sexual violence (Baskin & Sommers 1998; Brownstein et al. 1995; Parriott, 1994; Ritchie 2000; Spunt et al. 1994). They also are at high risk for a host of physical and mental health problems, including drug addiction, STD infection, PTSD, and injuries from violent crimes (e.g., Crime and Misconduct Commission, 2004; Council for Prostitution Alternatives, 1991; Dunlap et al., 2003; Lowman,

⁴ See <http://www.popcenter.org/library-goldstein-application-07.htm> for a list of Goldstein Award nominees and winners.

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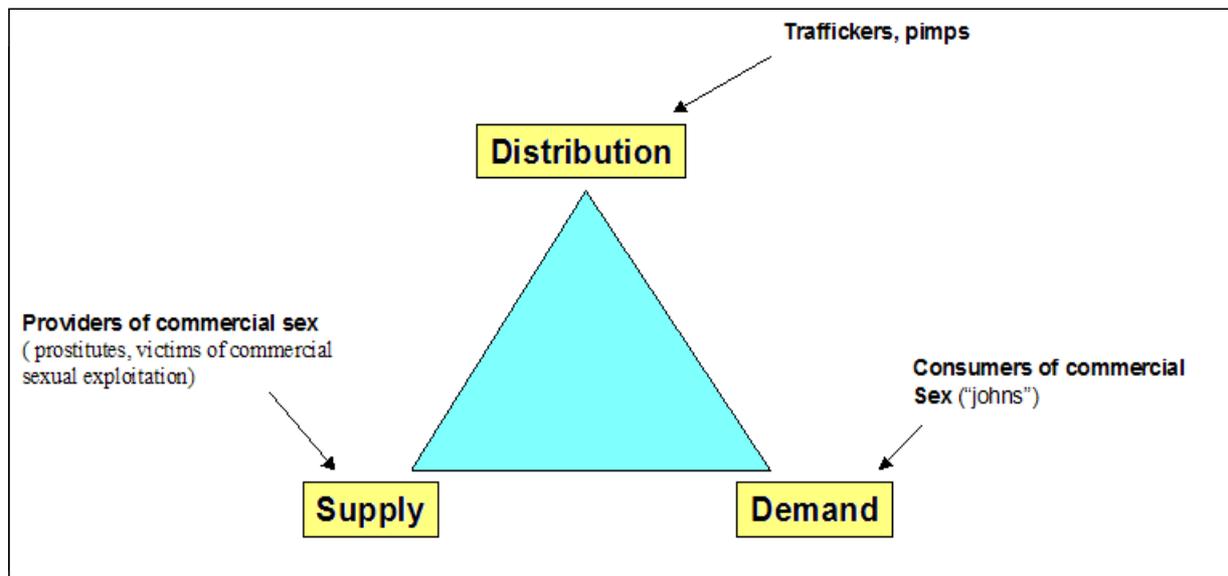
1991; Schissel & Fedec, 1999; Mansson & Hedin, 1999; Nandon et al., 1998; Nixon et al., 2002; Stark & Hodgson, 2003; Widom & Kuhns, 1996; Walker, 2002). Obviously, those supporting themselves exclusively through commercial sex are usually uninsured, and seek costly, reactive health care services at emergency rooms and public health care providers. Since many prostitutes have children, they also are high-end users of the foster care system and child protective services.

The Demand for Street Prostitution

The development of the FOPP proceeded from the assumption that some portion of the population of men who solicit prostitutes are amenable to “treatment” in the form of education, and will change their behavior in response to new information. Another subset of men may be unresponsive to an educational intervention. The proportion falling into the “amenable” and “intractable” groups is unknown, but it was not crucial to know before starting the program: As long as there is a group of men drawn into the program that is amenable to change, the program would have a chance to make a difference as long as it was executed properly.

It was also assumed that a one-day educational program is likely to do no harm to those in the “intractable” group. The program was designed as an option for diverting people from normal adjudication, but in doing so exposed the public to no additional risk since traditional sanctions for misdemeanor prostitution offenses require offenders to spend little – if any – time segregated from the public. In addition, there was very little opportunity cost for investing in the program, since the modest program expenses were covered by fees paid by participants.

Figure 1: Tri-Partite Model of the Market for Commercial Sex



Source: Lederer, 2006

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While the population of male consumers of commercial sex undoubtedly contains its share of serious criminals and sociopaths (e.g., Holzman and Pines, 1982; Reichert, 2004; Sawyer et al., 2001), studies have found that purchasing commercial sex is relatively common and that the profiles of johns are fairly mainstream and unlike those of other offender groups. A substantial portion of men in the U.S. admits to having purchased sex at some point in their lives. While earlier studies with methodological limitations have found 69% (Kinsey et al., 1948) to 80% (Benjamin and Masters, 1964) of American men to have engaged in commercial sex, more recent studies with representative sampling have found much lower - but still substantial - rates in the range of 15% to 20% (e.g., Michael et al., 1994; Monto, 1999; Sullivan and Simon, 1998). These more recent U.S. rates are similar to those found in Australia and Europe (see reviews by Sanders, 2008; Weitzer, 2007). With one out of every five or six men admitting to purchasing sex, it is clear that patronizing commercial sex is not the behavior of just a small minority of deviants.

Studies of male consumers of commercial sex find them to be similar to the general population in most regards, and quite unlike most populations of criminal offenders (see, e.g., Kennedy, 2004; Lever and Dolnick, 2000; Monto, 1999). In a comparison of men who had been arrested for purchasing sex to nationally representative samples of men (i.e., male respondents of large-scale national surveys; Monto, 1999; Monto & McRee, 2005) found that those who had purchased sex were actually *more* likely to have attended college, and were just 15% less likely to be married (41% for arrested johns versus 56% in the national survey; Monto, 1999).

While men who solicit prostitution are not atypical demographically or in terms of criminal history, they are unsurprisingly and measurably different in terms of a range of attitudes toward women, relationships, and commercial sex. For example, Monto & McRee (2005) found that consumers were less likely to be happily married than men in national samples, to have sexually liberal attitudes (e.g., to view premarital sex, sex among minors, and homosexuality as acceptable), and to think about sex more often. Commercial sex participants were also less likely to have been sexually molested as children, or to report having forced women into sexual acts. The differences between samples were not large, but were statistically significant.

Many studies have examined men's motivation for buying sex (e.g., Bernstein, 2001; Farley, 2007; Hoigard & Finstad, 1992; Holzman & Pines, 1982; Lau et al., 2004; Lever & Dolnick, 2000; Mansson, 2006; McKeganey & Barnard, 1994; Monto, 2000; Stein, 1974; Winick, 1962; Xantidis & McCabe, 2000), and the aggregate finding is that there is a wide range of reasons and the relationships between prostitutes and their "customers" can become quite complex (see review by Sanders, 2008). Research has found that the reasons men hire prostitutes include:

- To engage in sex acts that few other women are willing to engage in.
- To experience sex with women with a variety of physical traits.
- To satisfy the desire for sex and/or intimacy that they are unable to meet in other ways.
- To satisfy a need for emotional support that they are not receiving from others.
- Because it provides them with sex but requires little or no emotional involvement.
- Because they are attracted to the excitement of the illicit nature of prostitution.
- Because they have difficulty meeting women conventionally (e.g., feeling shy or awkward approaching women).

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- Because they feel that most women find them unattractive.
- Because they do not have the time nor desire the responsibility of a conventional relationship.
- Because it provides a less risky means of mimicking extreme or illegal fantasies, such as incest or rape.
- Because they desire being “in control” or dominating women when having sex.

Developing the FOPP

Aware of the plight of providers of commercial sex and the impact on neighborhoods, Assistant District Attorney Teri Jackson, SFPD Vice Division Lieutenant Joseph Dutto, and health educator Norma Hotaling (founder and director of Standing Against Global Exploitation, or SAGE) began collaborating to identify new approaches to reduce the volume and impact of commercial sex within San Francisco. The first formal meeting of this team for the purpose of planning the FOPP occurred in January 1995. The principals were in agreement that the most promising direction for the program would be a focus on reducing the demand for commercial sex, and that the best way to accomplish demand reduction was education rather than trying to punish the problem away.

One of the innovations of the partners involved in the program (particularly SAGE) was framing street prostitution not as a local and victimless crime, but as part of a larger system of sexual exploitation and as one facet of an illicit, global, multi-billion dollar industry. This view represented a significant departure from how prostitution typically had been framed by law enforcement and service agencies: a local street crime involving habitual low-level offenders. The FOPP partners see prostitutes as victims or survivors whose participation in commercial sex is often accomplished through force, fraud, or coercion by pimps and traffickers. For those without pimps, involvement in commercial sex is still seen as exploitation since it is usually the continuation of patterns of exploitation and degradation that began with childhood sexual abuse. These views informed the structure of the FOPP and provide the foundation for the John school educational programming that is the centerpiece of the program. They also informed the development of the FOPP as a “restorative justice” program⁵, where offenders (the customers of prostitutes) provide a form of restitution by funding programs supporting victims (prostitutes) and benefiting the community.

Prior Education Programs for Men Who Solicit Sex

As one would expect with an innovative program, there were few predecessors to serve as models for the FOPP. However, we identified two education or treatment programs for johns that pre-date the FOPP, and one of these (in St. Paul, MN) was known to the founders of the FOPP prior to 1995. The first program began operating in Grand Rapids, Michigan in 1981

⁵ The program staff often refers to the johns’ provision of fee revenue to support CSE survivor programs as the FOPP’s “restorative justice” component, but this is an unusual application of the term. While there is no universally accepted definition of restorative justice, most include offenders being directly involved in repairing the harm done to their victims (e.g., Cormier, 2002). In the FOPP, there is no direct involvement of offenders in the recovery or compensation of their specific victims. The restorative element is indirect, where a portion of the fees they pay for the FOPP are used to assist other victims of sexual exploitation.

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(Sikkema, 2007). The program, called the “John Group,” has been directed since 1983 by Cindy Sikkema, a probation officer for the 61st District Court in Grand Rapids. The John Group is a court-ordered treatment program that can be required as a condition of probation for men arrested for soliciting prostitutes. The intervention includes four group counseling sessions of about one hour each, and one individual session lasting about two hours. The group sessions convey information about prostitution including legal consequences, health risks, impact on survivors (including testimony from former prostitutes) and communities, sexual addiction, pimping, and healthy relationships. The individual session is where offenders develop plans for addressing how they will meet their needs through more prosocial avenues in the future. In addition, the program includes a mandatory screening for STDs and HIV (Sikkema, 2007). With the exception of the John Group’s mandatory health screening, the program’s educational content is remarkably similar to that of the FOPP. However, the earlier program did not serve as a model or guide the development of the FOPP: the founders of the San Francisco program were unaware of the existence of the Grand Rapids program until 2007, when they were informed by the Abt Associates evaluation team.

The only other similar program known pre-date the FOPP was the Restorative Justice Program for Prostitution Patrons (RJPPP), which was implemented in 1988 in St. Paul, Minnesota. The RJPPP was founded and is still directed by Steven Sawyer, Director of Project Pathfinder Inc. The program is described as a psychoeducational program for men arrested for soliciting prostitutes (Sawyer et al., 1998). The main intervention is a set of classes. Initially, there were 12 classes of approximately an hour each. As the program gained experience and was refined over the years the number of classroom sessions were reduced, and since 2004 the program has required four classes totaling about six hours of instruction. While the structure of the FOPP is different than that of the RJPPP (one full day of classroom learning rather than multiple sessions occurring a span of weeks,), the curricula are similar, with the RJPPP containing many of the elements that appear later in the FOPP, such as providing accurate information about prostitution to address johns’ denial and ignorance, discussing health and crime victimization risks, and confronting the negative impact of their behavior on communities.

In addition to the four classes, the RJPPP involves three sessions in which a panel of community representatives engages in facilitated discussions with offenders to convey and discuss the damage caused to communities by prostitution. The program also includes a flexible restorative justice component (now operated by Midtown Community Restorative Justice) that is codified in individual contracts with participants, can include financial restitution, and typically involves 30 to 40 hours of community service.

Unlike the Grand Rapids program, the RJPPP was known to those developing the FOPP and played a role in developing the FOPP. Norma Hotaling, one of the three individuals who founded the FOPP⁶, had known Steven Sawyer since the early 1990s, and they had discussed how education might be effective in helping prevent men from reoffending (Hotaling, 2007; Sawyer, 2007). The main contribution of the RJPPP to the FOPP is the basic concept of using education in a diversion program for johns. Once that concept was in place, Ms. Hotaling and her partners at the SFDA and SFPD developed the FOPP structure and the john school curriculum independently.

⁶ The others were SFPD Vice Division Lieutenant Joseph Dutto, and the SFDA’s Assistant District Attorney Teri Jackson.

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Targeting the Educational Intervention

The FOPP founders assumed that there were several key attitudes and beliefs that cause or allow men to solicit sex. They concluded that the john school could reach at least some of the men by countering erroneous beliefs and filling gaps in knowledge. The program targeted the following⁷:

1. The belief that the risk of arrest and legal sanction are low.
2. Denial or ignorance of the risk of contracting STDs or HIV through purchased sex.
3. Ignorance of the risk of being robbed or assaulted by prostitutes or pimps.
4. Denial or ignorance of the negative impact prostitution has on the neighborhoods in which it occurs.
5. Ignorance of the links between street prostitution and larger, organized systems of sex trafficking.
6. Denial or ignorance of what motivates them to solicit prostitutes (e.g., addictions, compulsions, unmet social or sexual needs).
7. Denial or ignorance of the negative impact of prostitution on “providers.”
8. Denial or ignorance of the fact that money is the only reason prostitutes have sex with them.
9. The mistaken belief that the women they hire care about them, and that they are in some kind of relationship with them.
10. Denial or ignorance of the anger, revulsion, or indifference that many prostitutes have while they are having sex with johns.
11. Ignorance about how to have the healthy relationships that could replace their reliance upon commercial sex.

Men who solicit sex would be correct in assuming that there is a low risk of arrest and legal sanction, particularly outside of San Francisco (which has some of the most aggressive law enforcement targeting johns in the Nation). On this point, the FOPP does not seek to correct a misperception, but instead to simply elevate the perceived risk from whatever level exists prior to the class. Since many of the men in the FOPP are first-time arrestees, they may be ignorant of the sanctions they may face if arrested a second time, and the program was designed to provide them with this information. On most of the other points, the program founders assumed that the men are ignorant or in denial about the risks and negative impact of prostitution, and the program curriculum was designed to provide them with factual information and “break down their denial systems” (Hotaling, 2006).

John School Curriculum

To address the informational needs of offenders, the FOPP established a curriculum that was designed to be delivered in one eight-hour day, and would address the issues outlined above. The john school curriculum has evolved over the years, as one would expect with an innovative

⁷ Sources: The John School Curriculum (undated document from the SFDA); interviews with FOPP staff, including Norma Hotaling (SAGE), Lisa Ortiz (SFDA), Linda Klee (SFDA), and Mary Petrie (SFPD).

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educational program. The general outline of the curriculum has remained remarkably stable, and the current outline captures most of what the program has addressed since its inception. The current curriculum is divided into the following sections, which are outlined briefly here and covered in more detail in the next chapter.

1. ***Prostitution Law and Street Facts***, focusing on the legal consequences of subsequent offenses and addressing johns' vulnerability to being robbed or assaulted while involved in prostitution.
2. ***Health Education***, describing the elevated risk of HIV and STD infection associated with prostitution, and stressing that many STDs are asymptomatic and/or difficult to detect and have long term negative impacts on health.
3. ***Effect of Prostitution on Prostitutes***, focusing on numerous negative consequences for women serving as prostitutes, such as vulnerability to rape and assault, health problems, drug addiction, and various forms of exploitation.
4. ***Dynamics of Pimping, Recruiting, and Trafficking***, featuring discussions of how pimps and traffickers recruit, control, and exploit women and girls for profit, and the links between local street prostitution and larger systems of human trafficking.
5. ***Effect of Prostitution on the Community***, describing the drug use, violence, health hazards, and other adverse consequences that co-occur with street prostitution.
6. ***Sexual Addiction***, focusing on how involvement in commercial sex may be driven by sexual addiction, and where help for this condition can be sought.

Although not listed as a core component of the curriculum, we observed several classes containing a section on ***policing prostitution***. The discussions focused on police surveillance of all types of commercial sex (street, brothels, escort services, massage parlors, storefronts, and web-based), and are intended to provide participants with the impression that they will stand a great chance of rearrest if they continue involvement in any type of commercial sex.

The FOPP's Structure

As we've discussed above, the FOPP seeks to reduce the demand for prostitution by educating men about the negative consequences of engaging in commercial sex, and to generate resources supporting programs to assist survivors of sexual exploitation. Men arrested for soliciting a prostitute for the first time in San Francisco are offered the option of being prosecuted or avoiding criminal prosecution by paying a fee and attending a day-long john school where they learn about the legal and health risks of commercial sex, the negative consequences for women involved in the illicit business, the systems of sexual exploitation and trafficking, and the negative impact on communities. If during the year following their attendance in class they are not arrested for an additional prostitution offense, there is no further legal action and the charges are dismissed (although the record of the arrest remains). If there is a subsequent arrest, both the new and original charge may be prosecuted and there is no option of repeating the john school diversion program.

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The FOPP was developed and continues to be operated by three primary partners: the SFDA, SFPD, and SAGE, a nonprofit organization based in San Francisco. Representatives from each of these three primary partner organizations make presentations at the john school and are involved in refining the curriculum. The SFPD vice unit conducts street-level decoy operations or “reverse stings” that produce virtually all of the arrestees that are referred to the program. The SFDA (a) screens all arrestees for FOPP eligibility, (b) determines fees for each participant based upon the sliding scale, (c) collects these fees, (d) distributes the revenues to the partners, and (e) tracks participants for one year after their one-day john school class. The SFPD and SFDA also provide speakers and monitors for the john school classes. SAGE led development of the curriculum, co-facilitates the john school classes, and arranges for about half of the speakers presenting in the john school. Representatives from the San Francisco County Department of Public Health (SFCDPH) and members of NGOs such as Saving our Streets (SOS) and Sex Addicts Anonymous (SAA) also make presentations in the classes.

From the time of the program’s initiation in March 1995 through February 2002, the fee charged to participants was \$500. In 2002 the fee was increased to \$1,000, with a sliding scale for lower income arrestees. The three partner organizations equally share the revenue generated by the participant fees. SAGE uses most of its revenue to fund the FOPP programs for women and girls (EIPP, Lifeskills, Star program), and takes a relatively small portion to cover their john school expenses (e.g., compensating the john school facilitator for their time in the classroom and to perform administrative duties to keep the program functioning). The SFPD and SFDA use their portion of the fees to partially cover their direct expenses (e.g., paying SFPD officers and attorneys from the SFDA to make classroom presentations and to monitor offenders). The fees do not fully cover the expenses of SFPD decoy operations, and the department’s general operating budget provides the rest. Over the years, the john school fees have covered the all of the FOPP operating expenses for SAGE, SFDA, and SFPD, and has covered the majority of administrative expenses. The program has also generated revenue supporting SAGE programs supporting women and girls involved in prostitution.

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Chapter 2: Evaluating the FOPP's Design and Implementation

The process evaluation of the FOPP is designed to answer two basic questions: Is the program well designed, and has it been implemented as intended? In the process assessment we examine design assumptions, such as whether the goals are clearly identified, and whether there is a clear and logical relationship between the intended results and the program activities that have been undertaken to produce those results.

This chapter begins with an overview of data collection. We then present the program's logic model, which illustrates the links between program goals, activities, outcomes, and impact. After describing each component of the model, we present evidence bearing on whether the program has been implemented consistent with its goals and its design. The FOPP's outcomes and impact are discussed in detail in Chapter 3, but are briefly introduced in the present chapter to complete the discussion of the logic model.

Process Evaluation Data Collection

We have assembled a broad range of information about the program, its participants, and about other offenders arrested for prostitution. The primary data collection methods included:

- Site visits
- Interviews with program staff and stakeholders
- Structured observation of john school classes
- Pre- and post-class surveys of FOPP participants
- Collection of program documents
- "Ride-alongs" with the SFPD Vice Division during reverse sting operations.

In addition, we gathered administrative data about the FOPP, and criminal history data on men arrested for soliciting prostitutes in San Francisco and throughout California. The collection procedures and the data are described in more detail below.

Site Visits

Staff from Abt Associates conducted a total of nine site visits, the first of which occurred on November 7-9, 2005. The trips were timed to coincide with the FOPP john school classes held every two months. In addition to interviewing staff and collecting documents from SAGE, SFPD, and SFDA, we conducted formal observations of the john school classes, pre- and post-class surveys of john school participants, and ride-alongs with the SFPD Vice Division as they conducted reverse sting operations.

Table 1 presents a list of site visit dates and a summary of key data collection activities occurring during each visit. Details of the separate activities engaged in during sites visits (e.g., interviews, class observations, police ride-alongs) are described below.

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Table 1: Key Data Collection Activities During Site Visits

Site Visit	Site Visit Activities			
	Staff & Stakeholder Interviews	Collect Program Documents	Pre/Post Survey	Structured Class Observation
November 5-7, 2005	◆	◆		
January 26-28, 2006	◆	◆		
March 23-25, 2006	◆	◆		◆
May 19-20, 2006	◆	◆	◆	◆
July 27-29, 2006	◆	◆	◆	◆
September 28-30, 2006	◆	◆	◆	◆
November 15-18, 2006	◆	◆	◆	◆
January 2007	◆	◆	◆	◆
March 2007		◆	◆	◆
Number of Site Visits Involving Each Activity:	8	9	6	7

Interviews

Interviews with SFDA, SFPD, and SFDA staff were designed to pursue three primary objectives:

1. **Produce a current and complete program logic model**, including goals, inputs, activities, outputs, outcomes, and impact.
2. **Identify additional data sources** and obtain data that can provide evidence of program processes and outcomes, such as budgets, audits, and reports to program funding agencies.
3. **Confirm and augment previously obtained documentation** about the program’s development, logic model, and data sources.

The interview protocol is presented in Appendix B. As we state in the protocol, the instrument was intended to serve as a guide for semi-structured interviews or discussions. Not every question was asked of every respondent, since no single person could address all aspects of the program. For people interviewed multiple times, the initial interviews were usually the longest and would cover most of the topics addressed in the protocol. Subsequent interviews were often less lengthy conversations where we were seeking clarification or additional information about a subset of questions.

A summary of the number of interviews conducted and the affiliations of those interviewed is presented in Table 2.

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Table 2: Summary of Interviews Conducted

Sites/ Organizations	# Individuals Interviewed	# Interviews
S.F. - DA's Office	6	29
S.F. - Police Department	11	33
S.F. - SAGE	8	31
S.F. - Other	6	6
S.F. Subtotal	31	99
Replication Sites (40)	50	65
Researchers	3	5
Media	10	11
Federal policy advisor	1	1
"Other" Subtotal	64	82
Totals	95	181

A total of 31 people affiliated with the FOPP were interviewed for this project. Most were interviewed more than once, and a total of 99 interviews were conducted with personnel in San Francisco. We interviewed:

- **SFDA:** (a) Two FOPP coordinators, who were the primary screeners of arrestees referred by the police to be considered for the program; (b) the Chief of Administration, who served as the manager of the FOPP; (c) an Assistant District Attorney (ADA) who served as the Managing Attorney of the Trial Team, gave john school presentations, and selected and trained other ADAs who deliver the bulk of the "Law and Street Facts" section of the curriculum; (d) the CFO, who provided budget information; and (e) the supervising attorney of Community Justice Programs.
- **SAGE:** (a) The Director and founder; (b) the Deputy Director and Chief Financial Officer; (c) the Replication Director; (d) a health educator; and (e) four former prostitutes who provided narrative personal histories and testimonials in john school classes.
- **SFPD:** (a) The director of the vice unit; (b) a secretary from the records staff (who described their financial and staffing records on FOPP decoy operations); (c) and seven investigators involved in reverse sting operations; and (d) three female officers serving as decoys for reverse stings.
- **Others contributing to, or associated with, the FOPP:** (a) A member of the staff of the S.F. County Sheriff's Office moderated one of the classes we observed, and had previously been a client and then an employee of SAGE; (b) a health educator from presenter from the S.F. County Department of Public Health; (c) a representative of a

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community organization called Save Our Streets (SOS), who frequently presents in john school classes; (d) a former prostitute and author who presented in one john school class we observed; (e) the Deputy Policy Director of the S.F. Mayor's office.

We conducted 65 interviews with individuals from 40 actual or potential FOPP replication sites; the results of these interviews will be discussed in Chapter 5. In addition, we conducted interviews with 14 individuals who were not affiliated with the FOPP or other john school programs, including researchers, members of the media, and a Policy Advisor from the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) who oversees the agency's Human Trafficking Task Force program. The interviews with reporters, the BJA policy advisor, and researchers were for the purpose of gathering background information about the FOPP or other demand reduction programs, and about contextual issues such as changes in human trafficking policy. Combined, we conducted a total of 181 interviews with 95 individuals for this evaluation.

Program Documentation

Throughout the performance period of the evaluation we have collected written program materials and have had numerous phone discussions and email exchanges with program staff to confirm the program's structure, activities, and data availability. Each of these source materials will be referenced and/or described more fully when appropriate throughout the remainder of this report, but briefly, we gathered the following types of documents:

- Program overviews from SFDA, SFPD, and SAGE
- John school curriculum from SAGE
- John school class handouts on sexual addiction from SAA
- John school class handout on health issues from the SFCDPH
- John school class agendas
- MOUs between SFPD, SFDA, and SAGE
- Various memos between SFPD, SFDA, and SAGE
- Printed material from a Department of Justice workshop, "Innovations in Criminal Justice Program: First Offender Prostitution Workshop," San Francisco, February 25-27, 1999.
- SAGE proposal for an OJJDP grant
- A SAGE list of FOPP replication sites
- A log of sites inquiring to SAGE about replication
- Websites of SFDA, SFPD, SAGE, SFCDPH, Save our Streets (SOS), the California Criminal Justice Statistics Center (CJSC), and Sex Addicts Anonymous (SAA)
- A report on a review of the SFDA's financial operations and staff deployment, conducted by the Office of the Controller of the City and County of San Francisco.

We also reviewed the professional and academic research literature on prostitution and human trafficking. In addition, we reviewed media articles, interview transcripts, and public commentary on the FOPP and the john school concept.

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Structured Observations of John School Classes

We conducted structured observations of over one year of the FOPP's john school (seven classes) to document the content, quality, and consistency of delivery of the educational programming, and to provide a rich description of what the participants experience in the program. In these observations we:

- Recorded the total amount of instruction time per session.
- Recorded the total amount of non-instruction time per session (lunch and other breaks, registration, course evaluations and surveys).
- Collected session agendas and presentation materials handed out to participants.
- examined the consistency of personnel providing the training across classes and sessions
- Noted whether the participants display overt signs of attentiveness (or a lack of attentiveness).
- Noted whether the participants display overt signs of acceptance or rejection of the messages conveyed (e.g., by challenging the presenters verbally, shaking their heads).
- Documented the content delivered in each presentation, to be compared with what appears in the curriculum.
- Documented the modes of delivery (e.g., lecture, discussion, slides, overheads, video, handouts).
- Documented the number and the affiliations of outside observers attending each session, and whether they presented distractions in class.

Our structured class observations have been recorded on observation protocols to improve inter-rater reliability. The observations were conducted by three researchers: the Principle Investigator (four sessions observed), the Deputy Project Director (two sessions), and a Senior Associate (one session). The observer in each session was also responsible for the administration of the pre- and post-class questionnaire (the results of which are discussed in the next chapter), and collecting class agendas and evaluation forms.

These structured observations were designed to shed light on what happens during the john school that cannot be determined by a curriculum review alone. The protocol used to guide class observations is presented in Appendix C. The findings from our observations are presented later in this chapter.

Pre- and Post-Class Survey

We developed a questionnaire for the pre- and post- john school survey that was designed to measure changes in attitudes and knowledge. The survey was also used to investigate what parts of the john school curriculum are most salient to the participants. In addition to these primary objectives of describing and interpreting how the program components are perceived, the survey was intended to provide a context for, and to help explain, the recidivism analysis findings. The survey was also intended to provide data helping to identify areas for improving the delivery of the educational material.

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Information for both the process and the outcome evaluations was collected via the survey. For example, the survey asks attendees to provide demographic information that helps describe the population being reached by the program, which is an important element of assessing program implementation.

The survey instrument and informed consent form were reviewed by SFDA and SAGE staff, and then by NIJ and the Abt Associates Institutional Review Board (IRB). The IRB-approved versions of the consent form and the pre-class and post-class questionnaires are presented in Appendices D to F.

Review of Class Evaluations

Course evaluation forms have been filled out by john school participants and collected periodically since the program began in 1996. We collected from SAGE all available course evaluation forms. The evaluation form data are somewhat useful for the process evaluation, but the forms were collected too inconsistently over time to provide a view of trends in “customer satisfaction.” The gaps were too frequent and large to examine fluctuations over time in the perceived quality of program delivery, or to tie the class evaluation data to recidivism trends. Another limitation of the class evaluations is their potential to be affected by socially desirable response biases. The evaluation forms were distributed and collected by john school staff, and may have appeared to participants to be a requirement of successful FOPP completion. It is unlikely that respondents would fully trust the anonymity of the evaluations, nor feel entirely free to express negative opinions about the program. Within these limitations, the forms have value in providing a measure of relative responses to the different components of the john school class, and are one of the only sources of data on how participants have viewed the course in the past. A sample class evaluation form (used in the March 2006 john school class) is presented in Appendix G.

Secondary Data

Criminal History Data from the California’s Criminal Justice Statistics Center (CJSC)

We placed special requests with the CJSC for criminal history data on all males ever arrested in California for the same range of charges filed against the men in the FOPP. The CJSC complied, and delivered a database containing approximately 2.7 million records for statewide arrests for criminal code violations 647b (soliciting prostitution) and 653.22 (loitering with intent to solicit prostitution) occurring between 1948 and September 29, 2006. Our intent was to use the data to answer a number of questions in the process evaluation. For example, we had planned to link the CJSC data with a database kept by the SFDA and construct a flow model and comparisons of those who accepted with those who refused the FOPP option. As we discuss below, data quality issues affecting the SFDA database changed how we were able to use these data. Since we ended up using the CJSC data primarily for the impact analysis (i.e., the recidivism analyses), we will defer further discussion of the data until Chapter 4.

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The SFDA's FOPP Database

Since the program began, the SFDA has accumulated a database on all arrestees referred by the police for the FOPP. A software glitch purged data on the program's first year (March through December, 1995), so the database contains information from January 1996 to the present. There are nine fields in the database:

- Name
- SF Number
- Police Number
- Status
- Class Date
- Fee
- Date of Birth
- Race
- Notes

We had obtained the FOPP database in September 2006, and soon after we alerted the SFDA about the problems we encountered. In mid November we met with SFDA staff during a site visit and went over our questions and concerns. The SFDA personnel were unusually cooperative and accommodating, and agreed to fix the identified errors to the best of their ability and supply us with a corrected database. For example, we pointed out that about 12% of the cases had "pending" as their status code (meaning that they have been offered the diversion option, but no decision has yet been made), but status codes for all cases more than one year old should have converted to codes signifying being charged with the offense or having the charge dismissed. The SFDA staff agreed to review all available paper records and any other available sources to retrospectively correct all such errors. They found that the software they were using purged the oldest cases as new cases were entered, eliminating all of the 1995 cases. Another glitch altered some class and offense dates as they were entered. The SFDA hired a software engineer as a consultant to troubleshoot and attempt to fix the glitches that purged and altered data. An improved database was delivered to Abt Associates in January of 2007.

The FOPP staff and our evaluation team were able to correct a number of problems. However, we could not resolve all of the data quality issues (see discussion in Appendix H for details), and one cannot be confident of the validity of results based upon these data. For example, the SFDA database was crucial for accurately documenting the flow of offenders, which is a basic product of the process evaluation. Even after the SFDA fixed numerous errors and filled gaps in the data, many cases still have missing identifiers, which prevents matching the SFDA data with CJSC criminal history data. This problem prevents us from accurately documenting the flow of offenders into and out of the FOPP, such as the path through the justice system taken by eligible men who declined the FOPP option.

The SFDA data were also crucial to our study of why some men decline and others agree to participate in the FOPP. We had intended to link the SFDA data to the CJSC criminal history data, allowing us to examine differences in criminal histories of those who accept versus decline the program, and those who complete the program versus eligible men who do not. However, with roughly half of the cases missing key identifiers, and knowing that the process leading to the missing identifiers was not random, the comparisons would be vulnerable to biases. For example, interviews with the FOPP coordinators indicate that individuals that were found to be ineligible for the program, and those that failed to make contact with the DA's office, are less

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likely to have complete information in the database. Those eligible for the program and those completing the program are over-represented in the set of cases with complete information. Therefore, comparing traits of eligible and ineligible men, or program completers to those who fail to complete the program, would be skewed in the direction of men who were eligible and/or completed the program.

Results of FOPP Process Evaluation

One of the most important products of a process evaluation is a well-documented and comprehensive description of the program. Our description rests upon detailed information about the broader FOPP program (including fines assessed, flows through the SFDA office and the john school, consequences for people who recidivate, typical timelines, etc.) and the john school educational intervention (including a detailed description of the curriculum and descriptions of classroom delivery of the curriculum based upon structured observations of one year of john school sessions) collected during our site visits, interviews, and collection of secondary data and program documentation. Such information is necessary to interpret the results of the outcome evaluation, and can be used to inform future replications of the program and future evaluations.

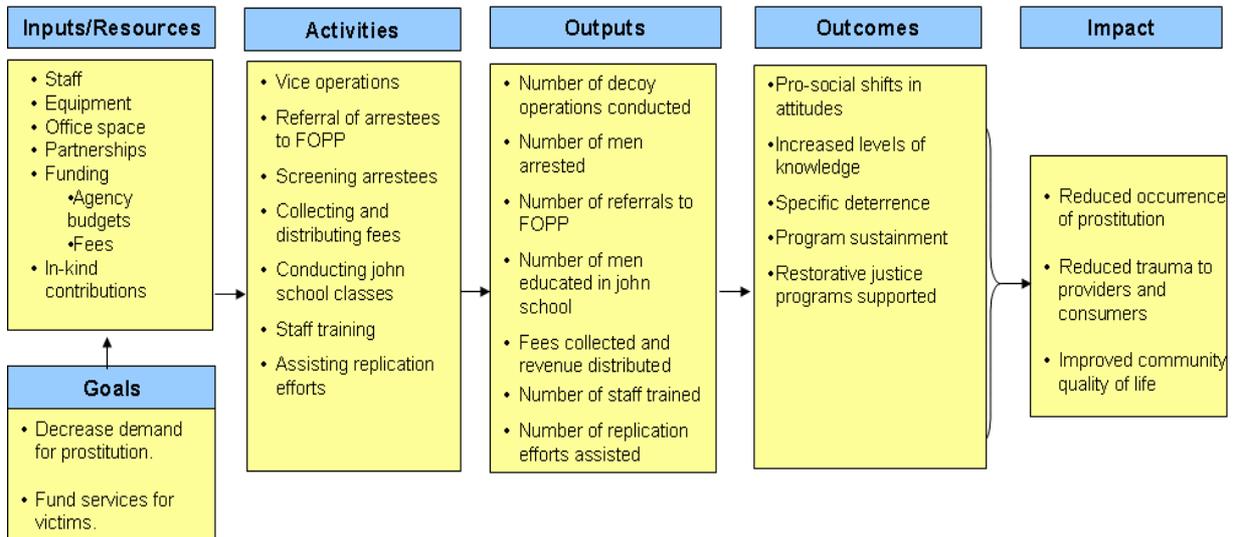
Program Logic Model

Like any program, the FOPP is grounded in a set of goals. To pursue these goals, the program uses resources that support activities intended to produce targeted results—from those results that are immediate and specific, to those that are broader and longer-term outcomes. A logic model is a useful device for illustrating the linkages from program goals, to the resources committed to the program, to activities, to outputs (the direct representation of activities), to program outcomes (the manifestation of the change that activities are seeking to accomplish) and finally to impacts (the indications that the program's broader goals have been realized). The logic model for the FOPP is presented in Figure 2.

The content of each component of the logic model will be explained in more detail below, but briefly: The ultimate program **goal** is to decrease the demand for prostitution, and hence, reduce the amount of human trafficking and sexual exploitation that occurs. Program goals are pursued by committing resources (**inputs**) that support program **activities** (in the FOPP, the primary program activity is the educational intervention for arrestees). The measurable indicators of these activities are the program "**outputs**." The activities are designed to lead to the aforementioned **outcomes** of knowledge and attitude change: increased awareness of the legal and health risks of engaging in prostitution, and awareness of the negative impact of the behavior on prostitutes, communities, and others. These outcomes are intended to reduce the likelihood that one will continue to solicit prostitution (i.e., the program impact).

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Figure 2: FOPP Logic Model



Program Goals and Objectives

Goals define program objectives and activities, and must be clearly stated if program effectiveness is to be measured properly. As stated in an program description produced by the SFDA (1997), as well as in grant proposals written to support various aspects of the program, *the FOPP’s main objective is to reduce reoffending among those arrested for soliciting prostitution*. The program also is intended to:

- Reduce the number of misdemeanor cases in the courts.
- Be “fiscally self-sufficient through fees paid by class participants.”
- Generate revenue to support programs for victims of commercial sexual exploitation.

The program is designed to pursue the objective of reducing reoffending. The program designers relied upon extant research, anecdotal evidence, and experience to determine the education needs of the men who solicit sex, and developed an agenda designed to meet those needs.

The FOPP goals are clearly stated, specific, and point to distinct and measurable objectives. The objectives state specific program activities that will occur in order to produce the intended results, and the stated activities logically follow from the program goals and lead to the program’s intended outcomes. Interviews with program staff confirmed that the goals stated in various documents are those being pursued by police, prosecutors, SAGE, and other contributors.

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Program Inputs

Program inputs refer to the resources that are called upon by the program. Money is commonly considered a necessary input for nearly all programs. A more useful way of thinking about this is that cost is a characteristic of many inputs: many resources come at a cost, and these costs can be calculated (or at least estimated). We discuss the program's monetized resources in our discussion of costs in Chapter 4, and touch upon resources briefly here to provide an overview of the logic model.

In the FOPP, labor is the primary program input. SFPD staff conducts reverse stings and refer offenders to the SFDA. The SFDA screens for eligibility, offers the program to eligible offenders, sets and collects fees, monitors offender compliance with the program, and is the managing partner of the FOPP. SAGE and the SFDPH provide presenters for the class, and SAGE is responsible for the john school curriculum and operates the survivor programs that are partially supported by the john school attendee fees. Aside from these labor inputs, the program requires in-kind contributions such as office supplies, meeting space contributed by the SFDA, and equipment for reverse stings contributed by the SFPD.

The resources devoted to the program appear well-suited to supporting the program activities and to pursuing the program's goals. The FOPP was designed to meet specific, demonstrated needs. The primary need identified was educating men who solicit commercial sex, and the FOPP planners designed a program whose resource commitments are appropriate to the task at hand. While it may seem as though a one-day program is too brief to change behavior that is tied to sexuality, personal histories of social dysfunction, and in some cases, sexual addiction or compulsion, the program developers were aware that the program must have modest resource requirements to be sustainable. In an environment with perpetual resource scarcity, the program developers envisioned insufficient political support for resource-intensive programming for misdemeanants. So, they created a program with modest requirements, and moreover, designed the FOPP to generate enough revenue through participant fees to offset most or all of the costs.

Program Activities

Program activities include everything that programs do with the available resources to deliver a service or produce a product. With a broad set of goals and program inputs consisting mostly of labor, the key challenge of the process evaluation of the FOPP was cataloguing and verifying that the staff is engaging in the intended program activities, and then measuring the outputs of those activities (program outputs are discussed in the following section of this chapter).

Activities are what the program "does" on a day to day basis, including all activity directed at meeting program objectives—planning, training, operations, etc. The three primary partners conduct several core activities to implement the FOPP. The SFDA's office is the managing partner of the FOPP, implementing the diversion option by screening for eligibility, setting the fee required of each participant according to the sliding scale, collecting fees and distributing revenue to the other partners, verifying attendance and program completion, prosecuting those who are eligible but do not participate, and tracking information about the program. In addition, an Assistant District Attorney makes a presentation of about one hour in each john school class. SFPD enforces vice laws by arresting customers and referring arrestees to the SFDA's FOPP

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coordinator, providing the flow of offenders into the program. Police also monitor and provide security for john school classes, and give presentations on policing prostitution and on human trafficking. SAGE is primarily responsible for the john school curriculum, providing about half of the speakers for each john school class, and coordinating other class presenters.

Arrests and Case Processing

We obtained program documentation from all three FOPP partners describing the processes leading cases into the john school program versus standard prosecution. Through interviews, observation, and documentation we have verified that the processes are being followed. In Appendix I we provide the SFDA's schematic representation of the FOPP flow model, and below we discuss case processing and present data from the FOPP database documenting offender flow into the program (e.g., the number of referrals to the program and the number successfully completing the program).

The following steps are followed in routing eligible men into the john school:

Step 1: Arrest and Prescreening (SFPD)

The flow of offenders to FOPP begins with the police. They perform four key functions: (1) setting the number of decoy operations; (2) arresting men for soliciting; (3) performing the first screen for eligibility; (4) informing arrestees of the john school option; (5) informing all soliciting arrestees that they must contact the SFDA and providing them with a memo containing contact information.

The MOU for the program signed in May, 2006, calls for the SFPD to conduct at least eight decoy operations per month. The previous MOU covering 2004 and 2005 required a minimum of 14 reverse stings per month. We learned through interviews and review of cost memos that SFPD conducted as few as three to five operations per month in 2005 and the first few months of 2006. The reason cited by SFPD staff for the reduced reverse sting operations were twenty-five percent budget cuts for the SFPD vice unit, associated staff reductions, and expansion of workload of the vice unit.

In our site visit of January 2006 we interviewed four vice unit investigators and asked them to walk us through a typical reverse sting operation. We observed operations on three subsequent visits to San Francisco to verify the process. The operations we observed were entirely consistent with the processes described in interviews.

A supervising Sergeant was the officer in charge of the three reverse stings we observed. At least three additional male undercover officers and a female officer serving as a decoy also participated in the operations. The operations consisted of two male plainclothes officers on foot, one undercover female decoy on foot, and two unmarked patrol cars, each with one plainclothes officer (one of whom was the Sergeant). The Abt Associates observers rode in a patrol car, in which the decoys were escorted to the drop-off locations at which the reverse stings occurred. An unmarked police van was parked in a commercial parking lot nearby, but out of sight of the street operation. The decoy officer was dropped off with a tape recorder and cell phone. The decoy always remained in

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visual contact with the other officers. When potential “clients” spoke with the decoy, the supporting officers tracked her carefully until she made a pre-arranged signal indicating a “good case.” The officers on foot and in an unmarked car would converge immediately and make the arrest. At this point, the decoy officer entered the police car as quickly as possible and left the scene, while the man was arrested and driven to the FOPP van in his own car by a plainclothes officer. Arrestees who were on foot were driven to the van in the patrol car.

In the FOPP van, the license plate of the car and the man’s driver’s license number or other identifiers were radioed to the dispatcher, and the determination was made whether to issue a citation and notice to appear, or to book the arrestee and take him into custody. If they have identification and no outstanding warrants, they are issued a citation and allowed to leave. If these conditions do not apply or if there are concurrent offenses (e.g., possession of drugs or illegal weapons), the johns can be taken into custody. Of four arrests we observed in the first reverse sting we witnessed, three men were cited and released, and one was booked and not taken into custody. The offender who was booked had been arrested in 2004 on a solicitation charge in San Francisco, so was ineligible for the FOPP program. In another sting we observed, only two of the six men arrested could be cited and referred to the FOPP due to prior offenses rendering them ineligible.

After the decision to cite is made, offenders are informed of their responsibility to call the SFDA’s john school coordinator for processing. They are advised to do so as soon as possible, and must do so within 30 days or the diversion option will be withdrawn and they will be charged. Arrestees are also handed a letter from the SFDA describing the FOPP option and containing contact information for the FOPP coordinator. A sample letter is provided in Appendix J. After the paperwork is completed, the arrestees are fingerprinted and released.

In the time it takes the officers to process the arrestee, the decoy officer remains in the unmarked car writing notes for her report and checking to ensure that the quality of the tape of the transaction was acceptable. She then removes and marks the tape and inserts a blank in the recorder. She stays out of sight of the arrestee and away from the location where the arrest was made, until it is time to re-set the operation.

Interviews with the SFPD officers during the ride-alongs confirmed that the majority of males arrested for soliciting are cited and receive a memo describing the FOPP program, although the proportion of men who are eligible has been declining over the past few years. While all arrests are referred to the SFDA, the only time the men are not referred to the FOPP coordinator is when the person is clearly ineligible (for example, the arresting officer recognizes the offender as a repeat arrestee or there is a concurrent felony offense).

Step 2: Screening Arrestees for Eligibility (SFDA)

SFDA determines eligibility for the program. According to written material provided by the SFDA, the eligibility guidelines are:

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- Eligible
 - No criminal record
 - No prior contacts with the criminal justice system
- Not Eligible
 - Criminal record
 - Crimes of violence and weapons
 - Domestic violence contacts
- Exceptions for case-by-case review
 - Non-violent criminal records over five years old
 - 647b contacts prior to the existence of the FOPP
 - Interest of justice

These criteria declaring a person either “eligible” or “not eligible” are relatively straightforward: those with clear criminal records are eligible, and those with records can be declared ineligible. The third category – “exceptions for case-by-case review” – introduces a great deal of discretion into the process by allowing otherwise ineligible men to be allowed into the program in the “interest of justice.” Our interviews with police and the SFDA staff indicate that men are often accepted into the FOPP who have non-violent records within the past five years, and that offenders with prior records for solicitation are eligible if the offenses occurred anywhere but San Francisco. The only offenses that automatically disqualify a person, without exception, are sex offenses, domestic violence, and soliciting prostitution within San Francisco.

If declared eligible, defendants decide whether to participate in the FOPP or to be prosecuted. If the defendant wants the FOPP option, the SFDA office undertakes further scrutiny of the person’s criminal history to ensure eligibility before he is allowed to sign up for the john school and pay the fee. If a defendant is found to be ineligible at any point between arrest and the day they attend the john school, his case is returned to the court for prosecution. For example, a new excluding offense could occur between the time a defendant is screened for the FOPP and the date of the john school class. If a defendant chooses not to enter the FOPP, he is given another opportunity when he first faces a judge. Judges inform potentially eligible defendants of the option and, if interested, they are sent to the DA’s office for screening.

Step 3a: Processing Eligible and Ineligible Arrestees (SFDA)

Those choosing the FOPP option are ordered to attend a john school class within 120 days of their offense. The SFDA registers offenders and records attendance at the start of class, and confirms attendee throughout the day.

SFDA office conducts a follow-up to ensure there are no subsequent offenses that would violate the terms of the FOPP arrangement. If there is a subsequent soliciting offense in the 12 months after the john school class, prosecutors can pursue both the original and the subsequent offense.

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Step 3b: Prosecution (Courts)

If the defendant chooses not to participate in FOPP, or if john school participants reoffend within one year, the “standard” prosecution applies. This may include a series of steps: arraignment, meeting with defense attorneys (private or publicly provided), plea bargaining, court appearances, continuances, etc. As the offenses committed by FOPP participants (California criminal codes 647.b for soliciting prostitution, or 653.22 for loitering with intent to solicit prostitution) are misdemeanors, the final disposition can include a fine, probation (the terms of which may include counseling, employment, and/or community service), and/or jail time.

Flow of Cases

Table 3 presents data from the SFDA’s FOPP database, which contains information on all 647.b cases referred by the SFPD between January, 1996 and September, 2006. The database initially contained 10,150 cases. We found 180 of these cases to contain out-of-range and/or nonsensical values in critical fields, such as case status. We dropped 180 cases since we could not determine whether they were men screened out of the program or had successfully completed the program. Other cases had comments in the “notes” field that contradicted data in the other fields. For example, some cases had comments in the notes field stating that the charge had been dismissed due to a lack of evidence, but the cases had status codes of “3” or “5,” meaning that they were ineligible or had successfully completed the program (respectively). Several hundred cases in the original FOPP database had the values of “SAGE” or “EIPP” in the “fee” field, indicating that they were female arrestees. After omitting cases with these and other issues, the final analytic version of the FOPP database contained 9,377 cases.

Table 3 presents data from this corrected version of the FOPP database, and provides an annual tabulation of case dispositions using the status codes provided by the SFDA⁸. The second column from the left contains each year’s total number of soliciting cases referrals by the SFPD to the SFDA. As can be seen here, after the initial start-up year with less than 600 referrals, the numbers of cases forwarded to SFDA were relatively stable, with between approximately 1,105 and 1,424 cases annually from 1997 to 2001. Then there was a large decline of more than 40% from the 1,204 cases referred in 2001 to the 712 cases in 2002. The number rebounded slightly in 2003 to 766, but fell steeply the following two years to 440 in 2004 and to 238 in 2005.

⁸ The figures reported here are from the “cleaned” database. The figures from the original database provided by the SFDA are presented in Appendix H.

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Table 3: Case Flow by Year of Arrest: Numbers from SFDA Data on Referrals to FOPP

Year	Number of Records Appearing in the FOPP Database	----- Status Code -----						Count of John School Attendees
		1 Pending	2 Class	3 Charged	4 Dismissed	5 Discharged	6 Withdrawn	
1996	591	0	0	215(36%)	36(6%)	282(48%)	39 (7%)	531
1997	1105	0	0	452(41%)	53(5%)	472(43%)	127(11%)	536
1998	1249	0	0	376(30%)	70(6%)	597(48%)	205(16%)	704
1999	1424	0	0	484(34%)	76(5%)	725(51%)	139(10%)	822
2000	1271	0	0	382(30%)	94(7%)	520(41%)	275(22%)	644
2001	1204	0	0	327(27%)	86(7%)	412(34%)	377(31%)	587
2002	712	0	0	52 (7%)	64(9%)	352(49%)	233(33%)	395
2003	766	0	0	215(28%)	38(5%)	349(46%)	163(21%)	376
2004	440	0	0	173(39%)	17(4%)	210(48%)	38 (9%)	263
2005	238	0	0	42(18%)	16(7%)	71(30%)	109(46%)	145
2006	346	80(23%)	57(16%)	82(24%)	18(5%)	93(27%)	16 (5%)	132
2007	31	24(77%)	6(19%)	0	0	0	1 (3%)	
Totals:	9377	104(1%)	63(1%)	2800(30%)	568(6%)	4083(44%)	1722(18%)	5,135

The status codes are critical to determining the flow of offenders into the FOPP. The meaning of each code is as follows:

- 1 = Pending Declared eligible and offered the FOPP option, but have not yet accepted or signed up for the program.
- 2 = Class Have stated that they will accept the FOPP option and have signed up for it, but have not yet attended the john school.
- 3 = Charged Case submitted for charging on original prostitution offense, due to failing to make contact with the SFDA, opting out of the FOPP, or accepting the diversion option but failing to attend the john school.
- 4 = Dismissed Case dismissed due to lack of evidence, or exonerated based on evidence arising from further investigation.
- 5 = Discharged Attended the john school (successful completion of FOPP program).
- 6 = Withdrawn Charge withdrawn, often due to a lack of evidence or transfer to another jurisdiction.

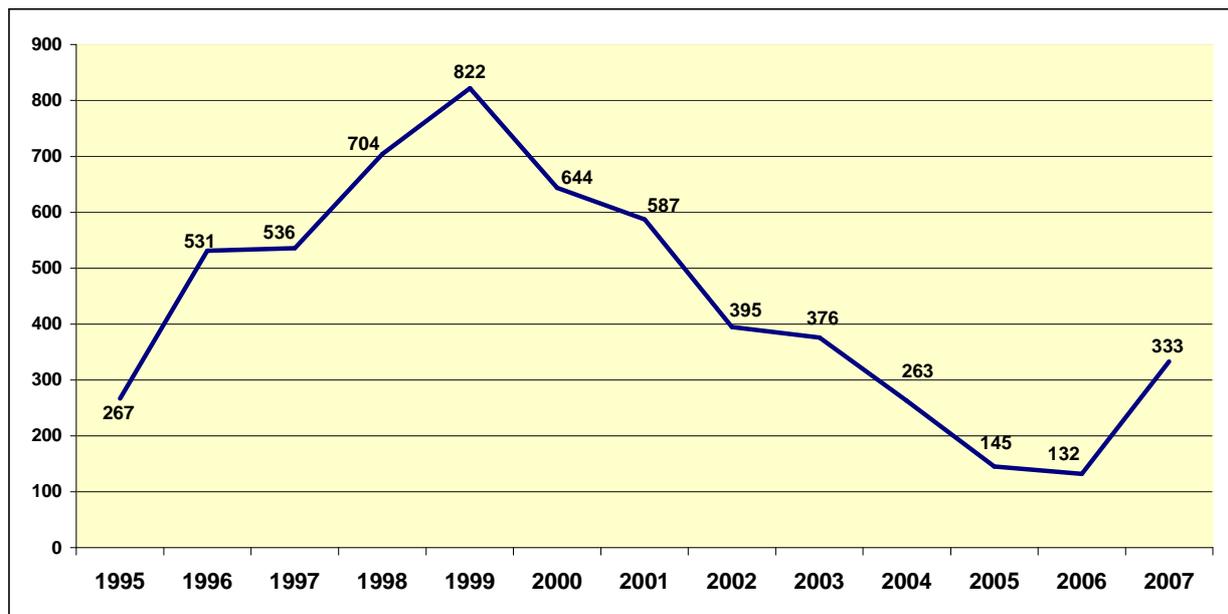
In this table, the column indicated with a status code of “5” and headed by “discharged” contains the number of men successfully completing the FOPP program each year. The number in parentheses is the percentage of each year’s referrals that completed the program. According to the data in the FOPP database, 44% of all those referred to the SFDA for screening successfully complete the program (n=4083). However, a second source of information indicates that this number inaccurate, and substantially undercounts john FOPP completions. In addition to the

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FOPP database, the SFDA has kept a paper record, or count, of attendees. The FOPP coordinator at every john school class registers each participant and records their successful completion at the end of the day. We were told by the current and former FOPP coordinators that the paper record of counts is accurate, and the FOPP database is unlikely to be as accurate.⁹ According to the coordinators' counts, there were 5,135 attendees from 1996 to 2006, which is over 1,000 more than the number appearing in the FOPP database.

Using the 9,377 referrals appearing in the FOPP database and the coordinator counts of program completions, 55% of arrestees referred by police successfully complete the FOPP. Most of the attrition between referral and completion is due to ineligibility and the failure to make contact with the SFDA's office as instructed. Although records are not kept on the matter, both of people serving as FOPP coordinators during the study period estimated that at least 75% of eligible men that are offered the program choose the option. About 95% of the men who begin the program by showing up to register for the john school successfully complete the program by completing the class and remaining free of arrests for one year.

Figure 3: Number of FOPP Participants Each Year



Using the FOPP coordinator counts of john school attendees, there have been 5,799 participants between March, 1995 and January, 2008. Trends in FOPP participation from 1995 through the end of 2007 are illustrated in Figure 3. As can be seen here, there was a “start-up” period of less than one year (the program started in March 1995), followed by a six-year period with an

⁹ The database is used primarily to keep track of offenders leading up to the class (i.e., who had been offered the FOPP but not yet signed up, who was signed up but had yet to attend), but that over the years, some FOPP coordinators did not change the “2” status codes to “5” after each class.

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average of 637 participants per year. The numbers steadily declined to a low of 132 in 2006. A sharp increase in participation occurred in 2007, with john school attendance more than doubling over the previous year. The average john school class had 22 participants in 2006, but increased to 56 per class in 2007. This higher level of participation appears likely to continue, with 64 participants in the john school class held on January 19, 2008.

The number of arrestees is primarily a function of (a) the level of resources the police department commits to reverse sting operations, and (b) the extent to which men are soliciting street prostitutes in areas where those police operations occur. Personnel from the SFPD and SFDA provided the following explanations for the declining number of john school participants:

- **Crime Displacement.** Obtaining a lower yield of arrests per operation, with fewer men soliciting sex on the streets and more using Craigslist and other websites to arrange contact with prostitutes.
- **Declining Police Resources for Reverse Stings.** Staff from the SFPD vice unit said that in the past few years (2003-2006, approximately) they have devoted fewer resources to reverse stings, due to reductions in staff and to discretionary decisions to devote more of their resources to other problems, such as enforcing drug and gambling laws.
- **Improved Ability of Johns to Avoid Arrest.** A general increase in offenders' knowledge of police undercover techniques has made it possible for a significant number of men to continue soliciting sex locally while avoiding arrest.

Evidence supports all three of these factors as contributing to the decline in FOPP caseload. Data from the SFPD supports their claim that they are yielding fewer FOPP-eligible arrestees per reverse sting. Table 4 presents the number of reverse stings, FOPP participants, and the yield per reverse sting from 2003 to 2006. As the SDFP staff contended, the yield of program participants has steadily declined. Although the number of reverse stings increased from 57 in 2005 to 80 the following year, the number of FOPP participants actually declined slightly from 2005 to 2006 due to the diminished yield.

Table 4: Yield of FOPP Participants Per Reverse Sting, 2003-2006

Year	# FOPP Participants	# Reverse Stings	FOPP Yield Per Reverse Sting
2003	376	123	3.1
2004	263	87	3.0
2005	145	57	2.5
2006	132	80	1.7

In recent years, the number of reverse stings has declined substantially. An internal SFPD memo indicated that there was a 25% decrease in Vice Division funding in 2005, and interviews confirmed that there have been declining resources for the Division since 2002. An MOU from

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2002 (see Appendix K) indicates that the SFPD was required to conduct at least 14 reverse stings per month, but by 2004 that level of activity was not possible. Data from the SFPD indicates that there were just 56 reverse stings from February 2005, to January, 2006, or less than five per month. An MOU signed in 2006 committed the police to conducting at least eight operations per month (Appendix K), which was an improvement but still required far less police activity that had occurred during the program's peak years. An MOU signed in 2007 raised the commitment back to 12 or more reverse stings per month, and the number of FOPP participants has more than doubled compared to the previous year.

Fluctuations in the level of law enforcement resources devoted to any particular problem is common. Police have finite resources and are responsible for enforcing a wide array of laws and pursuing other civic order and quality of life issues. Police managers have discretion in establishing priorities, and these priorities can change in response to changing crime trends, pressure from the media and the public, and changes in political and organizational leadership. In our transferability assessment (described in Chapter 6), we have learned that several john school programs were suspended or have had their flow of offenders substantially reduced because police shifted their focus away from prostitution and toward other issues. For example, staff at the Tampa, FL john school program were told by police in 2006 that the agency was reducing or suspending its prostitution sting operations indefinitely to devote more time to combating drunk driving. Staff associated with john school programs in Ypsilanti, MI, and Buffalo, NY reported that police resource constraints made it difficult to field as many reverse stings as they would like, and as a result they had to reduce the number of john school sessions conducted. In addition to changing crime trends and police budgets, the personal values of police command staff about what crimes deserve the greatest attention from law enforcement can also affect how police are deployed. These discretionary decisions can be made independent of any objective reality concerning local crime problems.

Over the past decade, police departments nationwide have noticed a sharp increase in the use of the Internet for soliciting prostitution (e.g., Booth, 2007; Hughes, 2003; LaPeter, 2005; Roane, 1998; Ross, 2005; Sanders, 2008). It is unknown whether this has expanded the sex market, or simply caused a shift from one segment (street) to another (online). In San Francisco, vice unit officers argue that there has been a shift in prostitution from the street and toward the web, which has resulted in fewer solicitations made through contact on the street. If it is true that the local commercial sex market is shifting online (and is not simply adding online soliciting to steady levels of street prostitution), the SFPD is likely to continue seeing declining yields of FOPP participants if their focus remains on street-level reverse stings.

In addition to providing an avenue for solicitation, the Internet is also used by consumers of commercial sex to communicate with one another (e.g., Albert, 2001; Sanders, 2008). Websites catering to customers of the sex trade (e.g., bigdoggie.net; usasexguide.info; nvbrothels.net; see Shaffer, 2008), including posting tips on how to avoid arrest and sharing information about police decoy operations (e.g., Holt et al., 2007). SFPD vice officers at the police station have monitored commercial sex websites while reverse stings are occurring, and have seen johns post warnings describing the undercover officers and the location of the operation. Sometimes these alerts about reverse stings are posted within an hour of the start of an operation. SFPD officers have learned that johns can identify the unmarked van. The FOPP has received a great deal of

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publicity since it was implemented in 1995, and many men are aware of how and where the SFPD conducts reverse stings in San Francisco.

The SFDA's screening process can also affect the yield of FOPP participants. Interviews with SFDA staff indicate that there were no major shifts in eligibility requirements or case processing that would account for the trends in program participation, until this year. In January 2007, a new FOPP coordinator, Jackie Martinez, was appointed and has taken a more proactive approach to screening and recruiting offenders into the program. While prior coordinators generally waited for arrestees to contact them (as the police and the SFDA's letter instructed), the new coordinator makes phone calls to men referred to the FOPP who do not initiate contact. The new coordinator is also fluent in Spanish, which helps her to communicate effectively and answer questions about the program with the substantial portion of Spanish speaking arrestees. Ms. Martinez's approach and language skills appear to be increasing the proportion of referred arrestees who become participants in the FOPP. In addition to this change in screening and program recruitment procedures, the SFPD has increased their reverse sting activity in 2007, and a new MOU sets the commitment back up to prior levels of at least a dozen per month.

Another potential contributor to declining numbers is that the program may be a "victim of its own success." If the FOPP succeeds in its goal of reducing local demand for commercial sex, there will be a smaller pool of "customers" available to be captured in reverse stings and to attend the john school. The program's success could be said to produce a declining return on investment, if one is looking only at the number of program participants per unit of law enforcement investment. However, the more important metric of success would be the number of men who have been deterred or prevented from soliciting.

John School Curriculum

The john school curriculum is designed to reduce reoffending by meeting "the educational needs of the customer."¹⁰ The presumption is that men are less likely to offend if they learn about the legal and health risks they face by continuing to engage in prostitution, and by becoming aware of the negative consequences for the women involved in prostitution, the community, and their own families. As we have discussed previously, the curriculum is divided into six distinct content areas that generally correspond to separate sessions within each john school class: the risk of legal consequences and crime victimization; health risks; impact on prostitutes; pimping and trafficking; neighborhood impact; and sexual addiction.

The curriculum has remained remarkably stable, and with some exceptions, the john school presentations are generally consistent with the curriculum. The current version of the john school curriculum was written prior to 1999, and while the written document remains the same, the curriculum *as delivered* has evolved over the years. For example, a separate presentation on human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation was made in six of the sex classes we formally observed, but human trafficking is not presented as a program component in the curriculum (there is a section entitled "Dynamics of Pimping and Trafficking," but all of the information in that section focuses on pimping).

¹⁰ Source: **John School Curriculum**. Undated SAGE document.

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We observed several classes containing a section on “policing prostitution,” although this is not listed as a core component in the curriculum or in most class agendas. This component included overviews of how police conduct surveillance on all types of commercial sex (street, brothels, escort services, massage parlors, storefronts, and web-based solicitation), and are intended to provide participants with the impression that they will stand a great chance of rearrest if they continue involvement in any type of commercial sex.

The component of the curriculum entitled “Expectation of Service/Intimacy” was initially delivered by a certified relationship counselor, but is now delivered by representatives of Sex Addicts Anonymous. The curriculum contains a handout entitled “Getting Your Real Needs Met,” and calls for a presentation on healthy relationships. As delivered in 2006 and 2007, these topics are either not addressed, or mentioned in passing. The SAA presentations focus on defining sexual addiction, telling the men how they can determine if they are addicts, and if so, encourage them to attend SAA. They also tell the classes that stable relationships with women is a better way to get their needs met, but they provide no guidance on how to go about developing and maintaining such relationships.

The John School Setting

The FOPP’s john school is held on Saturdays at the San Francisco Hall of Justice. The Hall of Justice houses the office of the San Francisco Chief of Police, the District Attorney, numerous courtrooms, and two jails run by the San Francisco County Sheriff’s Department.

The john school classes are held in a jury assembly suite, with a small reception area and office space, which leads to the main assembly room. The main room is very large, with a capacity to seat approximately 150 people. A podium, an overhead projector, a television with media players, and a slide projector were set up for each class, though the majority of presentations do not use these resources. A microphone is attached to the podium, and presenters have the option of using a portable microphone that allows freer movement about the room, but few used it. The presentations are almost exclusively of lecture format, and little interaction occurs between speaker and participants (and none is allowed among participants), and most presenters stay behind the podium.

The largest section of seating is theater style, with about 100 fixed seats in rows, facing forward. To one side is an area with six small tables, each with four moveable chairs. To the rear of the room is a third section, with two large, rectangular tables that seat at least 25 people. The room is not partitioned or clearly delineated to indicate what section should be used for the john school, and upon arrival participants usually spread out to all sections. At the start of class they men are told to sit in the theater style seating section. In classes with large numbers of participants that need translation assistance, the translator sits with the participants they help toward the rear of the room.

There is at least one (and usually two) armed SFPD officer(s) in attendance at all times. The day also begins with the FOPP coordinator, a representative from SAGE, and the Assistant District Attorney who will provide the first presentation. The police and FOPP monitor stay throughout

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the day to monitor the class and also to give presentations and/or to answer questions. In the eight classes we observed, there was at least one member of the media (and sometimes more), and there were usually additional observers, such as personnel from potential replication sites or researchers.

Overview of a Day in the John School

Since the program began, 140 john school classes have been held. Having formally observed just seven classes in 2006-2007, we cannot claim to know what has been typical of the john school over the life of the program. We can offer an overview based upon our formal observations, bolstered by program documentation and interviews of staff involved with the program over its entire history. For the classes in which we conducted structured observations, we present a summary of the instruction time spent on each section (Table 5), the start and end times for the class, and the amount of time spent in non-instructional activity during the classes (e.g., registration, surveys and course evaluations, lunch and other breaks).

John school participants are asked to be at the jury assembly room in the Hall of Justice (Room 325, 850 Bryant St., San Francisco) by 8:00 AM on the designated Saturday. Registration begins between 8:00 and 8:40 AM and continues until sometime between 9:05 and 9:20. Participants register at the reception area, where they must produce identification, sign in, and pay the fee. They are also required to pay their fee at this time.

After registration, the men are directed to wait in the assembly room where the class is held, and are usually given a class agenda¹¹. The agenda from the March 25, 2006 class is presented as an example in Appendix L. The agendas for the classes we observed mentioned “STD and HIV Risk and Attitude Assessment Forms” as part of the class “Registration & Questionnaire.” A short questionnaire about these issues is included in the curriculum and appears in the public health handout in the later discussion of health hazards, but we did not observe the questionnaire being distributed at the beginning of class.

About 10 minutes before class begins, a police officer and/or SAGE staff provides introductory comments and establishes ground rules. They describe how the day is structured, and what is required of the participants to successfully complete the class. Participants must: (a) attend the full day, including making it back from lunch and other breaks on time; (b) participate in discussions when asked, (c) be respectful of presenters, and (d) not disrupt the class in any way. Those not proficient in English are provided with a translator, and during the introductory comments the translators are introduced to participants. Most classes have a Spanish language translator, serving anywhere from one person to half of the class. While Spanish translation is most commonly required, we observed classes that had Portuguese and Cambodian translators.

The john school class typically starts shortly after 9:00 AM and begins with an overview of laws and criminal justice practices addressing prostitution. The session typically lasts an hour, and is followed by a 10-minute break. Two more presentations of 45 minutes to an hour follow,

¹¹ During our evaluation, participants were given the voluntary pre-class survey after they had registered and were directed to assembly room. In the absence of our evaluation, the participants simply wait for the class to begin after they have registered.

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separated by another 20-minute break. There is a lunch break of about an hour, during which participants are free to go where they please, as long as they return on time. After lunch, the participants listen to at least four additional presentations and receive two short breaks. After the instruction period ends at roughly 4:00, class evaluations are distributed.¹² Most participants complete the evaluations in about 10 minutes. Participants were not allowed to leave until 4:30 even if they complete the evaluations earlier.

As noted above, each john school class is organized into six or seven substantive sections delivered by a variety of presenters, and the day's activities are guided by a facilitator. In the classes observed and described in this report, either Norma Hotaling (SAGE Director) or Traci Ned (a former FOPP coordinator for SAGE) served as primary facilitator. There were periods within each class where Lt. Robert Porter from the SFPD Vice Crimes Division served as de facto facilitator. This occurred when the primary facilitator arrived late returning from breaks, or was pulled aside to answer questions or deal with some other issue. At these points, Lt. Porter would step in and guide the class. In one of the seven classes observed, Lt. Porter served as the primary facilitator.

Session 1: Prostitution Laws and Street Facts

This session describes various legal risks johns face by engaging in prostitution, particularly if they were to be caught committing subsequent offenses. The presentations, which averaged 59 minutes in the sessions we observed, include discussions about the conditions under which offenders can be subject to various felony charges, fines, probation, and jail or state prison sentences. The legal risks addressed include:

- re-arrest and subsequent prosecution, confinement, fines, and legal fees
- criminal record damaging employment prospects
- community and family awareness of their offenses
- potential for mandatory registry as a sex offender, if they commit certain crimes

While not strictly a legal issue, the ADAs also discussed how johns are at elevated risk of victimization by prostitutes and pimps since their victimization occurred while they are engaged in a crime.

One of the main points discussed in this section of the presentations are that people in the classes are fortunate to have the option of the john school. The ADAs then describe several kinds of legal sanctions – and their social and economic impact – that can result from standard criminal prosecution for various prostitution offenses. They explain what happens for a first offense without the john school option, and then what would happen for subsequent offenses. For a soliciting charge (647b in the California Penal Code):

¹² In most of the classes we observed, our pre- and post- class survey replaced the class evaluation. In the classes where our survey was administered, the police officer monitoring the class announced that the completion of the survey is voluntary. The post-class survey was completed by most participants in less than 20 minutes.

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Table 5: Time Spent in John school Classes

Component	Johns School Class Observed							Mean
	March 25, 2006	May 20, 2006	July 28, 2006	September 30, 2006	November 18, 2006	January 27, 2007	March 24, 2007	
Start & End Times								
Registration Start Time	8:00 AM	8:30 AM	8:33 AM	8:40 AM	8:40 AM	8:15 AM	8:35 AM	8:28 AM
Instruction Start Time	9:08 AM	9:06 AM	9:05 AM	9:21 AM	9:08 AM	9:03 AM	9:25 AM	9:11 AM
Instruction End Time	4:07 PM	3:50 PM	3:30 PM	4:07 PM	4:08 PM	4:00 PM	4:15 PM	4:01 PM
Survey End Time	4:30 PM	4:30 PM	4:05 PM	4:30 PM	4:30 PM	4:20 PM	4:35 PM	4:26 PM
Instruction (min.)								
Legal Consequences	67	56	70	50	52	57	60	59
Health Consequences	55	45	45	38	43	39	45	44
Impact on Prostitutes	77	51	60	48	61	89	50	62
Impact on Neighborhoods	20	30	25	11	17	20	10	19
Pimping Dynamics	50	40	50	63	66	50	55	53
Human Trafficking	0	45	35	22	8	10	20	20
Sexual Addiction	22	25	25	23	30	20	40	26
Policing Prostitution	26	0	0	15	26	30	55	22
Total Instruction Time:	317 min. (5:17)	292 min. (4:52)	310 min. (5:10)	270 min. (4:40)	303 min. (5:03)	315 min. (5:15)	335 min. (5:35)	306 (5:06)
Breaks (min.)								
Lunch	58	58	45	62	60	70	45	57
Other breaks	44	39	34	44	36	37	45	40
Total Break Time:	112 min.	97 min.	79 min.	106 min.	96 min.	107 min.	90	98
Other Activities (min.)								
Registration/ Pre-Class Survey	58	36	32	41	28	48	50	42
Post-Class Survey	13	40	35	23	22	20	20	25
Total "Other" Time:	71 min.	76 min.	67 min.	64 min.	50 min.	68 min.	70 min.	67 min.

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- **1st offense**, can receive penalties of:
 - 3 years probation
 - Up to \$1,000 fine
 - \$100 to victim indemnity fund
 - Up to \$45 per month to pay for monthly meetings with probation officer.
 - Can be ordered to attend mandatory counseling (and have to pay)
 - Can be issued a “stay-away” order to avoid certain parts of the city.
- **2nd offense**, can receive all of the penalties of 1st offense, plus:
 - 45 day mandatory sentence, or 90 days of service on road cleanup crews.
 - Mandatory AIDS/HIV test
- **3rd offense**, can receive all penalties of 1st and 2nd plus:
 - Mandatory 90 days in jail with no option to swap for community service.
- **3rd and subsequent offenses**:
 - No more opportunities to be charged with a misdemeanor; they would be charged with a felony.
 - Time would be served in state prison
 - 5 to 7 years on parole
 - Possibility of civil penalties in addition to criminal penalties
 - Courts can restrict or suspend drivers license

Presenters also make the point that if the prosecutor and/or judge know that a person has been to the john school, it makes it easier to establish culpability (“The court will know you are fully aware of the illegality and harm of your actions, and you should know better.”), which can increase the likelihood of conviction and yield harsher penalties. They also discuss how alternatives to street prostitution are monitored by police. For example, the FOPP participants are told that police conduct sting operations in massage parlors and brothels, and monitor and conduct stings on Internet sites like Craigslist. The message conveyed is that alternative forms of prostitution are being monitored by police also, so the best way to be assured of avoiding arrest is to stop soliciting prostitutes.

Elements of the 647b law regarding soliciting are described, and what makes a good legal case against johns is outlined. To legally establish a 647b offense, one must prove that the defendant:

- **Affirmed a relationship with a prostitute.** This can be established through a broad range of suggestive language, such as saying, “let’s party” or “we can have a good time.”
- **Committed an act in furtherance**, which is anything that moves one toward the act of sex in exchange for money, such as reaching for a wallet or condom, getting in a car, or taking a step toward the prostitute.
- **Explicitly agreed to exchange money for sex.** The ADAs noted that johns do not need to actually exchange money with the prostitute, or even to have money with them. They simply need to have said they will exchange money for sex.

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The vast majority (over 99%) of the john school attendees are arrested for 647b, but for the johns' future reference, related offenses are also described. For example, people can be charged with 653.22 (loitering with intent to engage in prostitution) for acts such as:

- Luring or beckoning (e.g. repeatedly asking people to engage in sex)
- Stopping passersby to inquire about engaging in sex
- Repeated cruising or circling an area of known prostitution activity

Prior prostitution offenses help to establish intent, so all of the men in the john school are at an increased risk of being successfully charged with 653.22, since they have a prostitution arrest on record. Being convicted of California Penal Code violations 314 or 647a, which address lewd acts in public (such as oral sex in a car parked in view of the public), would require them to register as sex offenders for the rest of their lives (code 290G). Presenters note that a vehicle is regarded by the law as a public place. Johns can be charged with lewd conduct in addition to 647b if a sex act occurs with a prostitute in any public area.

Reverse sting operations are explained, focusing on how all conversations are taped, and that juries like to listen to the tapes due to their salacious nature. Presenters make it clear that the courts have repeatedly and consistently supported the legality of decoy operations, and prostitution stings do not constitute entrapment.

Presenters also discuss how any subsequent charges can carry legal fees for defendants. Even those who are poor and have been assigned a public defender can be required to pay legal fees, with only the very poor having all fees waived. Wages can be attached and assets can be seized to pay for legal fees. There is a fee hearing at the end of the public defender's representation, in which the court determines what is owed.

The impact of legal sanctions on immigration status is also discussed: convictions for 647b and 653.22 are deportable offenses, and defendants are prohibited from attaining legal immigrant status and/or citizenship for life.

John school participants are reminded that they were arrested, even though they were given a citation rather than being taken into custody. Presenters explain the process of arrest, arraignment, and custody in instances when citations are not issued. If they reoffend, they will be:

- Handcuffed
- Brought to station lockup or jail
- Fingerprinted
- Have their mug shot taken (prosecutors like to show judges and jurors what arrestees looked like at the time of offense, which usually stands in contrast to the prepped and presentable version appearing in court)
- Strip-searched

The point is made that arrestees must remain in lockup until arraignment or until bail is posted, and that lockups can hold between 10-15 men, who must share one toilet in the middle of the cell.

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There are due-process considerations requiring that offenders must be arraigned within 48 hours, but that does not include holidays or weekends. If a person is arrested on a Thursday or on a three-day holiday weekend, they can stay in jail for up to five days prior to arraignment. If they cannot post bail (which is usually between \$2000 and \$5000), they can remain in custody until their trial date, which is always set on a business day 30 days after the offense date. If their lawyer waives speedy trial requirement, a defendant can stay in custody for longer than that.

In our observations of the classes, the “Law and Street Facts” section seemed to be one of the stronger sections, capturing the attention of the johns and generating more questions by participants than any other component of the classes. During the ADA’s presentations, there were typically several questions from participants about how long their records would continue to show an arrest, and about who had access to their rap sheets. For example, in once course the initial question about all this was phrased as, “If we complete the course, will anything remain on our records?” The answer given was that the arrest will remain permanently, but the record will show that the charged was dismissed. This was unwelcome news to some of the men, who argued that they thought all records of the event would be purged or sealed. There were a number of questions about expunging an arrest record and sealing one’s arrest history.

After the law presentation, anywhere from three to a dozen johns would approach the ADA during the break to ask further questions. The ADAs, often with the assistance of Lt. Porter, would explain how to go about getting records expunged. Given how consistently such questions arise, and the time needed to address them, a slide and/or a handout that explained all this would be very helpful.

Table 6: Mean Ratings of Separate Components of the John School Classes

Class Component	Mean Rating (1=Poor, 5 = Excellent)		n	
	Teaching Style	Usability of Information		
Prostitution Law & Street Facts	4.1	4.2	525	477
HIV/STD Risk & Prevention	4.0	4.1	519	472
Impact on Neighborhoods	3.5	3.6	491	472
Impact on Prostitutes	3.7	3.9	504	489
Pimping Dynamics	3.9	3.9	511	473
Sexual Addiction	3.9	3.9	511	490

In all of the classes formally observed, the ADAs were professional, non-judgmental, informative, and collaborative in their demeanor. One particular ADA presenter outperformed others by having well thought out responses to questions and anticipating concerns of participants. Another ADA was professional in demeanor but not as knowledgeable about the specific consequences of solicitation charges, and was unable to answer many questions specifically. Participants across classes were very attentive during the law sessions. This is perhaps unsurprising, since the section appeals to their self-interests by answering questions about the legal status of their current cases, and offering advice about how to avoid legal trouble and crime victimization.

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Class evaluations support our impressions of the participant responses to this part of the course. Table 6 presents ratings from the participant evaluations for each component of the john school classes, and Table 7 provides an illustrative set of comments elicited by open-ended questions on the class evaluation form. The evaluation forms ask for ratings of “usability of the information” and “teaching style” for six sections of the class: laws and street facts, health risks, impact on prostitutes, pimping dynamics, community impact, and sexual addiction. The components are rated on a five-point scale with 1 representing “poor” and 5 representing “excellent.” As Table 5 shows, the law section of the john school classes received the highest ratings from FOPP participants. However, there was little variation across the mean ratings of the different sections, so there is probably not a substantively important difference among them.

Session 2: Health Consequences

This section of the class describes STD and HIV transmission, symptoms, and health consequences. The session closely followed a handout provided at all of the classes we observed. The handout is presented in Appendix M, so we will not elaborate on the content of the health presentations here. The basic messages conveyed are:

- Any form of sexual contact exposes people to risk of disease.
- Many STDs are asymptomatic – one cannot tell who is or is not infected by look, feel, etc.
- The high numbers of sex partners typical of prostitutes increases their risk of disease.
- There are measures people can take to make sex safer, but not entirely risk-free.

In the classes we observed, the health section averaged 44 minutes. In many ways, the health presentation is among the strongest components of the class. This was the only section that consistently used visual media (a slide show) and handouts to enhance the lecture. The presenters focused on factual information and appeared non-judgmental in their presentations. Little specific reference was made to commercial sex. The majority of the discussions focused simply on what kinds of diseases can be spread through sexual contact. Occasionally, the presenters would say that people with very large numbers of sex partners would be at higher risk of disease, but they did not restrict the comments to people involved in prostitution.

On some matters, the STD discussion was probably longer and more detailed than was necessary to make the central points. For example, there was liberal use of technical terms (e.g., ectopic pregnancy, cancrroids, NGU) that might be distracting rather than illuminating. This section of the course may result in “information overload,” and if so, could result in participants not remembering as much as they need to. The instructor acknowledged that some of the STDs, symptoms, and sequelae he covered were “very rare” (e.g., aortic aneurysm, stillbirth, meningitis). If so, there’s little need to address them and good reason not to. The FOPP personnel might consider a less lengthy health discussion covering fewer, more common diseases and symptoms in plain language so they are remembered.

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Table 7: Illustrative Comments Made on John School Class Evaluation Forms

Q: What did you like the best, or find most valuable about the program?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Confrontations with real facts and people... Realizing that the ‘hookers’ are <u>human!</u>” • “The fact that it provided an opportunity for a second chance and that it attempts to effect change through education.” • “The women: bringing in “heart” and not just “head.”” • “I like that this program educates and actually cares, and does not lock you up then release you out to continue the cycle.” • “I found I am part of the problem and must stop to be part of the solution.” • “To find out some of the money goes to ladies caught up in this.”
Q: What would you change?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Less hostility from former prostitutes. Understandable, but does not really seem effective and is counterproductive.” • “Attitude with ladies in this program. Going about education wrong. Ladies, you have no right to judge me, only God can.” • “Presenter disapproval of the participants establishes a confrontational tone which impedes communication, understanding and education.”
Q: How has prostitution affected your life?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I was nearly divorced because of it” • “Made sex very convenient whenever I need it. This way I don't have any chance of raping anybody.” • “It definitely hurt my marriage and has made my wife look at me as a different person.” • “Well, the arrest was not a positive experience. This program has strong emotional impact for me.” • “I feel like an asshole and don't want to have anything to do with supporting prostitution.”
Q: How do you think you will change your behavior?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “My sex life—find a girlfriend!” • “I told my wife and we are going to a support group together.” • “I think I’ll be a little more considerate of women in general.” • “Will stay away from prostitution, will stay very far away from the criminal justice system.” • “Respect your laws.” • “Will try to get my family back.” • “I believe I have a problem and am going to change.” • “Try to cut back on sex. Try the very best not to even look at prostitute. But I am only human.”
Q: If you had a son or daughter, what would you tell them about prostitution?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I would make them aware of what I have learned here today ASAP to discourage it.” • “Don't ever think about it.” • “It's incredible horrible and dangerous.” • “It's not a good life, and harmful to your family and community.” • “Prostitution is wrong, illegal, immoral, dangerous and not worth it at all.” • “Prostitution is not a victimless crime.”

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The health discussion seemed to pose a challenge for translators. In one class with a large number of Spanish speaking men receiving translation assistance, we observed that the translators simply stopped their work about five minutes into the health discussion. When we asked during the next break, the translators said that most of the men could understand English well enough, and had trouble mainly in speaking and writing English. But if that were true, there would be no need to translate any of the other presentations. However, the translators continued to perform their function for the lectures on all of other topics.

In addition to the awkwardness of the technical jargon, the reluctance to translate the health lecture may have been encouraged by the fact that the translators were female, conveying graphic, detailed information about sexual acts to a group of male offenders, while close-ups of diseased genitalia were displayed on a large screen in the front of the room. While those latter details cannot be helped, the translators could have one impediment removed by being provided in advance with a list of technical terms and their proper translations, and by minimizing the use of technical jargon (particularly for rare diseases the men are unlikely to encounter).

While it could be shortened and restricted to more relevant health risks, the health presentations conveyed valuable information, captured the men's attention, elicited questions, and was referred to in many of the open-ended comments on the evaluation forms as making the biggest impression on them compared to the other parts of the class. The health presentations were the most uniformly organized and focused sessions. The presenter in all but one of the classes we observed (Charles Cloninger, from the SFDPH) was very knowledgeable, articulate, and pleasant, and was respectful and responsive in addressing questions. In the other class, a health educator from SAGE presented, using the same handout, set of slides, and curriculum. The SAGE health counselor who did not appear to have equal command of the material, and had difficulty managing the technology of the slide projector, but was also responsive, objective, and respectful.

As Table 5 shows, the law section of the john school classes received the second-highest ratings from FOPP participants. However, we repeat the caveat that there was little variation across the mean ratings of the different sections, so there is probably not a substantively significant difference among them.

Session 3: Risks and Effects of Prostitution on Women's Lives

In all of the john school classes we observed, either the SAGE director (Norma Hotaling) or the former SAGE FOPP coordinator (Traci Ned) introduced this section of the course. They each provided a general overview of the negative impacts of prostitution on the women who engage in it, referring occasionally to research findings and statistics such as: the average age of first engaging in prostitution is as young as 12 years, and that as many as 80% - 90% of women and girls who become prostitutes had been sexually abused as children. Both facilitators would then disclose that they had worked as prostitutes in San Francisco, and gave first person accounts of the level of abuse, degradation, exploitation, drug addiction, they experienced and the anger and dangerous behavior this produced. This opening discussion was then followed by testimonials by two or three women who had formerly served as prostitutes.

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In the overview, the point was made that prostitution fulfills a fantasy for the customers, and its all a lie. Presenters attempt to “break down johns’ denial systems” and debunking “myths.” The presentations stressed that women serving as prostitutes:

- do not like their johns, and only act as if they do to make money.
- are not the johns’ girlfriend, and only act as if they are to make money.
- do not enjoy sex with johns, and only act as if they do to make money.
- are often armed with illegal weapons and frequently fantasize about robbing, hurting, or killing johns – and sometimes act upon these fantasies.
- will lie about having unprotected sex only with their current john.
- will have unprotected sex while knowing they have STDs or are HIV-positive.

Most prostitutes are under quotas or are pressured to produce money for their pimps or to support kids or drug habits, and “it’s ALL about the money.” They will lie about nearly anything, and create whatever illusion is necessary to separate johns from their money, and would sometimes set the men up to be robbed to obtain the money needed to meet pimps’ quotas or to support themselves, dependents, and/or addictions.

We saw seven former prostitutes speak at the classes we formally observed. Several of the presentations are summarized here for illustrative purposes. We do not provide the names of the presenters, instead using pseudonyms.

Sasha

Sasha told the story of her entry into prostitution, her experiences in the sex trade, how she left prostitution, and how her life has developed since leaving “the life.” She came to America from the Ukraine at 16 and had an otherwise normal childhood, except for being sexually abused by a cousin. She was involved gymnastics and dance at high school. She started in commercial sex as an exotic dancer and escort, and lived with rich men. She developed serious drug addictions to self-medicate, and her addictions drove her down the ladder from the relatively safe and lucrative escort business to street prostitution, the lowest level of commercial sex. She was repeatedly arrested, until a judge made her go to drug treatment and then to SAGE. She is now married, has children, works part-time at SAGE, and works professionally in legitimate productions as a professional dancer.

Sasha stated that 80% of prostitutes had been abused as children. She said the average age of starting prostitution is 13, and the girls are usually forced into it by violent pimps.

She asked the men to think about why they are drawn to women in the sex industry, and to think about making changes in their lives, including developing relationships with women and not pursuing prostitutes.

Emma

Emma described a childhood of profound and persistent abuse, including being molested in a series of foster homes. While still a very young girl she “learned about sex play and not

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to tell about it.” While still young, she had a son who died, which led to her developing very strong addictions. During a prostitution “career” with numerous arrests, she was offered diversion programs along the way but was not interested. She went in and out of jail over an eight-year period, and then “started thinking it [prostitution] wasn’t such a great idea anymore” and “decided to straighten up.” She still battles depression and cuts her wrists occasionally, but is now married and continues to work hard at recovery.

Jennifer

Jennifer also spoke of being sexually abused as a child. Both of her parents were parole officers, and she was “rebellious.” She started out as a prostitute in Oakland while “very young,” and initially worked on her own. She made lots of money at first but most of it went to drugs. Since she was a good moneymaker, she was kidnapped at gunpoint and brought under control of a pimp, so she could make money for him instead.

Later, she married and had children. She found out that her husband was molesting her children, and had given her seven-year-old daughter herpes. Her husband took the children out of state, and continued to molest them. Jennifer did not see them again until they were teenagers, and carried “a huge amount of guilt” about what her husband was doing to her kids and anguish at being separated from them. For years, she had “huge” heroin and crack addictions, driven by the turmoil in her life and financially supported through prostitution.

She said that to be a good prostitute, “girls have to be very good actresses.” She was good at acting as if she liked the men and enjoyed the sex, but that she was really very angry most of the time. She would sometimes set up johns for robbery. Thinking about her time on the streets, the things she remembers most are “a lot of pain, anger, and addiction.” While working, she was beaten, strangled, and raped, requiring hospitalization several times. Once she was beaten so badly that her parents did not recognize her. She said, “you do not know who you are getting into a car with” and repeatedly talked about how “very dangerous it is to work the streets.”

Jennifer told the class that, “...there are other ways they can take care of whatever it is they want – whether its sex, or you are lonely.” She urged the men to get help, and to find other ways to channel their energy. “I took responsibility for my actions, so should you.”

Cynthia

Cynthia said she was a madam, not a prostitute. She kept rooms and drugs, and exploited the women for drugs. She said she was addicted to crack cocaine. She married a man (who was a “hit man”) for a kilo of crack. She had also robbed clients. She said she had been shot twice and had once been in a coma for three months. As a result of the second shooting and coma, she said she realized she needed to get “out of the life.”

She told the johns in the class that by being in the class that day, they needed to see themselves as “rescued” from STDs and other dangers rather than just “busted,” and that

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they needed to teach their partners to satisfy them sexually. “Then,” she said, “the sex is healthy and safe.”

Yolanda

Yolanda said she is a native of San Francisco. At age 3, she was sexually abused by a family member. As a result, she saw that she had something she could use to manipulate men to get her needs met. Seven in 10 women, she said, have been abuse sexually by the age of 15. Her family members were all alcoholics. By 15, she’d had a child and gotten into drugs. By 20 years of age, she had married and separated from her husband. But she didn’t get into prostitution until late—at age 21—when she got \$60 for a 3-minute “hand job.” She said that, after that experience, she felt she had found her vocation. As a prostitute, she continued using coke.

Yolanda said that the trick of the trade is to do as little work as possible. She also said robbed johns because she knew they could not tell the cops. “You [johns] are in *our* element,” she repeated—“You don’t know how we operate. You’re not in charge.” Johns can’t be safe out there; they can get robbed instead of having sex, or after having sex on their way back to their cars.

Yolanda said she lied to johns, saying such things as, “I’ve never done this before,” “You don’t need a condom,” and “Your dick is really big.” All she wanted was the money, and johns are a “walking, talking money sign.” She said that some prostitutes try to get the johns hooked on drugs.

She said she had worked in the Hilton and Hyatt (in the upscale Union Square section of San Francisco) as well as in “slummy” hotels. She was arrested many times and did time in State prison. However, she returned to prostitution after each release because her experience with sexual abuse as a child had left her with such low self-esteem that she thought all she could do to support herself was sell sex. She said that johns also have low self-esteem—“Both groups are sick.” She called the johns in the room “dysfunctional” but said the program gives them a chance to change “their evil ways.” If they do it again, it’s not because of ignorance, but will be an informed decision. With the information from the john school, they now have the capacity “...to decide not to exploit girls.”

Yolanda was 30 years old before the founder of SAGE “converted” her. She was proud to tell the class that she had just graduated from college, a statement resulting in vigorous applause from the johns.

These presentations captured the attention of the participants more than any other section of the john school, and elicited the strongest and most varied reactions. The reactions differed across speakers, who themselves varied a great deal in the content of their presentations, their affect, and the extent to which they were confrontational. While all but one of the women displayed a great deal of raw emotion about their past experiences and sometimes directed anger toward the men in the class, others occasionally displayed compassion toward the johns and acknowledged that many men in the classes had probably come from backgrounds similar to their own. As one would

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expect, some of the men would get defensive and uncomfortable in response to a confrontational approach. Others participants showed signs of defiance and rejection of the messages, while still others appeared shamed and remorseful.

The men completing class evaluations gave this component of the course the second lowest mean rating (Table 5). These relatively low ratings should not be interpreted as indicating ineffective presentations or indifferent responses. Instead, the women's presentations are, by design, polarizing: some men are deeply affected and respond very positively, while at the other extreme are men who are offended and/or angered by the presentations. Such responses are what the FOPP staff hopes to achieve. The presentations are not intended to make the men feel comfortable, but to challenge their beliefs and force them to consider and perhaps accept things they have disbelieved, denied, or of which they were ignorant.

In the earlier years of the FOPP, the women who had served as prostitutes were asked to keep their emotions in check, adhere to a curriculum, and convey certain points of information. They found that this was inhibiting, making the presentations "flat" and less effective (although more palatable to the audience). When they loosened the constraints and simply asked them to tell their story and convey what they really experienced and felt, the presenters conveyed more emotion. Often, the dominant emotions are hurt and anger. In this way the men were forced to confront more of the harm caused by themselves and other men who constitute the market for prostitution. The director of SAGE said that many of these men have never been forced to sit still and listen to women who were hurt and angry in response to their actions, and the john school purposefully puts them in this uncomfortable position. Given this approach, the relatively low "customer satisfaction" ratings for these presentations are unsurprising, but are also not unwelcome by the FOPP staff.

A key element in the curriculum (and in SAGE's general approach to commercial sex) is the premise that most women and girls are coerced, defrauded, or forced into commercial sex, and are exploited for the commercial gain of others. The message is conveyed that prostitutes have few options but to continue to sell sex as long as they are commercially viable and generate money for pimps and traffickers. Yet several of the former prostitutes who presented in the john school classes were not pimped or trafficked, and one said that she spent her entire 12-year career as a prostitute without having a pimp. In some classes, one or both of the women providing testimonials said they had worked without a pimp for some or all of their "careers" as prostitutes. None of the women said they had been trafficked to another city, state, or country. Based upon these presentations by women who are, presumably, intended to be representative, the men in these classes might conclude that few or none of the women on the street are actually pimped or trafficked. Since pimps are often invisible to johns, the women saying they had not been pimped for any or part of their time serving as a prostitute may simply confirm (in their minds) what they often believe prior to the class: that many women engage in commercial sex by choice. This disconnect between the FOPP presentations on systems of sexual exploitation and the testimonials provided by the women who have survived commercial sex work provides an opening for the men seeking to maintain their "denial systems," and makes it easy for them to continue to believe that many women selling sex are not pimped, trafficked, or otherwise coerced or exploited.

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Session 4: Pimping Dynamics

The SAGE presenters (either the SAGE Director or former FOPP coordinator) discussed how pimps are master manipulators intent on controlling “their girls” to generate as much money as possible. Pimps manipulate in many ways, including acting like they are the prostitute’s boyfriend, feigning concern for the prostitute’s welfare, or using force and coercion. The girls and women must obey, and make money. Most pimps have a quota, set at a level that is usually difficult to reach. According to the SFPD Vice Division staff, a typical quota in San Francisco would be about \$1,200 per night, varying due to the “market value” of the women and girls being exploited – and often requiring sex with well over a dozen men per night.

Pimps control the money, and the women receive little. In one class, the presenter relayed an anecdote about how a prostitute was chewing gum, and the pimp asked her where she got the money to buy it. He was angry that she had obtained gum without permission, and was concerned that she might have spent “his” money for it. Such “transgressions” can lead to beatings to reassert the pimp’s control and to reinforce the message that prostitutes cannot make even the most trivial decision (especially those concerning money) without the pimp’s approval.

Pimps sometimes work together, secretly selling women and girls back and forth to keep them off balance. The FOPP presenters often discussed brainwashing techniques and some discussed the concept of the “Stockholm syndrome,” where women and girls often eventually identify with and protect the people exploiting them.

Presenters also discuss the vulnerability of girls drawn into prostitution. Many are homeless runaways who are desperate to survive, but lack the skills or age needed for legitimate employment. Some are escaping abusive households and are looking for love and protection, and are deceived into thinking they have found it in their pimp.

Contrary to popular opinion, many pimps don’t like “their girls” to be on drugs, and most prostitutes (especially with quotas to meet) are not usually inebriated while “on the job.” If they are intoxicated, they can’t turn tricks as fast, and they need to be attentive and under control to stay safe. Drunk or stoned prostitutes may become disinhibited and reveal to johns what they are really thinking, and this can provoke beatings or johns’ refusal to pay. To pimps, prostitutes are financial assets, and the pimps’ self-interests are better served by women staying healthy enough to be physically attractive and command better prices, and alert and controlled enough to focus on the job of making money.

Most of the women describe engaging in commercial sex prior to adulthood, and they (and other presenters) describe how it is difficult to tell if a girl or young woman is under 18. Police in the classes describe having mistakenly booked as adults girls arrested for prostitution who were as young as 12 and 13, based upon their appearance. When prostitution involves a minor, it is no longer a misdemeanor prostitution case but becomes a felony child sexual abuse or statutory rape case. The police and former prostitutes stress that being shown a fake ID or having a girl lie about her age is no excuse under the law for having sex with a minor.

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Session 5: Neighborhood Impact

In the classes we observed, the community representative from the organization Save Our Streets (SOS) discussed a range of negative effects that prostitution has on communities. Drugs and violence always accompany prostitution. In neighborhoods with prostitution, there are usually condoms and syringes and broken bottles on the sidewalks and parks that children and others can contact. There is screaming, fighting, and loud cursing late at night; drunks and addicts sleeping in doorways; people defecating and performing oral sex in doorways to apartment buildings; pimps beating up prostitutes; and prostitutes beating up Johns. In working class neighborhoods, people cannot afford to lose sleep, and should not have to be deprived of sleep just because people choose to commit crimes there.

Johns contribute to the problem. Johns “can do their business there and leave,” but residents have to stay in their neighborhood and deal with the aftermath. In one presentation, the SOS representative asked whether the men in the class were arrested in the neighborhood in which they lived. None of the 27 men said they had been arrested in their home neighborhood.

The presenter noted that in a four square block area in San Francisco, there is a city ordinance allowing for denial of a liquor license to establishments such as liquor and convenience stores in locations where a limit of 250 calls for service (the time frame was not specified) to police is exceeded. On Polk and Sutter Streets, there are 5000 calls for service (again, the time frame was not specified).

The representative of SOS stated that seventy-five percent of tourists lodge near the Nob Hill and Union Square areas of San Francisco, an upscale commercial and tourism center that is very near the beleaguered “Tenderloin District” where a high volume of prostitution occurs. The extreme dysfunction of the Tenderloin can hurt tourism and related business, and give a bad impression of the entire city.

While this section of the class appeared to our evaluation team to be relevant, clearly focused, and appropriately succinct (averaging just 19 minutes per class), the participants gave this component the lowest rating on evaluation forms (Table 5), and we observed little discussion or reaction from the Johns.

Session 6: Expectation of Service/Intimacy

The basic content of this session can be discerned from handouts provided in the class (see Appendices N and O; a copy-written brochure that is also distributed in FOPP classes can be viewed at the SAA website: http://saa-recovery.org/SAA_Pamphlet_for_Web.pdf). The presentation generally begins with a description of the principles and structure of Sex Addicts Anonymous, which is described as a fellowship featuring a 12-step recovery program modeled after Alcoholics Anonymous. The presenters then define sexual addiction as compulsive, destructive sexual behavior that makes life unmanageable.

The men from SAA provide testimonials containing first-person descriptions of the manifestations and consequences of sexual addiction. For example, they describe how marriages and other

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relationships with women have been damaged or ruined by their inability to stop having sex with prostitutes and patronizing other forms of commercial sex (e.g., strip clubs, 900 numbers). They spoke of the damage to relationships caused by breaking vows of monogamy, and the high risk of passing on to their partners STDs or HIV contracted from prostitutes. Commercial sex also takes time away from wives and children, and engaging in illegal acts such as prostitution can put jobs at risk. Commercial sex can also be financially damaging, with many men compulsively spending great sums of money for pornography, strip clubs, 900 numbers, and prostitutes. The men spoke of feeling powerless in the face of the compulsion to pursue these forms of sex, and great shame about their behavior. They also spoke of denying that sexual addiction existed for them or that it was problematic, and feeling shame and self-hatred when they did face their behavior and examine what had become of their lives.

The SAA representatives repeatedly point out that the men in the room may or may not suffer from sexual addiction, and stress that they are just asking them to consider it as a possible explanation for why they engage in prostitution. The SAA presenters guide FOPP participants through a handout they provide which contains a 12-item self-assessment checklist used to diagnose sexual addiction (Appendix O). The checklist contains questions such as, “Does each new relationship continue to have the same destructive patterns which prompted you to leave the last relationship?” and “Do your sexual activities include the risk, threat, or reality of disease, pregnancy, coercion, or violence?” Participants are told that if they answer “yes” to more than one of these questions, they may have an addiction and are urged to seek out additional information or to attend an SAA meeting to further pursue this possibility. The SAA presenters discuss the voluntary and anonymous nature of participation, and provide participants with a San Francisco Bay Area SAA meeting list with the times and places of upcoming local meetings. The session ends with an opportunity for participants to ask questions.

Several johns expressed the view that hiring prostitutes was normal, appropriate, and necessary under certain circumstances. For example, one said he got lonely, had a language barrier that prevented him from meeting nice women, and wanted some companionship, so what was wrong with hiring a prostitute? Another said that if a man is 55-60 years old and widowed or divorced, and didn’t want to get entangled in a relationship with a girlfriend, what was wrong with resorting to a prostitute? Another pointed out that prostitution is legal in Las Vegas (although this is not true) and should be legalized everywhere, and argued that what he did was not really a crime. Such comments occurred in all of the sessions observed, and are consistent with what has been learned in prior studies (Holzman and Pines, 1982; McKeganey and Barnard, 1994; Monto, 2000) about the needs and motivations of johns.

The SAA representatives answered that if hiring prostitutes creates problems in their (the johns’) lives, that’s what’s wrong with it, and obviously it *has* created a problem for them—they’ve been arrested and they’re sitting in the john school. The SAA presenters would often say that hiring prostitutes doesn’t solve feelings of loneliness. The solution to loneliness or sexual needs is not purchasing sex, but developing healthy relationships with women, and for help in shifting from commercial to healthier forms of sex, they recommend that anyone who may be sexually addicted explore what SAA offers.

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This component of the program was well-received by the participants (see Tables 5 and 6). Some men would comment that they are not sex addicts, but others would admit that they may have a problem and would commend the men in class for revealing how prostitution had affected them. In response to the evaluation form question about what they liked most in the john school, the SAA presentation appeared frequently (along with the law, health, and prostitute presentations).

The accuracy and consequences of identifying the men's involvement in prostitution as an addiction is unknown. The definition provided in class focuses on "compulsive, destructive sexual behavior that makes life unmanageable." One can guess that this definition applies perfectly to the behavior of some portion of the men in the FOPP, but there is no hard evidence to confirm this. We might assume that some of the men suffer from sexual addiction, but the portion of program participants who do is unknown. While the fact that all the men were arrested means that their behavior has inarguably caused at least one tangible problem for them, it is not certain that it has made life "unmanageable," particularly since these men are mostly first-time arrestees for soliciting and have little or no criminal history. The percentages of FOPP participants who are employed, educated, and in relationships with women are not far removed from the percentages in the general population. Less than half of the men admit to having previously hired a prostitute "ever" or more than a few times. While the veracity of these responses about previous commercial sex experience may be suspect, there is no real evidence that most of these men pursue commercial sex compulsively.

The representatives of SAA state repeatedly and clearly that nobody is accusing the men of being sex addicts, assuming they are addicted, or diagnosing them as such. They stress that the men will have to look at their own lives and behavior and make this determination for themselves, and if they believe they are addicted, then SAA may be helpful to them. Given that we do not know how many men could be objectively diagnosed as sex addicts, we cannot be sure what portion of the class is in need of the SAA messages. We also do not know how many of the men who may be addicts are able to recognize it in themselves, and thus respond effectively to the messages conveyed by the SAA representatives and (more importantly) to later avail themselves of the support that SAA provides. It is possible that some of the men "shut down" and hear little of what the SAA representatives offer because they do not believe themselves (whether accurately or erroneously) to have a sexual addiction.

In the opinion of our evaluation team, the SAA presentations are effective in conveying the potential for, and the consequences of, sexual addiction. SAA offered the FOPP's only semblance of aftercare support that the men can pursue in the community after the program. The potential weakness in the FOPP's reliance upon SAA is that men must view themselves as having a potential or actual addiction problem to fully utilize the information provided. The potential for the SAA presentations to alienate some participants or bypass their attention would be a cause of less concern if there were additional FOPP components that also dealt with the how men can meet their sexual and other needs in more prosocial ways. The curriculum includes a section on health relationships that used to be provided by a licensed therapist, but the SAA presentations have replaced the therapist presentations.

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Other Sessions: Human Trafficking and Policing Prostitution

The human trafficking and policing prostitution sessions do not appear as distinct sessions in the john school curriculum nor in all of the classes we observed. In the curriculum, human trafficking is folded into the section on pimping and pandering. Trafficking appeared as a separate component in six of the seven classes formally observed. By separate from the ‘pimping and pandering’ component, we mean that there was a different presenter and that the trafficking discussion occurred later in the day. Similarly, “policing prostitution” is not a separate component described in the curriculum, and was not addressed in all of the classes observed (see Table 4).

In the classes we observed, the human trafficking presentations were usually provided by the head of the SFPD Vice Division (Lt. Mary Petrie), and on other occasions were offered by the SAGE facilitator. In two of the classes, a videotape of a roughly 10-minute news story on human trafficking was presented. In other classes, the presentations were confined to lectures of about 10 to 30 minutes.

The “trafficking” sessions, presenters drew links between local street prostitution and a global system of sexual exploitation. They spoke of international trafficking, discussing how poorer countries serve as the “suppliers” or “source nations” of trafficked girls and women, and more affluent nations are the “consumers” or “destination countries.” Within the U.S., there is also a domestic sex trafficking circuit featuring cities such as Atlanta, Phoenix, Houston, and San Francisco. Women and girls work cities for a period of days or weeks, and then are moved to another city. This helps traffickers to avoid some of the problems associated with purely local prostitution, such as police recognizing the women and girls as prostitutes, and having the “product” become “stale.”

The human trafficking presentations are intended to reinforce the messages conveyed in the pimping and pander discussion: that the men’s behavior constitutes the demand that drives not only local prostitution, but contributes to a global system of sex trafficking. Like the discussions of pimping, the human trafficking discussions are also intended to build empathy toward victims of sexual exploitation. Fostering empathy and illuminating the men’s contributions to larger systems of crime and exploitation are sensible goals and may contribute the program’s effectiveness, but the human trafficking discussions may also have unintended, negative consequence. While much of the john school class focuses on the consequences of the men’s own behavior and the immediate consequences for the women they hire for sex, the sections on pimping and human trafficking introduce pimps, traffickers, and global crime into the equation. The potential problem is that bringing in equally culpable third parties may serve as a distraction from the main focus of the curriculum, which is to not only to make them aware of the harm caused by their actions, but to take responsibility for it. The emphasis pimps and traffickers may unintentionally shift the men’s blame in another direction.¹³

By the time the class is over, it is possible for the men to believe that the pimps and traffickers are worse offenders than the johns. The former prostitutes who present in class spend a substantial

¹³ We would like to thank an anonymous peer reviewer for calling our attention to this point about the unintended consequences of the human trafficking and pimping presentations, which we had not considered nor discussed in the first draft of this report.

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portion of their time speaking of the many ways that prostitutes and pimps will lie and manipulate in order to separate johns from their money as quickly as possible. Johns are at risk of being set up by prostitutes and pimps to be robbed and assaulted, the FOPP participants are told. John school participants are told that underage prostitutes will lie about their age, making the men unwitting perpetrators of felonious child sexual abuse and placing them at risk of serious legal consequences. Combining the pimping, trafficking, and “street facts” discussions and the survivor testimonies, it is possible that some men will leave the class viewing johns not as the primary offenders, but instead as the frequent victims of professional criminals involved in the sex trade: pimps and traffickers, with prostitutes serving as accomplices.

Whether the human trafficking contribute or detract from the program’s effectiveness is unknown, and at this point, attributions of the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of *any* program element are nothing more than speculation. Data do not presently exist that would allow for testing of which curriculum elements produced the program effects. For a definitive test of the effects of separate program elements, an experiment could be conducted in which the presentations would be altered systematically, and differences in survey results and recidivism rates for classes with each variation could be tracked.

In the policing sessions, SFPD officers reinforce messages delivered earlier in the day. For example, most of the presentations leading up to the policing component stress the seriousness of soliciting sex from minors, and that ignorance of a prostitute’s age does not relieve them of responsibility or legal culpability. In several classes, police officers discussed having mistakenly booked girls as young as 12 or 13 as adults, based upon their appearance. The officers reinforce the message that young women can physically appear to be adults, can have fake Ids stating they are adults, and can lie about their age, and that none of these factors reduce culpability. When prostitution involves a minor, it is no longer a misdemeanor prostitution case, but is a felony child sexual abuse or statutory rape case.

The police officers also discuss the various ways that they conduct surveillance and investigations, conveying the impression that subsequent offenses have a high probably of resulting in rearrest. For example, they discuss how they can identify and pursue johns by phone records, contact lists in the cell phones of prostitutes, and through hotel registrations. Hotels are now collaborating with police when they think a youth is involved, and providing credit card and/or registration information to police.

These two sessions were not covered as separate components of the john school classes in the evaluation forms, so we have not ratings to help us gauge how these sections were perceived by the men in class. The men appeared attentive to these sessions, with the “policing” discussion generating more comments and questions – often about the issue of entrapment. Few questions were asked about trafficking.

John School Class Evaluations

Class evaluations corroborated our impressions of the participant responses to the course. The evaluation forms ask, “How do you feel this day’s overall training met your needs?” Responses are recorded on a five-point scale with 1 representing “poor” and 5 representing “excellent.”

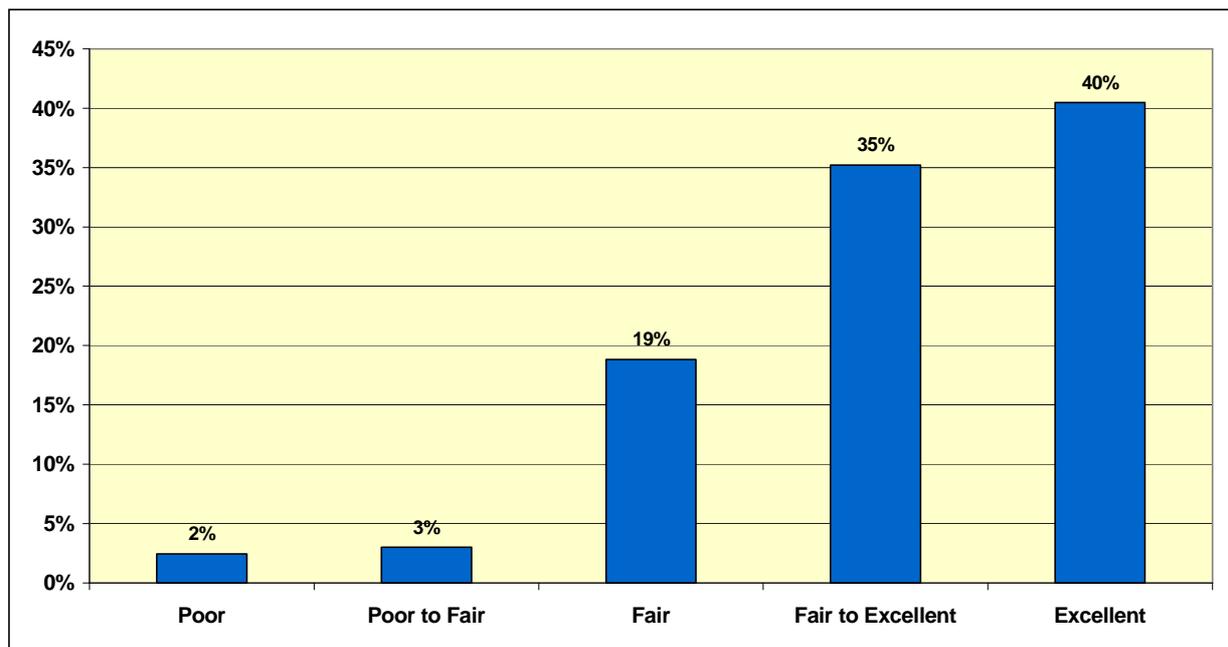
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Figure 4 presents the overall ratings, and shows that the majority (75%) considered the class to be either fair or excellent, and only 2% considered the course to be poor.

Participant Accountability for Learning John School Material

There is no system for ensuring that offenders learn the material presented in the john school. The lack of a quiz or test and the end of the day to motivate participants may help to explain why each class has at least one chronic sleeper, some men reading news papers or magazines, and others appearing disengaged. At several points in each class, attention would be drawn to sleepers, talkers, and those reading newspapers, and these men would be asked to pay attention and were reminded of their obligation to be respectful to presenters (especially when the CSE survivors spoke). But in the classes we observed, nobody was asked to leave or “failed” the course for inattentiveness or for any other reason. As long as they were not disruptive, they made it through the class successfully, and none of the men in the classes observed failed the program.

Figure 4: Participants' Overall Satisfaction with FOPP John School Classes



In its present form, the FOPP is measurably successful in a number of ways, so the need to seek improvement or make changes is not urgent. However, the absence of any incentives or accountability system encouraging participant engagement makes it likely that the opportunity to make an impact is not currently optimized.

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Reference Material for Participants

Representatives from SAGE, SFDA, SFPD, and SOS offered no materials for participants to take with them. The only handouts were from Sex Addicts Anonymous and the San Francisco County Department of Public Health. Given that there is no aftercare component of the program, the only opportunity to provide post-class support in the community is through printed material and contact information for community resources.

Instruction on Coping Skills and Replacement Behaviors

Virtually all of the classroom instruction focused on reasons why men should not have sex with prostitutes, but there was no attention given to alternative means of meeting the participants' demonstrated needs for sex or companionship. Damaging behavior serves a purpose, and is often a dysfunctional means of meeting a legitimate need.

Research on treatment of addictions and compulsive behaviors generally finds that the prospects for ameliorating sexual addiction and reducing other negative sexual behavior are improved with relapse prevention approaches in which people are provided with (a) tools to help them recognize the situational and emotional "triggers" of the behavior, which is an important skill for relapse prevention, and (b) practical guidance for creating opportunities to engage in pro-social "replacement behaviors" (e.g., Coombs, 2004; Goodman, 1993; Laws et al., 2000; Maletzky, 1991; Marlatt and Donovan, 2005).

The FOPP could be improved by adding to the john school curriculum components covering coping mechanisms, such as acquiring skills and developing strategies for engaging in replacement behavior. Since men pursue commercial sex for a number of reasons, there is no single answer for what is needed to replace soliciting prostitutes. For example, those who pursue sex with prostitutes to seek intimacy may need practical guidance about how to establish and maintain healthy intimate relationships; those seeking an adrenaline rush from the danger and excitement of illicit behavior may need guidance about separating their dangerous thrill-seeking from their sexual behavior. Since a portion of the target audience is probably motivated by addiction or compulsion, the program could add relapse prevention techniques to the curriculum (e.g., recognizing and interrupting the patterns of progressing from negative emotional states to ideation about the negative behavior, from ideation to planning, and from planning to acting out).

John School Focus on Child Sexual Exploitation and Statutory Rape

The presentations we observed focused a great deal on the negative consequences of engaging in sex (especially commercial sex) with minors. The assistant DAs, the police officers, and the SAGE Director stressed how the men can be charged with felonies if the young women are underage. The former prostitutes spoke of the damage that commercial sex does to the girls and young women involved. Many of the speakers said that the men in class probably had engaged in sex with minors, but did not know it since some teenage girls appear and act older than their age. The police provided anecdotes about prostitutes they had arrested and processed as adults based on their appearance (and sometimes forged identification), who turned out to be as young as 12 and 14 years of age.

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The emphasis throughout the john school classes on the risks and consequences of sex with minors led several men in most of the classes we observed to become defensive and challenge “the assumption that we are all pedophiles or child molesters.” Several of the men argued that have not been, and would not be, interested in sex with anyone underage. This may or may not be true, but the men have a point in arguing that it cannot be assumed that they all have or would solicit minors since they were not arrested for such crimes. None of the female police officers used as decoys in the vice operations leading to the arrests of these men were younger than their early 20s, and some were in their 30s.

Control of Classroom Distractions

In all but one of the classes we visited there were observers from the media. In most classes, there were also researchers and law enforcement personnel from other jurisdictions that were observing the john school to explore the feasibility of replication. In all classes, there were periods when presenters who were yet to speak (or had just spoken) waited in the classroom. While the FOPP staff kept tight control over conversations among participants, the same cannot be said of the observers and idle presenters. In the classes we attended, side conversations among the observers occurred regularly. For example, during presentations FOPP staff would often converse with the press or with visitors from potential program replication sites, and presenters waiting their turn would sometimes talk among themselves.

These side conversations in the classroom were distracting. The failure to control these distractions conveyed the impression that the staff did not always take the presentations (or the participants’ ability to listen to them) seriously, or that the program staff was bored and preferred to talk with observers or other presenters rather than attend to the current speaker. The only times side conversations were never tolerated was when the commercial sex survivors spoke.

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Chapter 3: Evaluating the FOPP's Effects on Offender Knowledge and Attitudes

The fundamental objective of the FOPP is to change attitudes and beliefs of men arrested for soliciting prostitutes, with the hope that those changes will result in improved behavior. The **outcome evaluation** pursues the question, *“Does participation in the FOPP result in immediate gains in knowledge and shifts in attitudes that are assumed to affect reoffending?”* To answer this question, we conducted pre- and post-class surveys of all men attending the john school over a one-year period, from March 2006 to March 2007.

Intermediate Outcomes: Changes in Knowledge and Attitudes

As we've discussed above, the basic assumption underlying the design of the FOPP is that soliciting prostitutes is a function of attitudes and beliefs, and that an educational intervention can affect behavior by changing those attitudes and beliefs.

The pre and post-test instruments were developed to measure attitudes toward prostitution and prostitutes, knowledge of the legal issues surrounding prostitution and solicitation, understanding risks associated with prostitution, self-reported likelihood of engaging in prostitution, and motivation to change. Respondents were asked to complete the pre-intervention survey during the morning john school registration period (before they were exposed to the education program), and the post-intervention survey immediately prior to their departure in the afternoon (after the education program).

Each primary domain of the john school curriculum maps to measures in the pre- and post-test instruments (see Appendices E and F):

- Legal repercussions
- Health consequences
- Sexual addiction
- Impact of the sex trade on prostitutes
- Community impact

The survey items are designed to test knowledge acquisition and attitude shifts occurring in response to the FOPP's eight-hour john school classes.

Items we developed to assess change-oriented thinking and intentional behaviors were based on the trans-theoretical model of change and decisional balance for problematic behaviors. While no specific measure for prostitution-related behaviors exists, the model for measuring stages of change and decisional balance across various problem behaviors has been supported in a variety of contexts (see Prochaska et al., 1994). The predictive domains of behavior change (pre-contemplation, contemplation, action, maintenance, and termination) were measured in both the pre- and post- test instruments. In addition, situational decision-making confidence was measured on a five-item rating scale.

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Constructing scales to measure attitude shifts was more challenging, since prostitution is a multi-faceted problem, and a variety of problem pathways may contribute to solicitation of prostitutes (Busch et al. 2002). Furthermore, many measures of problematic attitudes toward women and prostitution are laden with cues for social undesirability and are not useful for gathering evidence of true attitude change. For this reason, we built upon prior studies of john schools by Kennedy et al., (2004), and Monto (2000), which employed pre-post surveys to construct measures of beliefs and attitudes toward prostitution.

In addition, several scales were constructed de novo to explore possible deterrents to future solicitation and understanding of the consequences of prostitution. These items were grounded in the john school curriculum, and were compared to course observations to ensure consistency of content across course administrations. Cronbach's alpha scores for all scaled measures are presented with the findings described below, and range from .84 to .94.

A brief intervention such as the john school has limited opportunity to impact behavior change, and the efficient transfer of information about prostitution and its risks to johns and prostitutes is critical if the classes are to be effective. To understand whether attendees were learning new information during course instruction, we developed knowledge acquisition questions guided by factual content presented in the john school. For example, the questionnaire included items about STD awareness and the legal consequences of re-arrest for soliciting commercial sex.

Finally, single items were included to gauge attendees' understanding of the john school, consequences of arrest for solicitation, and how participation in the program impacts case outcomes. We also included single item questions about involvement in prostitution and reasons for soliciting prostitutes.

An important limitation to keep in mind when interpreting the results of the pre- and post-class surveys is the potential for socially desirable response biases. Written and verbal instructions and assurances were conveyed to respondents, stating clearly that the survey was voluntary and anonymous. We stressed that no responses could be traced to any individual, and we said that we did not want their names or other identifiers on the questionnaires. We also told them that the survey was for a study of the FOPP, and that their completed questionnaires would go directly to the research team and not to the police or prosecutors. Despite our efforts, it is clear that the survey context was not conducive to inspiring trust among respondents. For example, throughout the john school, participants are told repeatedly that they are fortunate to have the FOPP option and that they must cooperate and complete the course or they will fail the program and be charged. They were asked to complete the pre-class survey during the registration period, at the same time that they completed other paperwork. The post-class questionnaire was distributed at the end of class, but in the time slot before they were free to go at 4:30. No matter how clearly we told them that the survey was voluntary and anonymous, they may have felt they needed to do it in order to comply with the program requirements, and they may not have trusted our assurances of anonymity. We considered administering a scale to control for socially desirable response bias, but given the very limited allotted we prioritized items focusing on the core content of the survey: covering the issues addressed by the john school curriculum.

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In addition to the potential for socially desirable response biases, any survey can contain imperfections in question wording, response scales, or formatting that can skew results. We took all the standard precautions to eliminate or minimize such problems, e.g., using survey items from previous, peer reviewed and published studies, and pre-testing the survey, but the possibility always exists that responses can be affected by the instrument rather than being pure measures of attitudes and opinions.

Results

We surveyed 198 men and had only five refusals. A substantial number of men lost the numbered envelopes that allowed us to link the pre-class and post-class questionnaires. Others did not complete the post-class survey, or did complete it but failed to put the form in a numbered envelope. We retained only those cases where both the pre- and post-class surveys were present and could be linked together. Acceptably complete sets of pre- and post-class surveys were obtained from 147 men, for a valid response rate of 74%. Some questionnaires had single items or sets of items without responses, so the item response rate and N vary across items.

Respondent Characteristics

On the set of measured traits, the characteristics of FOPP participants were more similar to the general population than to typical criminal offenders. Most arrestee and jail populations over-represent minorities, the under-educated, the unmarried, and the unemployed (e.g., Lord et al., 2005; McLaughlin, P.J., & Kohl, R., 2007; Stephan, 2001). However, the demographic traits of the FOPP sample are similar to those of the general population of the city. For example, the racial/ethnic distribution of the men surveyed is similar to the demographic composition of the city, according to U.S. Bureau of the Census figures from the 2000 census (see Table 8).

The main difference is that our survey finds a somewhat higher proportion of Hispanic men, which could be a function of (a) city demographics changing since the time of Monto's study or the 2000 census, (b) conducting more reverse stings in heavily Hispanic/Latino areas of the city, or (c) sampling error.

The majority of respondents (64%) reported living in San Francisco, although the single-item response rate to that question was low, with 43 respondents choosing not to answer. Forty-one percent of the johns reported being currently married or in a domestic partnership, and an equal number were single (never married). About one-fifth of the sample was divorced, separated, or widowed.

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Table 8: Respondent Characteristics

Race		
	n	%
White	61	52
Black	7	6
Hispanic	28	24
Asian	20	17
Other	2	2
Education		
	n	%
No HS diploma	19	14
HS diploma/GED	40	29
Some college/Associate degree	42	31
Bachelor degree	23	17
Graduate Degree	13	9
City of Residence		
	n	%
Inside San Francisco	67	64
Outside San Francisco	37	36
Marital Status		
	n	%
Divorced	15	11
Married/Domestic Partnership	57	41
Separated	9	6
Single (never married)	57	41
Widowed	1	1
Age		
	n	%
Under 25	14	12
26-35	28	24
36-45	39	33
46-65	33	28
66+	4	3
Mean	118	41
Median	118	40
Employment		
	n	%
Full time	97	69
Part time	19	14
Not in work force	11	8
Unemployed	13	9

*All reported responses for cases with both pre- and post- class surveys

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Table 9: Comparing Racial/Ethnic Distribution of Pre/Post Survey Sample to Prior Sample of FOPP Participants and Population of San Francisco

Race/Ethnicity	2006-2007 FOPP Survey	1995-1999 FOPP Sample (Monto, 2000)	2000 Census Data for San Francisco*
White	52%	57%	59%
Hispanic	24	19	17
Asian	17	16	23
Black	6	4	5
Other / mixed	2	4	12

* The Census numbers add to more than 100% due to the way they ask for Hispanic/Latino heritage using a separate question, rather than as one of the categories in a single item question about race.

In a previous study of the FOPP, Monto (2000) described a similar distribution of traits in the sample of john school participants: 59% were over 35, and 78% had some post-secondary education. 44% of Monto’s respondents were married, 21% divorced, separated or widowed, and 36% had never been married. These similar characteristics suggest stability in the population of arrestees and in the FOPP selection process over time. The respondent characteristics are also similar to participants in other john schools evaluated by Sawyer et al. (1998) and Kennedy et al. (2004), although the San Francisco sample is more racially diverse than the others.

The majority of respondents (80%) felt they had a choice in attending john school, and chose to attend to avoid having a criminal record (68%), although few felt that legal consequences would have been likely or definite (25%) had they not attended. Respondents also did not believe their fine would have been much higher than the basic john school fee of \$1000; median estimated legal fines among respondents was \$1000. However, 42% did believe that some jail time (two days or more) would have been a possible outcome if they chose not to participate.

Several items were included in the pre-test that were not intended to measure change, but rather to collect information about the respondents’ level of involvement in prostitution and rationale for participating in prostitution. Results of these single-item questions are displayed in Table 11. Most respondents (69%) reported being over 21 and under 35 the first time they visited a prostitute, and most (72%) reported fewer than 5 total visits to prostitutes ever, including those who deny ever having sex with a prostitute. Fifty percent claim convenience as the most important reason to have sex with prostitutes. It is important to note that some respondents refused to answer some single-item questions, or responded with null values, such as 0 for the number of times they have ever gone to prostitutes. This is consistent with verbal assertions by some attendees during class that their arrest was either a “setup” or that they were arrested the first time they ever attempted solicitation.

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Table 10. Understanding of Legal Situation

Did you have a choice in attending john school?		n	%
Yes		101	80
No		25	20
Most important reason chose to attend		n	%
Avoid spouse or partner knowing		13	11
Avoid conviction		16	13
Avoid criminal record		83	68
Other		10	8
If you had not gone to john school, likelihood of avoiding legal consequences		n	%
Almost definitely		9	8
Very likely		20	17
Somewhat likely		28	24
Not very likely		22	18
Very unlikely		40	34
What fine do you think you would have had to pay?		n	%
No fine		14	17
Less than \$500		12	14
\$500 to \$999		12	14
\$1000 to \$1999		34	41
\$2000+		11	13
Mean		83	\$ 937
Median		83	\$ 1,000
How many days do you think you would have spent in jail?		n	%
No Days		71	58
2 Days		18	15
7 Days		10	8
15 Days		5	4
30 Days		18	15

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Table 11. Pre-Test Single Item Question Responses

Which one of the following is the one [most important] reason you have sex with prostitutes?		
	n	%
They will do things sexually that other women won't do	11	10
Don't have to worry about a relationship	22	20
Quick and easy way to get sex	56	50
Control over the situation	4	4
They need the money, and I help them by paying for sex	2	2
Other	17	15
Age first time paid prostitute for sex		
	n	%
Under 20	16	18
21-25	31	36
26-35	29	33
36-45	7	8
46-65	4	5
Mean	87	27
Median	87	25
Number of times ever gone to prostitutes		
	n	%
Never gone to prostitute	22	21
1 to 4 times	39	38
5 to 9 times	13	13
10 to 24 times	21	20
25 or more times	8	8
Mean	103	10
Median	103	3

Pre-Class to Post-Class Changes

We developed several single-item questions to explore changes in knowledge and attitudes that were not captured by the scales. The results of these are displayed in Tables 12 and 13. Although samples sizes were small, some attitude changes in the desired direction were statistically significant. Prior to the class, 53% of johns felt that prostitution should be legal for adults; that percentage shrank to 37% after the class ($p<.0001$). Before the class, 9% felt prostitution should be legal for minors; only 5% felt so afterward ($p=.002$). Attendees also changed their perception of women's involvement in prostitution as being freely chosen: before class, 37% believed that more than half of prostitutes kept all the money they earned. After class only 18% held that view ($p<.0001$). Similarly, the number of johns who believed that prostitutes could shift to another way of making a living fell from 63% before class to 44% afterward ($p<.0001$).

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Table 12. Beliefs About Prostitution

Do you think prostitution should be legal?	Pre-Test		Post-Test	
	n	%	n	%
Yes, for those over 18	71	53	50	37***
Yes for those under 18	13	9	7	5**
How many prostitutes work for themselves and get to keep all the money they make?***	n	%	n	%
None of them	26	23	58	43
25% of them	45	40	51	38
50% of them	20	18	14	10
75% of them	10	9	6	4
All of them	11	10	6	4
Prostitutes can choose to stop being paid for sex and can make a living in another way: True or False	n	%	n	%
True	78	63	60	44***
False	45	37	76	56***

Participants in the john school were not more likely to report having a sexual addiction after taking the course, despite informational sessions on how to recognize symptoms of sex addiction and the distribution of information on the problem. However, after the course about one fourth of FOPP participants still felt that it would be difficult for them to stop going to prostitutes. Neither pre-post change was statistically significant.

Table 13. Beliefs About Sexual Addiction

Do you think that you are addicted to sex?	n	%	n	%
No	91	76	96	80
Yes	29	24	24	20
Do you think it would be difficult to stop going to prostitutes?	n	%	n	%
No	103	87	93	78
Yes	16	13	26	22

The majority of respondents reported no future plans to go to a prostitute (73%; see Table 14). Most of the remainder indicated that they might, but were planning to do it less frequently. The program did not appear to impact these plans at a statistically significant level. The mean aggregate change among respondents was -.11, where one point represents a one-category change from undesirable plans (“Yes, I plan to continue to pay prostitutes for sexual contact”) toward more desirable plans, that is, a plan to reduce solicitation of prostitutes. The program had a slight negative but insignificant impact on participants who reported little to no experience going to

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prostitutes, and slight or no impact on the future plans of johns who report more experience paying prostitutes for sex (Table 13). This result is inconsistent with prior john school pre-post test findings (Wortley et al., 2002).

Table 14: Plans for Future Involvement in Prostitution

Do you plan to go to a prostitute in the future?	Pre-Test		Post-Test	
	n	%	n	%
Yes, I plan to continue to pay prostitutes for sexual contact (1)	4	3	6	5
Yes, but I plan to do it less frequently (2)	4	3	2	2
Yes, but I am working on stopping (3)	4	3	5	4
No, I do not plan to go to a prostitute but I might 'slip up' if I am tempted (4)	23	18	27	20
No, I will never go to a prostitute again (5)	94	73	94	70
Mean Score	4.54		4.50	
Mean aggregate change	-0.11			
t	-1.15			
p	0.254			
Change in future plans to go to a prostitute by number of prior contacts	n	mean	t	p
Never gone to prostitute	21	-0.14	-0.9	0.38
1 to 4 times	37	-0.11	-0.75	0.45
5 to 9 times	10	0.2	0.69	0.50
10 to 24 times	19	0.11	0.36	0.72
25 or more times	8	0	0	1

Respondents' confidence in their ability to resist the temptation to go to a prostitute did change somewhat after the program, but the change was not statistically significant (Table 15). When analyzed by recency of contact and level of involvement in prostitution (measured by the number of prior visits), the perceived ability to resist temptation did not significantly improve (Table 16). The average change in scale scores for inexperienced johns was slightly higher, but again, this result was not significant. For respondents who reported visiting a prostitute in the prior three to six months, there appeared to be a negative change in confidence after the program (-1.00), but again this shift was not statistically significant.

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Table 15. Ability to Resist Temptation

How confident do you feel that you would be able to resist the temptation to go to a prostitute in the following situations?				
	Pre-Test		Post-Test	
1=Very hard to avoid; 5=Very easy to avoid	$\alpha =$	0.84	$\alpha =$	0.84
	n	mean	n	mean
When I really want sex	118	3.9	133	4.0
When I am a little drunk or high	106	3.9	123	4.1
When I am angry	111	4.4	122	4.4
When I feel depressed	110	4.1	125	4.2
When the risk of being caught seems low	111	4.1	123	4.3
Mean Score		20.27		21.16
Mean aggregate change				0.75
t				1.87
p				0.0645

Table 16: Temptation Resistance Scale Scores by Frequency and Recency of Contact With Prostitutes

Resistance scale change by recency of contact						
	n	Mean	Median	T Value	p	
Never gone to a prostitute	14	0.29	0	0.42	0.68	
More than 6 months ago	38	0.63	0	1.62	0.11	
3-6 months ago	8	-1.00	0	-0.60	0.57	
Within the past 3 months	15	2.53	1	1.36	0.20	
Resistance scale change by number of prior contacts						
	n	Mean	Median	T Value	p	
Never gone to prostitute	17	0.35	0	0.62	0.54	
1 to 4 times	26	1.69	0	1.52	0.14	
5 to 9 times	9	0.78	1	0.83	0.43	
10 to 24 times	15	0.67	1	1.07	0.30	
25 or more times	7	0.71	2	0.47	0.65	

Attitudes about the normality of prostitution and going to prostitutes did not shift significantly as a result of the john school class. While the direction of the attitude change was negative, the differences were not significant. However, a relatively low Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha = 0.68$) on the pre-test portion of this scale indicates some potential weakness in the validity of this scale. Further administrations and testing of the measure would be necessary to determine what the problem

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might be, but possibilities range from confusing terminology that was not identified in the design stage or deliberate contamination of the results by respondents. Barring these caveats, though, this may simply reflect a lack of change in attitude among john school participants on these items.

Table 17. Support For, and Normalization of, Prostitution

Prostitution normalization 1=disagree strongly; 5=agree strongly	Pre-Test		Post-Test	
	$\alpha=$	0.68	$\alpha=$	0.84
	n	mean	n	mean
[R] I wouldn't mind marrying a prostitute.	115	2.03	129	2.05
It would be OK if my daughter grew up to be a prostitute.	120	1.48	131	1.45
It would be OK if my son went to prostitutes.	120	1.83	131	1.59
Forcing a prostitute to have sex against her will is not rape.	119	1.65	130	1.88
Most prostitutes make a lot of money.	115	3.01	127	2.49
Women are prostitutes because they want to be.	116	2.89	130	2.38
Prostitutes enjoy their work.	116	2.41	130	2.06
I would rather have sex with a prostitute than be in a conventional relationship.	114	1.63	131	1.70
Prostitutes like sex more than other women.	114	2.53	132	2.32
Prostitutes like sex a little rougher than other women.	111	2.25	131	2.16
No harm done to the marriage if the man goes to a prostitute.	114	1.82	128	2.01
Mean score		21.41		21.11
Mean aggregate change			-0.48	
t			-0.64	
p			0.52	

*Scale revised to remove problematic items; item scores reversed where applicable

Many of the components of the program address potential negative consequences for johns who continue to solicit prostitutes (Table 17). The questionnaires contained a set of 11 questions addressing the kinds of negative outcomes that the FOPP classes emphasize, such as the likelihood of being arrested, jailed, robbed, assaulted, or contracting STDs. Likelihood was rated on a five-point scale, and a scale total was computed with scores potentially ranging from 11 to 55. Higher scores indicate higher perceived likelihood of negative consequences. The results indicate that johns are absorbing this information and changing their understanding of negative consequences. For example, there were significant changes in the self-reported likelihood that they will be infected with a disease, reported to the police, or that their involvement in prostitution will be revealed to family and friends.

While many of these attitude shifts were statistically significant, they were modest in magnitude. The mean change for this scale was 4.69 ($p < .0001$) on a scale with a range of 44 points, so the mean shift in attitude scale scores was approximately 11%.

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Table 18. Perceived Likelihood of Negative Consequences

Likelihood of negative consequences 1=Not at all likely; 5=Very likely	Pre-Test		Post-Test	
	$\alpha=$	0.92	$\alpha=$	0.94
	n	mean	n	mean
I will be arrested	121	4.07	134	4.24
I will do jail time	118	3.97	130	4.28
I will have to pay a fine	115	4.46	131	4.33
I will face other CJ consequences	115	4.03	128	4.23
I will be robbed	114	3.54	130	3.90
I will be beaten up	112	3.36	130	3.85
I will be murdered	113	3.12	129	3.68
My family and friends will find out	113	3.78	130	4.04
Someone in the community will turn me in to the police	109	3.04	129	3.97
I will be infected with HIV	117	3.67	130	3.90
I will be infected with an STD	116	3.74	131	4.05
Mean Score		38.77		43.22
Mean aggregate change				4.69
T				4.86
P				<.001***

Participants also show an improved understanding of prostitution as it relates to social problems like drug use, impact on neighborhoods and businesses, and violence (Table 18). For example, the mean score in the pre-test on the item “Prostitutes are often victims of rape” was 3.75 (where 1 is not at all true and 5 is very true); this mean increased to 4.25 in the post-test, indicating a greater awareness of the violence prostitutes are subjected to. The aggregate change for this scale was 3.85 (p<.0001).

Finally, respondents were given a short quiz on their knowledge of key subjects covered in the john school curriculum. Aggregate results did not indicate that respondents improved their knowledge significantly (Table 19); in fact the aggregate score decreased somewhat in the post-test (-.150). However, many items had a high proportion of correct responses in the pre-test administration, so this could account for lack of change.

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Table 19. Understanding Prostitution as a Social Problem

Understanding of prostitution and related social problems 1=Not at all true; 5=very true	Pre-Test		Post-Test	
	α =	0.89	α =	0.89
	n	mean	n	mean
Prostitutes are victimized by men who have sex with them	121	3.13	129	3.71
Prostitutes are often victims of rape	118	3.75	129	4.22
Prostitutes are often assaulted/beaten up	116	3.88	127	4.25
Prostitutes are often drug addicts	119	4.00	130	4.34
Communities suffer from the effects of prostitution in their neighborhoods	120	4.04	127	4.54
Drugs and violence are a problem in communities with prostitution	119	4.25	130	4.58
Businesses lose customers because of prostitution in their area	120	4.03	125	4.32
Children who live in areas with prostitution are exposed to negative things	119	4.37	128	4.66
Men who have sex with prostitutes are at an increased risk of being infected with HIV	119	4.39	127	4.61
Men who have sex with prostitutes are at an increased risk of getting HIV and other STDs	120	4.30	128	4.52
Mean Score		39.19		42.42
Mean aggregate change			3.85	
t			5.38	
p			<.0001***	

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Table 20. Knowledge of Topics Covered by the John School Curriculum

Knowledge of John School Topics True/False	Pre-Test		Post-Test	
	% Answering Correctly		% Answering Correctly	
	n	%	n	%
I can tell if someone has an STD or HIV by looking at them	116	94	115	89
Using a condom for all sexual contact reduces the risk of getting an STD	95	76	100	79
I can avoid getting an STD by only having sex with clean people	94	77	88	69
I can't get an STD from oral sex	77	64	85	68
The police do not do sting operations in massage parlors and strip clubs	94	81	105	83
Underage prostitutes often carry ID that says they are of age	61	54	69	57
If I am caught for soliciting a prostitute again, I will be arrested and booked	111	93	115	92
If a girl says she is 18+ but is younger, a man who has sex with her can be charged with statutory rape	107	91	112	91
Mean # of correct responses*		4		4
Mean aggregate change				-0.150
t				-1.07
p				0.287

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Chapter 4: Evaluating the FOPP's Impact on Reoffending

The impact evaluation pursues the question, “*Does participation in the FOPP reduce subsequent involvement with prostitutes?*” Given the inability to monitor the program participants’ actual behavior (i.e., soliciting prostitutes) after participating in the program, rearrest for soliciting is the best available measure of reoffending.

We begin this chapter by discussing the viable options for evaluating the FOPP’s impact, and why we determined that a pooled time series design was the best fit for the available data. Following this discussion, we describe the data used in the impact evaluation, the statistical methods employed, the results of the analysis, and potential explanations for the program’s impact on rearrest rates.

Methodological Options

There are three basic methods that could be used to evaluate the impact of the FOPP on recidivism. **First**, a *controlled experiment* could be conducted, in which eligible men are randomly assigned either to the FOPP or to normal adjudication. While a true experiment is the “gold standard” for providing evidence of a program’s effectiveness, it is seldom feasible to use this approach to assess public safety programs. The ethical and practical barriers to experiments evaluating social interventions have been well documented (e.g., Rossi and Freeman, 2001; Shadish et al., 2002). For example, practitioners operating programs believed to enhance public safety are usually reluctant to intentionally withhold a “treatment” presumed to be effective from a subset of individuals, even if program efficacy has not been empirically confirmed. Given the constraints of time, resources, and the resistance of program staff to randomly assigning men to the FOPP, an experiment was ruled out as a viable option for our impact evaluation.

Second, one could examine recidivism rates of FOPP participants and *comparison groups*. Options within this design include comparing eligible participants to eligible non-participants (such as eligible men who fail to make contact or refuse to participate in the program), or comparing FOPP participants to similar groups of men arrested for soliciting in other California jurisdictions¹⁴. While comparison group studies are usually feasible to conduct, they are highly vulnerable to selection biases. For example, differences in local ordinances concerning prostitution, police practices, prosecutors’ application of state law, and city demographics can compromise the comparability of samples of men arrested for soliciting elsewhere in California. Within San Francisco, the eligibility criteria and the self-selection processes inherent in a voluntary program combine to make the FOPP participants unlike available comparison groups of ineligible men, or eligible men who refuse the FOPP option or fail to make contact with the SFDA or to complete the course.

¹⁴ Although the approach is too subject to biases to be relied upon heavily, we have examined the program’s effect on recidivism for the set of men who could be identified as FOPP participants, and compared it to trends in other communities and the rest of California. The results of this are similar to those found in the methodologically superior cross-sectional design we present as our primary impact analysis in this chapter. A summary of this analysis is available upon request from the first author of this report.

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In addition to such standard concerns about selection biases, there were two data quality issues that make a comparison group design inappropriate for this evaluation. First, the missing identifiers in the FOPP database prevent us from accurately linking participant data to the CJSC criminal history data for more than 60% of the cases. Second, the unreliable status codes in the FOPP database prevented us from accurately distinguishing the program participants from the pool of all referred arrestees. The inability to reliably link FOPP referral data to criminal history data, and to reliably distinguish program successes from program failures or ineligible individuals, seriously compromised the ability to measure recidivism specifically for the set of FOPP participants and others referred to the program¹⁵.

For this evaluation, we elected to use a **third** methodological option, a *time-series analysis*. The approach involves tracking recidivism rates among arrested individuals meeting FOPP eligibility criteria in San Francisco. We examined recidivism rates over time in a number of ways, including adding recidivism rates for similar arrestees throughout the rest of California to models of recidivism for San Francisco arrestees. This approach was the strongest methodological choice available for assessing the program's impact, and its advantages include:

- Avoiding the need to accurately distinguish between program participants and non-participants and match them to criminal histories, which cannot be done with sufficient accuracy due to inaccurate and missing data in the FOPP database.
- Being free of the kinds of selection biases that are unavoidable in comparison group designs.
- Allowing us to use data from a large sample (86,474 men), which provides statistical power capable of detecting relatively small effects that are likely due to the limits imposed by a low base rate of recidivism.
- Capturing rearrests anywhere in the state, allowing us to measure reoffending that occurs in other communities and to control for the possibility that the FOPP merely displaces offenses to other communities.
- Allowing us to model the effects of the FOPP while controlling for statewide arrest and recidivism trends.

The main potential weakness of this approach is that the cross-sections include men who did not participate in the program, as well as those that had. The chief danger of including non-participants is that positive effects occurring among those who had completed the FOPP could be obscured by the "dilution" of the sample with men not exposed to the program. For example, if rearrest rates declined among FOPP participants but were unchanged among non-participants, the overall program effect would be muted, possibly below the threshold of statistical significance. As it turns out, we found a strongly positive program effect. If the inclusion of non-participants has diluted the sample, then the real effect of the FOPP is probably even stronger than the one we have estimated.

¹⁵ We attempted to match as many of the FOPP referrals as possible to CJSC data, and the results of this exercise is presented in Appendix P.

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An unlikely – but possible – scenario is that an illusion of a program effect may result from including men who did not participate in the FOPP. For example, rearrest rates could fall sharply among non-participants but remain unchanged among FOPP participants in the year after the program was implemented. The conditions where this kind of an effect might threaten the validity of our results would be if: (a) if another program or initiative started operating in San Francisco in 1995; (b) the program also targeted men arrested for 647b offenses, and (c) the program was successful in reducing rearrests for soliciting prostitutes. We know of no such convergence of events.

The cross-sectional design has aforementioned strengths that more than offset the concerns that might arise, and we have taken measures to minimize the number of individuals in the analysis who are unlike those attending the program. For example, all of the men in the analytic database meet the primary eligibility criteria for the FOPP: they were first-time arrestees for 647b within the community that the arrest occurred, and none have sex offenses or domestic violence offenses in their criminal histories.

The remainder of this chapter begins with a discussion of the data used in the impact evaluation. This is followed by a presentation of the analysis and results. Discussion of some of the technical details of the data and analysis are presented in Appendix P.

Criminal Justice Statistics Center (CJSC) Data Assembly

We placed a special request with California's Criminal Justice Statistics Center (CJSC) for criminal history data. We requested records for all males ever arrested in California for a charge of soliciting prostitution (California Penal Code 647b) or loitering with intent to solicit (653.22). To protect confidentiality, we asked that names be stripped from the records. The CJSC complied with our requests, and delivered a database containing complete criminal histories for men arrested for soliciting or loitering with intent to solicit between 1948 and September 29, 2006. This "first cut" of the data contained approximately 2.5 million records, from which we selected those cases that were most comparable to the men eligible for the FOPP. For example, given that more than 99% of the men in the FOPP program were charged with 647b, we purged the 653.22 cases from our analytic database. We used the program's eligibility requirements to make further selections, purging cases with domestic violence or sex offenses in their criminal histories or as concurrent charges.

The database contained cases dating back to the 1940s. However, for the impact analysis we restricted the data to arrests starting on January 1, 1985, for two main reasons: (1) 647b arrests greatly increased in the 1970s and early 1980s but had plateaued from roughly 1985 to 1995 (Appendix P); and (2) the FOPP began operating in 1995, so beginning the data in 1985 produces a symmetrical time series of approximately 10 years of pre-FOPP and post-FOPP data.

To mimic the selection criteria for those eligible for the FOPP, we applied two other criteria in assembling the analysis database. First, we selected individuals whose first arrest for prostitution occurred on or after January 1, 1985. Second, we removed from the analysis file anyone with arrests for domestic violence, rape, or other sex offenses that occurred prior to the index arrest.

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Table 21: Number of Arrests and One-Year^a Recidivism Rates, 1985-2005

City		1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Fresno	N	77	50	76	14	143	30	98	59	13	19
	RR	0.013	0.040	0.000	0.000	0.021	0.000	0.010	0.051	0.000	0.000
Los Angeles	N	1941	2837	2109	1512	1841	2309	2015	1598	1505	1568
	RR	0.057	0.052	0.049	0.069	0.083	0.082	0.066	0.090	0.074	0.081
Oakland	N	315	386	223	87	100	120	147	148	293	225
	RR	0.048	0.028	0.018	0.034	0.010	0.042	0.007	0.020	0.048	0.036
Rest of California	N	199	511	199	344	376	426	368	194	199	273
	RR	0.045	0.033	0.030	0.023	0.043	0.038	0.022	0.052	0.025	0.037
Sacramento	N	215	96	126	373	299	133	291	251	229	110
	RR	0.033	0.031	0.032	0.024	0.030	0.053	0.010	0.028	0.017	0.027
San Bernardino	N	83	87	67	48	19	37	114	172	161	161
	RR	0.024	0.023	0.030	0.021	0.000	0.000	0.018	0.052	0.050	0.062
San Diego	N	47	71	51	92	66	260	313	376	550	588
	RR	0.149	0.028	0.098	0.011	0.000	0.000	0.019	0.043	0.020	0.026
San Francisco	N	111	33	233	229	214	266	310	326	332	491
	RR	0.108	0.061	0.086	0.052	0.070	0.045	0.048	0.101	0.130	0.084
San Jose	N	150	254	238	180	124	151	221	265	159	219
	RR	0.027	0.043	0.042	0.039	0.065	0.060	0.063	0.075	0.031	0.100
Santa Ana	N	322	150	68	103	169	297	149	103	167	437
	RR	0.037	0.067	0.103	0.097	0.065	0.061	0.047	0.058	0.072	0.059
Stockton	N	34	72	59	27	32	27	66	184	89	22
	RR	0.088	0.083	0.017	0.037	0.063	0.037	0.045	0.033	0.022	0.000

a – One-year arrest rates computed within a window of 3 to 15 months from initial arrest

City		1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Fresno	N	96	57	33	86	148	142	125	146	72	37	24
	RR	0.021	0.000	0.030	0.023	0.047	0.000	0.024	0.021	0.014	0.000	0.042
Los Angeles	N	1855	2298	2336	2781	1771	1260	1190	1612	1680	1910	1055
	RR	0.053	0.045	0.055	0.060	0.056	0.050	0.056	0.060	0.066	0.056	0.057
Oakland	N	474	507	651	616	548	238	169	216	114	403	86
	RR	0.021	0.030	0.032	0.018	0.026	0.034	0.024	0.032	0.053	0.022	0.023
Rest of California	N	250	466	280	264	294	307	257	294	407	237	135
	RR	0.060	0.047	0.057	0.053	0.037	0.039	0.051	0.034	0.042	0.025	0.015
Sacramento	N	141	117	46	82	70	146	118	104	73	123	41
	RR	0.028	0.026	0.022	0.037	0.000	0.062	0.051	0.048	0.055	0.057	0.073
San Bernardino	N	121	73	107	92	155	156	164	170	156	156	81
	RR	0.050	0.068	0.037	0.065	0.077	0.045	0.073	0.035	0.045	0.077	0.049
San Diego	N	370	261	662	359	321	323	261	289	266	184	87
	RR	0.019	0.031	0.023	0.000	0.009	0.028	0.015	0.000	0.004	0.000	0.011
San Francisco	N	554	1071	1058	1220	1205	960	909	701	762	509	154
	RR	0.061	0.045	0.046	0.042	0.028	0.028	0.045	0.064	0.045	0.047	0.052
San Jose	N	169	292	305	355	505	212	108	63	67	90	34
	RR	0.089	0.099	0.128	0.197	0.166	0.052	0.093	0.190	0.045	0.100	0.147
Santa Ana	N	409	357	312	356	348	238	160	196	189	268	91
	RR	0.090	0.056	0.045	0.059	0.046	0.101	0.069	0.041	0.058	0.030	0.044
Stockton	N	42	65	178	177	130	97	89	43	56	44	8
	RR	0.095	0.062	0.028	0.017	0.031	0.031	0.079	0.047	0.071	0.136	0.125

a – One-year arrest rates computed within a window of 3 to 15 months from initial arrest

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Each record in the CJSC database is identified as a distinct “step.” The steps can signify an arrest, court action, or custody movement. We elected to use only those records where the step indicated an arrest. There may be multiple records for any particular step, or multiple records for a particular date, due to multiple charges. Individuals were linked to each of their offenses by an identification number (the CII number) derived from a fingerprint database. Each event for an offender (such as arrests, court hearings, convictions, and correctional custody movements) may be linked by an originating date, referred to as the “cycle date”. Each record can also contain information about locations for each step (such as the arresting agency, court, and confinement facility) and demographic data including the date of birth and race of the offender.

To examine whether trends occurring in San Francisco reflected statewide trends, we computed recidivism for all men arrested for soliciting anywhere in California. To provide additional points of comparison, we also identified a subset of cities in California with large numbers of 647b arrests, using the arresting agency as a proxy for the city in which the arrests occurred.

Table 21 presents the annual number of arrests (N) and rearrest rates (RR) in the 10 cities we identified, as well as the residual for the rest of California. The data appearing in Table 21 have been restricted to first arrests from 1/1/1985 to 6/27/2005, allowing all of the index arrests to have a follow-up period of 15 months. The rearrest rates correspond to the proportion of people arrested in a one-year period running from 3 to 15 months following the initial arrest.

When looking at re-arrests, an idiosyncrasy to these data did not allow us to estimate the proportion re-arrested within the year immediately following the index arrest. Specifically, in San Francisco, 647b offenders who are not immediately taken into custody for concurrent offenses or for prior warrants are required to contact the San Francisco District Attorney’s office soon after their index arrest. Those offenders who fail to make contact within a month are issued an arrest warrant. In the data, any arrests resulting from this warrant appear as new arrests in the CJSC data. However, since they are related to the index arrest we would not want to count them as a new offense.

Pre/Post Measures of Recidivism

We began with a check that recidivism rates were statistically different in San Francisco before and after the start of the FOPP program, and that those differences could not be explained by trends observed in the rest of California. The mean re-arrest rate may be described as:

$$P_{\bullet jk} = \frac{1}{n_{jk}} \sum_{i=1}^{n_{jk}} \text{Has Re - arrest}_{ijk} \quad (1)$$

where the variables are

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Variable	Description
P	The probability of being re-arrested within a specified time window (e.g. one year) after an index arrest
i	Denotes an individual
j	Denotes whether an index arrest occurred before 1995 ($j=1$) or from 1995 onward ($j=2$). Since 1995 is the beginning of the San Francisco FOPP, this indicates an index arrest occurring pre- or post-FOPP.
k	Denotes the place where the index arrest was made. The places are: $k=1$: San Francisco $k=2$ through 11: Fresno, Los Angeles, Oakland, the rest of California, Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Diego, San Jose, Santa Ana, or Stockton
n_{jk}	The number of initial arrests for place k at time period j
Has Re-arrest $_{ijk}$	A variable coded 1 if a person was re-arrested and 0 if not

The variance of the mean proportion described in equation (1) may be written as:

$$Var(P_{\bullet,jk}) = \left[\frac{1}{n_{jk} - 1} \sum_{i=1}^{n_{jk}} (\text{Has Re - arrest}_{ijk} - P_{\bullet,jk})^2 \right] / n_{jk} \quad (2)$$

The goal in this section is to compare means from San Francisco with means from California, excluding San Francisco. Therefore, we need to average the $P_{\bullet,jk}$ from everywhere but San Francisco, or $k = 2$ to 11. The weighted average may be written as:

$$P_{\bullet,j(2-11)} = \sum_{k=2}^{11} \left(\frac{n_{jk}}{\sum_{k=2}^{11} n_{jk}} \times P_{\bullet,jk} \right) \quad (3)$$

And the variance of the mean may be written as:

$$Var(P_{\bullet,j(2-11)}) = \sum_{k=2}^{11} \left[\left(\frac{n_{jk}}{\sum_{k=2}^{11} n_{jk}} \right)^2 \times Var(P_{\bullet,jk}) \right] \quad (4)$$

With the means for San Francisco and California excluding San Francisco computed in the pre-FOPP and post-FOPP time periods, we can estimate the treatment effect using a difference-in-difference estimator. That is, separately for San Francisco and for California excluding San Francisco, we compute the change in mean re-arrest rates from the pre-FOPP and post-FOPP time periods, compare the two. The estimator may be written as:

$$\text{Difference - in - Difference} = (P_{\bullet,21} - P_{\bullet,11}) - (P_{\bullet,2(2-11)} - P_{\bullet,1(2-11)}) \quad (4)$$

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And the variance of the mean may be written as:

$$Var(\text{Difference - in - Difference}) = Var(P_{\bullet 21}) + Var(P_{\bullet 11}) + Var(P_{\bullet 2(2-1)}) + Var(P_{\bullet 1(2-1)}) \quad (5)$$

Twenty-one years of data in our analysis file is at the same time both fortunate and problematic for our analysis. While the long time series allows us to observe time trends and compute re-arrest rates very precisely, re-arrest rates in years further removed from the beginning of treatment may be more influenced by non-treatment events. Therefore, we compute re-arrest rates for a different number of years pre- and post-FOPP implementation.

Table 22 reports the mean recidivism rates and standard errors for San Francisco and the rest of California. The first and second columns report, respectively, the pre- and post-FOPP time periods for which we computed re-arrest rates. The third and fourth columns report the mean pre- and post- treatment re-arrest rates for San Francisco ($P_{\bullet j1}$). The fifth and sixth columns report the weighted mean of pre- and post- treatment re-arrest rates for California excluding San Francisco ($P_{\bullet j(2-1)}$). The seventh column reports the difference-in-difference estimate, and the eighth column reports a p-value of a test that the difference-in-difference estimate is statistically different from zero.

The difference-in-difference estimates are estimates of the treatment effect. Except for the first row where we compute re-arrest rates for only one year, we estimate that the San Francisco Johns school program cuts the one-year re-arrest rate by roughly half, regardless of which pre- and post program timeframe is examined.¹⁶ Note that the results do not hold when looking at only the year prior to and the year beginning the program.

Time Trends with Pre/Post Measures of Recidivism

We extended the approach above to include a time trend with the pre-post measures of the rate of re-arrest 3 to 15 months from the index arrest. Retaining the same notation as the previous section, consider the following logistic regression:

$$P_{ijk} = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-\alpha_{jk} + \beta_{jk} \times (Year_{ijk} - 1995)}} \quad (6)$$

¹⁶ Extending the window to 3 to 27 months after the first arrest (a two-year window) and 3 to 63 months after the first arrest (a five-year window) produced similar qualitative results, as the estimated treatment effect was statistically significant for both windows in all but the 1994-1995 time periods. The two-year window produced an estimated treatment effect between -0.041 and -0.059, while the five-year window produced an estimated effect between -0.062 and -0.088.

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Table 22: Mean Proportion Re-Arrested on a 647b Charge, Before and After 1995

Pre-treatment Period	Post-treatment Period	San Francisco		California, excluding San Francisco		Difference-in-Difference	
		Pre-treatment	Post-treatment	Pre-treatment	Post-treatment	Estimate	p-value
1994 - 1994	1995 - 1995	0.084 (0.012)	0.061 (0.01)	0.061 (0.004)	0.050 (0.003)	-0.012 (0.017)	0.497
1993 - 1994	1995 - 1996	0.102 (0.011)	0.050 (0.005)	0.056 (0.003)	0.048 (0.002)	-0.044 (0.012)	<0.001
1992 - 1994	1995 - 1997	0.102 (0.009)	0.049 (0.004)	0.060 (0.002)	0.049 (0.002)	-0.042 (0.01)	<0.001
1991 - 1994	1995 - 1998	0.090 (0.008)	0.047 (0.003)	0.056 (0.002)	0.051 (0.002)	-0.039 (0.009)	<0.001
1990 - 1994	1995 - 1999	0.083 (0.007)	0.042 (0.003)	0.058 (0.002)	0.053 (0.001)	-0.036 (0.008)	<0.001
1989 - 1994	1995 - 2000	0.082 (0.006)	0.04 (0.003)	0.059 (0.002)	0.052 (0.001)	-0.035 (0.007)	<0.001
1988 - 1994	1995 - 2001	0.079 (0.006)	0.041 (0.002)	0.058 (0.002)	0.052 (0.001)	-0.032 (0.007)	<0.001
1987 - 1994	1995 - 2002	0.080 (0.006)	0.043 (0.002)	0.057 (0.001)	0.052 (0.001)	-0.032 (0.006)	<0.001
1986 - 1994	1995 - 2003	0.079 (0.005)	0.043 (0.002)	0.055 (0.001)	0.052 (0.001)	-0.033 (0.006)	<0.001
1985 - 1994	1995 - 2004	0.081 (0.005)	0.043 (0.002)	0.055 (0.001)	0.051 (0.001)	-0.034 (0.006)	<0.001
1985 - 1994	1995 - 2005	0.081 (0.005)	0.043 (0.002)	0.055 (0.001)	0.051 (0.001)	-0.034 (0.006)	<0.001

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.

There is a variable in equation 6 not yet defined, ($Year_{ijk} - 1995$). It is a time trend, where $Year$ is the year of the index arrest. Subtracting 1995 from the year of the index arrest creates a variable that is the number of years an index arrest occurred from the first year of FOPP.

There are two new parameters in equation 6:

Variable	Description
α	The coefficient about the intercept
β	The coefficient about the time trend ($Year_{ijk} - 1995$)

We estimate the regression described in equation 6 for each time period j and place k . Note that the β from the logistic regressions are not generally statistically different from zero, except for the pre-treatment period in San Francisco. For each time period j and place k , we then predict the proportion re-arrested in 1995, the first year of the FOPP, by setting $Year_{ijk} = 1995$ (i.e. $Year_{ijk} - 1995 = 0$). We may write this prediction as:

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$$P95_{\bullet,jk} = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-[\hat{\alpha}_{jk} + \beta_{jk} \times 0]}} = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-\hat{\alpha}_{jk}}} \quad (7)$$

The variance of the mean of $P95_{\bullet,jk}$ may be written, using the delta method (Green 2000, p. 118), as:

$$Var(P95_{\bullet,jk}) = \left[\frac{e^{-\hat{\alpha}_{jk}}}{(1 + e^{-\hat{\alpha}_{jk}})^2} \right]^2 Var(\hat{\alpha}_{jk}) \quad (8)$$

We then compute the proportion re-arrested in California excluding San Francisco, and its variance of the mean, according to equations 6 and 7.

Estimating the proportion in 1995 ($Year_{ijk} - 1995 = 0$) for both the pre-FOPP and post-FOPP offenders allows us to estimate the FOPP treatment effect via a regression discontinuity design. In this design, for the post-FOPP offenders in San Francisco we estimate the re-arrest rate very near to when the FOPP program was implemented (i.e. 1995). For the pre-FOPP offenders in San Francisco, we make a prediction of what the re-arrest rate would have been without the FOPP, using information from prior years to make that prediction. The time trend introduced in equation 6 is important for this prediction. We can also make the same calculations for California excluding San Francisco.

Once the $P95_{\bullet,j1}$ and $P95_{\bullet,j(2-11)}$ are estimated for 1995, we can compute the differences in our prediction of the 1995 pre-FOPP and post-FOPP arrest rates in each place $k=1$ or $k=(2-11)$:

$$\Delta P95_{\bullet,k} = (P95_{\bullet,1k} - P95_{\bullet,2k}) \quad (9)$$

Its variance may be written as:

$$Var(\Delta P95_{\bullet,k}) = Var(P95_{\bullet,1k}) + Var(P95_{\bullet,2k}) \quad (10)$$

For the 1995 pre-FOPP and post-FOPP estimates, we can also compute a difference-in-difference estimator of the regression discontinuity predictions in equation 7. The calculation of the mean is exactly as presented in equation 4 and its variance as presented in equation 5, replacing P with $P95$.

The results from this analysis are reported in Table 23. The first and second columns report, respectively, the pre-FOPP and post-FOPP time periods for which we computed re-arrest rates. The third and fourth columns report the predicted 1995 pre- and post-FOPP re-arrest rates for San Francisco ($P95_{\bullet,j1}$). The fifth column reports the regression discontinuity estimate $\Delta P95_{\bullet,1}$, and the sixth column reports a p-value of a test that the regression discontinuity estimate is statistically different from zero. The seventh and eighth columns report the weighted mean of the predicted

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1995 pre- and post-FOPP re-arrest rates for California excluding San Francisco ($P_{95, j(2-11)}$). The ninth column reports the difference-in-difference estimate, and the tenth column reports a p-value of a test that the difference-in-difference estimate is statistically different from zero.

The results are very similar to Table 22, as the first year is not statistically different from zero, though the others are. We estimate the treatment effect reduces the rate of re-arrest from 3 to 15 months after the index arrest by -0.034 to -0.051.¹⁷

An illustration of one set of the pre-/post-treatment periods may be instructive. Consider the pre-treatment period of 1990 – 1994 and post-treatment period of 1995 – 1999. Figure 5 plots the predicted proportions of re-arrests in months 3 to 15 in the pre- and post-treatment periods, for San Francisco and California excluding San Francisco.

Discussion of the Results of the Impact Assessment

The finding that the FOPP significantly reduces recidivism was unexpected. While the program has a sensible curriculum and was generally well executed, its design appeared to violate several of the principles of effective intervention with offenders that have been derived from more than 40 years of research (this body of research has been reviewed by Andrews and Bonta, 2003; Gendreau et al., 1995; Gendreau and Smith, 2007; Palmer, 1992). Among the key principles are that for programs to make an impact on changing criminal and other dysfunctional behavior (such as addiction, anger, or eating disorders), the interventions must be (1) *intensive* (occurring at least weekly), (2) *sustained* (usually at least four to six months), and (3) must include an *aftercare* component that follows the main intervention of intensive education or treatment (e.g., Andrews and Bonta, 2003; Gendreau et al., 1995). The FOPP meets none of these criteria.

The FOPP's low-intensity and brief intervention, which lacks aftercare, led us not to expect a statistically significant impact. After reviewing the initial recidivism results, we revisited the data to search for errors, and conducted a range of alternative analyses to determine whether the result was a statistical anomaly or the artifact of an error or particular statistical technique. However, we found the data and analysis to be sound, and the findings were robust across analytic approaches.

¹⁷ Extending the window to 3 to 27 months after the first arrest (a two-year window) and 3 to 63 months after the first arrest (a five-year window) produced similar qualitative results, as the estimated treatment effect was statistically significant for both windows in all but the 1994-1995 time periods. The two-year window produced an estimated treatment effect between -0.046 and -0.078, while the five-year window produced an estimated effect between -0.059 and -0.104.

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Table 23: Estimated Proportion Re-Arrested on a 647b Charge, Controlling for a Time Trend

Pre-treatment Period	Post-treatment Period	San Francisco				California, excluding San Francisco		Difference-in-Difference	
		Pre-treatment	Post-treatment	Regression Discontinuity Estimate	Regression Discontinuity p-value	Pre-treatment	Post-treatment	Estimate	p-value
1992 - 1994	1995 - 1997	0.083 (0.019)	0.057 (0.008)	-0.026 (0.020)	0.198	0.055 (0.006)	0.049 (0.003)	-0.021 (0.021)	0.339
1991 - 1994	1995 - 1998	0.116 (0.020)	0.055 (0.007)	-0.061 (0.022)	0.005	0.067 (0.006)	0.049 (0.003)	-0.042 (0.023)	0.062
1990 - 1994	1995 - 1999	0.126 (0.019)	0.059 (0.007)	-0.067 (0.021)	0.001	0.064 (0.005)	0.050 (0.003)	-0.054 (0.021)	0.012
1989 - 1994	1995 - 2000	0.117 (0.017)	0.058 (0.007)	-0.059 (0.018)	0.001	0.062 (0.004)	0.051 (0.003)	-0.047 (0.019)	0.011
1988 - 1994	1995 - 2001	0.116 (0.016)	0.052 (0.006)	-0.064 (0.017)	<0.001	0.064 (0.004)	0.050 (0.002)	-0.051 (0.017)	0.003
1987 - 1994	1995 - 2002	0.104 (0.013)	0.045 (0.005)	-0.059 (0.014)	<0.001	0.068 (0.004)	0.050 (0.002)	-0.041 (0.015)	0.005
1986 - 1994	1995 - 2003	0.104 (0.013)	0.044 (0.004)	-0.060 (0.014)	<0.001	0.070 (0.003)	0.050 (0.002)	-0.040 (0.014)	0.006
1985 - 1994	1995 - 2004	0.095 (0.012)	0.043 (0.004)	-0.052 (0.012)	<0.001	0.069 (0.003)	0.051 (0.002)	-0.034 (0.013)	0.009
1984 - 1994	1995 - 2005	0.095 (0.012)	0.043 (0.004)	-0.052 (0.012)	<0.001	0.069 (0.003)	0.052 (0.002)	-0.034 (0.013)	0.008

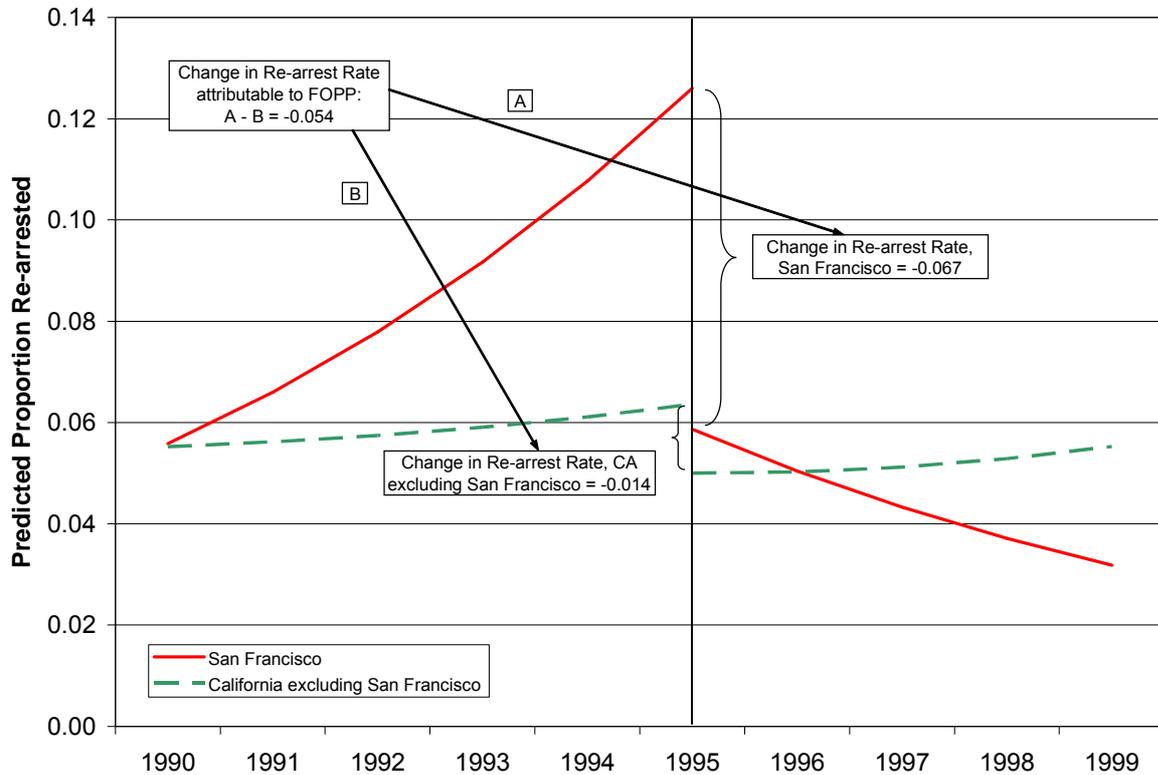
Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.

Corroborating Evidence From San Diego

A preliminary examination of time series data on recidivism in San Diego provides reason for additional confidence in our results for San Francisco. While it is outside the scope of our current evaluation to model the San Diego recidivism data and test for statistical significance, the trend in recidivism rates was very similar that found in San Francisco: Year-to-year fluctuation of recidivism rates prior to the implementation of the john school program, followed by lower average annual rates following program implementation (see Table 21). In the 10 years preceding the San Diego john school, the mean annual recidivism rate was 1.9%; in the five years following implementation, the average rate was 0.4% (the San Diego program was began operating in 2000, so we have only five years of post-implementation data). Given the smaller number of cases in San Diego, the substantial annual fluctuation, and the short post-implementation timeframe, we are uncertain whether the drop in recidivism is meaningful and can be attributed to the program. However, it is an intriguing preliminary result that corroborates our findings in San Francisco, and if confirmed by a full evaluation would further support the findings about the effectiveness of the john school model.

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Figure 5: One-Year Re-arrest Rates, Before and After FOPP Implementation



Potential Explanations for the FOPP's Impact on Recidivism

Assuming the veracity of our key finding that the FOPP reduces recidivism, the question becomes: Why? There are at least four explanations for the observed decline in recidivism:

- (1) The FOPP teaches participants how to avoid rearrest.
- (2) The FOPP causes soliciting to be displaced to other sites.
- (3) The FOPP causes soliciting to be displaced indoors (e.g., brothels, web).
- (4) The FOPP is effective in reducing reoffending.

Any or all of these factors may play a role or combine in some way to have produce the results we observed, and there is no test within the scope of this project that will allow a definitive answer about why recidivism fell so sharply after implementing the FOPP. However, we can discuss the plausibility of each potential explanation.

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The *first* – that the john school teaches men how to avoid arrest – is unlikely to explain the observed effect, if the john school classes we observed are representative. The presenters discuss police operations intended to combat prostitution, but they focus on conveying how police conduct undercover operations monitoring all forms of commercial sex and modes of engaging in solicitation (brothels, strip clubs, massage parlors, the web). The intent of the discussion is to convince johns that although they were arrested through a street prostitution decoy operation, they can also be caught by police conducting raids or stings in brothels or online. We did not observe john school presenters providing information that would be of use in helping men to avoid rearrest, such as revealing details about the specific tactics employed in surveillance or reverse stings.

One could argue that the arrest process alone – and not the john school program – could teach men how to avoid recapture, but arrest is a constant across all of the cases in our database. Since all of the men have the experience of arrest, something besides arrest must have produced the post-1995 drop in recidivism rates in San Francisco.

Second, the drop in recidivism could be the result of FOPP graduates taking their commercial sex activity elsewhere. This is unlikely to explain more than a small portion of the observed effect. Our database allows us to capture rearrest anywhere within the state of California, and can therefore measure recidivism displaced outside of San Francisco, except that pushed out of state. In addition, one must ask whether the FOPP would produce greater crime displacement than would occur without the program. The FOPP is a voluntary program that allows offenders to have the charges against them dismissed. The participants must see the program as less punitive than tradition adjudication, or they would not choose that option. If so, it is reasonable to ask why the less punitive FOPP would be more likely to displace crime than the more punitive traditional sanctions. A possibility is that the class informs men of the increasingly harsh sanctions they will face for subsequent offenses, and that those men who are either ineligible for the FOPP or who decline the option are not provided with the same information about the more severe consequences of reoffending.

Third, the FOPP may motivate participants to stop pursuing commercial sex on the streets and to use escorts or solicit prostitutes in brothels or via the web. This displacement indoors or online is a plausible explanation and may account for some of the FOPP's effect. Since the SFPD conducts reverse stings almost exclusively as street operations, men who solicit sex online have almost no chance of being arrested in San Francisco. But again, there is no reason to expect that the FOPP would cause crime to be displaced online, beyond whatever displacement may be produced by arrest alone. Since john school presenters tell participants that police monitor prostitution transacted over the web, and this message is not conveyed to men adjudicated normally, we would expect the opposite effect: participants of the FOPP should be less likely than others to shift their activity online.

While it is beyond the resources of our evaluation to test for online displacement in San Francisco, it might be possible in jurisdictions such as San Diego, where there are john school programs and police routinely conduct both online and street reverse stings. If something about the john school experience promotes displacement online, such jurisdictions should see a rise in arrests from web-based reverse stings and a decline in the yield from street operations.

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Fourth, it is possible that the program is simply effective. Again, given that the program is not intense, sustained, and has no aftercare, we questioned its ability to substantially change behavior – particularly behavior linked to sexuality, and that may have elements of compulsion or addiction for at least some of the FOPP participants. However, the robust findings have caused us to consider how and why the program appears to accomplish what it intends to accomplish.

One possibility is that our assumptions about the elements necessary for a program to be effective may not apply to this population of offenders. The body of research on the treatment of crime and other destructive behavior has been built upon studies of other populations: often, convicted prisoners and/or drug addicts. Such populations are substantially different from the pool of FOPP participants in terms of demographics, education level, employment status, and involvement in crime. For years, the conventional wisdom on education and treatment of such offenders was that their problems are effectively intractable, and that “nothing works” (Martinson, 1974). From the 1980s through the present, a new wave of programs and research caused the conventional wisdom to shift to “treatment can work, but only under certain conditions” (e.g., Andrews and Bonta, 2003; Gendreau et al., 1995; Gendreau and Smith, 2007; Palmer, 1992), with the basic principle being that a infusion of intense, sustained effort is required to produce change. Yet the FOPP appears to have produced substantial benefits with minimal investment in time or resources¹⁸.

The explanation for the apparent disconnect between what is assumed to be effective and what the FOPP provides may lie in differences between most offender populations and those that solicit sex. Typical offender populations tend to have substantial criminal histories and to be “generalists” in their criminal careers: one time they are arrested for drugs, the next time for assault, and the time after that for burglary or auto theft. They are usually younger, crime-involved individuals, and their criminal activity elevates their risk of capture at any particular moment for one crime type or another. The pools of men arrested for soliciting have little or no criminal histories¹⁹, are older, and are far more likely to be employed, educated, and either married or in relationships.

FOPP participants are far more similar the general population than to offender populations on the traits for which we have measures. This pattern has been observed in several studies covering other jurisdictions (e.g., Kennedy, 2004; Lever and Dolnick, 2000; Monto, 1999). It is possible that the cross-section of men who solicit sex contains a substantial number who are amenable to change through a simple infusion of information. From comments on surveys and class evaluations, and verbal comments of the men in the FOPP classes, it is clear that some of the men held erroneous views about the motivations and well-being of the women they hire for sex, and viewed prostitution as a victimless crime. Given the program’s emphasis on building empathy for victims and communities, it is likely that the program has little or no effect on men who are motivated to solicit prostitutes by psychopathy or misogyny. The program’s lack of attention to providing skills for avoiding relapse and for engaging in replacement behaviors, the program is unlikely to help men motivated by compulsion or sexual addiction. But there is, apparently, a

¹⁸ The “treatment” occurs in one eight-hour day, and over the past year the average direct cost for the FOPP’s john school has been approximately \$60 per participant.

¹⁹ The eligibility criteria, reverse sting operations, and screening processes do not allow men into the FOPP who are arrested for committed felonies such as soliciting a minor for sex, sex offenses (e.g., rape, statutory rape), and domestic violence, or those with sex crimes or violence in their criminal histories.

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subset of men who are amenable to change when provided with new information about commercial sex.

Unanswered Questions About the FOPP's Effectiveness

While all available evidence supports the conclusion that the program is effective in reducing reoffending, there are a number of questions that remain unanswered. **First, why did the program reduce recidivism?** While the various elements of the program produced an effect, we do not know which components contributed most, and which contributed less or not at all. For example, one can view the curriculum as pursuing two main themes: (1) an appeal to self interest, in the form of avoiding future legal and health problems, and (2) an appeal to altruism, in the form of avoiding the negative impacts that their involvement in commercial sex has on communities, prostitutes, and on the men's families and other partners. It is possible that different program elements appealed to different kinds of men, with some responding to the messages about personal risks, while others may respond to becoming newly aware that their actions have harmed others. Another possibility is that most of the program's effect was produced by just one or two of the presentations.

Second, for whom did the program work? Which subset of men responded to the messages of the john school and altered their behavior? To answer that, we would need to gather information on whatever individual traits may be of interest (e.g., histories of childhood sexual abuse, personality inventories, scores in psychopathy indices, personal histories about functional intimate relationships, attitudes toward women), and valid and complete offender tracking information that would allow the individual-level data on FOPP participants to be linked to criminal history databases.

Third, could the program have been more effective? It is possible that the FOPP personnel have "captured lightning in a bottle" and produced a perfectly balanced, optimal program, where any changes would reduce effectiveness. This is unlikely, since the potential normally exists for any program, even those that are highly successful, to be improved. While we have identified areas of potential improvement at several points in this report (e.g., adding curriculum elements that build skills necessary for men to meet their needs by means other than commercial sex; adding aftercare; pursuing web-based reverse stings to respond to changes in the commercial sex market), the only sure way to determine if these actually improve the program is to experiment by altering the program and tracking the effects these changes have on reoffending.

Fourth, how does the FOPP's performance compare to that of other john school models? As we discuss in Chapter 6, there are many other john school designs that have been implemented in the U.S. For example, some programs are not voluntary diversion programs, but are provided as conditions of sentences; some are structured as multiple-session individual or group counseling programs; and some programs couple the educational programming with community service requirements. While there are reasons to believe that more intensive, sustained, and individualized approaches (such as those employed by the Project Pathfinder Program in St. Paul, MN, the John Group program in Grand Rapids, MI, or the Odyssey program in Tucson, AZ) would be more effective than a one-day class that is not tailored to individual offender needs and has no aftercare (e.g., Andrews and Bonta, 2003; Gendreau et al., 1995; Gendreau and Smith, 2007; Palmer, 1992),

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the relative effectiveness of the FOPP is an empirical question that is not yet answered. For an answer, impact evaluations must be conducted on other john school models in order to estimate the relative effectiveness of the FOPP. At the moment, the FOPP is the only john school whose effectiveness has been demonstrated.

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Chapter 5: Assessing Program Costs

One of the four primary tasks of this evaluation is an accounting of the FOPP's costs. In this chapter, we examine the costs associated with the primary activities associated with the program, how these costs are offset by the revenue generated by the fees paid by program participants, and whether program costs are proportional to program benefits.

Considerations in Calculating FOPP Costs

As discussed in Chapter 2, the main categories of activity associated with the program are (1) SFPD's law enforcement operations (reverse stings) that generate arrestees referred to the program, (2) SFDA's screening of arrestees for FOPP eligibility, and (3) the john school classes. The estimated costs of the FOPP vary greatly depending upon which of these activities are considered to be part of the program. For example, reverse sting operations are the most labor-intensive and costly activities, and the program is highly dependent upon them since all program participants are supplied by a process starting with the vice unit operations. While reverse stings are crucial to the FOPP's operation, they occur independent of the program. Police are charged with enforcing prostitution laws, and the SFPD conducted reverse stings prior to the implementation of the FOPP: in the five years preceding implementation of the program, the SFPD arrested over 1,800 men fitting the program's eligibility criteria. Similarly, the SFDA must process those arrested for violating prostitution laws regardless of whether there is an FOPP program.

If the SFPD's law enforcement and the SFDA's case processing activities occur independent of the program, then these activities should not be included when estimating program costs. Most john school programs include only the educational component as elements of the program. However, in managing the FOPP, the SFDA and the SFPD counts reverse stings and arrestee processing as program elements and are included in the program's budget. For our cost accounting, we provide information about the costs of all major activities associated with the program and allow the reader to determine what to regard as program costs.

We received program budget data from the SFDA, which handles all collection and distribution of fee revenue, executes contracts with SAGE, reimburses SFPD for a portion of their costs, and pays stipends to the non-governmental contributors to the program. We also received budget information from SAGE, SFPD, and SFDPH. In addition, we estimated average and total fee revenue received by the program using the SFDA's FOPP database.

Our presentation of the program's fee revenue and total costs over the 12 years of FOPP operation are based on estimates. A presentation of actual fees and costs could not be made due to incomplete data. For example, we were able to obtain information on the number and costs of reverse sting operations for just a three-year period. We used this information to calculate per-operation and per-arrestee costs, and used these averages along with known parameters such as the total number of FOPP participants to extrapolate and estimate across all 12 years. Similarly, we obtained memos from the SFPD to SFDA detailing the cost of police labor for reverse stings for

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one year, and from this data produced estimates for other years. Annual cost estimates have been adjusted for inflation using the U.S. Department of Labor’s inflation calculator²⁰.

Our presentation of FOPP costs begins with a discussion focused narrowly on the activities that are indisputably attributable to the program (the john school classes), then broadens in scope to include the other costs incurred by the SFPD in conducting reverse stings, and incurred by the SFDA in processing offenders and administering the program. Then we discuss the fee revenue generated by the FOPP, how the program revenue offsets costs and supports programs for survivors of commercial sexual exploitation, and how the program’s effectiveness fares when weighed against costs. Details about data sources, staff salaries, calculations, and assumptions made in our accounting of FOPP costs are presented in Appendix Q.

Costs of Conducting John School Classes

The john school is the one FOPP component that undeniably incurs unique costs, and all of the substantial costs of the john school are for labor. All three of the primary FOPP partners (SFDA, SFPD, and SAGE) have staff involved in conducting the john school classes. We received salary information on government employees involved in john school classes from the three primary FOPP partners and from the SFDPH. The other direct labor costs are stipends paid to those who are not government employees. Below, we provide separate estimates of the costs of government employees and those from NGOs and other segments of the community.

One type of cost that we do not account for in our assessment is what is termed an “opportunity cost.” If the personnel involved in the FOPP were not so engaged, they would presumably be doing something else, and those other activities would have some value. For example, if not for the FOPP, the SFPD vice officers would be likely to devote the balance of their time to their other duties, such as investigating gambling and drug offenses. There is a great deal of subjectivity involved in determining whether there is more value in time spent enforcing prostitution laws versus gambling or drug laws. Attempting to quantify the value of other activities and to estimate the opportunity costs of the FOPP is a substantial modeling exercise that is beyond the scope of the present study.

The classes are held in a jury room of the county courthouse, and the evaluation team was provided with no estimate of the costs of using this space. This is not problematic, since the amortized cost of this public space used one day every month or two would be negligible, and since there is no opportunity cost (the classes are held on Saturdays when the courthouse is unoccupied, so there is no competition for the jury room).

“External” Expenses

As can be seen in Table 24, *it costs \$758 per john school class for the labor of those who are not government employees*. This category of cost can be thought of as the “out-of-pocket” expenses of conducting the classes, and we are referring to them as “external” expenses. While the

²⁰ U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. <http://www.bls.gov/>

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government agencies involved do not necessarily have to commit extra resources in order to staff the classes with their employees (they are on the payroll anyway and can be assigned to the class rather than to some other task), it does require an additional outlay of funds to retain the services of all non-government employees.

Table 24: Direct Costs of John School Classes

External Expenses for Each John School Class	
Translator	\$ 200
Therapist (average per class)	\$ 50
Stipends for speakers (average per class)	\$ 200
Facilitator	\$ 308
Subtotal	\$ 758
Government Labor Expenses for Each John School Class	
Jury Room Attendant	\$ 110
FOPP Administrator	\$ 309
Assistant DA	\$ 171
Police Officers	\$ 1,679
Health Educator	\$ 72
Subtotal	\$ 2,341
Total Direct Labor Costs for John School Class *	\$ 3,099

* In 2006 dollars. When computing program totals for 1995-2007, adjustments for annual inflation are made.

Government Labor and Total Direct Costs

We have also summarized the per-class labor costs for employees of the SFDP, SFDA, and SFDPH (Table 24; details about the labor rates and calculations are provided in Appendix Q). The Assistant District Attorneys and the Health Educator each provide presentations of roughly an hour and require up to an hour of preparation time for each class. The FOPP administrator is required to be at the john school to register participants and to monitor compliance by ensuring that they stay and cooperate throughout the day. A jury room attendant is responsible for providing access to the building and to the jury assembly room in which the classes are held. The police officers serve the functions of presenting several parts of the curriculum and providing security. Together, ***the government employees cost \$2,341 per class***. Adding the government labor expenses to the external labor expenses, ***the total direct cost of holding each john school class is \$3,099***.

Administrative Costs

The SFDA is the managing partner of the FOPP, and over the life of the program the agencies administrative costs have totaled an estimated \$143,000. The SFPD and SAGE also have an administrative burden (e.g., updating curricula, meetings, drafting MOUs, and accommodating

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visitors, researchers, and the press), and their total costs are approximately \$71,000 and \$30,000, respectively. The total cost of administering the program over 12 years has been approximately \$244,000, or about \$20,000 per year.

The burden placed on the SFDA in processing the arrestees is probably not identical with or without the FOPP, but it is uncertain whether the program produces a net increase or decrease in workload and thus program costs. In the stages soon after receiving soliciting cases from the SFPD, it is more burdensome to process arrestees for the FOPP than it is to prosecute them normally. With the program, arrestees are required to make contact with the SFDA to start the process of determining eligibility. Those meeting eligibility requirements must be asked if they are interested in the FOPP (a voluntary diversion program), and if they are interested and eligible they must be signed up for the john school class. To determine each participant's fee on the sliding scale, arrestees are required to produce evidence of income level, and this evidence must be reviewed by the SFDA. For most of the program's existence, a full-time position at the SFDA has been devoted to processing FOPP cases. In addition, the SFDA has determined that it takes between 5 and 10% of the SFDA's front desk attendant's (roughly equivalent to a receptionist) time to handle the extra FOPP traffic. The program has also required about five percent of the time of a senior-level managing attorney at the SFDA to handle program planning, work on MOUs among the agencies, and to supervise the full-time FOPP coordinator. Without the program, equivalent cases would require some effort for screening, but according to the SFDA, the burden at these initial stages is less for non-FOPP cases.

At later points in case processing, however, the program relieves the SFDA (as well as court and jail staff) of burden. While many non-FOPP cases are readily disposed of (e.g., by paying a fine), some offenders are litigious and can push cases to trials or negotiation for plea bargains, and some cases result in jail terms or probation supervision, any of which can far exceed the effort and cost of processing cases for the FOPP.

With the evaluation resources available to us, we were not able to obtain data from which we could precisely determine the net difference in burden (and thus cost) on the SFDA to process cases for the john school as opposed to normal adjudication. From interviews and program documents, it is safe to say that the FOPP does not add to the overall burden on the SFDA, and probably reduces it. One of the key intentions of the FOPP from the outset was to reduce the caseload of the courts and jails.

Cost of SFPD "Reverse Sting" Operations

As discussed previously, it is unusual to consider the police decoy operations as part of a john school program, and to use fee revenue to support reverse stings. However, that is the arrangement in the FOPP, so we have accounted for the costs of reverse stings and have calculated what portion of the SFPD's costs are offset by the fee revenue.

The median labor cost of reverse sting operations (usually involving three to five officers during the street operation, spanning approximately two hours for the operation itself and another two hours for setup and report writing) was \$2,142 (see Appendix Q for details). The mean cost per john arrest was \$356, and per FOPP participant was \$896. When offset by the fee revenue received by SFPD, the average net cost for police operations that place offenders into the FOPP

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was \$418 per participant. Over the life of the FOPP, it has cost an estimated \$3,516,479 for SFPD reverse stings. Close to one third of those costs were recovered through the SFPD’s share of fee revenue (\$1,047,706).

Table 25: Summary of FOPP Fee Revenue and Costs

Fee Revenue	
Mean fee received per FOPP participant, 1995 – 2002 (n = 4,157)	\$ 486
Mean fee received per FOPP participant, 2002 – 2007 (n = 1,462)	\$ 768
Total Fee revenue received, 1995 - 2007	\$ 3,143,118
Total fee revenue for each primary partner (SFDA, SFPD, SAGE), 1995-2007	\$ 1,047,706
Fee revenue for CSE survivor programs, 1995 - 2007	\$ 984,927
John School Costs	
Total John School external costs, 1995 - 2007 ¹	\$ 90,614
Total John School direct costs, 1995 – 2007 ²	\$ 371,972
SFDA and SFPD Operational Costs (excluding John School and FOPP administration)	
SFPD reverse sting costs, 1995-2007 ³	\$ 3,516,479
SFDA offender processing costs ⁴	\$ 1,196,098
Total SFDA & SFPD operational costs	\$ 4,712,577
FOPP Administrative Costs	
FOPP administrative costs- SFDA, 1995-2007 ⁵	\$ 142,908
FOPP administrative costs- SFPD, 1995-2007 ⁶	\$ 71,454
FOPP administrative costs- SAGE, 1995-2007 ⁷	\$ 29,934
Total Administrative Costs	\$244,296

Notes:

1. Cost of all john school presenters, translators, and facilitators who are not government employees.
2. Cost of all john school presenters, the jury room attendant, facilitators, and the FOPP coordinator, who are government employees.
3. Includes all labor costs for the female officer serving as decoys and three to five plainclothes and uniformed officers supporting reverse stings.
4. Includes one full-time FOPP coordinator at the SFDA who screens all men referred to the FOPP by SFPD, and a portion of the time for a front desk attendant at the SFDA office.
5. Cost of the SFDA’s project administrator, a senior-level position at 5% time.
6. Cost of the SFDA’s project administrator, a Lieutenant position at 2.5% time.
7. Cost of the SAGE Director, at 40 hours per year.

Revenue Generated by FOPP Fees

From 1995 to mid-2002, the fee for the FOPP was \$500. On rare occasions, arrestees would be allowed to pay less, so the average fee revenue received from each FOPP participant was \$486.

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The fee was raised to \$1,000 in mid-2002, and a sliding scale was established for those unable to pay the full fee. From 2002 to mid-2007, the average fee received from each participant has been \$768.

The total fee revenue generated during the life of the program is over \$3.1 million. This revenue has been approximately evenly split among the SFDA, SFPD, and SAGE, with each of the three partners receiving about \$1 million between March 1995 and July, 2007. As can be seen in Table 23, the fees have covered:

- All of the direct costs of the john school classes.
- All administrative costs incurred by SFDA, SFPD, and SAGE.
- Most (88%) of the SFDA's costs for processing arrestees referred to the program.
- About one-third of the cost of the SFPD's reverse sting operations.

In addition, approximately \$980,000 in fee revenue has been generated to support programs for women and girls who have been (or are currently) involved in prostitution. Almost all (94%) of SAGE's share of the FOPP fee revenue is used to support survivor programs.

While the program has generated a great deal of fee revenue, it is possible that more revenue could have been generated with the same number of participants and the same fee structure. An audit of the SFDA's financial operations, which covered FY2002 to FY2004, found that the agency's Finance Division was:

“... not charging the correct fees for the First Offender Prostitution Program and often reduces the fees without sufficient documentation to support the reduction. The District Attorney also needs to improve its monitoring of the contract expenditures for the contracts it has with the nonprofit organization, SAGE Project, Inc. (SAGE).”

City and County of San Francisco, Office of the Controller (2004:S-1)

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Chapter 6. Assessing Program Transferability

One of the tasks we were charged with in this evaluation was determining the potential for the FOPP to be replicated or adapted elsewhere in the United States. An assessment of transferability is a common component of comprehensive program evaluations. In many evaluations, transferability assessments are speculative: For programs that have not been replicated or adapted elsewhere, the assessment of transferability is an exercise in determining the conditions necessary for the program's implementation and sustainment, and then assessing whether those conditions are (or can be) present in other sites within the U.S.

Assessing the transferability of the FOPP is a different exercise, since it was known at the outset of this evaluation that the program had been implemented in other domestic sites. For our assessment, we attempted to identify all the programs in the country that were modeled after the FOPP. Our starting point was a list provided by Kristie Miller, the Replication Director for SAGE, who has kept a log of sites that have made inquiries about replicating the program or are known to have their own john school programs. The list from SAGE included 24 U.S. cities that had inquired about replicating or had established programs. We attempted to determine which of the sites had actually implemented a program, how many of those programs were still operating, and whether additional sites not on the SAGE list had developed programs modeled after the FOPP. We found that 14 of the sites on the SAGE list had implemented john school programs.

Through literature reviews, web searches, and interviews, we developed a list of sites that are known to have developed programs featuring education for men arrested for soliciting prostitutes. We conducted brief interviews with staff from most of these programs to confirm that the programs existed, to learn when they began operating, to determine whether they were still operating, and their basic structure (e.g., single-session "john school" versus a multiple session, counsel format; sentencing option versus diversion program; whether fees support survivor recovery programs). All those interviewed were asked whether they knew of any other sites that may have a john school or similar education program for arrested customers of commercial sex. This "snowball sampling" method was augmented by literature review and web searches to develop the lists we discuss below.

We conducted 65 interviews with 50 people from 40 sites. The sites were chosen because: (1) they had a john school program; (2) they had a program but it was discontinued; (3) they were planning to start a john school; (4) they had investigated the feasibility of developing a program, (5) they were actively planning a program, or (6) there was evidence that they may have had or considered a program. The roles of the individuals interviewed included:

- **Program directors and counselors** from NGOs whose local roles are similar to SAGE's, e.g., Veronica's Voice in Kansas City, KS, and Street Outreach Services in Seattle, WA.
- **Police vice unit officers** or other police officers and supervisors, e.g., the head of the vice unit for the Los Angeles P.D., a Lieutenant supervising the Vice Unit for the Knoxville P.D., a female officer who serves as a decoy and founded a john school program in Waco, TX, and the Chief of Detectives for the Buffalo P.D.
- **Attorneys from District Attorney's and City Attorney's Offices**, such the Orange County, NY District Attorney's Office, the Marion County, IN Prosecutors Office, and the

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john school program director from the Neighborhood Prosecution Unit of the City Attorney's Office of San Diego, CA

- The **Policy Advisor** on Women's Issues for the Mayor of Atlanta, GA, and the **Court Program Administrator**.
- **Probation officers**, such as the director of the John Group program in Grand Rapids, MI, and an officer with the Massachusetts Department of Probation.

We reviewed the literature and searched the web to supplement the information gleaned from interviews and to develop new leads about additional programs. We learned that there is no central source of information nor comprehensive reviews of john schools or other demand reduction programs. Brief third-party program summaries have been produced and are readily available on a small number of programs, usually covering a subset of the earlier programs implemented in the 1990s, such as Buffalo, NY, Fresno, CA, Nashville, TN, Portland, OR, and St. Paul, MN (see Hughes, 2004; Monto, 2000; Monto and Garcia, 2001; Scott and Dedel, 2006; Weitzer, 2001). For other programs, information is available in the form of descriptions produced locally by program or agency staff (e.g., Fresno, CA; Norfolk, VA) or through media coverage (e.g., Brooklyn, NY; Phoenix, AZ; Tacoma, WA).

There are many limitations in the information available about most of these programs. Much of the information is from media accounts or brief descriptions produced by program staff. There is no central source of information about demand reduction programs generally, or john schools in particular, and there have been no attempts to systematically assemble information across sites nor to verify the reported information about each program. For these and other reasons, the information we have gleaned so far should be considered exploratory.

The remainder of this chapter begins with establishing working definitions for john schools and FOPP replication programs that guided our transferability assessment. Our presentation of results from our assessment begins by placing john school programs within the context of CSE and sex trafficking demand reduction strategies. We (1) describe the prevalence of programs that have emulated the FOPP, (2) present descriptive information, and (3) distinguish among currently active programs, those that have been discontinued, and sites that have considered or are currently planning to implement education programs for johns. Finally, we briefly discuss the prospects for continued growth of john school programs.

Definitions

As our research on FOPP replications and other demand reduction programs progressed, it became apparent that programs featuring some form of education or treatment for johns had been developed in numerous sites, and that they varied widely in their structure. Given that we found no other program to be exactly like the FOPP in terms of its basic features (e.g., fee level, distribution of fees among partners, devoting fee revenue to survivor programs, sentencing version diversion option, the curriculum, and the classroom format), we developed an operational definition of what can be considered a replication of the program. We classify a program as a replication if it shares the following features with the FOPP:

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1. In includes a john school education program with a one-day, class room format.
2. The john school curriculum covers multiple topics, including consequences of commercial sex for health, and the impact of CSE on survivors and communities.
3. The program is a voluntary diversion option.
4. The program generates fee revenue to support the recovery of women involved in commercial sex.
5. The program must have been developed after the FOPP was implemented in 1995.
6. The program staff must have been aware of the FOPP and used it as a model.

In addition to defining what would constitute an FOPP “replication,” the need for a definition of “john school” also emerged. We found programs that provide educational programming for men that pursue the same basic demand-reduction goals as those pursued by the FOPP, but were not modeled after the San Francisco program and are structured differently. To explore the prevalence of demand reduction programs featuring educational interventions for the consumers of commercial sex, we define a john school as having the following features: (a) educates men arrested for soliciting prostitutes; (b) has a multi-dimensional curriculum (e.g., cannot be a class on health risks only); and (c) pursues the goal of reducing demand for commercial sex and/or sex trafficking.

Commercial Sex Demand Reduction Programs

There are four major categories of approaches for attacking the demand side of commercial sex (see reviews by Hughes, 2004; Scott and Dedel, 2006):

1. Law enforcement

- Police decoy operations (“reverse stings”) focusing on “customers”
- “Shaming”
 - Publicizing photos and/or names of johns
 - “Dear John” letters sent to homes
- Seizing autos, suspending licenses
- Geographic restraining orders
- Community service for arrested or sentenced johns

2. Public awareness/education campaigns

3. Neighborhood watch programs targeting johns

4. “John school” education & treatment programs

From our exploratory research, we have compiled lists of sites in which these demand reduction efforts have occurred. A summary of our findings is presented in Table 26. As can be seen here, the most widespread demand reduction strategy is the police decoy operation, or reverse sting. We have identified 448 sites in the U.S. that have conducted reverse stings. These operations are conducted by all of the 101 sites with active, discontinued, or planned john school programs, sites known to have considered implementing such programs, and at sites with health education programs for johns (discussed below, and listed in Tables 28-31). An additional 337 sites (listed in

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Appendix R) have conducted reverse stings but are not known to have considered, planned, or operated a john school or other kind of john education program.

Again, we stress the exploratory nature of these findings. There are undoubtedly more communities that employ demand reduction strategies than are listed here. We have been conducting web searches for over one year, and a week has not passed without learning of at least one additional site that conducts reverse stings. In spite of such limitations, the figures presented here are useful in a number of ways, such as providing a lower-limit estimate of the potential for additional john school programs to be implemented in the future.

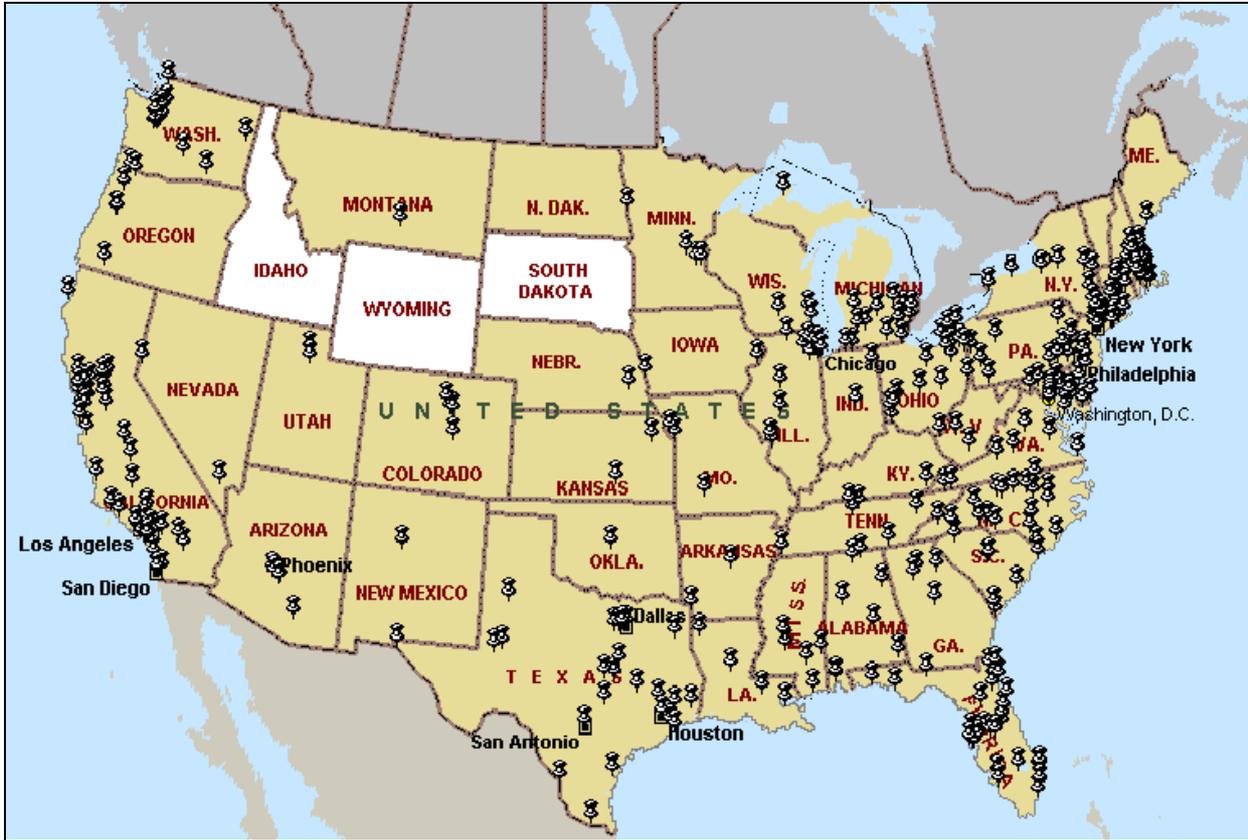
Table 26: Sample of Sites That Have Employed Various Demand Reduction Strategies

Demand Reduction Strategy	Number of Sites Identified
Law Enforcement	
Reverse stings (street operations)	448
Reverse stings (Web-based)	76
Reverse stings (CB radio)	1
Shaming: Names and/or photos publicized	202
Shaming: "Dear John" letters sent home	20
Auto seizures or forfeitures	54
Geographic restraining orders or zones	38
Community service	11
Surveillance cameras in active prostitution zones	4
Suspending driver's licenses	1
Public Awareness/Education Campaigns	11
Neighborhood Watch Programs Targeting Johns	9
John Education or Treatment Programs	
Currently active john schools	39
Discontinued john schools	9
Considering or planning john schools	49
Education programs covering health topics only	11

Demand reduction efforts are known to have occurred in at least 47 states (all but Idaho, Wyoming, and South Dakota; see Figure 6), and in communities of all sizes. While it is well-known that prostitution and sex trafficking are not strictly urban problems (and with the advent of web-based solicitation, it is becoming even more decentralized), we were surprised to learn how many small towns had the resources and the need to conduct police decoy operations targeting johns. Towns with populations of under 600 have conducted reverse sting operations (Clayton Township, MI; Georgetown, MS; Jefferson, WV; Springfield, SC), and we have identified 141 communities with populations less than 50,000 in which police have targeted johns. For the set of 392 cities and towns identified as having conducted reverse stings (the remaining sites are counties and states), the median population is 76,500. A population distribution for communities that have conducted reverse stings is presented in Table 27.

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Figure 6: Cities and Towns That Have Conducted Reverse Stings



Among the demand reduction strategies employed are public education campaigns (e.g., Atlanta, GA; Madison, WI; Oakland, CA; Phoenix, AZ); auto seizure and license suspension programs (e.g., Anchorage, AK; Cincinnati, OH; Springfield, IL; and more than a dozen communities in California²¹), geographic restraining orders or restricted zones (e.g., Everett, WA; Fort Lauderdale, FL; Knoxville, TN); community service programs (e.g., Akron, OH; Indianapolis, IN; Norfolk County, VA); “shaming” offenders by publicly posting their names and photos (e.g., Baton Rouge, LA; Chicago, IL; New York, NY); and sending letters to arrestee’s homes (e.g., Arlington, TX; Raleigh, NC; Worcester, MA). While some of these efforts have been described in reviews (e.g., Hughes, 2004; Scott, 2002; Wahab, 2006) or covered by the media, there have been no systematic attempts to provide a national picture of the range of program models implemented, and few formal evaluations of their effectiveness in reducing reoffending (Monto and Garcia’s study of the SEEP program in Portland, and the present evaluation of the FOPP).

²¹ On July 26, 2007 the California State Supreme Court overturned the city of Stockton’s ordinance that allowed autos to be seized from those arrested for soliciting, causing the practice to be discontinued or suspended throughout the state while city ordinances are being reviewed or revised. Previously, Washington DC had a car seizure program that was declared unconstitutional and suspended in 2003.

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Table 27: Population Distribution of Cities and Towns That Have Conducted Reverse Stings

Population	N
Less than 1,000	4
1,000 – 9,999	30
10,000 – 24,999	52
25,000 – 49,999	55
50,000 – 74,999	52
75,000 – 99,000	42
100,000 – 149,000	45
150,000 – 199,999	34
200,000 – 499,999	47
500,000 – 999,999	21
1,000,000 or more	10
Total	392

Prevalence of John School Programs

In addition to San Francisco, we have identified 47 U.S. cities and counties that have offered broad-spectrum education programs (john schools) for men arrested for soliciting in lieu of, or in addition to, criminal penalties. Thirty-nine have programs that are still operating (Table 28), and nine sites have had john schools that were discontinued (Table 29). Forty-nine sites are known to have considered or are planning a john school program (Table 30). Of these 49 sites, four are actively planning programs that are scheduled to come online in 2008 (Atlanta, Dayton, Los Angeles, and Madison). An additional 11 sites have education programs for johns that are restricted to health topics were identified (Table 31).

FOPP Replications and Adaptations

For a john school program to be a replication of the FOPP, it must have been implemented after the FOPP began operating in March, 1995. The majority of programs began after the San Francisco program, but the FOPP was not the first program to provide an educational alternative for men arrested for soliciting sex (Table 32). The first began operating in Grand Rapids, Michigan in 1981 (Sikkema, 2007). While the program, called the “John Group,” has a curriculum that is very similar to that of the FOPP, the earlier program did not serve as a model or guide the development of the FOPP. Another program known to pre-date the FOPP was the Restorative Justice Program for Prostitution Patrons (RJPPP), implemented in 1988 in St. Paul, Minnesota. In the development of the FOPP, the RJPPP is the probable origin of the concept of education for consumers of commercial sex. Unlike the Grand Rapids program, the RJPPP was known to those developing the FOPP and played a role in developing the FOPP. In addition, the SEEP program was implemented in Portland, OR the same year as the FOPP began operating, and was reportedly developed independently of the FOPP (Monto, 2007).

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As Figure 8 illustrates, new john school programs have come online as a remarkably steady rate. On average, about four new programs have begun each year from 1997 to 2007, and at least four sites are planning to begin operating programs in 2008.

Table 28: U.S. Sites with Current John School Education or Treatment Programs

1. Brooklyn, NY	21. Omaha, NE ²
2. Buffalo, NY	22. Orange County, NY
3. Charlotte, NC	23. Phoenix, AZ
4. Chicago, IL	24. Pierce County, WA
5. Cincinnati, OH	25. Pittsburgh, PA
6. Columbus, OH	26. St. Paul, MN ³
7. Denver, CO	27. Salt Lake City, UT
8. Dover, DE ¹	28. San Diego, CA
9. Fife, WA	29. San Francisco, CA
10. Fresno, CA	30. Seattle, WA
11. Grand Rapids, MI	31. Tacoma, WA
12. Hartford, CT	32. Tampa, FL ⁴
13. Indianapolis, IN	33. Topeka, KS ⁵
14. Kansas City, KS	34. Tucson, AZ
15. Lakewood, WA	35. Waco, TX
16. Las Vegas, NV	36. Washington, DC
17. Minneapolis, MN	37. West Palm Beach, FL
18. Nashville, TN	38. Worcester, MA
19. New Hanover County, NC	39. Ypsilanti, MI
20. Norfolk County, VA	

Notes:

- 1 Dover is known to have had john school program as recently as 2005; we have not confirmed whether it is still operating.
 - 2 The Adult Probation Community Resources Directory and the website of the Nebraska Department of Correctional Services lists a Wellspring program in Omaha that provides "therapy ... for men who solicit sex." The "Men's Own Responsibility, Recovery, and Education (MORRE) Program operated by Wellsprings in Omaha is described by Hughes (2004). We have not confirmed whether the programs still operate.
 - 3 St. Paul has two programs: The Restorative Justice Program Prostitution Patrons, operated since 1988 by Project Pathfinder Inc., and the Offenders Prostitution Program, operated by Breaking Free since 1999. The latter program was modeled after the FOPP, while the former program pre-dates the FOPP.
 - 4 Tampa has had a program since 2001, but since 2006 has had few participants due to police shifting focus away from prostitution. A similar situation occurred in Buffalo from 2004-2007, but the Buffalo Police Department reportedly conducted reverse stings and held another John School class in the fall of 2007.
 - 5 The penalties for violating Topeka's municipal ordinance 54-133 for soliciting prostitution include sentencing to a mandatory 30-day "treatment program." We have not confirmed the content or the delivery model of the treatment program.
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Table 29: Discontinued or Suspended John School Programs

1. Chicago, IL	John School (Genesis House)	2005-2006
2. Dallas, TX	John School	2005
3. Hillsborough County, FL	Project HOPE	2002 –2004
4. Madison, WI	John School	2005
5. Pinellas County, FL	Project HOPE	2002 –2004
6. Portland, OR	SEEP	1995 –1997
7. Portland, OR	PPOP	2003 –2006
8. Santa Clara, CA	John School	1990s (dates unknown)
9. Snohomish County, WA	John School	2000-2005

Table 30: Sites That Have Considered or Are Planning John School Programs

1. Alexandria, VA	26. Memphis, TN
2. Alton, IL	27. Modesto, CA
3. Atlanta, GA	28. New Haven, CT
4. Aurora, CO	29. New York, NY
5. Austin, TX	30. Oakland, CA
6. Baltimore, MD	31. Oklahoma (State)
7. Battle Creek, MI	32. Oklahoma City
8. Boston, MA	33. Omaha, NE
9. Charleston, WV	34. Orlando, FL
10. Cleveland, OH	35. Pasadena, CA
11. Dallas, TX	36. Pawtucket, RI
12. Dayton, OH	37. Pomona, CA
13. Fort Worth, TX	38. Portland, OR
14. Genesee County, MI	39. Philadelphia, PA
15. Hampden County, MA	40. Richmond, VA
16. High Point, NC	41. Rockford, IL
17. Honolulu, HA	42. Sacramento, CA
18. Irvington, NJ	43. San Bernardino, CA
19. Jacksonville, FL	44. Springfield, IL
20. Knoxville, TN	45. Springfield, MO
21. Long Beach, CA	46. Toledo, OH
22. Los Angeles, CA	47. Vallejo, CA
23. Ludlow, MA	48. Washington (State)
24. Lumberton, NC	49. Winston-Salem, NC
25. Madison, WI	

Bold = Actively planning to implement a john school program in 2008.

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Table 31: Education Programs for Johns Limited to Health Topics

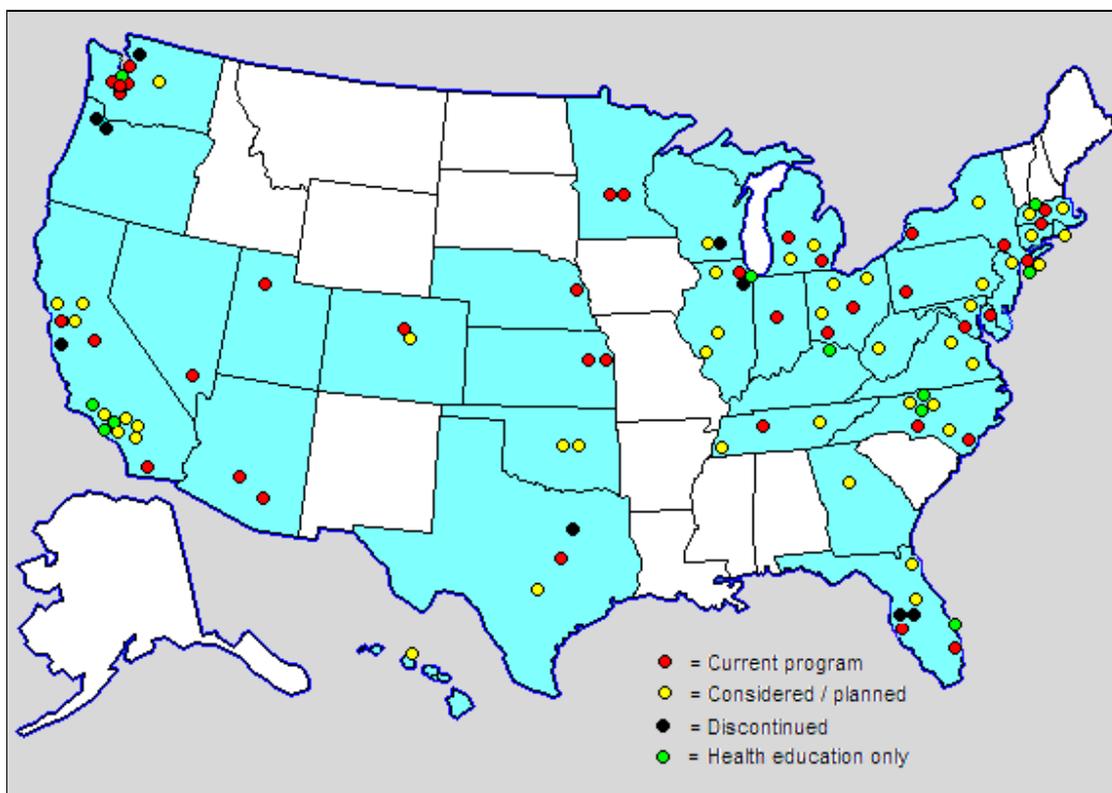
1. Chicago, IL	Haymarket House
2. Covington, KY	City health department class
3. Fitchburg, MA	AIDS education class
4. Forsyth County, NC	POSSE (Preventing Ongoing Spread of STDs Everywhere)
5. Ft. Lauderdale, FL	John Doe Program
6. Guilford County, NC	PSST (People Stopping Syphilis Today)
7. Hollywood, CA	AIDS education class
8. New York, NY	Health education program
9. Pasadena, CA	AIDS awareness class
10. Seattle, WA	HIV class (1999-2002)
11. Ventura, CA	Court-ordered HIV/AIDS education

Staff at most of the john school programs we have identified said that they used the FOPP as a model (n = 29), but when we examined these programs’ major features, no other program was found to be structured like the FOPP along all basic dimensions. For example, most of the other programs collect just enough fee revenue to support the john school classes, and are not designed to generate fees for survivor programs. The FOPP staff (particularly from SAGE) regards that “restorative justice” component as one of the most crucial elements of their program, and believes that it is a serious shortcoming to omit that feature.

Table 33 provides a summary of a few of the key elements of john school programs. Of the 37 U.S. sites with active john schools that were implemented after 1995, 29 sites have programs that were reportedly modeled after (or adapted from) the FOPP. However, only 12 sites contained programs that were modeled after the FOPP and are similar in terms of three important elements: they are diversion programs, involve a one-day john school intervention, and have a restorative justice component in which some or all of the fee revenue is used to support programs for survivors of commercial sexual exploitation. Four of these 12 sites in Washington State (Fife, Lakewood, Pierce County, and Tacoma) share one john school program. Thus, in our exploratory national overview, *we have identified nine currently operating john school programs in the U.S. that can be regarded as replications of the FOPP.* Among these nine replication programs, none charge the same fee or distribute the fee revenue among the partner agencies in the same manner as the FOPP, and two of the replication programs (in Brooklyn and Orange County, NY) have altered the class length, reducing it from eight to five hours.

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Figure 7: U.S. Sites Currently Operating, Considering, or Planning John School Programs, and Sites With Discontinued Programs



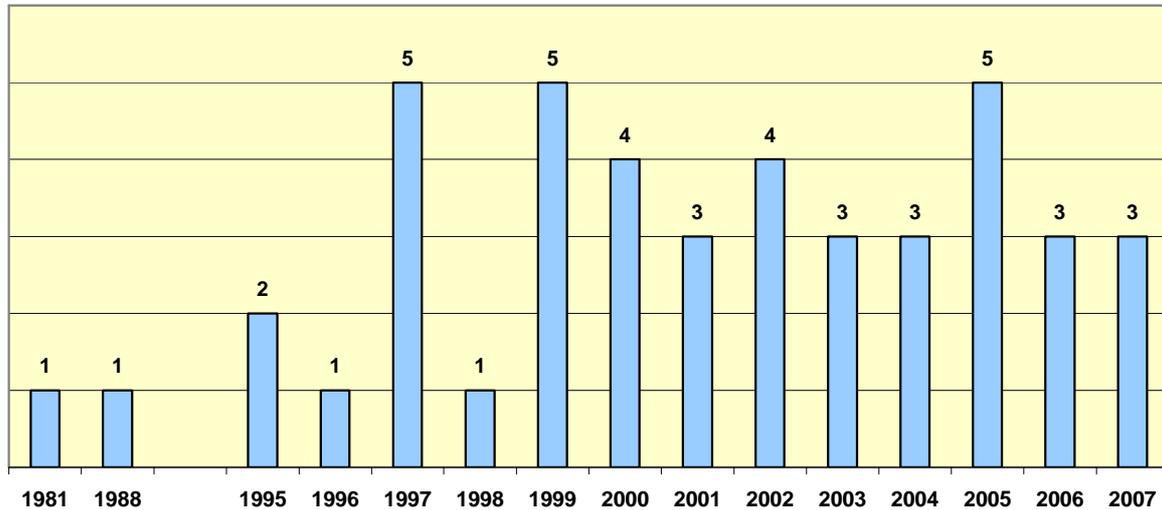
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Table 32: Chronology of John Education and Treatment Programs

Year Started	Site	Program Name	Partners
1981	Grand Rapids, MI	John Group	Probation, health, NGOs
1988	St. Paul, MN	Project Pathfinder	NGO
1995	San Francisco, CA	First Offender Prostitution Program	PD, DA, NGO, health
	Portland, OR	Sexual Exploitation Education Project	DA, District Court, NGO
1996	Nashville, TN	Johns School	PD, DA, NGO
1997	Buffalo, NY	John School	PD, DA, NGOs, health
	Las Vegas, NV	First Offender Prostitution Program	PD, DA, city attorney, health
	Minneapolis, MN	Midtown Community Restorative Justice	NGOs
	Phoenix, AZ	Offender Program for Persons Soliciting	NGO
	Pittsburgh, PA	John School	PD, DA
1998	Fresno, CA	First Offender Program	City Attorney, DA, PD
1999	Denver, CO	Diversion Program	NGO
	Indianapolis, IN	Red Zone Program	DA, NGOs, health
	Salt Lake City, UT	Johns Offender Program	Criminal Justice Services, DA, NGO, PD
	St. Paul, MN	John School	City Attorney, DA, PD, NGO
	West Palm Beach, FL	Prostitution Impact Prevention Education	PD, state attorney, health
2000	Hartford, CT	Johns Protocol	Community court, health
	Kansas City, KS	John School	DA, NGO
	San Diego, CA	Prostitution Impact Panel	City Attorney, DA
	Snohomish County, WA	John School	Health, City Council, NGOs
2001	Norfolk County, VA	John School	Sheriff, PD, city attorney, health, NGOs
	Tampa, FL	Johns Awareness, Diversion, & Education	PD, NGO
	Washington, DC	John School	U.S. Attorney's Office, PD, CSOSA), health; NGOs
2002	Brooklyn, NY	Project Respect	DA, PD, health, NGO
	Hillsborough County, FL	Project HOPE	Corrections, NGO
	Pinellas County, FL	Project HOPE	Corrections, NGO
	Waco, TX	John School	PD, city attorney, health, NGOs
2003	Orange County, NY	Orange County John School	DA, health, PD, NGO
	Portland, OR	Portland Prostitution Offender Program	Community and circuit courts, NGO
	Ypsilanti, MI	Learning Every Aspect of Prostitution	Courts, NGO
2004	Dover, DE	John School	DK
	New Hanover County, VA	School for Johns	County drug treatment court
	Omaha, NE	Men Own Responsibility, Recovery, and Education (MORRE) Program	NGO
2005	Chicago, IL	John School	NGO
	Chicago, IL	Amend	PD, NGO
	Dallas, TX	John School	City Attorney, DA, PD, NGO
	Madison, WI	John School	PD, NGO
	Fife, WA*	John School	City Attorney, PD, NGO
	Lakewood, WA*	John School	City Attorney, PD, NGO
	Pierce County, WA*	John School	City Attorney, PD, NGO
	Tacoma, WA*	John School	City Attorney, PD, NGO
2006	Charlotte, NC	John School	PD, DA, NGOs
	Cincinnati, OH	John Education Program	DA, PD
	Seattle, WA	Men Against Risk Program	NGO, City Attorney, courts
2007	Columbus, OH	John School	City Attorney
	Tucson, AZ	Odyssey	DA, PD, NGO
	Worcester, MA	Community Action to Reduce Demand	NGO, PD, health, probation, DA

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Figure 8: Number of John School Programs Implemented in United States, By Year



Prospects for Continued Growth of John School Programs

John school programs have proliferated in the United States, and all indications point toward continued growth. Four sites already planning to start new programs in 2008 and the dozens of other sites expressing interest in john schools. In addition, recent Federal interest in demand reduction programs suggest that there will be more to come.

While SAGE has received modest levels of federal funding to assist other sites in establishing their own john schools, almost all of the programs have been established and sustained locally. Most of the programs are either fully sustained by fees paid by participants, or are supported by agency budgets. Replications and adaptations of the FOPP are likely given the flexibility of the basic FOPP model to be reconfigured to meet local conditions, and the ability to be financially self-sustaining from fees extracted from offenders. Most of the replication sites have learned about the FOPP through word of mouth or the media, and many have been implemented without any direct support or guidance from SAGE or Federal agencies.

Federal support would allow current programs to expand and other sites to consider implementing new john schools. The 2005 reauthorization of the Trafficking Victim Protection Act (HR-972; hereafter, TVPA-2005) provides support for demand reduction programs generally and particularly emphasizes john schools. Sec 104 (b)(1)(A) calls for enhancements of U.S. efforts to combat trafficking via “measures to reduce the demand for commercial sex acts.” Sec 204 (a)(1) addresses the establishment of a grant program for law enforcement: “The Attorney

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Table 33: Select Characteristics of Current John School Programs

Site	Date Began	Diversion or Sentence	Fee/ Fine	Format	Model Similar to FOPP	\$ Supports Survivor Programs
Brooklyn	2002	Diversion	\$250	1 class, 5 hrs.	◆	◆
Buffalo*	1997	Diversion	100	1 class, 8 hrs.		
Charlotte	2006	Diversion	220	5 group sessions, 10 hrs.		
Chicago*	2005	Sentence	500	1 class, 8 hrs.		
Cincinnati	2006	Either	500	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆	◆
Columbus*	2007	Sentence	156	1 class, 8 hrs.		
Denver	1999	Diversion	200	2 sessions, 4 hrs. 20-40 hrs. com. service		
Fife	2005	Diversion	600	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆	◆
Fresno	1998	Diversion	500	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆	◆
Grand Rapids	1981	Sentence	500	5 sessions, 10 hours		
Hartford	2000	Either	0	1 class, 2 hrs.; 10 day com. service		
Indianapolis	1999	Diversion	150	1 class, 3 hrs.; 5 hrs. comm. service		
Kansas City	2000	Diversion	DK	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆	◆
Lakewood	2005	Diversion	700	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆	◆
Las Vegas*	1997	Sentence	450	1 class, 8 hrs.		
Minneapolis*	1997	Diversion	650	4 sessions, 6 hrs.; 40 hrs. comm service		
Nashville	1996	Diversion	250	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆	◆
New Hanover County	2004	DK	DK	1 class, 8 hrs.; 1 day com. service	DK	
Norfolk County*	2001	Sentence	1,500	1 class, 8 hrs.; plus 1 day com. service		
Omaha	2004	Either	120	8 week counseling program	DK	
Orange County, NY	2003	Either	125	1 class, 5 hrs.	◆	◆
Phoenix	1997	Diversion	788	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆	◆
Pierce County	2005	Diversion	600	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆	◆
Pittsburgh	1997	Diversion	348	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆	◆
St. Paul (John School)*	1999	Diversion	325	1 class, 8 hrs.		
St. Paul (Proj. Pathfinder)*	1988	Diversion	650	4 sessions, plus 6 hrs. restorative justice		
Salt Lake City*	1999	Diversion	350	10 sessions, 15 hrs. over 10 weeks		◆
San Diego*	2000	Sentence	200	1 class, 2.5 hrs.		
San Francisco	1995	Diversion	1,000	1 class, 8 hrs.	NA	◆
Seattle*	2006	Sentence	500	1 class, 5.5 hrs; plus 8 hrs. comm. service		◆
Tacoma	2005	Diversion	600	1 class, 8 hrs.	◆	◆
Tampa*	2001	Diversion	350	6 sessions, 6 hrs.		
Tucson*	2007	Diversion	510	12 sessions, 12 hrs.		
Waco*	2002	Sentence	225	1 class, 8 hrs.		
Washington*	2001	Diversion	300	1 class, 8 hrs.		
West Palm Beach*	1999	Diversion	50	1 class, 4 hrs.		
Worcester*	2007	Either	200	1 class, 8 hrs.		
Ypsilanti	2003	Sentence	500	1 class, 8 hrs.		◆

* Indicates that the program at this site used the FOPP as a model, but the program implemented deviated from that model in terms of its educational format, restorative justice component, or being a diversion option. The yellow shading indicates programs adhering to the FOPP model in terms of (a) being a diversion option, (b) featuring a one-day john school class; (c) having a broad-spectrum curriculum; and (d) using fees to support survivor programs. Fife, Lakewood, Pierce County, and Tacoma all share one john school program operating in Tacoma.

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General may make grants to States and local law enforcement agencies to establish, develop, expand, or strengthen programs... (C) educat(ing) persons charged with, or convicted of, purchasing or attempting to purchase commercial sex acts.” While the TVPA-2005 provides for Federal support for john schools, Congress has not appropriated funds for the grant program as of February 2008. If funds were appropriated for the Federal program, it would add momentum to the nationwide, “grass-roots” growth of local demand reduction efforts such as john schools.

A precondition for a sustainable john school program is a sufficient flow of eligible participants. Usually, this requires a proactive approach on the part of law enforcement to conduct operations designed to arrest men for soliciting. Several john school programs have been suspended or discontinued due to an insufficient flow of participants (e.g., Buffalo; Snohomish County, WA; Tampa). This flow is determined primarily by whether police have and will commit the resources needed to conduct reverse sting operations. Programs whose fees are used only to support john school classes can survive with very small numbers (as few as 10 to 20 per year, enough for one class per year), but programs that rely upon the fee revenue to sustain programs for women and girls involved in commercial sex must have a reliable and substantial volume of program participants.

We have identified over 400 cities and counties in the U.S. without john schools that conduct reverse sting operations. When eliminating the 11 reverse-sting sites that have populations smaller than the least populous current john school site (2,784), we have identified close to 400 potential replication sites. While not all of these sites may be willing or able to start a john school, there are undoubtedly reverse sting sites we do not know about that may be potential replication sites. In any event, it is clear that the potential exists for many additional programs to be implemented in the U.S.

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Chapter 7: Conclusions and Recommendations

Program Design and Implementation

We found the FOPP design to be generally well-conceived and logically sound, with a good fit between the program's goals, resources, activities, and intended outcomes and impact. We also found the program implementation to be consistent, overall, with the program design: Police conduct highly efficient "reverse sting" operations²², which target johns by using female officers as "decoys" posing as prostitutes. The SFDA screens arrestees for FOPP eligibility, establishes and collects fees, and monitors compliance with program requirements. SAGE staff usually facilitates the john school classes, arranges for class presentations by community representatives and women who have been involved in commercial sex, and use most of SAGE's share of the fee revenue to support programs for victims of commercial sexual exploitation. All three primary partners contribute to the classes by giving presentations and monitoring and managing participants. The classroom presentations are usually consistent with the curriculum, and most are of good quality.

The program is remarkably stable, especially given that it is primarily a partnership between two separate criminal justice agencies and a non-profit organization, and collaborates with a public health agency and several community groups. The FOPP has been operating under the same structure, administered by the same set of partners (SFDA, SFPD, and SAGE), and pursuing the same set of goals for 13 years. The program has a strong revenue stream in the form of the fees paid by participants, and the program has solid support in the community and the partner agencies and organizations.

Our outcome and impact assessments found the program to be effective in changing attitudes and reducing recidivism. Nevertheless, in our process evaluation we noted several program features that the FOPP staff may want to reexamine to determine if there are changes that could be made to improve the program:

First, the basic format for the john school presentations is lecture, and there is infrequent use of media or handouts to enhance john school presentations. Given that people vary in learning styles (e.g., with some being more responsive to either auditory or visual communication), supplementing verbal presentations with graphics, outlines, and notes would increase the potential for all participants to learn.

Second, there is no system for ensuring that offenders learn the material presented in the john school. As long as they attend the full day and are not disruptive, they make it through the class successfully. In all of the classes we observed, several of the participants would appear inattentive (e.g., sleeping, reading a newspaper, or staring at the floor) either consistently or

²² Again, we note that reverse stings are an activity that is an element of the FOPP: the SFPD conducted them before the FOPP was implemented, and over 375 other jurisdictions in the U.S. that do not have john schools conduct reverse stings. However, we mention it here because the FOPP (and any other john school) cannot function without police providing a reliable flow of arrestees for the program, and reverse stings are the method used to arrest men referred to the program in San Francisco.

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periodically throughout the day. Aside from our survey, there is no mechanism for determining what information participants are hearing and retaining. Other than the inherent appeal of the material and the presentation, there is nothing to motivate those in the classes who are indifferent or hostile to learning this material – and that subset of participants may be the ones who most need to learn the material. We recommend exploring ways to increase accountability and the likelihood of participants' active participation in learning. Possibilities include a quiz that must be passed for successful completion of the FOPP, or employing active learning methods such as structured discussions, breakout groups, and exercises.

Third, there is no aftercare component to the program, and aftercare has been found to be important for the success of most offender treatment programs. For a program that consumes few resources and is aimed at misdemeanants, a full-scale aftercare program is not feasible unless additional funding for it was provided. However, this gap could be partially filled at little cost by providing references for community organizations or public services that can help men in the community. Representatives from SAGE, SFDA, SFPD, and SOS rarely offer materials for participants to take with them (aside from the course agenda). Sex Addicts Anonymous and the public health educators were the only presenters observed to consistently provide handouts.

Fourth, virtually all of the attention in the classes was given to reasons for avoiding sex with prostitutes, but there was very little guidance provided about how participants can develop alternative means of meeting their demonstrated needs. The FOPP could be improved by adding to the john school curriculum components covering coping mechanisms, skill-building, and strategies for engaging in replacement behavior. Since men pursue commercial sex for a number of reasons, there is no single answer for what is needed to replace soliciting prostitutes. For example, those who pursue commercial sex in search of intimacy may need practical guidance about how to establish and maintain healthy intimate relationships; those seeking an adrenaline rush from the danger and excitement of illicit behavior may need guidance about separating their dangerous thrill-seeking behavior from their sexual behavior. Since a portion of the target audience is probably motivated by addiction or compulsion, the program could add relapse prevention techniques to the curriculum (e.g., recognizing and interrupting the patterns of progressing from negative emotional states to ideation about the negative behavior, from ideation to planning, and from planning to acting out).

While it is true that building complicated skills and learning techniques to deal effectively with compulsions and addictions are impractical in a program with just five hours allotted for instruction, these skills and concepts could be introduced in class, and then men could be referred to resources in the community that would assist them over time as part of an aftercare component or on a voluntary referral basis. Whether the present class is reconfigured to provide brief introductions to skill-building and relapse prevention, or these issues are addressed in the community after men have attended the john school, the need is apparent.

Fifth, the SFPD relies almost exclusively on street-level reverse stings to generate the flow of offenders into the program. FOPP staff should examine the possibility of expanding the methods they use to conduct reverse stings. From 1999 to 2006, the number of FOPP participants had declined by about 80%. Program staff contend that one of the main reasons for this decline is a lower yield of participants per street-level reverse sting operation, and this lower yield is

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attributed primarily to the rise of online soliciting. They argue that a large portion of the commercial sex market has shifted away from the streets and toward the Internet, and this shift in the market is verified nationally (e.g., Booth, 2007; Hughes, 2003; LaPeter, 2005; Roane, 1998; Ross, 2005; Sanders, 2008). However, the SFPD continues to rely almost exclusively upon street operations to populate the FOPP. The SFPD vice officers we interviewed said that the department had experimented with web-based stings, and that these appeared to be successful, but they have never been pursued as routine operations. If the FOPP staff is committed to having a relatively large program, an avenue that should be explored is routinely conducting web-based reverse stings. Our exploratory research has identified 72 other communities that conduct reverse stings via the Internet. Ten of these sites are in California and thus operate under the same set of criminal law statutes that govern law enforcement in San Francisco. In interviews with john school program staff in San Diego (which conducts roughly half of its reverse stings via the web) and a vice unit officer from Pomona, we were told that web-based reverse stings are no more costly or risky, and produce a yield of arrestees similar to their street operations.

Program Effect on Knowledge and Attitudes

Our findings about the FOPP's affect on knowledge and attitudes are consistent with most results from previous pre-post assessments of john schools. For instance, Wortley and colleagues (2002) found that the john school program in Toronto significantly impacted the participants' views on legalization of prostitution, but did not significantly impact the future plans of participants to solicit prostitutes. However, Wortley and colleagues also found a significant impact on future plans to utilize prostitutes among sex trade veterans and first-time johns; those results were not replicated in our evaluation. Our finding that the FOPP did not reduce the perceived likelihood of further involvement in prostitution was surprising, given that there were significant increases in the perceived chances of negative outcomes resulting from their continuing to solicit prostitutes. It may be that this change in knowledge or attitudes requires some time before it is translated into behavioral change for the johns, which could be better observed with a longer-term follow-up.

The FOPP participants surveyed did not display an increased confidence in their ability to resist the temptation to solicit prostitutes. This result is consistent with our observation that the brief john school intervention did not offer many tools to help participants strategize for positive behavior changes, recognize relapse triggers, develop means of engaging in replacement behaviors, or other coping mechanisms. The classes focused on conveying factual content and do not encourage active learning, skill-building, or problem solving. The results indicate that a small proportion of respondents believe they have a sex addiction, and since many do not appear likely to attend SAA, there is a need for the program to offer other suggestions for addressing the core issues resulting in their desire to solicit prostitutes, and for learning to cope with the temptation to do so.

Program Effect on Recidivism

The program was found to have a statistically significant impact of substantial magnitude on recidivism. The reason such a brief intervention can be effective probably lies in a combination of (a) a sound program, and (b) the nature of the target population. Compared to typical offender

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populations, a large proportion of the FOPP participants are well educated, employed, and married, and few have extensive criminal histories. Given that many people believe prostitution to be a “victimless” crime, it may be that substantial portion of the participants are sincerely surprised and impressed by the program’s portrayal of commercial sexual exploitation, and are amenable to change.

The results of our evaluation of the FOPP’s impact on recidivism stand in contrast with the only previous attempt to assess the impact of a john school program on recidivism (Monto and Garcia, 2001). Monto and Garcia studied a sample of 91 participants in the Sexual Exploitation Education Project, a discontinued john school program that operated in Portland, OR from 1995 to 1997. The recidivism rates of the SEEP participants were compared to a group of 100 men arrested locally for soliciting who did not attend the program. Monto and Garcia found no significant difference in the recidivism rates of the two groups. They point out that there was only one recidivist in one group and two in the other, so the low base rate and small samples make it impossible to detect a program effect. Aside from the sample limitations, the SEEP program did not provide a sound basis on which to assess the efficacy of the john school program model. The Portland program studied by Monto and Garcia was atypical of john schools in the U.S., being a 15 hour, three day program that was discontinued in 1997 due to complaints that it was little more than an extended ideological monologue rather than an educational program (Franzen, 2003).

Brewer et al. (2007) used the Monto and Garcia study’s results to argue that john school programs do not add anything beyond the deterrent effect of arrest. At the time Brewer and colleagues’ research was underway, the prior study of the SEEP program was the only evaluation of a john school’s impact on recidivism, and it is true that Monto and Garcia (2003) did not find a program effect. However, given the acknowledged limitations of one small-scale, comparison group study of one atypical john school program (Monto and Garcia, 2003), it was premature for to conclude that the john school approach was ineffective in lowering recidivism.

Program Costs

While we did not conduct a formal cost-benefit analysis, the evidence we gathered is sufficient to conclude that the program costs taxpayers little or nothing (depending on what staff activities are considered to be part of the program) and produces a substantial benefit. The program receives a significant fee from each participant, and it takes just four john school participants to cover all of the direct costs of conducting a class. It takes approximately 26 participants per class to cover all of the SFDA’s case-processing and administrative costs, and all of the direct costs of the john school classes. In 2007, there was an average of 56 men in each class, more than double the class size needed to cover costs. This generates a great deal of surplus revenue that is used to (a) partially reimburse the police for conducting reverse stings (which typically are not reimbursed in any way), and to (b) support CSE survivor recovery programs. If the fee revenue were distributed in the manner of nearly all other john school programs, the FOPP would have generated nearly \$3 million for survivor programs. Using their past and current methods, the program has still generated nearly \$1 million for recovery programs. Rather than consuming public resources, the FOPP instead produces revenue fully supporting itself and providing a

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surplus used to support other activities. When coupled with the finding that the FOPP reduces recidivism, we can conclude that the program is cost-effective.

Program Transferability

We found the FOPP model to be highly transferable. Using a narrow definition of what constitutes a “replication” of the FOPP, we found the program to have been replicated in nine U.S. sites. Using a broader definition, there are more than 25 domestic sites that have developed programs in which the FOPP was used as a model. An additional 20 sites have implemented john school programs that are substantially dissimilar to the FOPP.

The programs have proven to be remarkably stable and sustainable, with over 80% of the programs implemented since 1981 remaining active through the end of 2007. Most of the programs are financially self-sufficient, having received little or no Federal support and being sustained (in whole or in part) by fees paid by offenders. The programs we examined appear able to operate indefinitely with little or no drain on public resources provided that (1) local law enforcement agencies remain committed to arresting men for soliciting prostitution, ensuring a stream of program participants, and (2) that the fees are set high enough to cover the program costs, but low enough to avoid discouraging participation.

From our interviews with staff from sites that have attempted or are interested in replicating the model, the major impediment to successful replication is the lack of practitioner access to information about the range of john school program models, including details about how other programs function. Substantial investments are being made in these programs, but little is known about their structure, operation, or performance. Descriptive information is readily available on only a few programs (most notably, San Francisco, Buffalo, Portland, OR, Norfolk, VA, and Salt Lake City), and fewer still are programs that have been formally evaluated (San Francisco, Buffalo, Portland). There have been no attempts to systematically describe or evaluate the broad spectrum of extant programs. The result is that almost all programs are designed using just one program – the FOPP – as a model, due in part to it being the first program and one of a few about which information is available. However, all of the other john school programs we have examined deviate from the FOPP model in one way or another to meet local needs.

The problem for practitioners is that when they determine that the FOPP model must be modified, their decisions are made in a virtual information vacuum. That is, program planners and managers typically modify the model without the benefit of knowing the range of solutions that other programs have developed when faced with similar circumstances, and how the modified program has fared. For example, the DA’s office is the primary and managing partner in the FOPP model, but an effort to replicate the FOPP in another community in California in 2003-2005 was abandoned when the DA’s office was unresponsive. However, Waco, Texas had previously encountered the same obstacle in their attempt to establish a program modeled after the FOPP, but innovated by structuring the program so that arrestees are processed by a municipal court rather than through the DA’s office. The Waco program has been operating for over four years without any involvement of the DA’s office. If the California city had access to

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information about Waco's and other program's prior success in meeting similar challenges, it may have increased their chances of success.

Recommendations for the FOPP

Given that the FOPP is successful in producing its intended outcomes and impact, there is no immediate, compelling need to implement changes. However, proceeding from the assumption that any public safety initiative, even one that is currently successful, may be improved, we offer a number of recommendations that the FOPP staff may want to consider.

First, the SFPD should respond to shifts in the commercial sex market by increasing the use of web-based reverse stings, which have been successfully employed in many other cities in California and throughout the Nation.

Second, we recommend that the partners collaborating on the FOPP pursue evidence-based refinements to the curriculum. For example, other studies find that effective treatment programs provide more practical guidance and skill development for participants, and those successful in addressing addictive behavior offer support for relapse prevention. Whether such modifications of the john school curriculum would improve the program is an empirical question that is best answered by experimentation.

Third, the FOPP staff should consider installing a system for ensuring that offenders learn the material presented in the john school. At present, the primary requirements for making it through the class are attendance, consciousness, and not being disruptive. Although the class produces an aggregate, positive impact on reoffending, the possibility exists that more of an impact could be attained if there were an obligation to learn. There are many possibilities for promoting accountability for learning the john school material, such as some type of quiz or test. Even if the requirements for passing a quiz were so lenient that few would ever fail, attentiveness may increase and a positive effect may be produced by the men simply knowing that they would be tested. FOPP staff could experiment with this by developing a quiz in place of (or in addition to) the class evaluations, and recidivism rates could be tracked for the classes that were tested and compared to those that were not.

Fourth, we suggest that the program managers consider adding some form of program aftercare or referrals for community services. The most effective offender programs feature some form of "after-care," which helps to maintain whatever gains are made in the main intervention and apply what they have learned in the program to their daily lives. While the cost of a full-scale aftercare program may be prohibitive, the gap could be partially filled at minimal cost by providing participants with more reference materials and lists of resources available in the community.

Fifth, the FOPP could explore collaborating with nearby communities, and arrestees from those communities could attend the San Francisco john school. If the FOPP continues to hold john school classes with attendance below the program's capacity, it could be mutually beneficial to the program and to surrounding communities if arrestees from outside of San Francisco were sent to the program. Utilizing more of the capacity of the john school classes makes them more cost-effective, and given that the FOPP reduces reoffending, it would benefit the communities

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whose arrestees are served by the program. A model for a single john school serving several communities has been operating for the past three years in Pierce County, Washington. This was suggested to the Director of SAGE mid-way through the evaluation, and we are told that FOPP staff are pursuing working with surrounding communities, and have made contact with the program in Tacoma, Washington to learn more about how their collaboration works.

Sixth, the FOPP might consider admitting men who are not first-time offenders and those whose participation in the program is a condition of a sentence, and is not pursuant to a pre-trial diversion. There is no insurmountable reason why the program must be restricted to first time offenders, or is offered only as a diversion option. Although statutory or regulatory modifications may be required before the FOPP could serve repeat offenders or accept men ordered to attend as a condition of a criminal sentence, the program should be appropriate or beneficial for a wider range of offenders than those presently served.

Seventh, we recommend that the program personnel initiate an ongoing data collection program supporting FOPP performance monitoring and future evaluation. Complete and accurate offender-level data that can be reliably linked to the statewide criminal history database would provide a continuous flow of feedback that would be useful to program managers. It would also allow researchers to assess the program's effectiveness on subsets of offenders, evaluate whether changes in the curriculum change reoffense rates, and would support the develop of risk-needs assessments to better tailor the curriculum to meet offenders needs.

Eighth, the core messages of the FOPP may be adapted and for, and used in, broader public awareness and education campaigns. Given the evidence that the educational intervention works, there should be value in broadcasting it beyond men who have been arrested. This suggestion stems from feedback from the FOPP participants. In nearly every class, at least one participant approaches someone staffing the program and says something to the effect, 'Why hasn't anyone told us about these things before?' Some of the men have suggested that parts of the john school curriculum should be taught in schools (e.g., how pimps and traffickers recruit and exploit young teenage girls, and that prostitution is not a victimless crime). A small number cities (e.g., Atlanta, Minneapolis, Phoenix) and the U.S. Armed Forces have already developed campaigns that attempt to prevent, rather than respond to, men engaging in commercial sex. Aside from the military program, these public messages tend to be very brief broadcasts of information (such as posters on buses, containing a few sentences of information), and do not convey more than a small fraction of the material that is delivered in john schools.

Recommendations for Technical Assistance

The following recommendations are not restricted to the FOPP, but apply to all U.S. sites with a need to pursue sex trafficking demand reduction. While there are many possibilities, it is likely that no single community or state would be able to act upon the following recommendations, and that either federal assistance or help from private foundations would be required. That said, we recommend the following.

First, a vehicle for diversified, practitioner-led technical assistance should be established. Given the broad variation in local conditions (e.g., level and nature of the local sex trafficking problem,

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state statutes and local ordinances, local law enforcement resources, and social service infrastructures) and the level of local innovation observed in meeting diverse challenges, a single source of technical assistance is not advisable. We recommend that practitioners from throughout the U.S., who are engaged in operating a wide range of program models, be supported in providing information and assistance to other sites seeking to improve existing programs or implement new ones. This recommendation (as well as then next two) is closely related to our recommendation (described below) for further research on best practices among john education programs and other forms of demand reduction interventions.

Second, an infrastructure for circulating information about sex trafficking demand reduction should be created. It is evident that there is great demand for information about effectively combating the demand for commercial sex. Information exists that could be immediately helpful to practitioners and policymakers, but to make it more readily available to those who need it most, a web-based, user-driven infrastructure could be developed to: (a) gather information and source materials, (b) compile, screen, and organizing the information and materials, and (c) provide a means of proactive and reactive dissemination.

Third, we recommend creating an infrastructure for restricted-access communication among practitioners. Not all information about john schools and other demand reduction efforts is appropriate for public broadcast, such as detailed descriptions of law enforcement reverse sting tactics. A restricted blog and/or bulletin board for registered practitioners could contain more detailed operational information and a forum for closed communication with other practitioners.

Recommendations for Further Research

There are a number of unanswered questions about the FOPP, other john school programs, and other demand reduction approaches. We recommend that future studies pursue the following questions.

First, *why was the FOPP effective?* We recommend that subsequent research examine which program elements were responsible for the FOPP's effectiveness in reducing recidivism.

Second, *for whom was the FOPP effective?* Studies should be initiated that examine which subsets of offenders were most responsive to the messages of the FOPP and altered their behavior in ways resulting in lower levels of rearrest.

Third, *is the FOPP more or less effective than other john school models?* This is a critical question, since our exploratory research on the FOPP's transferability revealed that none of the other john school programs in the U.S. was structured quite like the FOPP – and this includes the 29 john school programs that used the FOPP as a model. Are these deviations from the FOPP model improvements, or does any alteration of the FOPP model weaken john school programs? To answer questions such as these, we recommend evaluating other U.S. john school programs, particularly those that are substantially different than the FOPP model; e.g., john schools structured as multiple session counseling programs, those in which education is coupled with community service requirements, those with different curricula, and those in which participation is a mandatory condition of a criminal sentence.

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Fourth, could the FOPP john school curriculum (and the curricula of other john schools) be better targeted to meet offender needs, and address their risk factors? We recommend developing a risk-needs assessment tool that would allow the information provided in the educational intervention to be more responsive to offender needs, and to work directly on reducing offender risk factors for reoffending.

Fifth, what do we know about john school programs and other demand reduction approaches implemented nationally? Through systematic data collection, we recommend developing descriptive profiles of all known john school programs (and better still, of all sex trafficking demand reduction initiatives) to form the foundation for selecting sites for future evaluations and to develop “best practice” guidance for practitioners and policymakers.

Sixth, what do we know about john school programs abroad? There are at least 20 john school programs operating outside of the U.S. (e.g., the national program in the Republic of Korea, about 12 operating in Canada, and several operating in the United Kingdom) that should be inventoried, described, and evaluated.

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Appendices

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Appendix A: Illustrative Sample of Sites with Collaborative Community Responses to Sex Trafficking¹

Reverse Stings as Part of Weed & Seed Initiatives

1. Alton, IL
2. Battle Creek, MI
3. Burlington, NC
4. Dover, DE
5. Garfield, PA
6. Honolulu, HI
7. Lynchburg, VA
8. Manchester, NH
9. Oakland, CA
10. Oklahoma City, OK
11. Providence, RI
12. Salisbury, MD
13. St. Paul, MN
14. Syracuse, NY
15. Topeka, KA
16. Utica, NY
17. Youngstown, PA

Prostitution Targeted by Weed & Seed Initiatives

1. Allentown, PA
2. Alton, IL
3. Atlanta, GA
4. Battle Creek, MI
5. Birmingham, AL
6. Burlington, NC
7. Dover, DE
8. Erie, PA
9. Harrisburg, PA
10. Honolulu, HI
11. Indianapolis, IN
12. Lawrenceville, PA
13. Lumberton, NC
14. Lynchburg, VA
15. Manchester, NH
16. Oakland, CA
17. Ogden City, UT
18. Oklahoma City, OK
19. Petersburg, VA
20. Phoenix, AZ
21. Portland, OR
22. Providence, RI
23. Rockford, IL
24. St. Paul, MN
25. Salisbury, MD
26. Seminole County, FL
27. Syracuse, NY
28. Tacoma, WA
29. Topeka, KA
30. Utica, NY
31. Youngstown, PA

Sample of Sites Where Demand Reduction Programs Were Products of Community Policing / Collaborative Problem Solving Processes

1. Atlanta, GA
2. Austin, TX
3. Buffalo, NY
4. Charlotte-Mecklenburg, NC
5. Champaign, IL
6. Cincinnati, OH
7. Fresno, CA
8. High Point, NC
9. Hollywood, FL
10. Knoxville, TN
11. Los Angeles, CA
12. Minneapolis, MN
13. National City, CA
14. Nassau County, NY
15. Oakland, CA
16. Pittsburgh, PA
17. Raleigh, NC
18. St. Paul, MN
19. San Bernardino, CA
20. San Diego, CA
21. San Francisco, CA
22. Springfield, IL
23. Wichita, KS

1 Citations for sources materials used to compile this list are available upon request from the study's first author.

Appendix B. FOPP Staff Interview Guide

FOPP STAFF INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

Evaluation of the First Offender Prostitution Program

Staff to be Interviewed

The First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP) involves a partnership of Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE), the San Francisco District Attorney's Office (SFDA), and the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD). SAGE personnel involved in the design, implementation, and oversight of the program will be interviewed, as will officers from the Vice unit of the SFPD and the two individuals from the SFDA's office that handle all the prostitution arrestees referred by the SFPD.

Goals of Staff Interviews

The interviews pursue three primary goals:

1. **Document the program's history**, including: needs assessments conducted during the program's development; program planning; descriptions of initial program implementation; and lessons learned. The program history will also include developing a timeline of major events external to the John's School program that may affect outcomes (e.g., changes in law, high profile crimes; significant shifts in local economies), as well as significant changes in the design, goals, or activities of the program over time.
2. **Produce a current and complete program logic model**: goals, inputs, activities, outputs, and outcomes.
3. **Identify additional data sources** that can provide evidence of program processes and outcomes, such as budgets, audits, and reports to program funding agencies.
4. **Confirm and augment previously obtained documentation** about each of the above.

Passive Informed Consent

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may skip any topics or questions that you are unable or unwilling to discuss. Your statements will be held in confidence – that is, no one, except for Abt Associates staff working on the project will know your responses to the interview. Notes of the interviews will be maintained in locked files or password protected electronic formats, and will be physically destroyed at the completion of the study. Should you have any questions or concerns about this interview or the study please contact either of the co-directors of this project: Michael Shively at Abt Associates (617-520-3562) or, if he is unavailable you can contact Marianne Beauregard, Principal Associate and Vice President of Operations, Abt Associates, at (617)349-2852.

Do you have any questions before we proceed?

Discussion Points

[Note to interviewer: This is not a formal interview protocol. It is a set of points intended to provide a foundation for gathering information about the program's history, design, operations, and monitoring. No single person is likely to be asked to discuss all of the issues listed. Some of the questions listed below need not be discussed with more than one or two individuals. For example, we will ask the program administrator and perhaps another staff member to confirm documentation regarding the time the program began. Once this has been confirmed there is little reason to continue asking this question.]

John's School Program Planning:

- When planning began.
- Reasons for considering developing the John's School program.
- Who was involved in program planning.
- How the needs for the John's School program were determined.
- Who was asked about needs.
- What need data were collected (and whether they are still available).
- What specific problems were initially targeted.
- How these problems were identified.
- Program goals
- Main program activities
- Expected program outcomes
- How the program was designed to be integrated with, augment, or complement other programs.
- Other agencies and organizations assisting in the planning and initial design of the program.
- Obstacles encountered in the planning process. (If any, how they were overcome)

Initial Program Implementation (first year of the program, approximately):

- When the John's School program was implemented.
- How the program was initially integrated with other programs.
- How other organizations and agencies initially contributed to the program.
- Who had initial program oversight.
- How the program was initially funded (list all sources of funding, and portion of total funding derived from each source if possible)
- Specialized training of John's School staff (if any, describe the purpose, content, and name the provider):
 - In-class presenters (SAGE, SFPD, SFDA, Department public health, others)
 - Program designers and curriculum developers
 - Program operations (SFDA, SFPD, SAGE)
- Regularly scheduled meetings of John's School staff. If any:
 - How frequent
 - Describe the nature of the meetings.
 - Who attended, and who was required to attend.

- Ask to collect meeting minutes, agendas, schedules, presentation materials.
- Facilities and equipment acquired (purchased, leased, rented) specifically for the John's School program.
 - SAGE, SFDA, SFPD, other
- Previously existing facilities and equipment used by the John's School program. (e.g., meeting space, vehicles, office equipment,)
- The nature of agreements between SFPD, SFDA, Public Health, SAGE, and other NGOs regarding their relative contributions, obligations, and division of fees recovered from arrestees.
- Activities the John's School program staff initially performed. Hours per week they engaged in these activities. SFPD, SFDA, Public Health, SAGE, and other NGOs)
- Obstacles and problems associated with initial implementation (and how they were resolved).
- Successes of initial implementation.
- Confirm the kinds of data used to monitor program activity and performance (e.g., participant review forms, recidivism rates, volunteer rates).

Program Operation (after first year through the present)

(Note to interviewer: Elicit descriptions of current program, and prompt respondent to discuss significant changes over the course of the program's history):

- How Johns School is connected to other SAGE programs (i.e. staffing, resource sharing)
- Involvement of other agencies in operations of program
- Supervisory structure of program/accountability
- How program funding currently operates
- Specialized training of John's School staff (if any, describe the purpose, content, and name the provider):
 - In-class presenters (SAGE, SFPD, SFDA, Department public health, others)
 - Program designers and curriculum developers
 - Program operations (SFDA, SFPD, SAGE)
- Regularly scheduled meetings of John's School staff. If any:
 - How frequent
 - Describe the nature of the meetings.
 - Who attended, and who was required to attend.
 - Ask to collect meeting minutes, agendas, schedules, presentation materials.
- Facilities and equipment acquired (purchased, leased, rented) specifically for the John's School program.
 - SAGE, SFDA, SFPD, other
- Previously existing facilities and equipment used by the John's School program. (e.g., meeting space, vehicles, office equipment,)
- The nature of agreements between SFPD, SFDA, Public Health, SAGE, and other NGOs regarding their relative contributions, obligations, and division of fees recovered from arrestees.

- Obstacles encountered currently in month-to-month operations. Post-implementation program successes.
- Confirm the kinds of data used to monitor program activity and performance (e.g., participant review forms, recidivism rates, volunteer rates).

Securing Process and Outcome Data

Present our current list of data sources, and ask whether additional process data or outcome are routinely collected and maintained about Johns School activities and outcomes (can also use terms “performance measures,” “program monitoring,” and “administrative data to probe for other sources). Explore how we can gain access to these data for evaluation purposes. E.g.,

- Documented planning activities: Needs assessments, meeting notes, initial program outlines, mission statements, etc.
- Meeting agendas, notes, minutes, schedules
- Current program goals/mission statements
- Collaboration agreements, MOUs
- Documentation about recruitment of presenters, other staff
- John’s School goal/mission statements
- Grant proposals
- Quarterly, semi-annual, or annual reports
- State audits
- Training provided for presenters/staff
 - Documentation of staff training (e.g., training descriptions, curricula, completion certificates, personnel records, reimbursements)
- Training required of presenters/staff
 - Documentation of staff training (e.g., training descriptions, curricula, completion certificates, personnel records, reimbursements)
- Funding & budget information
- Program monitoring data (e.g., recidivism, % completing FOPP requirements, number of participants, fees collected)
- Arrests
- Citations
- Alcohol seized
- Business surveys or other kinds of feedback from businesses
- Public surveys or other kinds of feedback from public
- Completion of Johns School requirements (attendance at school, avoiding arrest for 12 months)
- Calls for service (citizen complaints about prostitution)

[Note to Interviewer: If we already have any of the above data in hand prior to the interviews, then any questions about the data (clarifications, interpretation, etc.) will be addressed during the interviews.]

Appendix C: John School Class Observation Protocol

Johns School Observation Protocol

Date: ___/___/___

Number of Program Participants (Johns): _____

List Observers Present (number and affiliation, e.g. media, police department)

___ #	_____ Affiliation
___	_____
___	_____
___	_____
___	_____
___	_____
___	_____

Record time registration began: ___:___ AM
Record time course began: ___:___ AM
Record times of lunch break: ___:___ to ___:___
Record times of other breaks: ___:___ to ___:___
 ___:___ to ___:___
 ___:___ to ___:___
 ___:___ to ___:___
Record time course ended: ___:___ PM
Record time course eval & post
survey ended _____

Was a class agenda distributed to participants? Yes / No
Was a class agenda available for presenters & observers? Yes / No
Collect copy of agenda: ___ yes [check if collected]
 ___ [check if NA]

Session # ____: _____ [title of session]

Time session began and ended: __:__ to __:__

Speaker Name: _____ **Position:** _____ **Affiliation:** _____

Modes of Communication

Lecture _____ Slides _____ Overheads _____
Q&A _____ Handouts _____ [collect any handouts]
Other _____

Content of Presentation [main points]

Qualitative Assessments of Presentation

- a. Clarity of presentation (organized, clearly articulated, etc.)

- b. Demeanor of presenter (volume, collaborative versus confrontational, attempt to engage audience in dialogue, etc.)

- c. Audience response
 - a. Did the audience ask questions?
[If so, how did the presenter respond to them?]

 - b. Did the audience appear attentive?

 - c. Were there overt signs of either acceptance or rejection of the presenter's message? [e.g., facial gestures, comments]

Other Observations [e.g., distractions in the classroom, deviations from curriculum, unexpected events]

Appendix D. John School Participant Survey Informed Consent Form

Evaluation of the First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP), or “John’s School”

Consent Form

Description of Study:

Since you are here today in this class, you are a participant in the First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP), informally known as the “Johns School.” The National Institute of Justice, the research branch of the U.S. Department of Justice, is interested in learning whether or not this program is effective, and has asked Abt Associates, a private consulting firm, to study the program.

To do this, Abt Associates staff are here today and are asking participants in this class to complete two questionnaires, one before the class and the other at the end of the class. The questions ask you to provide information about you and your opinions about prostitution, as well as your understanding of the risks and consequences of prostitution. **Your answers are completely anonymous: You do not put your name on the questionnaire, and there is no way to connect any questionnaire to any individual in this class.**

Your participation is important to the success of this study because it will help us learn whether the Johns School benefits people like you or whether the training needs to be improved. All Johns School participants in a twelve month period will be asked to participate in this study, resulting in about 250-300 survey respondents.

Project Participation: What Will You Need To Do?

If you agree to participate, we will ask you to complete **one questionnaire before the class** and **a second questionnaire after the class**. The questionnaire will take about 20 to 30 minutes to complete.

Project Participation: Are There Any Risks to You?

The project does not have any physical or medical risks to you. Some people may feel nervous or embarrassed about answering personal questions. There are no other significant risks to participating. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. If you reach a point where you do not want to complete the questionnaire, please tell the Abt Associates researcher.

Voluntary Participation: Can You Say “No”?

Your participation in this study is voluntary; you do not have to complete the questionnaire if you do not want to. You can always refuse to answer a question, or to end your participation in the study at any time. Your decision to complete the questionnaire will not affect your participation in the FOPP program or your solicitation case. If you decide not to participate in the study, we will not report this to anyone.

Information Privacy: How Do We Protect Your Information?

It is important that you feel comfortable answering our questions, and we follow strict rules about privacy protection. All proctors are trained professionals who sign a pledge to protect your information.

Only the research staff will have access to the anonymous questionnaires. No information about individual survey responses will be shared with anyone involved in the John's School program. Your name will not be on the questionnaire, and we will not get your name from any other source. No reports on this evaluation will contain personal information about any individual participant.

In a separate part of this study, researchers will access information about all arrests of men for prostitution in order to study recidivism. Survey responses will not be linked to arrest data and your arrest information will be analyzed regardless of whether you participate in this survey. Your name and other identifiers will NOT be available to researchers who access arrest information.

Project Contacts: Who Can You Contact for More Information?

If you have questions about the study or about your rights as a participant, please ask one of the Abt staff members at any time. If you would like to talk with the principal researcher of the study, you may call Michael Shively at (617) 520-3562 or e-mail him at michael_shively@abtassoc.com. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, you may call Marianne Beauregard, the chairperson of Abt Associates' Institutional Review Board, at (617) 349-2852. Calls to either of these numbers may require a toll.

You may keep this form for your records.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Appendix E. Pre-Class Survey

Before-Class Survey

Johns School Evaluation

1. What is your year of birth? 19__ __
2. Are you Spanish/Hispanic/Latino? (please check all that apply)
 - No, not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino
 - Yes, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano
 - Yes, Puerto Rican
 - Yes, Cuban
 - Yes, other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino
3. What is your race? (please check all that apply)

<input type="checkbox"/> White	<input type="checkbox"/> Vietnamese
<input type="checkbox"/> African American/Black	<input type="checkbox"/> Other Asian
<input type="checkbox"/> American Indian/Alaska Native	<input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian
<input type="checkbox"/> Asian Indian	<input type="checkbox"/> Guamanian or Chamorro
<input type="checkbox"/> Chinese	<input type="checkbox"/> Samoan
<input type="checkbox"/> Filipino	<input type="checkbox"/> Other Pacific Islander
<input type="checkbox"/> Japanese	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (please indicate): _____
<input type="checkbox"/> Korean	
4. What is your preferred language? (please check one)
 - English
 - Spanish
 - Other (please indicate): _____
5. What is your current marital status? (please check one)

<input type="checkbox"/> Married/Domestic partnership	<input type="checkbox"/> Widowed
<input type="checkbox"/> Separated	<input type="checkbox"/> Single (never married)
<input type="checkbox"/> Divorced	
6. What is your current city of residence? _____
7. What is the highest level of education you have completed? (please check one)
 - Some high school
 - High school diploma
 - GED
 - Some college
 - Associate's degree
 - Bachelor's degree
 - Graduate degree

8. Are you currently employed? (please check one)

- Employed full-time (35+ hours/week)
- Employed part-time (less than 35 hours/week)
- Unemployed/Laid off
- In school
- Not in labor force (retired, disabled, volunteer)
- Other (please explain): _____

9. Did you have a choice in attending John's school?

- No
- Yes

IF YES: Which of the following is the MOST IMPORTANT reason you chose to attend?

[check ONE of the following]

- Avoid spouse or partner knowing
- Avoid conviction
- Avoid criminal record
- Other (describe reason: _____)

10. If you had not attended the John's school, how likely is it (in your opinion) that you would have been found "not guilty" or had your case dismissed and paid no legal penalty?

- Very Unlikely
- Not very likely
- Somewhat Likely
- Very Likely
- Almost definitely

11. If you had not attended the John's School, how much of a fine do you think you would have had to pay?

\$ _____ [write the number of dollars you would have been fined]

12. If you had not agreed to take the John's School option, how much time do you think you would have spent in jail? [circle one]

- No days
- 2 days
- 7 days
- 15 days
- 30 days

13. Which of the following are reasons you decide to have sex with prostitutes? [check all that apply]

- They will do things sexually that other women won't do
- Don't have to worry about a relationship
- Quick and easy way to get sex
- Control over the situation
- They need the money, and I help them by paying them for sex
- Other (describe reason: _____)

14. Which ONE of the following is the main reason you would have sex with prostitutes? [check only one]

- They will do things sexually that other women won't do
- Don't have to worry about a relationship
- Quick and easy way to get sex
- Control over the situation
- They need the money, and I help them by paying them for sex
- Other (describe reason: _____)

15. Do you think that it should be legal for someone over 18 years old to get paid for sex if they choose to do so?

- Yes
- No

16. Do you think that it should be legal for someone under 18 years old to get paid for sex if they choose to do so?

- Yes
- No

17. How many prostitutes work for themselves and get to keep all of the money they make by being paid for sex?

- None of them
- 25% or them
- 50% of them
- 75% of them
- All of them

18. Whenever they decide to, prostitutes can choose to stop being paid for sex and can make a living in another way.

- True
- False

19. How old were you the first time you paid a prostitute for sexual contact? _____

20. How many times in your life have you paid a prostitute for sexual contact? _____

21. When was the last time you paid a prostitute for sexual contact (not counting the situation that led to your arrest)? (please check one)

- More than 6 months ago
- 3-6 months ago
- Within the past 3 months

22. Do you plan to go to a prostitute in the future?

- Yes, I plan to continue to pay prostitutes for sexual contact.
- Yes, but I plan to do it less frequently.
- Yes, but I am working on stopping.
- No, I do not plan to go to a prostitute but I might "slip up" if I am tempted.
- No, I will never go to a prostitute again.

23. Do you think you are addicted to sex?

- Yes
- No

24. Do you think that it would be difficult for you to stop going to prostitutes?

- Yes
- No

25. Aside from your recent arrest, has going to prostitutes created serious problems in your life ?

- Yes
- No

If NO, skip to question 26 below.

IF YES, answer the following two questions below, 25a. and 25b:

25a. Which of the following have been problems for you?

[check all of the following_ that apply]

- Spending more money than you could afford.
- Getting sexually transmitted diseases (or VD).
- Damaging or ending a relationship with a girlfriend.
- Damaging or ending a marriage.
- Lowering your self-esteem.
- Getting arrested (not counting the arrest leading to your being in John's School).
- Other (list other problems: _____)

25b. To deal with these problems, what kind of help do you intend to seek?

[If any, please describe] _____

26. How confident do you feel that you would be able to avoid going to a prostitute in the following situations? Please answer on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1=Very hard to avoid and 5=Easy to avoid.

I feel confident that I can resist the temptation to go to a prostitute when...[Circle one for each line]		Very hard to avoid				Very easy to avoid
			—————→			
a.	When I really want sex	1	2	3	4	5
d.	When I am a little drunk or high	1	2	3	4	5
e.	When I am angry	1	2	3	4	5
f.	When I feel depressed	1	2	3	4	5
h.	When the risk of being caught seems low	1	2	3	4	5

27. Please read the following statements and tell us how strongly you agree or disagree with each one. Please answer on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1=Disagree Strongly and 5=Agree Strongly.

[Circle one number for each statement]		Disagree Strongly	—————▶			Agree Strongly
a.	Prostitution creates a lot of problems for the world.	1	2	3	4	5
b.	I think that the cops should crack down on prostitution.	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Prostitution doesn't really harm anybody.	1	2	3	4	5
d.	There is nothing wrong with prostitution.	1	2	3	4	5
e.	If were thinking of getting married, I wouldn't mind marrying a prostitute.	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Prostitution should be legalized.	1	2	3	4	5
g.	It would be OK if my daughter grew up to be a prostitute.	1	2	3	4	5
h.	It would be OK if my son went to prostitutes.	1	2	3	4	5
i.	Most men go to prostitutes once in a while.	1	2	3	4	5
j.	I think prostitutes like sex more than other women.	1	2	3	4	5
k.	Most prostitutes make a lot of money.	1	2	3	4	5
l.	Women are prostitutes because they want to be. It's their choice.	1	2	3	4	5
m.	Prostitutes enjoy their work.	1	2	3	4	5
n.	Prostitutes genuinely like men.	1	2	3	4	5
o.	I would rather have sex with a prostitute than have a conventional relationship with a woman.	1	2	3	4	5
p.	Prostitutes are victims of pimps.	1	2	3	4	5
q.	Married en who go to prostitutes have broken their marriage vows.	1	2	3	4	5
r.	I think prostitutes like sex more than other women.	1	2	3	4	5
s.	Prostitutes usually like sex a little rougher than other women.	1	2	3	4	5
t.	As long as a man's wife doesn't know about it, there is no harm done to the marriage if the man goes to prostitutes.	1	2	3	4	5

[Circle one number for each statement]		Disagree Strongly			→	Agree Strongly
u.	Most men prefer young prostitutes.	1	2	3	4	5

28. If you pay a prostitute for sexual contact in the future, do you think the following things will happen? Answer on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1=Not at all likely and 5=Very likely.

If I go to a prostitute it is likely that...[Circle one number for each statement]		Not at all likely			→	Very likely
a.	I will get caught by the police	1	2	3	4	5
b.	I will be arrested.	1	2	3	4	5
c.	I will do jail time	1	2	3	4	5
d.	I will have to pay a fine.	1	2	3	4	5
e.	I will face other criminal justice consequences (such as a traffic ticket; having car towed or seized; charged with loitering).	1	2	3	4	5
f.	I will be robbed by a prostitute.	1	2	3	4	5
g.	I will be beaten up by a prostitute.	1	2	3	4	5
h.	I will be murdered by a prostitute.	1	2	3	4	5
i.	I will be in the newspaper or on the radio.	1	2	3	4	5
j.	My family and or friends will find out.	1	2	3	4	5
k.	Someone in the community will turn me into the police.	1	2	3	4	5
l.	I will be infected with HIV.	1	2	3	4	5
m.	I will be infected with a sexually transmitted disease.*	1	2	3	4	5

* STDs are sexually transmitted diseases, sometimes called venereal disease or VD. HIV is the virus that causes AIDS

29. How true do you think the following statements are? Please answer on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1=Not at all true and 5=Very true.

[Circle one number for each statement]		Not at all true			→	Very true
a.	Prostitutes are victimized by pimps.	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Prostitutes are victimized by men who have sex with them.	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Prostitutes are often victims of rape.	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Prostitutes are often assaulted/beaten up.	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Prostitutes are often drug addicts					
f.	Communities suffer from the effects of prostitution in their neighborhoods.	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Drugs and violence are a problem in communities with prostitution.	1	2	3	4	5
h.	Businesses lose customers because of prostitution in their area.	1	2	3	4	5
i.	Quality of life is diminished in communities with prostitution.	1	2	3	4	5
j.	Children who live in areas with prostitution are exposed to negative things (e.g., pick up needles, pick up used condoms).	1	2	3	4	5
k.	Community members in neighborhoods with prostitution experience an increased level of fear.	1	2	3	4	5
l.	Men who have sex with prostitutes are at an increased risk of being infected with HIV.	1	2	3	4	5
m.	Men who have sex with prostitutes are at an increased risk of getting an STD.	1	2	3	4	5
n.	Men who have oral sex with prostitutes are at an increased risk of getting HIV and other STDs.	1	2	3	4	5

30. Please read the following statements and indicate whether or not each one would make you more or less likely to go to a prostitute in the future. Please answer on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1=Less Likely and 5=More Likely.

The following things would make me more or less likely to go to a prostitute in the future.... [Circle one number for each statement]		Less likely	—————▶			More likely
a.	Possibility of getting caught by the police.	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Possibility of being arrested.	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Possibility of going to court.	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Possibility of doing jail time.	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Possibility of paying a fine.	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Possibility of having a criminal record.	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Possibility of facing other criminal justice consequences (e.g., receive a traffic ticket; car will be towed or seized; charged with loitering).	1	2	3	4	5
h.	Possibility of being robbed by a prostitute.	1	2	3	4	5
i.	Possibility of being beaten up by a prostitute.	1	2	3	4	5
j.	Possibility of being murdered by a prostitute.	1	2	3	4	5
k.	Possibility of being in the newspaper or on the radio.	1	2	3	4	5
l.	Possibility that my family and or friends to find out.	1	2	3	4	5
m.	Possibility that someone in the community will turn me into the police.	1	2	3	4	5
n.	Risk of being infected with HIV.	1	2	3	4	5
o.	Risk of being infected with another STD.	1	2	3	4	5
p.	Knowing that prostitutes are victimized by pimps.	1	2	3	4	5

The following things would make me more or less likely to go to a prostitute in the future.... [Circle one number for each statement]		Less likely				More likely
q.	Knowing that prostitutes are victimized by men who have sex with them.	1	2	3	4	5
r.	Knowing that prostitutes are often victims of rape.	1	2	3	4	5
s.	Knowing that prostitutes are often assaulted/beaten up.	1	2	3	4	5
t.	Knowing that prostitutes are often drug addicts.					
u.	Knowing that drugs and violence are a problem in communities with prostitution.	1	2	3	4	5
v.	Knowing that businesses lose customers because of prostitution in their area.	1	2	3	4	5
w.	Knowing that children who live in areas with prostitution are exposed to negative things (e.g., pick up needles, pick up used condoms).	1	2	3	4	5
x.	Possibility that the prostitute is under 18 years old.	1	2	3	4	5

31. Please read the following statements and indicate whether you think each one is True or False:

		True	False
a.	I can tell if someone has an STD or HIV by looking at them.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Using a condom for all sexual contact minimizes the risk of getting an STD.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c.	I can avoid getting an STD by only having sex with clean people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d.	I can't get an STD from oral sex.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e.	I cannot be prosecuted for soliciting a prostitute unless I am caught "in the act".	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f.	The police do not do sting operations in massage parlors and strip clubs.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g.	Prostitutes often carry ID that says they are of age.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h.	If I am caught for soliciting a prostitute or loitering with intent to solicit again, I will be arrested and booked.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i.	If a girl says she is 18 or older, but is really younger, a man who has sex with her can be charged for statutory rape.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Thank you for completing the anonymous pre-class survey. Again, please do NOT put your name on this survey.

Now that you are finished, please follow these instructions:

1. Put your completed survey in the envelope we have provided – labeled "Before-Class Survey"
2. Seal the envelope.
3. Put the envelope in the larger envelope near the front of the class, next to the sign "Completed Before-Class Surveys Here."

Appendix F: Post-Class Survey

After-Class Survey

Johns School Evaluation

1. **How many prostitutes work for themselves and get to keep all of the money they make by being paid for sex?**
 - None of them
 - 25% or them
 - 50% of them
 - 75% of them
 - All of them

2. **Whenever they decide to, prostitutes can choose to stop being paid for sex and can make a living in another way.**
 - True
 - False

3. **Do you think that it should be legal for someone over 18 years old to get paid for sex if they choose to do so?**
 - Yes
 - No

4. **Do you think that it should be legal for someone under 18 years old to get paid for sex if they choose to do so?**
 - Yes
 - No

5. **Do you plan to go to a prostitute in the future?**
 - Yes, I plan to continue to pay prostitutes for sexual contact.
 - Yes, but I plan to do it less frequently.
 - Yes, but I am working on stopping.
 - No, I do not plan to go to a prostitute but I might “slip up” if I am tempted.
 - No, I will never go to a prostitute again.

6. **Do you think you are addicted to sex?**
 - Yes
 - No

7. **Do you think that it would be difficult for you to stop going to prostitutes?**
 - Yes
 - No

8. Aside from your recent arrest, has going to prostitutes create serious problems in your life ?

- Yes
- No

If NO, skip to question 9 below.

IF YES, answer the following two questions below, 7a. and 7b:

8a. Which of the following have been problems for you?

[check all of the following that apply]

- Spending more money than you could afford.
- Getting sexually transmitted diseases (or VD).
- Damaging or ending a relationship with a girlfriend.
- Damaging or ending a marriage.
- Lowering your self-esteem.
- Getting arrested (not counting the arrest leading to your being in John's School).
- Other (list other problems: _____)

8b. To deal with these problems, what kind of help do you intend to seek?

[If any, please describe] _____

9. How confident do you feel that you would be able to avoid going to a prostitute in the following situations? Please answer on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1=Very hard to avoid and 5=Easy to avoid.

I feel confident that I can resist the temptation to go to a prostitute when...[Circle one for each line]		Very hard to avoid				Very easy to avoid
a.	When I really want sex	1	2	3	4	5
d.	When I am a little drunk or high	1	2	3	4	5
e.	When I am angry	1	2	3	4	5
f.	When I feel depressed	1	2	3	4	5
h.	When the risk of being caught seems low	1	2	3	4	5

11. If you pay a prostitute for sexual contact in the future, do you think the following things will happen? Answer on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1=Not at all likely and 5=Very likely.

If I go to a prostitute it is likely that...[Circle one number for each item]		Not at all likely				→ Very likely
a.	I will get caught by the police	1	2	3	4	5
b.	I will be arrested.	1	2	3	4	5
c.	I will do jail time	1	2	3	4	5
d.	I will have to pay a fine.	1	2	3	4	5
e.	I will face other criminal justice consequences (for example, receive a traffic ticket; car will be towed or seized; charged with loitering).	1	2	3	4	5
f.	I will be robbed by a prostitute.	1	2	3	4	5
g.	I will be beaten up by a prostitute.	1	2	3	4	5
h.	I will be murdered by a prostitute.	1	2	3	4	5
i.	I will be in the newspaper or on the radio.	1	2	3	4	5
j.	My family and or friends will find out.	1	2	3	4	5
k.	Someone in the community will turn me into the police.	1	2	3	4	5
l.	I will be infected with HIV.*	1	2	3	4	5
m.	I will be infected with a sexually transmitted disease.*	1	2	3	4	5

* STDs are sexually transmitted diseases, sometimes called venereal disease or VD. HIV is the virus that causes AIDS

12. How true do you think the following statements are? Please answer on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1=Not at all true and 5=Very true.

[Circle one number for each item]		Not at all true				→ Very true
a.	Prostitutes are victimized by pimps.	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Prostitutes are victimized by men who have sex with them.	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Prostitutes are often victims of rape.	1	2	3	4	5

d.	Prostitutes are often assaulted/beaten up.	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Prostitutes are often drug addicts					
f.	Drugs and violence are a problem in communities with prostitution.	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Businesses lose customers because of prostitution in their area.	1	2	3	4	5
h.	Children who live in areas with prostitution are exposed to negative things (e.g., pick up needles, pick up used condoms).	1	2	3	4	5
i.	Community members in neighborhoods with prostitution experience an increased level of fear.	1	2	3	4	5
j.	Men who have sex with prostitutes are at an increased risk of being infected with HIV.	1	2	3	4	5
k.	Men who have sex with prostitutes are at an increased risk of getting an STD.	1	2	3	4	5
l.	Men who have oral sex with prostitutes are at an increased risk of getting HIV and other STDs.	1	2	3	4	5

13. Please read the following statements and indicate whether or not each one would make you more or less likely to go to a prostitute in the future. Please answer on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1=Less Likely and 5=More Likely.

The following things would make me more or less likely to go to a prostitute in the future.... [Circle one number for each item]		Less likely			→	More likely
a.	Possibility of getting caught by the police.	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Possibility of being arrested.	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Possibility of going to court.	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Possibility of doing jail time.	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Possibility of paying a fine.	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Possibility of having a criminal record.	1	2	3	4	5

The following things would make me more or less likely to go to a prostitute in the future.... [Circle one number for each item]		Less likely				More likely
g.	Possibility of facing other criminal justice consequences (e.g., receive a traffic ticket; car will be towed or seized; charged with loitering).	1	2	3	4	5
h.	Possibility of being robbed by a prostitute.	1	2	3	4	5
i.	Possibility of being beaten up by a prostitute.	1	2	3	4	5
j.	Possibility of being murdered by a prostitute.	1	2	3	4	5
k.	Possibility of being in the newspaper or on the radio.	1	2	3	4	5
l.	Possibility that my family and or friends to find out.	1	2	3	4	5
m.	Possibility that someone in the community will turn me into the police.	1	2	3	4	5
n.	Risk of being infected with HIV.	1	2	3	4	5
o.	Risk of being infected with another STD.	1	2	3	4	5
p.	Knowing that prostitutes are victimized by pimps.	1	2	3	4	5
q.	Knowing that prostitutes are victimized by men who have sex with them.	1	2	3	4	5
r.	Knowing that prostitutes are often victims of rape.	1	2	3	4	5
s.	Knowing that prostitutes are often assaulted/beaten up.	1	2	3	4	5
t.	Knowing that prostitutes are often drug addicts.					
u.	Knowing that drugs and violence are a problem in communities with prostitution.	1	2	3	4	5
v.	Knowing that businesses lose customers because of prostitution in their area.	1	2	3	4	5
w.	Knowing that children who live in areas with prostitution are exposed to negative things (e.g., pick up needles, pick up used condoms).	1	2	3	4	5

The following things would make me more or less likely to go to a prostitute in the future.... [Circle one number for each item]		Less likely			→	More likely
x.	Knowing that community members in neighborhoods with prostitution experience an increased level of fear.	1	2	3	4	5
y.	Possibility that the prostitute is under 18 years old.	1	2	3	4	5

14. Please read the following statements and indicate if each one is True or False:

		True	False
a.	I can tell if someone has an STD or HIV by looking at them.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Using a condom for all sexual contact minimizes the risk of getting an STD.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c.	I can avoid getting an STD by only having sex with clean people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d.	I can't get an STD from oral sex.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e.	I cannot be prosecuted for soliciting a prostitute unless I am caught "in the act".	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f.	The police do not do sting operations in massage parlors and strip clubs.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g.	Prostitutes often carry ID that says they are of age.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h.	If I am caught for soliciting a prostitute or loitering with intent to solicit again, I will be arrested and booked.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i.	If a girl says she is 18 or older, but is really younger, a man who has sex with her can be charged for statutory rape.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Thank you for completing the anonymous after-class survey. Again, please do NOT put your name on this survey.

Now that you are finished, please follow these instructions:

1. Put your completed survey in the envelope we have provided – labeled "After-Class Survey."
2. Seal the envelope.
3. Put the envelope in the larger envelope near the front of the class, next to the sign "Completed After-Class Surveys Here."

Appendix G: Sample John School Class Evaluation Form

**FIRST OFFENDER PROSTITUTION PROGRAM
SATURDAY, March 19, 2005**

	Poor		Fair		Excellent
1. How do you feel this day's overall training met your needs?	1	2	3	4	5
2. Please rate Session #1, Prostitution Laws & Street Facts: Assistant DA					
Teaching style in which material was presented	1	2	3	4	5
Usability of the information	1	2	3	4	5
3. Please rate Session #2, HIV & STD Risk and Prevention; Chuck Cloniger, Nurse Practitioner					
Teaching style in which material was presented	1	2	3	4	5
Usability of the information	1	2	3	4	5
4. Please rate Session #3, Women in Prostitution-- Long-term Effects					
Female A's teaching style	1	2	3	4	5
Female B's teaching style	1	2	3	4	5
Female C's teaching style	1	2	3	4	5
Usability of the information	1	2	3	4	5
5. Please rate Session #4, Pimping Dynamics; Norma Hotaling, SAGE					
Teaching style in which material was presented	1	2	3	4	5
Usability of the information	1	2	3	4	5
6. Please rate Session #5, Expectation of Service/Intimacy; David Sterry					
Teaching style in which material was presented	1	2	3	4	5
Usability of the information	1	2	3	4	5

FIRST OFFENDER PROSTITUTION PROGRAM

8. Please give us any other comments or suggestions about today's training, e.g.,

What did you like the best, or find most valuable about this program?

What would you change?

How has prostitution affected your life?

How do you think you will change your behavior?

Are you going to change how you relate to your wife, daughter, son, and/or girlfriend?

YES _____ **NO** _____

HOW? _____

If you had a son or daughter, what would you tell them about prostitution?

Appendix H: FOPP Database Issues

The SFDA's FOPP Database

The SFDA has kept a database on offenders referred to the FOPP since the program began in 1995. This database was critical to executing the original analysis plan for the impact evaluation. The FOPP database is the only source of data spanning the life of the program that identifies each person referred to the program. The database contains data in the following fields:

Name	Arrestee name.
SF Number	A person-level identification number that, once issued for an individual, remains with them and is linked to all records of subsequent offenses.
Police Number	An incident-level identifier.
Date Occurred	Offense and arrest date.
Court Date	A court appearance date, set at 30 days after the offense date.
Status	Status of the person's case in relation to the FOPP and their offense. The meaning of the offense codes are listed and discussed below.
Class Date	Date of the john school class arrestee is scheduled to attend.
Fee	Fee charged for the FOPP. Since 2002, the default has been \$1,000, with a sliding scale based on ability to pay.
DOB	Arrestee date of birth.
Race	Arrestee race.
Notes	A text field for comments.

To ensure confidentiality, we asked for the database to be stripped of names prior to our receiving it for this evaluation. We worked with the remaining 10 variables in this study.

This database is the only source of information that that is available to evaluators that identifies people referred to the FOPP, and what happens to them after referral. The variable 'offender status' distinguishes those declared eligible versus ineligible, those offered the diversion option, those that accepted, and those successfully completing the program. With the status information, we can document offender flow from the point of referral through program completion, or to the courts for those ineligible or unwilling to pursue the diversion option.

In addition, the person and offense identifiers (SF number, police number, and DOB) would allow us to match the FOPP data with the CJSC criminal history data. If accurate and complete, these data would allow us to append the criminal histories and other person-level data to the FOPP data, and the resulting combined data file would allow support extending the flow model

to track those who did and did not participate in the FOPP. For example, those who were ineligible or declined the FOPP could be tracked to determine the numbers who appeared in court, were jailed, and/or were fined on the soliciting charge. The portion of all these groups who subsequently reoffended could also be tracked when the FOPP data is linked to the CJSC criminal history data.

These and other analyses require that the data on status and the identifiers (particularly the SF and police numbers) be complete and valid. Comparisons of participants to non-participants require sound data on status and person-level identifiers. For example, comparing the recidivism rates of FOPP participants to those of local non-participants and offenders from comparison sites requires accurately distinguishing the groups who did versus did not attend the john school, and requires accurately matching the FOPP and the CJSC data. Widespread and non-random missing or erroneous data can lead to biases that would undermine any group comparisons, and could render suspect any data or conclusions about program effectiveness.

We found a number of problems with the key variables in the FOPP database that undermines its utility for evaluating the FOPP. Below, we describe missing data, errors, and apparent errors encountered in each field.

Status Code

The status code values are intended to mean:

1 = Pending	Declared eligible and offered FOPP option, but have not yet accepted or signed up.
2 = Class	Accepted FOPP and signed up, but have not yet attended.
3 = Charged	Opted out, failed to attend, failed to make contact, or failed to complete the program; case submitted for charging.
4 = Dismissed	Reportedly, this field was not used by SFDA – but we have recoded some cases to status code of 4 when the comments field provides evidence that the case was dismissed due to lack of evidence, exonerated due to further investigation, or other reasons.
5 = Discharged	Supposed to mean “Attended Johns School (successful completion of FOPP program)
6 = Withdrawn	Not used by SFDA – but we have recoded some cases to status code of 6 when the comments field provides evidence that the case was withdrawn.

The table below presents data from the database that we initially received from the SFDA. The table features the number of referrals, by year and status code.

The database provided contained information on all soliciting cases (647b and 653.22) referred to the SFDA by the police from January 1996 through the end of September, 2006. When first received from the SFDA, the database contained 10,150 cases. We found 180 of these cases to

contain out-of-range and/or nonsensical values in critical fields such as case status. For our preliminary analyses and production of the table, we have dropped these 180 cases since we cannot determine if they were men screened out of the program or successfully completing the program. To address these and other issues, we consulted with the SFDA to resolve data discrepancies while retaining as many valid cases as possible.

Table H-1: Status of Cases by Year of Arrest: Preliminary Numbers from SFDA Data on Referrals to FOPP

Year		1	2	3	4	5
	Referred by Police to SFDA	Pending: Offered but not yet attended	Eligible, Accepted Offer, Signed up for FOPP	Charged: Ineligible, opted out, or failed to make contact	Dismissed	Discharged: Successfully completed FOPP
1996	667	90 (13%)	38 (6%)	220(33%)	0(0%)	319(48%)
1997	1184	134 (11%)	55(5%)	382(32%)	0(0%)	613(52%)
1998	1304	152 (12%)	83(6%)	445(34%)	0(0%)	624(48%)
1999	1528	190 (12%)	92(6%)	497(33%)	3(0.2%)	746(49%)
2000	1443	467 (12%)	97(7%)	456(32%)	2(0.1%)	721(50%)
2001	1366	175 (13%)	90(7%)	407(30%)	2(0.1%)	692(51%)
2002	761	89 (12%)	57(7%)	236(31%)	0(0%)	379(50%)
2003	808	100 (12%)	61(8%)	266(33%)	1(0.1%)	380(47%)
2004	441	54 (12%)	37(8%)	142(32%)	0(0%)	208(47%)
2005	237	27 (12%)	14(6%)	83(35%)	1(0.4%)	112(47%)
2006 thru Sept. 29	232	27 (12%)	28(12%)	71(31%)	0(0%)	105(45%)
Total	9970	1205 (12%)	652(7%)	3205(32%)	9(0.1%)	4899(49%)

We were told that the status codes “4” and “6” were not used, but found a small number of cases where they had been used. We also found several apparent errors, with out of range numbers in this field such as 14, 18, 23, and 32. We initially assumed these were typos, but later learned they may refer to discharge codes (the kind used by the state, not the status code of “5” meaning “discharged” due to FOPP completion). In a number of cases, the “notes” field contained reference to the case being discharged for reasons indicated by discharge codes such as 23, 28, and 32. We converted numbers corresponding to criminal discharge/dismissal codes to “4,” representing a case dismissal. This was done to reserve the discharge code of “5” for FOPP completions.

More importantly, the more commonly used codes of 1 (pending), 2 (class), (3) charged, and 5 (discharged) all were applied to cases where the status code was inconsistent with other information.

Status Code 1

About 12% of all the cases in the database had a status code of “1.” As new cases come in, a “1” should be issued for those considered eligible, but the “1” should be cleared and shifted to a “3”

for those opting out, failing to attend, or failing to make contact, or would become a “5” for those attending class and thus successfully completing the program. When we did a breakdown of status by year of offense, we saw about the same portion of all cases still had a “1” for their status code – approximately 12% each year, going back to 1996. No cases should have a “pending” code more than a year after referral.

Status Code 2

We found that about 7% of all the cases in the database had a status code of “2.” When eligible men accept the FOPP option, their status should be a “2” until they (A) attend the program, at which point their status should become a “5” for discharged, or (B) they fail to attend the program and then should have a status of “3” for charged. When we do a breakdown of status by year of offense, we see about the same portion of all cases still have “2” for their status, except that a higher portion of the final year’s cases have a code of “2”, which makes sense. No cases should have a status code of “2” years after they are referred.

Status Code 3

One-third of the cases (over 3200 cases) in the database had a status code of “3” for charged. The data do not allow us to determine what portion of the “charged” cases were declared ineligible, and what portion were (a) eligible but refused, (b) eligible but failed to show, (c) eligible but failed to make contact, etc. this feature of the data hampers our ability to track offender flow into the program with the desired level of detail.

Status Code 4

A handful of cases (n = 9) initially had numbers in this field that, reportedly, is not used by FOPP coordinators. However, when inspecting the data in the “notes” field we found hundreds of cases that where case dismissals and discharges (and their corresponding discharge codes) were reported, but the status codes were not “4.”

Status Code 5

About half (49%) of all the cases had a status code of 5. FOPP staff told us that the “5” means they made it through the class, had successfully completed the program, and had their case dismissed. Upon examining the data and asking additional questions, we learned that “5” can also refer to having cases dismissed for other reasons, such as insufficient evidence.

We could not determine if this means the cases attended the john school, or that they attended and also remained arrest-free (for soliciting) for one year afterward. If they attend the johns school but were rearrested for 647b or 653.22 within one year, their status code should change to a 3, meaning they were FOPP failures and were charged with the original offense.

Without data on the sequence of codes (starting with “pending” and “signed up for FOPP,” to either “charged” or “dismissed”), we are unable to track the

SF Number

About 47% of the cases did not have SF numbers. Without these numbers, our ability to match the FOPP and the CJSC data was critically impaired.

Police Number

About 100 cases were missing police numbers. More importantly, 13% of the cases had duplicate Police Numbers (incident numbers). Most of those were cases where the number was used twice, but there were 48 cases of Police Numbers being duplicated four times, and a few instances of up to 10 repetitions. Some of the duplicate police numbers could have been due to typos. When we looked at the duplicates, they all had the same Date of Occurrence and Court Dates, but then had different DOB (and race, in some cases) associated with the cases. Also, where SF numbers were available for the duplicate police number cases, the SF numbers were closely bunched or sequential, but not identical as they should have been if they referred to the same person's incident. Many of the duplicates were not just random typos, but we could not determine why they occurred and we could not fix them or decide which of the "cases" with duplicate SF numbers to keep.

Date Occurred

About 110 cases were missing the date the offense (and arrest) occurred. Also, the following appeared as values in the "Date Occur" column of the spreadsheet:

CT. REFER
ct.referred
CTN2179291
DEPT.30
hf
SAN JOSE

Court Date

About 70 cases were missing the court date, and 13 cases had "Booked" entered as the court date. There were six cases of "N/A." We understood that the court date was set at the point of arrest, and was set for 30 days after the offense date, and we were told of no circumstances where "NA" could have been legitimately used. Also, the following appeared in this column of the spreadsheet:

COURT	DAWARRAT
CT.ORDER	DEPT 14
CT.REFER	INCUSTOD

Race

When examining the “race” data (in a string field), we saw many codes that appeared to mix gender and race/ethnic category. Several codes were self explanatory (e.g., A for Asian, W for White, C for White, and H for Hispanic), but others were not. We asked the FOPP coordinators and learned that over the years, some data enterers used codes with the several or ambiguous meanings:

O	Could mean both “Other” or “Oriental”
OM	Could mean both “Other Male” or “Oriental Male”
OF	Could mean “Other Female” or “Oriental Female”
BW	Black Woman
BF	Black Female
S	Perhaps “Spanish”, but unclear
V	Perhaps Vietnamese, but unclear
WF	White Female
WM	White Male

Class Date

In the more recent years, the “class dates” were grouped in a way making it obvious that there was a john school class on a particular day, for example, May 22, 2004 (there were 38 individuals with this class date). In earlier years of the program the class dates were spread out too much to clearly identify what date the john school class occurred. For example, there were nine different dates listed as Class Dates during August 1996:

Date	Number of Cases
August 14, 1996	5
August 15, 1996	1
August 20, 1996	3
August 22, 1996	11
August 23, 1996	1
August 26, 1996	9
August 28, 1996	1
August 29, 1996	11
August 30, 1996	4

Its likely that all the August dates attended the same class, but to be precise in recidivism analyses we need to know the date where we “start the clock” on the one-year (or any other) follow-up period. For most of the program’s life there have been no more than one to two classes per month, so these cannot all be legitimate dates.

Also, there were 124 cases with various entries in the “Class Date” field that were not dates. For example, there are 23 “booked,” 14 “EIPP,” and 53 “SAGE.”

Data Entered in "Class Date" Column	Number of Cases (Frequency)
3	7
4/5/97?	1
5	8
8	2
BOOKED	23
COMSVC	1
DISCH24	1
DONT	1
EIPP	14
no	1
NONE	2
PRE-TRI	1
PRE-TRIA	4
recite	1
RECITED	1
SAGE	53
WOMENS'	1
YGC	1

There were also cases with a status of "5" for FOPP completion where there was no class date given, e.g.

SF #	Police #	Date Occur	Court Date	Status	Class Date	Fee
	**	10/14/97	11/13/97	5		FILE
	**	04/17/97	05/21/97	5		
	**	09/16/97	10/20/97	5		
**	**	03/28/03	05/01/03	5		\$1,000
**	**	06/09/00	07/13/00	5		\$250
**	**	02/27/01	04/04/01	5		\$500
**	**	10/19/00	11/17/00	5		EIPP
	**	02/25/03	03/28/03	5		
**	**	04/19/99	04/20/99	5		\$500

** Number was present, but we have deleted it from this table to protect confidentiality.

According to the FOPP coordinators, we can be reasonably sure that a status code of 5 means "FOPP completion" only when cases also have both a class date and a fee. So, cases such as those in the table above were omitted from the database we use in our analyses.

Fee

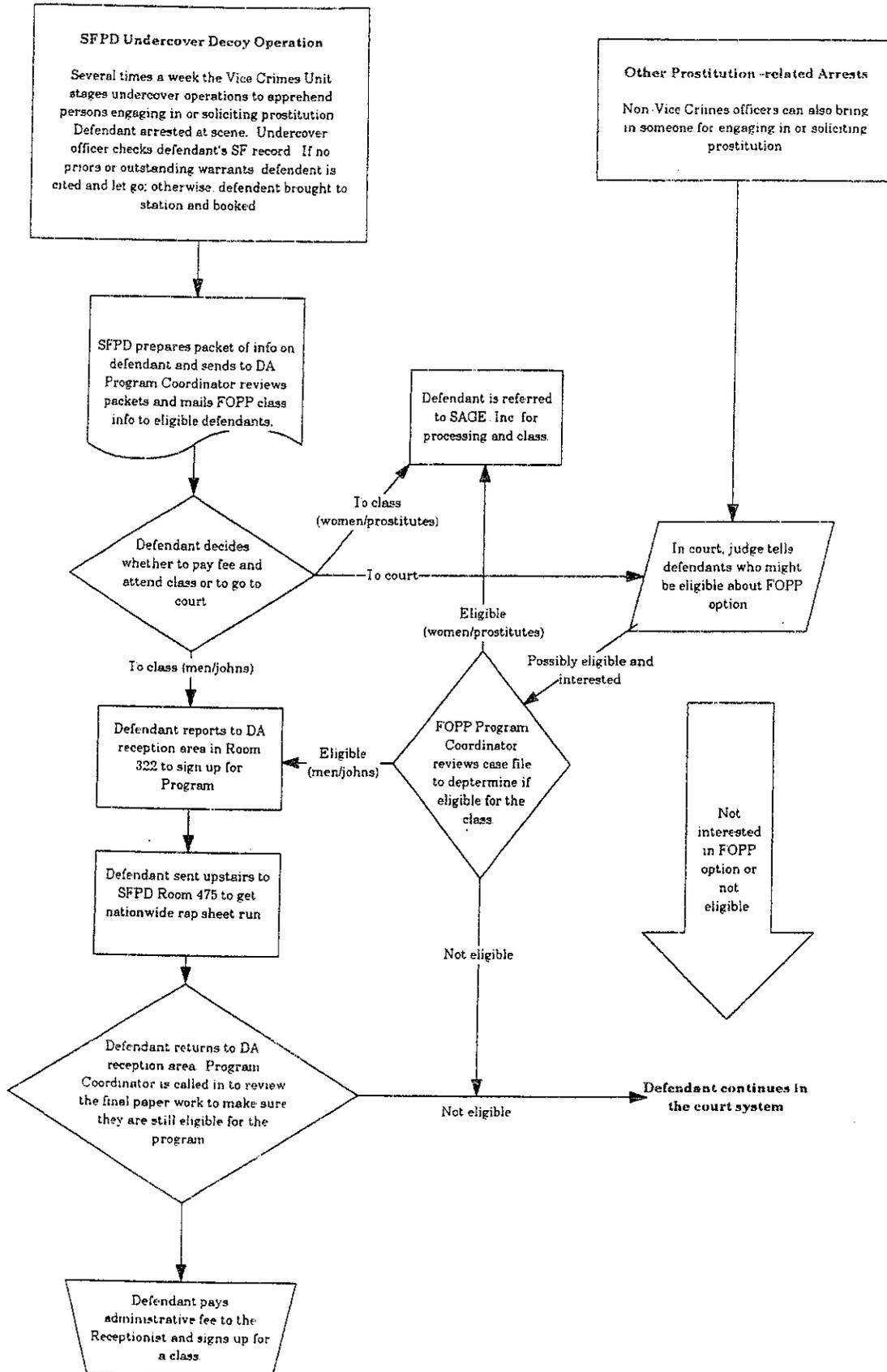
In the initial version of the FOPP database there were 550 cases where the fee was listed as "EIPP," and 51 cases where the fee was "SAGE." EIPP is a program for those engaged in prostitution that serves women, primarily. For a period in the 1990s, the FOPP coordinator was entering data on women arrested for prostitution offenses in the FOPP database. The EIPP

program and other SAGE programs (aside from FOPP/john school) are for female offenders, so women should not have been referred to FOPP. FOPP documents indicate that the program initially allowed women in the john school classes, but program staff told us it was a very rare occurrence and would account for just a handful of the 550 cases. Many of the cases with EIPP or SAGE as the fee also have “BF,” “WF,” or “AF” for Race. Together, the evidence indicates that most or all of these cases are women, and these cases were omitted from our analytic database.

Data Entered	
<u>In Fee</u>	<u>Number of</u>
<u>Column</u>	<u>Cases</u>
?	1
`	1
01/0	1
01/2	1
02/2	1
03/2	1
04/0	2
04/2	2
05/2	1
06/2	1
09/0	1
09/1	1
09/2	2
11/1	1
2/19	1
eipp	1
eiPP	1
EIPP	550
FILE	1
H	1
HOUR	2
jo	1
pre-	4
PRE-	3
reje	1
SAGE	51
show	1
WAIV	2
YGC	1

Appendix I: Offender Flow Schematic From SDFA

FOPP Acceptance Process



Appendix J: Sample Notification Letter From SDFA



TERENCE HALLINAN
DISTRICT ATTORNEY
CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO

Date:

Police Report # _____

Date of Occurrence: _____

Arraignment Date: _____

Dear _____:

You were arrested and cited for a violation of California Penal Code Section 647, subdivision (b), engaging or soliciting the act of prostitution. Prostitution is illegal and prosecuted in this state. Due to the increase of sexually transmitted diseases and the exploitation of young adults, prostitution is no longer just a criminal justice issue; it is a public health concern.

After review of the above cited police report, it is the opinion of the San Francisco District Attorney's Office that you committed a criminal offense that can be prosecuted. A preliminary review of your record, however, indicates that this offense is your first adult contact with the criminal justice system. Therefore pending verification of your record, you are eligible to participate in San Francisco's First Offender Program. This program is sponsored by the San Francisco District Attorney's Office, the San Francisco Police Department, the San Francisco Adult Probation Department, and the San Francisco Department of Public Health.

In lieu of criminal prosecution, this program is designed to educate individuals about the social, health, and legal ramifications of engaging in the act of or the solicitation of prostitution. The program is voluntary and requires payment of an administrative fee of five hundred dollars to cover the administration and educational costs of the program. The program is given as a one-time, eight-hour course, usually on the last Saturday of each month. Those individuals who are eligible and wish to participate must take and complete the class 120 days from the day of arrest. Once the class is completed, within the prescribed time, the above-stated criminal case will be discharged. It is important to stress, however, to be eligible and to remain eligible you cannot commit another criminal offense during this 120 day period. If another crime is committed, the above-stated case will be filed, as well as the new offense. **You may wish to consult an attorney as to whether or not you wish to participate in the First Offender Prostitution Program.**

If you are interested in participating **YOU MUST COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING WITHIN TEN WORKING DAYS FROM THE DATE OF THIS LETTER.**

- 1) Report to the SFDA's reception area at Room 322 (Third Floor) and pay the administrative fee of \$500.00. The administrative fee should be made out to the SFDA FOPP Fund in a cashier's check or money order only. No personal checks or cash will be accepted.

Page Two

2) Report to Room 475 (Fourth Floor) of the Hall of Justice at 850 Bryant Street for a processing by the Police Department. Processing hours are Monday through Thursday from 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. Participants from out of the area may only be processed on Fridays from 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m.

You must bring the attached SFDA FOPP Referral Form, a photo I.D. and your citation in order to be processed.

3) You will then be registered for a class. You will be informed of the class date and location. If you require an interpreter, please inform us when you sign up for a class.

Please note if after police processing of your criminal record it is determined that you are NOT ELIGIBLE you will be notified and received a full refund of your administrative fee. You will also be given a return court date. You must appear in court on the given date.

Please bring the SFDA FOPP Referral Form with you to the class. On the date you complete the FOPP class, the Registrar will give you a receipt of completion. If you fail to appear for your scheduled class, not only will the above-captioned case be filed against you, but you will also forfeit your administrative fee.

If you have any further questions regarding the FOPP class, please contact Lisa Ortiz, FOPP Program Coordinator at (415) 553-9743. Ms. Ortiz can answer your questions regarding FOPP only. You should contact an attorney if you have any questions about the merits of your case or require legal advice.

Very truly yours,
TERENCE HALLINAN



Reve Bautista
Assistant District Attorney

Enclosure

Appendix K: Sample Memoranda of Understanding

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

FIRST OFFENDER PROSTITUTION PROGRAM

This Memorandum of Understanding ("MOU") is entered into this ___ day of August, 2002, in the City and County of San Francisco, State of California, by and between the San Francisco Police Department ("SFPD") and the San Francisco District Attorney's Office ("SFDA") regarding the use of First Offender Prostitution Program ("FOPP") fees collected pursuant to San Francisco Administrative Code Section 10.193-1.

Background

San Francisco Administrative Code Section 10.193-1 authorizes the District Attorney to collect an administrative fee from persons determined by the District Attorney to be eligible for the First Offender Prostitution Program and who elect to participate in the program. The Administrative Code also authorizes the District Attorney to examine the fee annually to ensure that it continues to reflect the cost of services provided by the program.

FOPP is a highly effective collaboration between the District Attorney, SFPD, SAGE and other providers that has reduced recidivism among program participants and assisted women and girls to exit prostitution.

The Parties Agree As Follows:

1. SFPD will conduct, on average, 14 FOPP operations per month, designed to arrest the customers of prostitutes.
2. SFPD will assign the equivalent of two full-time on-duty officers to staff the FOPP operations.
3. The remainder of the officers assigned to work FOPP operations will do so on an overtime basis.
4. SFPD will also assign an officer to participate in the monthly FOPP class.
5. SFPD will invoice SFDA on a quarterly basis for the actual costs incurred to run FOPP decoy operations, specifying the dates on which operations were conducted. SFPD invoices will be based on the attached Schedule of Costs detailing the cost to staff one FOPP operation. SFPD will update the Schedule of Costs bi-annually.
6. SFPD invoices will also include the cost for an officer participating in the monthly FOPP class.
7. SFPD will use FOPP fees only for the purpose of arresting the customers of prostitutes.

8. SFDA will refer eligible persons to the FOPP program, collect program fees and verify participation
9. SFDA will provide to SFPD the names of each person who attended the FOPP program so that SFPD can track recidivism rates.
10. SFDA will provide SFPD with a monthly report of fees deposited into the FOPP fund.
11. SFDA and SFPD will hold quarterly meetings, including SAGE and other agencies collaborating in the FOPP program, to review the program and address any issues that may arise.
12. This agreement shall be in effect until renegotiated or terminated upon 30 days notice.

Agreed this ____ day of August, 2002

San Francisco Police Department

San Francisco District Attorney's Office

FRED LAU, CHIEF OF POLICE
CHIEF OF POLICE

TERENCE HALLINAN
DISTRICT ATTORNEY

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

FIRST OFFENDER PROSTITUTION PROGRAM

This Memorandum of Understanding ("MOU") is entered into this 26th day of Sept, 2006, in the City and County of San Francisco, State of California, by and between the San Francisco District Attorney's Office ("SFDA") and the San Francisco Police Department ("SFPD") regarding the use of First Offender Prostitution Program ("FOPP") fees collected pursuant to San Francisco Administrative Code Section 10.193-1.

Background

San Francisco Administrative Code Section 10 193-1 authorizes the District Attorney to collect an administrative fee from persons determined by the District Attorney to be eligible for the First Offender Prostitution Program who elect to participate in the program. The Administrative Code also authorizes the District Attorney to examine the fee annually to ensure that it continues to reflect the cost of services provided by the program.

FOPP is a highly effective collaboration between the District Attorney, SFPD, SAGE and other providers that has reduced recidivism among program participants and assisted many individuals to exit prostitution.

The Parties Agree As Follows:

1. SFPD will conduct a minimum of 8 FOPP operations per month, designed to arrest the customers of prostitutes.
2. SFPD will assign the equivalent of two full-time on-duty officers to staff FOPP operations
3. The remainder of the officers assigned to work FOPP operations will do so on an overtime basis.
4. SFPD will also assign an officer to participate in the FOPP class
5. SFPD will invoice SFDA on a quarterly basis for the actual costs incurred to run FOPP decoy operations, specifying the dates on which operations were conducted. SFPD invoices will be based on the attached Schedule of Costs detailing the cost of staffing one FOPP operation. SFPD will update the Schedule of Costs annually. SFPD invoices will also include the cost for an officer participating in the monthly FOPP class.
6. SFPD will use FOPP fees only for the purpose of arresting the customers of prostitutes.
7. SFDA will refer eligible persons to the FOPP program, collect program fees and verify participation.

- 8. SFPD will provide to SFDA monthly a citation sheet including the date of each citation and court date.
- 9. SFDA will maintain and make available the number of cases deemed eligible for FOPP, the number of cases charged and the number of cases declined.
- 10. SFDA will provide SFPD with a monthly report of fees deposited into the FOPP fund.
- 11. SFDA and SFPD will hold bi-annual meetings, including SAGE and other agencies collaborating in the FOPP program, to review the program and address any issues that may arise.
- 12. Saturday Men's Prostitution Program -- SAGE's scope of work will include: scheduling appropriate speakers for seminars; developing and updating curriculum for seminars; providing on-site facilitation of seminars; training of seminar speakers; and coordination with other FOPP partner agencies, media and other jurisdictions.

This agreement shall be in effect for two years from the date signed or upon termination by either party upon 30 days written notice.

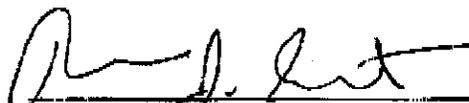
Agreed this 27th day of ~~Sept~~ 2006.

San Francisco Police Department

San Francisco District Attorney's Office

 Nov. 9, 2006

 Heather Fong
 Chief of Police



 Kamala D. Harris
 District Attorney

Appendix L: Sample Class Agenda

SAN FRANCISCO FIRST OFFENDER PROSTITUTION PROGRAM
Saturday, March 25, 2006

8:00-8:45 Registration & Questionnaire:
"STD and HIV Risk and Attitude Assessment Forms"

Session I District Attorney & Vice Crimes Division Presentation - Vice Laws:
"Prostitution Laws & Street Facts"
Assistant District Attorney

Session II San Francisco Department of Public Health:
Sexually Transmitted Diseases, HIV Risk, Prevention, & Treatment
Chuck Cloniger, Nurse Practitioner

Session III Women and Prostitution:
"Risks & Effects of Prostitution on Women's Lives"
Presenters: Female A, Female B, Female C.

LUNCH

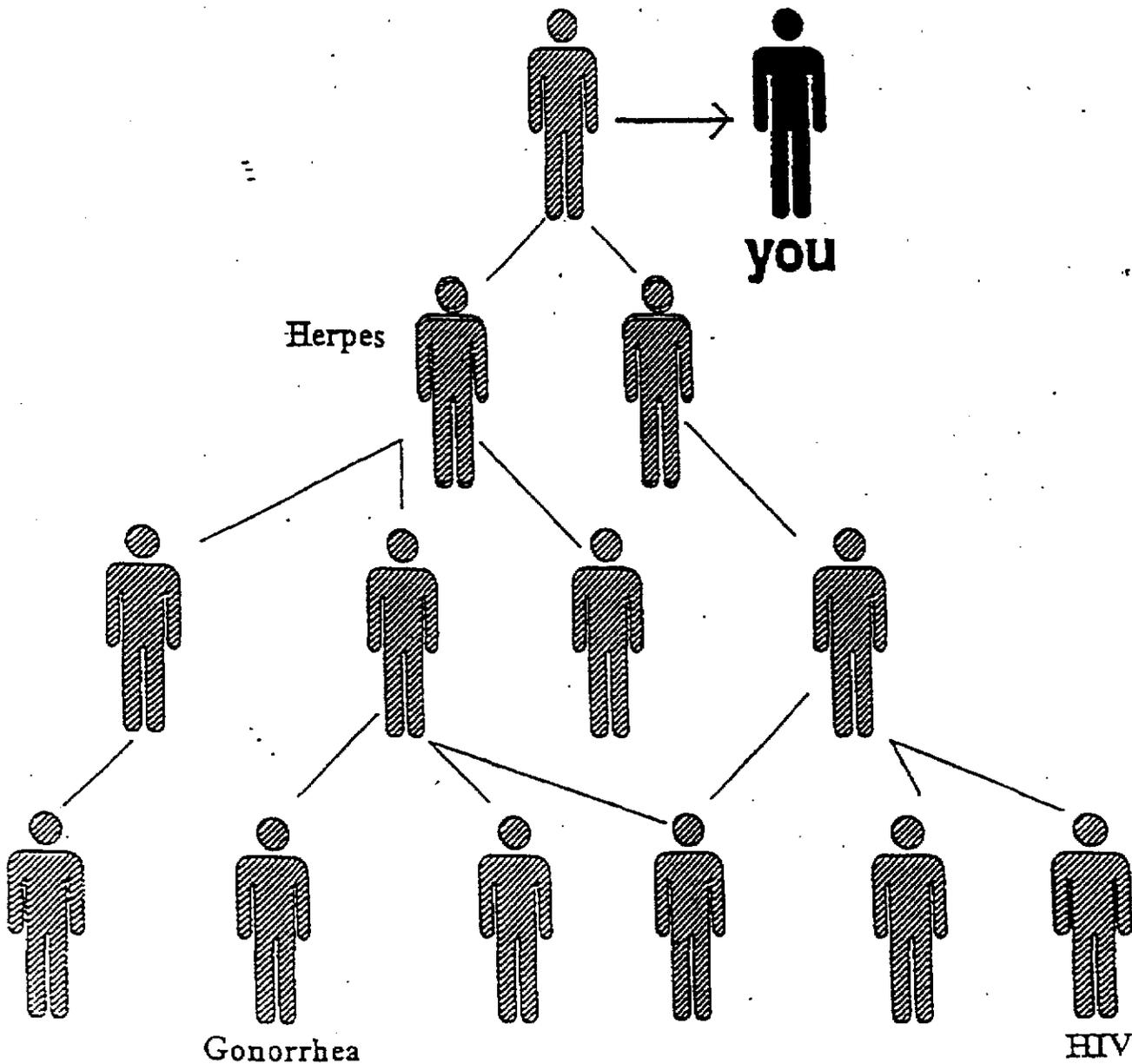
Session IV Dynamics of Pimping-Prostituted Children
Norma Hotaling, SAGE Project

Session V Expectation of Service/Intimacy
David Sterry, Survivor and Author: *"Chicken: Memoirs of a Young Man for Rent"*

Session VI Evaluation and Wrap-Up
SF Vice Crimes Unit

Appendix M: SFDPH Health Presentation Handout

When you have unsafe sex with someone-
it's like you've had unsafe sex with
each one of his/her sex partners-
and each of their partners...etc.



STD EDUCATION UNIT
1360 Mission Street, Suite #401
San Francisco, CA 94103

Score Your STD Risk

Have you had vaginal, anal, or oral sex without a condom with two or more different people in the last three months? yes don't know no

Have you had sex without a condom with someone who may have had other sexual partners than you in the last three months?
 yes don't know no

Have you had sex without a condom with someone without first discussing using condoms to protect each of you? yes don't know no

Have you had sex with someone who may have used crack, cocaine, speed, or heroin in the last three years? yes don't know no

Over the last three months, have you had sex with someone without asking them if they had any STD, including HIV? yes don't know no

If you answered "yes" or "don't know" to one or more questions, you have had a good chance of being exposed to an STD.

Compared with persons who have had only one sex partner:

- * Having 2-3 partners increases your chance of getting an STD by five times
- * Having 4-6 partners increases your chance of getting an STD by ten times
- * Having an STD increases your chances of getting infected by HIV by three to five times

Who is "risky" to have sex with?

The person who doesn't use a condom during sex! The person who has more than one sex partner at the same time. If she/he will have unprotected sex with you - then she/he probably has had unprotected sex with others! Is this you? Is this typical of your sexual partners? *What might YOU be bringing "home" to the person you care most about?*

Where can people go for STD testing and/or treatment?

See your local referral list - or call the National
STD Hotline 1-800-227-8922

- ◆ San Francisco City Clinic (356 7th Street, between Harrison and Folsom; call 487-5500)
 - ◆ Berkeley Free Clinic call (510) 548-2745
 - ◆ Planned Parenthood 815 Eddy Street, sliding scale, call 441-5454 for clinic hours
 - ◆ Lyon-Martin Women's Clinic, 1748 Market, SF, 565-7667
 - ◆ Cole Street Youth Clinic, 555 Cole Street, SF., 751-8181
-

Common MYTHS among STD risk-takers:

- ◆ "You can always tell if someone has an STD."
- ◆ "I don't have sex with people who are likely to have an STD."
- ◆ "I don't have sex with people who are likely to have HIV."
- ◆ "I don't have sex with 'unclean' people."
- ◆ "You can't get an STD from oral sex."

Common Symptoms of STDs

- | | |
|---|--|
| ◆ <u>No Symptoms</u> | ◆ <u>No Symptoms</u> |
| ◆ itching/burning: genitals, genital-area | ◆ discharge (genitals/anus) |
| ◆ blisters: genitals/anus/mouth | ◆ open sores (with/out pain) |
| ◆ pubic/groin swelling | ◆ warts (on genitals/anus) |
| ◆ abdominal pain | ◆ painful intercourse |
| ◆ burning on urination | ◆ flu-like symptoms, fever |
| ◆ diarrhea, gas, cramping, nausea, lethargy, bloating | ◆ body, palmer, plantar rash |
| | ◆ abnormal bleeding (during or between menses) |

Common Sexually Transmitted Diseases

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| ◆ Syphilis | ◆ (HSV) herpes simplex virus |
| ◆ Chancroid | ◆ (HPV) human papilloma virus (genital wart virus) |
| ◆ Chlamydia | ◆ (HIV) human immunodeficiency virus |
| ◆ Gonorrhea | ◆ (HBV) hepatitis b virus |
| ◆ P.I.D. | ◆ (HAV) hepatitis a virus |
| ◆ NGU | |
| ◆ Trichomonas | |

Sexually Transmitted Enteric Diseases

- | | |
|------------|-------------------|
| ◆ Shigella | ◆ Giardia |
| | ◆ Entamoeba |
| | ◆ Cryptosporidium |

Common conditions not always sexually transmitted

- ◆ Yeast (*Candida* fungus)
- ◆ "crabs" *Phthirus pubis*
- ◆ *Molluscum Contagiosum*
- ◆ "scabies" *Sarcoptes scabiei*.

What are some of the long-term complications of STDs?

- ◆ sterility
- ◆ ectopic pregnancy
- ◆ stillbirth
- ◆ permanent birth defects
- ◆ neonatal pneumonia
- ◆ neonatal ophthalmia
- ◆ arthritis
- ◆ blindness
- ◆ aortic aneurysm
- ◆ meningitis/tabs dorsalis
- ◆ liver cancer/failure
- ◆ AIDS related opportunistic diseases
- ◆ cervical cancer
- ◆ death

How are STDs transmitted?

STDs are passed from person to person via:

- ◆ lesion-to-skin, lesion to mucous membrane, skin-to-skin, mucous membrane-to-mucous membrane
- ◆ fluid (mucous) discharge to mucous membrane or open lesion
- ◆ infected bits of feces taken into the mouth, vagina or urethra (NGU?)
- ◆ through kissing (lesion or blister), cunnilingus, anilingus, vaginal intercourse, anal intercourse, digital sex, fisting, & sharing of sex toys with infected sexual fluids on them.

What is P.I.D.? How does it occur?

What are the consequences?

- ◆ Pelvic Inflammatory Disease occurs most frequently in women who have not been treated, or were inadequately treated, for gonorrhea or chlamydia.
- ◆ GC or CT bacteria ascend from the cervix through the os (often during menstruation or as a result of douching) into the uterus and up into the fallopian tubes or ovaries.
- ◆ Long-term, low-grade, infection can result in scar tissue, adhesions, and abscess formation, or peritonitis and can lead to sterility, ectopic pregnancy, dysmenorrhea, and painful intercourse.

How is STD transmission prevented?

- ◆ Use of latex barriers (condoms, dental dams, and possibly clear plastic wrap) between sexual partners during the sexual activities listed above.
- ◆ Changing barriers between partners and activities.
- ◆ STDs can be transmitted in the absence of signs and symptoms
- ◆ STD organisms can be passed by direct contact of STD sores or lesions with skin or thin mucous membranes - or by passing infectious mucous discharge.

Sex & Health

HIGH-RISK LOVEMAKING

A few years ago, the National Survey of Men received a lot of media attention. Now comes the National Survey of Women. Based on a sample of close to 1,700 women ages 20 to 37, the study provides data on sexual behaviors that place people at risk for sexually transmitted diseases and allows researchers to compare women's behavior to men's, using information from the men's survey. One notable finding of the study—written by researchers at Battelle Memorial Institute—is the percentage of both women and men engaging in high-risk behaviors:

- Twenty-seven percent of women and 47 percent of men have had at least one one-night stand.
- Eighteen percent of women and 21 percent of men have engaged in anal sex.
- Two percent of women and 7 percent of

men report that they have paid for sex.

The major finding of the study: *Even though men are more likely to engage in risky sex, women are more than three times as likely to report having had an STD.* This striking gender difference is partly attributed to the fact that women have longer exposure to infected semen that remains in the vagina after intercourse, whereas men's exposure to vaginal fluids ends after sex. It is suspected, too, that the cervix is more susceptible to infection than a man's urethra. Regardless of gender, the link between number of sex partners and infection with an STD is clear. Compared with men and women who have had only one partner, those who have had two or three partners are five times as likely to have had an STD; those with four to six partners are ten times as likely to have had an STD.

WOMEN, MEN AND LOVE

How many sexual partners they've had in their lives

NUMBER OF PARTNERS	WOMEN	MEN
One	19%	12%
Two to three	27%	15%
Four to six	26%	19%
Seven to fifteen	17%	26%
Sixteen or more	11%	28%

Source: from the National Survey of Women and the National Survey of Men, Battelle Memorial Institute.

Are you really having safer sex?

HEALTH CAMPAIGNS PROMOTE "safer sex," which means using a condom during every act of intercourse, unless you're 100 percent sure that you and your partner are not infected with HIV. But do people understand what safer sex means? A new survey of 646 sexually active heterosexual adults, average age 25, revealed many misconceptions:

- More than one third said that they practiced safer sex with their latest partner, but more than half of those people had not used a condom during vaginal or anal sex.
- One third of these people who said they were having safer sex but weren't using a condom had only known their partner for one month or less; for nearly a quarter, the sexual

fourths of the respondents who did not have safer sex had not asked partners about their HIV status, 54 percent had not asked about intravenous drug use, and 53 percent had not asked about the number of prior sex partners.

In another study, college students reported that they based their decision whether or not to practice safer sex on their partner's familiarity and likability, rather than on anything related to risk. And according to other recent research, people who do ask a new partner about past risky behaviors are wrongly confident that they can tell whether or not the person is lying to them. In one study, each participant was paired with a person of the opposite sex and told to ask questions about his or her sexual history:

Score Your STD Risk

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Have you had sex without a condom with someone who may have had other sexual partners than you in the last three months?
 yes don't know no

Have you had sex with someone who may have used crack, cocaine, speed, or heroin in the last three years? yes don't know no

Over the last three months, have you had sex with someone without asking them if they had any STD, including HIV? yes don't know no

If you answered "yes" or "don't know" to one or more questions, you have had a good chance of being exposed to an STD. Compared with persons who have had only one sex partner:

- * Having 2 - 3 partners increases your chance of getting an STD by 5 times!
- * Having 4 - 6 partners increases your chance of getting an STD by 10 times!
- * Having an STD increases your chances of getting infected by HIV by three to five times.

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What might YOU be bringing "home" to the person you care most about?

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- * sterility
- * ectopic pregnancy
- * stillbirth
- * permanent birth defects
- * neonatal pneumonia
- * neonatal ophthalmia
- * arthritis
- * blindness
- * aortic aneurysm
- * meningitis/tabs dorsalis
- * liver cancer/failure
- * AIDS related
- * opportunistic diseases
- * cervical cancer
- * death

How are STDs transmitted? STDs are passed from person to person via:

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- * fluid (mucous) discharge to mucous membrane or open lesion.
- * infected bits of feces taken into the mouth, vagina or urethra (NGU?)
- * through kissing (lesion or blister), cunnilingus, anilingus, vaginal intercourse, anal intercourse, anal intercourse, digital sex, fisting, sharing of sex toys with infected sexual fluids on them.

How is STD transmission prevented?

- * Use of latex barriers (condoms, dental dams and possibly clear plastic wrap) between sexual partners during the sexual activities listed above.
- * Changing barriers between partners and activities.
- * STDs can be transmitted in the absence of signs and symptoms.
- * STD organisms can be passed by direct contact of STD sores or lesions with skin or thin mucous membranes - or by passing infectious mucous discharge.

Appendix N: Sex Addicts Anonymous Handout

Sex Addicts Anonymous

Many of us who cruise for prostitutes are trying to fill some very big holes on our lives- only it doesn't work. Sure, the fantasy is good, but after it's all over, what are we faced with? An empty pocket book, the possibility of contracting a disease, arrest or violence. Maybe we were looking in the wrong place.

What is SAA?

- Non-religious/non-denominational: We are not affiliated with any other group- including SAGE or any part of the City of San Francisco. We are guests here. We are not a cult, religion or sect, but SAA is a spiritual program.
- A 12--Step Program: SAA is based on the 12-steps adapted from Alcoholics Anonymous.
- Independent and Self--Supporting: We are not for profit. There are no dues or fees. Most people contribute a dollar or two each meeting to help pay the rent. The excess goes to help our region or main office meet its financial needs.
- Open: Anyone who feels that they have a problem with a compulsive sexual behavior and wants help is welcome to attend SAA.

Unorganized: There are no therapists or leaders running the show. We do have meeting secretaries and other service positions, but these leaders are elected by us to serve for a limited amount of time. Nobody will ever force you to come to or remain at an SAA meeting, or keep track of you. Its a choice program.

- Anonymous: We are not a public or promotional group. Our primary purpose is to help people overcome their sexually compulsive behaviors. What is said in our meetings will not be carelessly repeated.

What do you mean by 'spiritual' program?

Let's first discuss what spiritual doesn't mean. It doesn't mean religious and it doesn't mean therapy. It doesn't mean having someone else's beliefs forced on you. What we mean by 'spiritual' is a program of introspection and action that is open-ended. We challenge you to grow spiritually, but we hold that everyone has the right to work out what that means for them.

How does it work?

You attend meetings and work the 12-steps. We strive to develop a way of living that doesn't lead to sexual acting out.

How can I get started?

We have some literature and meeting schedules available for you today. You are invited to attend the open meetings if you want to check out the program, but there is a meeting tomorrow morning at 11:00am at Davies Medical Center *which* we would like to invite you to attend. At least one of the people you see here will be at the meeting if you would like to ask questions_ Let us stress however, that attending SAA meetings is your choice. If you feel that you have a **problem**, you may find them helpful. If you don't feel comfortable attending a meeting in person, there are also teleconference meetings listed on the schedule that you can call into.

Appendix O: Sex Addicts Anonymous Self-Assessment Checklist

Answer these twelve questions to assess whether you may have a problem with sexual addiction.

1. Do you keep secrets about your sexual or romantic activities from those important to you? Do you lead a double life?
2. Have your needs driven you to have sex in places or situations or with people you would not normally choose?
3. Do you find yourself looking for sexually arousing articles or scenes in newspapers, magazines, or other media?
4. Do you find that romantic or sexual fantasies interfere with your relationships or are preventing you from facing problems?
5. Do you frequently want to get away from a sex partner after having sex? Do you frequently feel remorse, shame, or guilt after a sexual encounter?
6. Do you feel shame about your body or your sexuality, such that you avoid touching your body or engaging in sexual relationships? Do you fear that you have no sexual feelings, that you are asexual?
7. Does each new relationship continue to have the same destructive patterns which prompted you to leave the last relationship?
8. Is it taking more variety and frequency of sexual and romantic activities than previously to bring the same levels of excitement and relief?
9. Have you ever been arrested or are you in danger of being arrested because of your practices of voyeurism, exhibitionism, prostitution, sex with minors, indecent phone calls, etc.?
10. Does your pursuit of sex or romantic relationships interfere with your spiritual beliefs or development?
11. Do your sexual activities include the risk, threat, or reality of disease, pregnancy, coercion, or violence?
12. Has your sexual or romantic behavior ever left you feeling hopeless, alienated from others, or suicidal?

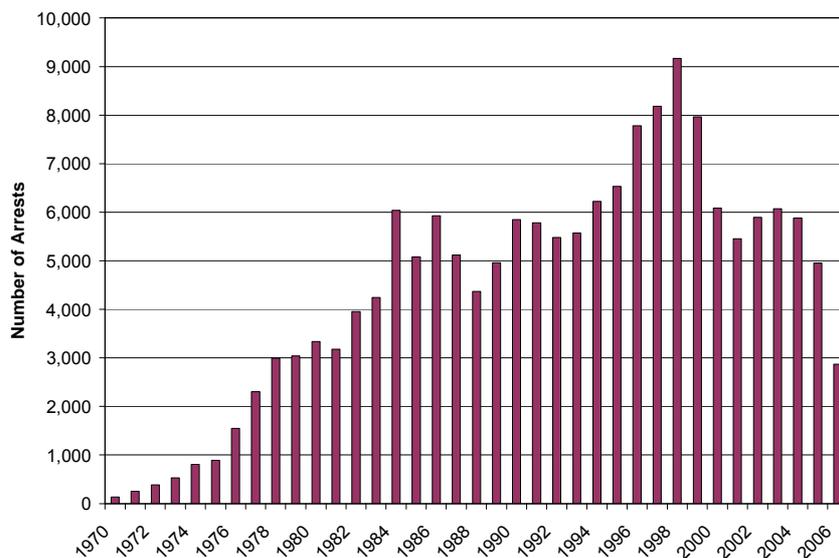
If you answered yes to more than one of these questions, we would encourage you to seek out additional literature as a resource or to attend a Sex Addicts Anonymous meeting to further assess your needs.

Source: Sex Addicts Anonymous, <http://saa-recovery.org/12ques.htm>

Appendix P: Additional Technical Information About the CJSC Data and Our Analysis of Recidivism

Figure P-1 shows the number of 647b arrests in California since 1970. There were just 578 arrests for 647b prior to 1970.

Figure P-1: Number of 647b Arrests Throughout California, by Year



Re-arrest Rates in the CJSC Data

The outcome of interest from the CJSC data was whether the FOPP reduced re-arrest rates. Our analysis focused upon any re-arrest for a 647b offense within a one-year observation window. An alternative outcome might focus on any re-arrest for the entire time we could observe an offender. We did not use this for two reasons. First, since we have 20 years of data in which to observe one-year re-arrest events, we have enough data to make an inference about the FOPP's effectiveness using the one-year arrest rates. Second, as shown in Figure P-2 and Table P-1, the re-arrest rates are extremely low. Given so few "failures," traditional survival analysis techniques that assume all participants eventually fail (are re-arrested) are inappropriate.

A complication arose when we looked at one-year re-arrest rates computed from the CJSC criminal history data. Ordinarily, one would begin looking for a re-arrests immediately following the first offense date. However, there was a very large number of arrests within the first three months after the index arrest. Figure P-2 displays the proportion of people re-arrested

in a one-year window for San Francisco, moving the starting time from zero to twelve months after the index arrest date. Table P-1 give details for the 11 areas of California of interest to us, as well as California overall. The large number of arrests in months zero through three results in re-arrest rates that seem much too high, based upon both anecdotal evidence from police and DAs in San Francisco, as well as published re-arrest rates from other areas. As one can see in Figure P-2, the re-arrest rates appeared to stabilize within the first three months.

There is an explanation for the high re-arrest rates in the weeks immediately following an arrest for soliciting. In San Francisco, offenders arrested for 647b charges are not normally taken into custody. Those taken into custody are normally released within a few days. Most 647b offenders are referred to the SFDA for screening for the FOPP, and at the point of arrest are handed a notification that they must make contact with the SFDA within 10 days. An arrest warrant is issued for those referred to the FOPP who fail to make contact within 10 days. Those not referred to the FOPP are notified that they must appear for a court date, which is set at 30 days from the arrest date. An arrest warrant can also be issued for failure to appear in court at their appointed time.

These rules result in a number of offenders receiving arrest warrants, either because they do not respond to SFDA within 10 days or show up for their court date. When an arrest pursuant to the warrant is made, it appears in the CJSC data as an new arrest, completely independent of the index arrest. Unfortunately, there was no way to consistently distinguish these warrant arrests in the CJSC data. For our recidivism analysis, we do not want to treat these warrant arrests as recidivating events. Since the re-arrest rates stabilize after the first two to three months following the index arrest, this problem ameliorates over time.

Although the re-arrest rates appear to stabilize 3 months after the index arrest, choosing when to begin looking for a recidivating event may change estimates of the treatment effect. To illustrate this, Table P-2 presents the estimated program effect on recidivism rates for one-year windows beginning at different points after the index offense. The estimates use the regression discontinuity, difference-in-difference approach presented in Chapter 4 for the years 1990-1999. For the one-year windows (rows 0-12 through 12-24), once beyond the first few months, the standard errors are consistently lower and the estimated program effect stabilizes. We estimate the treatment program reduces the proportion of people who are re-arrested for 647b offenses to be between 0.027 and 0.068 (for one-year periods beginning at least 3 months after the index arrest date). This analysis and the aforementioned discussion of the issues associated with warrants within the first few months leads us to conclude that we should begin looking for re-arrests beginning in the third month following the index arrest.

Figure P-2: One-year Re-arrest Rates for San Francisco, 1985 – 2005

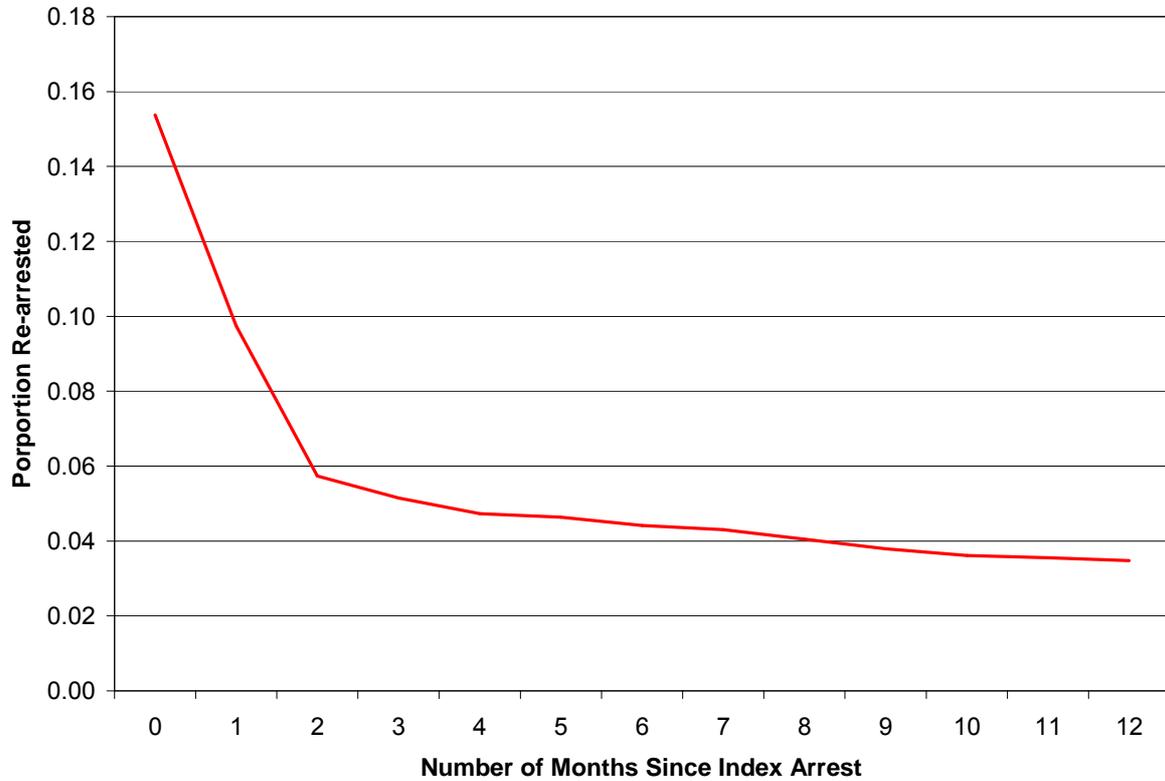


Table P-1: One-year Re-arrest Rates for the Analysis Sample by Area, 1985 – 2005

Number of Months since Arrest	California Overall	Fresno	Los Angeles	Oakland	Rest of CA	Sacramento	San Bernardino	San Diego	San Francisco	San Jose	Santa Ana	Stockton
0	0.085	0.129	0.073	0.047	0.071	0.069	0.064	0.029	0.154	0.145	0.090	0.149
1	0.068	0.055	0.069	0.034	0.052	0.036	0.052	0.022	0.097	0.140	0.070	0.116
2	0.058	0.033	0.065	0.031	0.043	0.033	0.053	0.021	0.057	0.134	0.064	0.054
3	0.053	0.019	0.062	0.028	0.039	0.032	0.049	0.019	0.052	0.095	0.060	0.044
4	0.049	0.016	0.059	0.027	0.036	0.028	0.047	0.019	0.047	0.085	0.055	0.040
5	0.046	0.012	0.056	0.026	0.033	0.027	0.044	0.018	0.046	0.072	0.050	0.041
6	0.044	0.011	0.053	0.025	0.030	0.027	0.044	0.017	0.044	0.067	0.046	0.038
7	0.042	0.009	0.051	0.024	0.028	0.026	0.039	0.017	0.043	0.061	0.045	0.040
8	0.039	0.009	0.048	0.022	0.027	0.024	0.040	0.017	0.040	0.056	0.042	0.033
9	0.038	0.008	0.046	0.021	0.025	0.023	0.037	0.017	0.038	0.054	0.040	0.033
10	0.036	0.006	0.045	0.022	0.024	0.022	0.037	0.016	0.036	0.050	0.037	0.033
11	0.036	0.005	0.044	0.022	0.023	0.019	0.034	0.016	0.036	0.049	0.035	0.033
12	0.034	0.007	0.042	0.020	0.023	0.018	0.031	0.015	0.035	0.047	0.035	0.034

When looking for re-arrests beginning in the third month following an index arrest, we can form longer windows of time in which to observe a re-arrest. The last three columns in Table P-2 show estimated program effects for two-year, three-year, and five-year windows. The reduction in re-arrest rates increases as the length the window increases, and is statistically different from zero.

Table P-2: Estimated Reduction in Proportion Re-arrested for 647b Charges within a One-year Window, by the Number of Months After Index Arrest

Number of Months since Arrest	Estimate	Std Error	z	p-value
0-12	-0.175	0.032	-5.396	<0.001
1-13	-0.208	0.032	-6.464	<0.001
2-14	-0.068	0.023	-2.935	0.003
3-15	-0.054	0.021	-2.515	0.012
4-16	-0.063	0.021	-2.990	0.003
5-17	-0.059	0.020	-2.896	0.004
6-18	-0.054	0.019	-2.773	0.006
7-19	-0.033	0.018	-1.859	0.063
8-20	-0.035	0.017	-1.998	0.046
9-21	-0.036	0.017	-2.111	0.035
10-22	-0.038	0.017	-2.218	0.027
11-23	-0.036	0.017	-2.150	0.032
12-24	-0.027	0.016	-1.656	0.098
3-27	-0.071	0.024	-3.008	0.003
3-39	-0.081	0.025	-3.249	0.001
3-63	-0.104	0.026	-3.923	<0.001

Matching the FOPP and CJSC Data

As discussed earlier in this report, the prevalence of incomplete and unreliable data in the FOPP database did not allow us to distinguish among those who did and did not complete the program, nor to match the FOPP data with the criminal history data in the CJSC database, with an acceptable degree of accuracy and reliability. No more than two-thirds of the cases in the FOPP database could be matched with the CJSC data, and there are reasons to believe that there are differences in the groups that could and could not be matched. For these reasons, we chose not to rely upon a suspect subsample of FOPP cases as the primary analysis with which to evaluate the program’s impact. In this section we discuss our attempt to match the CJSC database to the FOPP cases.

Although our agreement with the San Francisco’s DA office would not allow us to receive names of referred offenders, there was other common information contained in both databases that could be used to attempt to match cases. The fields of interest in the FOPP database were the SF number (the individual-level identifier), police number (the incident-level identifier),

offense date, date of birth, and race. The corresponding fields in the CJSC database were an “other agency file number” matching either the police number or SF number, offense date, date of birth, and race.

Despite the number of common fields between the two databases, the match was not as straightforward as we had hoped. In the CJSC data, the “other agency file number” was missing for a number of cases, did not match to either the SF number or police number in many more. In addition, many records did not match exactly on offense date, date of birth, or race. Therefore, we developed a systematic matching algorithm, allowing either exact or “fuzzy” matches between the FOPP SF number and CJSC “other agency file number”, exact matches between the FOPP police number and CJSC “other agency file number,” exact or fuzzy matches on offense date and date of birth, and exact matches on race.

We matched most records in the FOPP database to every record in the CJSC database from San Francisco, searching for the matches described above. If a record matched on SF number, police number, offense date and either date of birth or race, or only date of birth, it was retained as a candidate match. We then created a hierarchy for the candidate matches, with more certain matches placed in lower “tiers.” Table P-4 describes the hierarchy of matches we created. Of the 9,422 records in the FOPP data, using our matching hierarchy we could unambiguously match 5,935 of the records. Table P-5 summarizes the result of the matches.

Table P-4: Hierarchy of Matches between the CJSC and FOPP Databases

Tier	SF Number		Police Number (Exact)	Offense Date		Date of Birth		Race	Ambiguous Matches	
	Exact	Fuzzy		Exact	Fuzzy	Exact	Fuzzy		Total Number	Top Tier for each Unique FOPP Record
1	or Police Number		or SF Number	X		X		X	0	0
2	or Police Number		or SF Number	X		X			0	0
3	or Police Number		or SF Number	X			X		0	0
4	or Police Number		or SF Number	X					2	1
5	or Police Number		or SF Number		X		X		0	0
6	or Police Number		or SF Number		X				4	2
7	or Police Number		or SF Number						36	22
8		X		X		X		X	0	0
9		X		X		X			0	0
10		X		X			X		0	0
11		X		X					0	0
12		X			X		X		0	0
13		X			X				2	1
14		X							42	21
15				X		X		X	18	11
16				X		X			24	13
17				X			X		4	2
18					X	X		X	4	2
19					X	X			2	1
20					X		X		73	45
21				X				X	3,366	1,660
22				X					9,106	1,860
23					X			X	42,702	585
24						X		X	396	11
25						X			580	15

Table P-5: Summary of Matches between FOPP and CJSC Databases

Status	Single Match	Ambiguous Match	Didn't Match	Didn't try to match - wasn't first record	Total
1	28	38	36	2	104
2	20	11	29	3	63
3	1,237	1,429	47	96	2,809
4	356	199	6	10	571
5	3,326	696	32	55	4,109
6	961	704	20	44	1,729
9	7	23	2	5	37
Overall	5,935	3,100	172	215	9,422

Table P-7: Estimated Logistic Coefficients for San Francisco-Only Analysis, Offenders Re-arrested for 647b Charges within a One-year Window, Starting Date Three Months from Index Date

	All Records in San Francisco				All Records in San Francisco from 1/1/1985-12/31/1994, only Unambiguous Matches from 1/1/1995 Forward			
	Estimate	Std Error	χ^2	p-value	Estimate	Std Error	χ^2	p-value
Intercept	-2.318	0.426	29.631	<0.001	-2.951	0.751	15.422	<0.001
has_tx	-0.756	0.154	24.153	<0.001	-0.755	0.174	18.774	<0.001
Prior Violent Crime	0.094	0.119	0.634	0.426	0.240	0.153	2.465	0.116
Prior Property Crime	0.188	0.109	2.988	0.084	0.257	0.138	3.487	0.062
Prior Drug Crime	0.424	0.111	14.644	0.000	0.254	0.146	3.051	0.081
Prior Petty Sex Crime	0.494	0.170	8.411	0.004	0.561	0.208	7.269	0.007
Prior Solicitation Offense	0.900	0.132	46.206	<0.001	1.037	0.160	41.739	<0.001
Prior non-Solicitation Prostitution Offense	0.272	0.278	0.956	0.328	-0.565	0.402	1.972	0.160
Prior Other Offense	0.128	0.100	1.647	0.199	0.087	0.127	0.473	0.492
Offender is Black	0.321	0.118	7.334	0.007	0.366	0.151	5.861	0.016
Offender is Hispanic	0.242	0.108	4.965	0.026	0.351	0.140	6.333	0.012
Offender is not White, Black, or Hispanic	-0.201	0.129	2.426	0.119	-0.124	0.158	0.620	0.431
Age of Offender at Index Arrest	-0.036	0.005	52.265	<0.001	-0.037	0.007	31.855	<0.001
Y1985	1.111	0.451	6.077	0.014	1.703	0.756	5.070	0.024
Y1986	0.663	0.532	1.552	0.213	1.280	0.807	2.518	0.113
Y1987	0.381	0.463	0.679	0.410	1.020	0.762	1.792	0.181
Y1988	0.487	0.447	1.188	0.276	1.102	0.752	2.148	0.143
Y1989	0.421	0.468	0.809	0.368	1.021	0.766	1.777	0.183
Y1990	0.281	0.462	0.369	0.544	0.901	0.761	1.399	0.237
Y1991	0.696	0.444	2.453	0.117	1.309	0.750	3.047	0.081
Y1992	0.899	0.426	4.451	0.035	1.516	0.739	4.204	0.040
Y1993	1.164	0.415	7.866	0.005	1.781	0.734	5.896	0.015
Y1994	0.712	0.426	2.797	0.094	1.341	0.740	3.286	0.070
Y1995	0.388	0.427	0.828	0.363	0.028	0.925	0.001	0.976
Y1996	0.153	0.417	0.134	0.715	1.072	0.746	2.066	0.151
Y1997	0.173	0.415	0.174	0.677	0.736	0.747	0.970	0.325
Y1998	0.258	0.411	0.395	0.530	0.561	0.752	0.557	0.456
Y1999	-0.101	0.421	0.058	0.810	0.145	0.771	0.035	0.851
Y2000	-0.285	0.428	0.444	0.505	0.738	0.757	0.951	0.330
Y2001	0.126	0.426	0.087	0.768	1.101	0.752	2.143	0.143
Y2002	0.357	0.425	0.705	0.401	1.004	0.746	1.813	0.178
Y2003	0.364	0.421	0.748	0.387	0.859	0.804	1.141	0.286
Y2004	0.050	0.443	0.013	0.910				

Appendix Q: Information and Assumptions Used In Cost Assessment

Average Cost of John School Sessions

Jury Room Attendant (staffed by SFDA) Rate provided by SFDA.	\$ 110
Assistant DA (SFDA) Annual salary of \$118,794, hourly rate of \$57.11, x 3 hrs. The ADA usually provides a one-hour presentations, is in class an additional hour, and spends about one hour preparing.	\$ 171
FOPP Coordinator (SFDA) The 2006 salary of the FOPP coordinator registering attendees and monitoring john school classes is \$80,229, which translates to an hourly rate of \$38.57, and a daily rate (8 hours) of \$309.	\$ 309
Police Officers (SFPD) Per-class total provided by SFPD. There are usually 2 senior level officers (Sgt. or Lt.) supervising the class and periodically giving presentations. In addition, a Lt. usually attends for two or three hours and gives a presentation on human trafficking. In 2007, the SFPD decreased representation at the john school by one officer.	\$ 1,679
Facilitator (SAGE) The salary of the person that facilitates most john school classes is \$80,000, which translates to an hourly rate of \$38.46 and a daily rate (8 hours) of \$308.	\$ 308
Translator Rate provided by SFDA for full 8 hour day. Translators are paid by SFPD from FOPP budget.	\$ 200
Therapist The therapist is "on call" and not used at every john school session. The SFDA lists the annual therapist cost at \$600 per year at a time when there were 12 johns school classes per year, or an average of \$50 per class.	\$ 50

Stipends for NGO speakers (average total per class) \$ 200

E.g., speakers from Save Our Streets, Sex Addicts Anonymous, and former prostitutes associated with SAGE. Each is paid \$50. We observed a minimum of four speakers requiring stipends at each session, although some agree to speak for free.

Public Health Educator \$72.12

Usually staffed by a nurse from the San Francisco Department of Public Health (or other health educator); occasionally by staff from SAGE or elsewhere. We are using a base salary of a health educator position at SFDPH as the basis of our estimate. $\$75,000/\text{yr} = \$36.06/\text{hr} \times 2$

Description of Data on SFPD Costs

For internal accounting purposes, the SFPD sends memoranda to the SFDA that detail labor costs for all reverse sting operations. Equipment and other costs are not included in the memos nor any other accounting system that could tie equipment costs directly to reverse stings, so SFPD non-labor costs were not available to the evaluators.

Records on the cost of each operation, including the cost of officer overtime, date back only three years. Prior to that time no aggregated data exists. It may be possible to look back over duty log books for information prior to 2003, though this would be a huge time investment (for SFPD staff as well as evaluators) with an unclear benefit. An efficient alternative is to calculate an average cost of reverse stings and of john school staffing, and apply this cost, adjusting for inflation, to john school classes and reverse stings dating back to 1997. Figures with which to make such calculations were provided by the SFPD vice unit to Abt Associates in the form of memos from the SFPD to the SFDA detailing per-hour costs, operation hours and cost, and number of arrests per operation.

Undercover officers acting as decoys are officially off-duty, so are automatically paid overtime. Other on and off-duty codes used for FOPP operations are:

- OT= Overtime
- OD= On Duty
- OD/ND= On Duty Night Differential
- OT/ND= Overtime Night Differential

From the data provided by the SFPD, we can estimate an average cost per arrest. However, the inability to calculate this average for all years since program inception is problematic for several reasons. At the start of the FOPP program, Johns were less often targeted for arrest and there was less criminal justice risk associated with soliciting a prostitute. As that risk has increased and become more well known to local men in the 12 years of FOPP operation, police inspectors report that more resources must be devoted to each arrest. This is borne out by examining the

average yield of FOPP participants from each reverse sting. Between 2003 and 2006 the yield declined from 3.1 to 1.7 participants per reverse sting.

Since we do not have retrospective SFPD information on the number of reverse stings beyond 2003, we must estimate the number of FOPP participants. Using the data the SFPD has provided (February 2005-January 2006), we have calculated an average cost per john arrest of \$359 (the median cost per arrest for johns was \$326). This period reflects 362 john arrests and 56 operations. The median operation cost was \$2,142 (mean = \$2,321). Police presence at john school sessions cost an average of \$1,679 for the period in question.

In the tables below, note that the number of john school classes is 138. Our cost analyses was conducted after the May, 2007 john school class. Since then there have been two additional classes (one in September, one in November of 2007), so in other sections of the report we refer to there having been a total of 140 john school classes during the life of the FOPP.

Table Q-1: SAGE Direct Costs for John School

YEAR	Per class SAGE costs	# Classes	Total
1995	233	10	2,330
1996	240	12	2,880
1997	245	12	2,940
1998	249	12	2,988
1999	255	12	3,060
2000	263	12	3,156
2001	271	12	3,252
2002	275	12	3,300
2003	281	12	3,372
2004	289	12	3,468
2005	298	10	2,980
2006	308	6	1,848
2007	318	4	1,272
Total		138	\$36,846

Table Q-2: Total “External” Costs Per Class*

YEAR	External Costs per Class	# Classes	Total
1995	573	10	5,730
1996	589	12	7,068
1997	603	12	7,236
1998	613	12	7,356
1999	626	12	7,512
2000	647	12	7,764
2001	666	12	7,992
2002	676	12	8,112
2003	692	12	8,304
2004	710	12	8,520
2005	734	10	7,340
2006	758	6	4,548
2007	783	4	3,132
Totals		138	\$90,614

* SAGE facilitator, translators, facilitator, speakers.

Table Q-3: Estimated SFPD Costs for John School

YEAR	Per class SFPD costs	# John School Classes	Annual SFPD Class Cost
1995	1,310	10	13,100
1996	1,349	12	16,188
1997	1,380	12	16,560
1998	1,401	12	16,812
1999	1,432	12	17,184
2000	1,480	12	17,760
2001	1,522	12	18,264
2002	1,547	12	18,564
2003	1,582	12	18,984
2004	1,624	12	19,488
2005	1,679	10	16,790
2006	1,733	6	10,398
2007	1,787	4	7,148
Totals		138	\$207,240

Table Q-4: Estimated SFDA Costs for John School

YEAR	Per-class SFDA costs	# John School Classes	Annual SFDA Class Cost
1995	468	10	\$4,680
1996	481	12	5,783
1997	494	12	5,922
1998	501	12	6,010
1999	512	12	6,149
2000	529	12	6,350
2001	544	12	6,527
2002	555	12	6,665
2003	565	12	6,779
2004	581	12	6,968
2005	601	10	6,006
2006	620	6	3,717
2007	641	4	2,562
Total		138	\$74,122

* Includes fringe and overhead.

Table Q-6: Total Direct Costs of John School

YEAR	Per Class External Cost	Per Class SFPD Cost	Per Class SFDA Cost	Total Direct Per Class Cost	# John School Classes	Annual Direct Cost of John School
1995	573	1,310	468	2,351	10	23,510
1996	589	1,349	481	2,419	12	29,028
1997	603	1,380	494	2,477	12	29,724
1998	613	1,401	501	2,515	12	30,180
1999	626	1,432	512	2,570	12	30,840
2000	647	1,480	529	2,656	12	31,872
2001	666	1,522	544	2,732	12	32,784
2002	676	1,547	555	2,778	12	33,336
2003	692	1,582	565	2,839	12	34,068
2004	710	1,624	581	2,915	12	34,980
2005	734	1,679	601	3,014	10	30,140
2006	758	1,733	620	3,111	6	18,666
2007	783	1,787	641	3,211	4	12,844
Totals					138	\$371,972

Table Q-7: Total Costs of SFPD Reverse Stings

YEAR	Cost Per Reverse Sting	# Reverse Stings	SFPD Reverse Sting Costs**
1995	1811	*67	127,404
1996	1865	*133	260,447
1997	1907	*134	268,315
1998	1937	*176	357,958
1999	1980	*206	428,274
2000	2046	*184	395,287
2001	2105	*168	371,322
2002	2138	*113	253,674
2003	2187	123	282,451
2004	2245	87	205,081
2005	2321	57	138,912
2006	2396	80	201,264
2007	2475	*87	226,091
Totals		*1615	\$3,516,479

* The number of reverse stings is estimated for 1995 – 2002. Estimates are based upon assumptions about the average yield of FOPP participants per reverse sting operation, applied to the known number of participants. The number of reverse stings for 2003-2006 are actual, from financial memos from SFPD to the SFDA.

** Annual and total reverse sting costs include 5% overhead rate, as provided by the SFDA.

Table Q-8: SFDA Administrative Costs

YEAR	SFDA Managing Attorney¹
1995	9,443
1996	9,721
1997	9,944
1998	10,098
1999	10,322
2000	10,668
2001	10,971
2002	11,146
2003	11,400
2004	11,703
2005	12,099
2006	12,490
2007	12,905
Totals	142,908

- 1 This is 5% of the position's annual salary, adjusted for inflation, with 5% overhead applied, for the Managing Attorney who oversees the program. This position has no involvement in john school classes.

Table Q-9: SFDA Offender Processing Costs for FOPP

YEAR	SFDA FOPP Coordinator²	SFDA Front Desk Attendant³	Rebooking ADA⁴	Total
1995	61,201	2,750	15,158	79,109
1996	62,538	2,831	15,605	80,974
1997	63,967	2,896	15,963	82,826
1998	64,961	2,941	16,212	84,114
1999	66,402	3,006	16,570	85,978
2000	68,629	3,107	17,127	88,863
2001	70,588	3,195	17,614	91,397
2002	71,695	3,246	17,893	92,834
2003	73,333	3,320	18,300	94,953
2004	75,280	3,408	18,788	97,476
2005	78,469	3,524	19,424	101,417
2006	82,294	3,637	20,050	105,981
2007	85,700	3,758	20,718	110,176
Totals	925,054	41,618	229,422	1,196,098

- 1 This is 5% of the position's annual salary, adjusted for inflation, with 5% overhead applied, for the Managing Attorney who oversees the program. This position has no involvement in john school classes.
- 2 This is the FOPP coordinator's salary, with fringe and overhead, adjusted for inflation based on the salary for 2006 provided by the SFDA. The costs for the time spent in the john school classes each year is subtracted from the salary. From 1996 to 2004 and in 2007 the FOPP Coordinator position was full time. In the start-up year, 1995, and in 2005-2006, the position was approximately half-time.
- 3 This is 5% the annual salary, adjusted for inflation, with fringe and overhead, for the front desk coordinator. This position is required to handle the extra burden of the FOPP due to arrestees bringing checks and paperwork for the diversion program. This position has no involvement in john school classes.

Table Q-10: SFPD Administrative Costs

YEAR	SFPD Lieutenant¹
1995	4,722
1996	4,861
1997	4,972
1998	5,049
1999	5,161
2000	5,334
2001	5,486
2002	5,573
2003	5,700
2004	5,852
2005	6,050
2006	6,245
2007	6,453
Totals	71,454

1 This is 2.5% of the position's annual salary, adjusted for inflation, with 5% overhead applied, for the SFPD Lieutenant who oversees the department's activities associated with the FOPP.

Table Q-11: SAGE Costs for the FOPP¹

YEAR	SAGE Director/ Facilitator	SAGE Support Staff	Total
1995	1,127	586	1,713
1996	1,161	604	1,765
1997	1,187	618	1,805
1998	1,206	627	1,833
1999	1,232	641	1,873
2000	1,274	663	1,937
2001	1,310	681	1,991
2002	1,331	692	2,023
2003	1,361	708	2,069
2004	1,397	727	2,124
2005	1,445	751	2,196
2006	1,491	776	2,267
2007	1,538	800	2,338
Total	\$17060	\$8,874	\$29,934

1 SAGE administrative cost assume 40 hours per year for the john school facilitator (@ \$38.46/hr), and 40 hours per year for support staff (@ \$20/hr). For annual and life-of-program totals we have taken the 2007 rates and adjusted for inflation.

Table Q-12: Calculating Fee Revenue Generated by the FOPP

Year	John School Attendees	Mean Fee Received	Fee Revenue
1995	267	486	129,762
1996	531	486	258,066
1997	536	486	260,496
1998	704	486	342,144
1999	822	486	399,492
2000	644	486	312,984
2001	587	486	285,282
2002 (Jan. – Feb.)	66	486	32,076
2002 (Mar. – Dec.)	329	768	252,672
2003	376	768	288,768
2004	263	768	201,984
2005	145	768	111,360
2006	132	768	101,376
2007	217	768	166,656
Total	5,619	\$ 559	\$ 3,143,118

Table Q-13: Calculating Revenue Generated for SAGE Programs for Survivor Recovery

Year	Per class SAGE costs	# Classes	Total SAGE Class Cost	Total SAGE Admin Cost	Total FOPP Fee Revenue	SAGE Share of Fee Revenue	SAGE Net for Survivor Programs
1995	233	10	2,330	1,713	129,762	43,254	39,211
1996	240	12	2,880	1,765	258,066	86,022	81,377
1997	245	12	2,940	1,805	260,496	86,832	82,087
1998	249	12	2,988	1,833	342,144	114,048	109,227
1999	255	12	3,060	1,873	399,492	133,164	128,231
2000	263	12	3,156	1,937	312,984	104,328	99,235
2001	271	12	3,252	1,991	285,282	95,094	89,851
2002a	275	2	550	336	32,076	10,692	9,806
2002b	275	10	2,750	1,686	252,672	84,224	79,788
2003	281	12	3,372	2,069	288,768	96,256	90,815
2004	289	12	3,468	2,124	201,984	67,328	61,736
2005	298	10	2,980	2,196	111,360	37,120	31,944
2006	308	6	1,848	2,267	101,376	33,792	29,677
2007	318	4	1,272	2,338	166,656	55,552	51,942
Total		138	\$36,846	\$29,934	\$3,143,118	\$1,047,706	\$984,927

Appendix R: Sample of Additional* U.S. Sites Known to Have Conducted Reverse Stings

1. Aberdeen, MD	69. Cook County, IL	136. Houghton, MI
2. Adams County, CO	70. Coral Gables, FL	137. Houston, TX
3. Akron, OH	71. Corona, CA	138. Howard County, MD
4. Alameda County, CA	72. Corpus Christi, TX	139. Huntington, WV
5. Albuquerque, NM	73. Costa Mesa, CA	140. Huntington Beach, CA
6. Alexandria, LA	74. Dallas County, TX	141. Huntsville, AL
7. Allentown, PA	75. Daphne, AL	142. Indio, TX
8. Anaheim, CA	76. Davenport, IL	143. Inglewood, CA
9. Anchorage, AK	77. Daytona Beach, FL	144. Irving, TX
10. Annapolis, MD	78. Decatur, AL	145. Islandia, NY
11. Anne Arundel, MD	79. Des Moines, IA	146. Jackson, MS
12. Anniston, AL	80. Desert Hot Springs, CA	147. Jackson County, MO
13. Arlington, TX	81. Detroit, MI	148. Jacksonville, FL
14. Ashtabula, OH	82. Dickinson, TX	149. Jefferson, WV
15. Athens, GA	83. Dothan, AL	150. Joliet, IL
16. Atlantic Beach, FL	84. Durham, NC	151. Kalamazoo, MI
17. Atlantic City, NJ	85. East Baton Rouge Parish, LA	152. Kansas City, MO
18. Auburn, MA	86. Easton, MD	153. Kanawha County, WV
19. Aurora, CO	87. Edmonds, WA	154. Kenner, LA
20. Aurora, IL	88. El Cajon, CA	155. Kent, WA
21. Bakersfield, CA	89. El Paso, TX	156. Killeen, TX
22. Baldwin County, AL	90. Elkhart, IN	157. King County, WA
23. Baton Rouge, LA	91. Elmsford, NY	158. Kingsport, TN
24. Bay Shore, NY	92. Escambia County, FL	159. Kingston, NH
25. Beaumont, TX	93. Eugene, OR	160. Kingston, NY
26. Beckley, WV	94. Eureka, CA	161. Kissimmee, FL
27. Bellingham, WA	95. Everett, WA	162. Lahaina, HI
28. Bellport, NY	96. Fairview, CA	163. Lake County, IL
29. Bensalem Township, PA	97. Fall River, MA	164. Lake Delton, WI
30. Berkeley, CA	98. Fargo, ND	165. Lake Worth, FL
31. Berlin, CT	99. Fayetteville, NC	166. Lakehurst, NJ
32. Big Lake, MN	100. Federal Way, WA	167. Lakeland, FL
33. Billings, MT	101. Flint, MI	168. Lakewood, CO
34. Bonita Springs, FL	102. Foley, AL	169. Lancaster, PA
35. Boulder, CO	103. Fort Myers, FL	170. Lancaster, CA
36. Bradenton, FL	104. Fort Walton Beach, FL	171. Lansing, MI
37. Bremerton, WA	105. Fort Wayne, IN	172. Laredo, TX
38. Brevard County, FL	106. Frederick, MD	173. Laurel, MD
39. Bristol, TN	107. Frederick County, MD	174. Layton, UT
40. Brockton, MA	108. Gainesville, GA	175. Lealman, FL
41. Bronx County, NY	109. Gallatin, TN	176. Lenexa, KS
42. Brookville, PA	110. Galveston, TX	177. Leyden Township, IL
43. Broome County, NY	111. Gastonia, NC	178. Lexington Park, MD
44. Burlington, MA	112. Georgetown, MS	179. Liberty, TX
45. Burlington, NC	113. Glendale, CA	180. Lincoln, NE
46. Bryan, TX	114. Glendale, AZ	181. Little Rock, AR
47. Calumet City, IL	115. Goldsboro, NC	182. Lodi, CA
48. Cambridge, MA	116. Granite City, IL	183. Longview, TX
49. Cambridge, MD	117. Greenburgh, NY	184. Loris, SC
50. Camden, NJ	118. Greenville, SC	185. Louisville, KY
51. Canton, OH	119. Gulf Shores, AL	186. Lowell, MA
52. Cass County, MO	120. Gulfport, MS	187. Lubbock, TX
53. Central Falls, RI	121. Gwinnett County, GA	188. Lynchburg, VA
54. Chandler, AZ	122. Hamilton, OH	189. Lynnwood, WA
55. Charlottesville, VA	123. Hammond, IN	190. Macon, GA
56. Chattanooga, TN	124. Harlan, KY	191. Manatee County, FL
57. Chesterfield County, VA	125. Harris County, TX	192. Manchester, NH
58. Cicero, IL	126. Hartsville, SC	193. Mansfield, OH
59. Clay County, MO	127. Hattiesburg, MS	194. Maricopa County, AZ
60. Clayton County, GA	128. Haverhill, MA	195. McAllen, TX
61. Clayton Township, MI	129. Hempstead, NY	196. Medford, OR
62. Clearwater, FL	130. Henderson, NC	197. Meridian, CT
63. Cleviston, FL	131. Hendersonville, NC	198. Mesa, AZ
64. Coatesville, PA	132. Hickory, NC	199. Miami, FL
65. Cocoa, FL	133. Hillsboro, OR	200. Middletown, OH
66. Colorado Springs, CO	134. Hollywood, FL	201. Milford, MA
67. Columbia, SC	135. Horry County, SC	202. Milwaukee, WI
68. Conroe, TX		203. Mobile, AL

204. Monroe, NC	253. Providence, RI	301. Springdale, OR
205. Montgomery, AL	254. Putnam County, NY	302. Springfield, SC
206. Morgan Hill, SC	255. Racine, WI	303. Springfield, TN
207. Mount Clemens, MI	256. Queens County, NY	304. Staten Island, NY
208. Mount Vernon, NY	257. Raleigh, NC	305. Stockton, CA
209. Mount Vernon, VA	258. Rancho Cordova, CA	306. Stone Park, IL
210. Myrtle Beach, SC	259. Ravenna, OH	307. Suffield, CT
211. Nashua, NH	260. Reading, PA	308. Suffolk County, NY
212. Nassau, NY	261. Reno, NV	309. Syracuse, NY
213. Nassau County, NY	262. Renton, WA	310. Tallahassee, FL
214. National City, CA	263. Richland County, SC	311. Taunton, MA
215. New Bedford, MA	264. Richmond, CA	312. Temple, TX
216. New Castle County, DE	265. Richmond County, NC	313. Texarkana, TX
217. New Castle, PA	266. Riverhead, NY	314. Texas City, TX
218. New Port Richey, FL	267. Riverside, CA	315. Trenton, NJ
219. Newark, NJ	268. Roanoke, VA	316. Tukwila, WA
220. Newburgh, NY	269. Rochester, NY	317. Tulare, CA
221. Norcross, GA	270. Rockford, IL	318. Tuscaloosa, AL
222. North Amityville, NY	271. Rockingham, NC	319. Uniontown, PA
223. North Charleston, SC	272. Roseville, CA	320. Utica, NY
224. North Laurel, MD	273. Rye, NY	321. Vineland, NJ
225. North Little Rock, AR	274. Rye Brook, NY	322. Wailuku, HI
226. Ocala, FL	275. St. Augustine, FL	323. Warren, OH
227. Ocean View, DE	276. St. Petersburg, FL	324. Waterbury, CT
228. Oceanside, CA	277. Salem, OR	325. Waynesboro, MS
229. Odessa, TX	278. Salinas, CA	326. Waynesville, NC
230. Okaloosa County, FL	279. Salisbury, MD	327. West Babylon, NY
231. Orange County, FL	280. Salt Lake County, UT	328. West Bridgewater, MA
232. Ouachita Parish, LA	281. San Antonio, TX	329. West Huntsville, AL
233. Overland Park, KS	282. San Jose, CA	330. Westchester County, NY
234. Painesville, OH	283. San Lorenzo, CA	331. Weymouth, MA
235. Palo Alto, CA	284. San Luis Obispo, CA	332. Wheeling, WV
236. Palatka, FL	285. San Rafael, CA	333. White Plains, NY
237. Palmdale, CA	286. Sanford, FL	334. Wichita, KS
238. Panama City, FL	287. Santa Ana, CA	335. Wilkes-Barre, PA
239. Pasco, WA	288. Santa Cruz, CA	336. Willimantic, CT
240. Paterson, NJ	289. Santa Monica, CA	337. Wilmington, NC
241. Peekskill, NY	290. Santa Rosa, CA	338. Wilson, NC
242. Peoria, IL	291. Savannah, GA	339. Winter Haven, FL
243. Platte City, MO	292. Schaumburg, IL	340. Wisconsin Dells, WI
244. Platte County, MO	293. Schenectady, NY	341. Woonsocket, RI
245. Pleasanton, CA	294. Scranton, PA	342. Wyandanch, NY
246. Plymouth County, MA	295. Shreveport, LA	343. Yakima, WA
247. Poinciana, FL	296. Sioux City, IA	344. York City, PA
248. Polk County, FL	297. South Bend, IN	345. Youngstown, OH
249. Pontiac, MI	298. Spartanburg County, SC	346. Zanesville, OH
250. Portland, ME	299. Spokane, WA	347. Zephyrhills, FL
251. Portsmouth, VA	300. Springfield, MA	
252. Prichard, AL		

* Reverse stings are conducted by all of the 101 sites with active, discontinued, or planned john school programs, sites known to have considered implementing such programs, and those with health education programs for johns. The additional 347 sites listed above conduct reverse stings but are not known to have considered, planned, or operated a john school program. Thus, we have identified 448 U.S. sites known to have conducted reverse stings.
