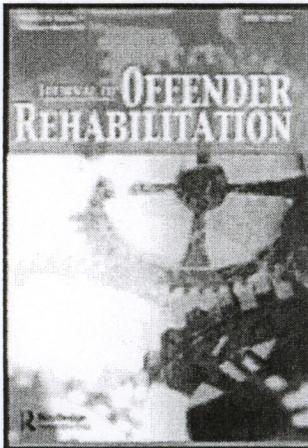


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Adult Prostitution Recidivism: Risk Factors and Impact of a Diversion Program

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The purpose of this study was to explore the risk factors and the impact of a prostitution diversion program on prostitution recidivism. Risk factors and recidivism were explored using chi-square, t tests, and survival analysis. Participants were 448 individuals who were arrested for prostitution and attended a prostitution-focused diversion program. Of the sample, 65 were rearrested for prostitution (14.5 %) within the first 12 months after the arrest leading to their involvement in the diversion program. Prior arrest for prostitution, addiction to drugs and/or alcohol, and childhood physical abuse were found to be risk factors for prostitution rearrest. The relationship between program completion and recidivism was found to be significant with the participants who completed all program requirements less likely to have been rearrested. Future studies on risk factors for recidivism and program impact should include separating males and females as well as exploring those who began sex work before age 18 compared to those who began after age 18. The program components could also be provided to women while incarcerated to compare risk factors and the impact on recidivism.

KEYWORDS exiting, prostitution, prostitution recidivism, risk factors

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Trading sex for money is illegal in most of the United States and has proven to be a challenge to address by local, state, and federal laws. Prostitution in the United States is problematic for the individuals trading sex, both emotionally and physically (Dalla, 2006; Surratt, Inciardi, Kurtz, & Kiley, 2004), for the communities where prostitution activity frequently occurs (Levitt & Venkatesh, 2007), and for the criminal justice system responsible for policing, prosecuting, and incarcerating sex workers where a disproportionate amount of time is spent on prostitution compared to other misdemeanor crimes (Pearl, 1987). While the secretive nature of prostitution makes it difficult to identify the number of individuals selling or trading sex on streets, in cars, motels, truck stops, brothels, massage parlors (Williamson & Folaron, 2003), and over the Internet (McCabe, 2008), thousands of men, women, and juveniles are arrested in the United States for prostitution each year. In 2008, an estimated 55,000 people were arrested for prostitution in the United States, with nearly 40% of these arrests occurring in the western states (Federal Bureau of Investigations, 2008).

The economic and personal costs for prostitution activity are significant. The economic cost for prostitution arrests is high; the most recent review of public costs associated with prostitution arrests was conducted in Chicago where the Sentencing Project estimated the cost at \$1,554 per arrest in 2001, with total costs exceeding \$9 million (Allard & Herbon, 2003). The research on prostitution or sex trading involvement has repeatedly found high personal costs, both physically and emotionally for sex workers, as they report being exposed to regular violence (Salfati, James, & Ferguson, 2008) including threats with weapons, physical assault, or rape (Farley & Kelly, 2000; Surratt et al., 2004), experience drug addiction (Benson & Matthews, 1995), become isolated from positive social support, and become vulnerable to coercion and exploitation (Kennedy, Klein, Bristowe, Cooper, & Yuille, 2007). Prostitutes may also suffer from mental health problems such as post-traumatic stress disorder (Valera, Sawyer, & Shiraldi, 2001) as a result of trauma experienced while prostituting, and may be at risk for ongoing psychological and physical health problems (Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002; Williamson & Folaron, 2003). Poverty resulting from an inconsistent source of income, along with limited education and employment skills, may also be a significant problem for street-specific prostitutes (Monroe, 2005). These issues represent significant barriers for sex workers who want to exit prostitution, and there are few comprehensive programs designed to assist in the exiting process in the United States. These significant personal risks, along with the greater costs incurred by the community (via law enforcement and jail or prison costs, negative impact on businesses, and property devaluation) indicate that interventions assisting individuals in exiting prostitution have both human and community benefits. This study explores the characteristics of adults arrested for prostitution in Phoenix, Arizona over a 2-year period, as well as evaluates the impact of an intervention program.

Diversion Programs

American municipalities have become increasingly involved in assisting sex workers out of the "business" through the provision of community-based arrest alternatives commonly known as diversion programs. Thirteen U.S. states have prostitution-exiting programs for men and women arrested on prostitution charges (Farley, 2008; Wahab, 2006), but little is known about the efficacy of these diversion programs. Wahab (2006) qualitatively demonstrated the usefulness of a prostitution diversion program in Salt Lake City, Utah as it allowed women to avoid jail time, saved the city money, and allowed community agencies to collaborate in helping prostitutes exit "the life," but the study did not explore impact on recidivism. Sanders (2007) supported the notion that these kinds of intervention services may be useful, as she discussed both interaction with the legal system and access to formal support services as necessary catalysts for some sex workers in their transition out of prostitution. It appears that the most likely participants for prostitution diversion programs are street-level sex workers due to their constant vulnerability to patrol and vice arrests, while the other types of sex work (e.g., brothels, hotels, call-out, online, massage parlors) require vice to target them for an arrest. However, the type of sex work engaged in most frequently by program participants has not been explored.

PROSTITUTION DIVERSION PROGRAMS

New prostitution diversion initiatives have begun in cities around the United States during the past decade. For example, one program implemented in Washington, DC, included a two-fold strategy to address prostitution by first creating a court entitled Prostitution Court to address all aspects of the problem including customers and prostitutes, and linking the defendants to mental health programs, drug court and to employment programs (www.dccourts.gov). A second strategy developed in 2004 in Washington, DC, called the Angels' Project Power Program, was designed specifically to divert women from jails to an alternative program that provided services to women arrested for prostitution for a duration of 4 months. Their program provided services including counseling, literacy training, and job skills (Alexander, 2009).

Other programs were developed as a response to awareness of area-specific prostitution-related problems. For example, in Dallas, Texas, the New Life program was developed in response to prostitution activity at truck stops in Texas transportation corridors. In October 2007, the Dallas Police Department joined with the health department, courts, and social service agencies for monthly sting operations that served to immediately get prostitutes off the street and into safe housing, and to assist with gaining legal identification and addressing health problems (Dallas Police Department, 2010). Another example is the Portland, Oregon, Prostitution Alternative

Program, developed in 2008 with collaboration from the City of Portland, District Attorney, and a social services agency to provide 60 girls and women with alcohol and drug treatment, mental health services, mentoring, and housing and employment search services per year.

PHOENIX PROSTITUTION DIVERSION PROGRAM

In Phoenix, Arizona, over 900 people were arrested in 2009 for commercialized vice (prostitution; City of Phoenix Police Department, n.d.). The number of arrests for prostitution in Phoenix for the past 10 years ranges from a low of 881 (2006) to a high of 2,015 (2000). In 1997, the City of Phoenix and their Prostitution Task Force made up of law enforcement, prosecutors, social service agencies, and community members recognized a need for a nonincarceration option for individuals arrested for prostitution with the goal of providing services and supports that will assist them in exiting the prostitution life while ensuring cost savings for the City of Phoenix. The resulting program is a multifaceted diversion program designed to assist the participants in developing an understanding of their options, an awareness of the risks they face, and to introduce ideas about how to take care of themselves physically and psychologically from past, current, and potential abuse experiences. The majority of the diversion intake workers and program providers are former sex workers. The Phoenix Prostitution Diversion Program was the location of data collection for this study and of which the impact is explored.

There has not been any research to date on the risk factors for rearrest for prostitution. Exploring those risk factors along with the impact of a targeted diversion program will help to identify who the program will best work for as well as improve the program design to address the needs of the most at risk for rearrest participants. The purpose of the present study is two-fold. First, it explores what characteristics put the program's clients at greatest risk for rearrest; and second, it examines the impact of a prostitution-focused diversion program by comparing subsequent prostitution-related recidivism between participants who completed one of the three levels of the program (intake only, partial completion of groups or intensive course, and completion). Through the evaluation of the impact of program completion on recidivism, we can learn more about the effectiveness of program involvement and can use this information to adapt the program to best meet the needs of the clients.

STUDY

Study Program Description

The primary goal of the Phoenix Prostitution Diversion Program is to decrease rearrests of the participants. The secondary goal of the program

is to assist the participants in successfully exiting prostitution and reintegrating into the community. All diversion participants sign a plea agreement with the City of Phoenix Prosecutor's Office. In signing the plea agreement they plead guilty to the charge(s). Once the participants complete all of the program requirements, the case is dismissed. If the participants fail to comply with program requirements, a motion to enter judgment and execute sentence is filed and they must serve the number of days in jail indicated on the plea. The number of jail days depends on how many prior prostitution convictions they have (the minimum is 15 days and the maximum is 180 days).

There are three levels of program completion evaluated in this study. The level of program completion was measured by how much of the program the participants attended. The first step is an intake meeting requiring a call to the program and going to the site (located downtown on a bus line) and meeting with a caseworker. Participants are then required to attend all three components of the diversion program. The first component is a 36-hour class offered during the day for the first week of every month; it consists of speakers discussing topics including community response, family dynamics, values, boundaries, domestic violence, addictions, sexually transmitted infections, healthy relationships, sexual abuse, self-esteem, life skills, and relapse prevention. The classes are taught by members of the community, clinical psychologists and social workers, members of the vice unit, and women who have successfully exited prostitution. The second and third components require attendance of 10 total classes or meetings. Specifically, the second component entails substance abuse and prostitution anonymous 12-step meetings, and the third component addresses life skills, which consists of skill building regarding how to apply and interview for jobs. These two were combined because record keeping at the agency only indicated if they had completed these tasks but not specific details about how many groups or if the class was attended.

METHOD

Participants

Data for this study included case files for 448 individuals ($n = 34$ men, $n = 414$ women) arrested for prostitution in Phoenix, Arizona, between the years 2004 and 2006. Participants were not asked what type of sex work they were involved in related to their arrest, so persons involved in street prostitution, brothels, massage parlors, online sex work, call-out sex services, and hotel and home-based sex workers are included. Cases were included in the study if they had recidivism data available.

The participants identified as White (177; 39.5%), African American (151; 33.7%), Hispanic (82; 18.3%), and other (Native American, Hawaiian,

Alaskan; 30; 6.7%), and ranged in age from 18 to 64 years ($M = 32.6$, $SD = 10.4$). All of the 34 males self-identified as transgendered. Reported age of entry into prostitution ranged from 8 to 63 years ($M = 25.06$, $SD = 9.84$) and the duration of time reported of involvement in prostitution ranged from 1 month to 46.3 years ($M = 7.8$ years, $SD = 8.58$ years).

A total of 85 participants completed the intake only (19%). Participants that partially completed either the class or the groups were included in the partial completion group (121, 27%). Of the sample, 234 participants (52.2%) completed the intake, the 36-hour course, and all 10 required classes and groups making up the completion group. Eight case files did not have a record of attendance (1.8%).

There were 65 participants (14.5%) who were rearrested for prostitution in Arizona. Two (2.6%) were male, 31.2% (24) were African American, 39% (30) White, 20.8% (16) Hispanic, and 5.2% (4) other races.

Procedures

The Arizona State University Institution Review Board approved of this study. Names of program attendees and their case files including program completion status and data collected at intake including race, gender, age prior arrest information, substance use, mental and physical health problems, family involvement in substance use, abuse histories, and age of entry into prostitution were compiled by the diversion provider agency through intake interviews and were entered into SPSS by the first two authors.

Race was divided into four categories including White, African American, Hispanic and other (including Native American, Asian, Pacific Islander). Prior arrest was coded as "yes" if the participant had a record of having been arrested for prostitution prior to the arrest leading to the plea agreement resulting in program participation. Physical, sexual, and emotional childhood abuse were separately coded "yes" if the participant reported those experiences. Drug and alcohol problem was coded "yes" if the participant responded in the affirmative to a question asked during intake by the intake worker: "Do you consider yourself to have a problem with drugs or alcohol." Prior drug and/or alcohol treatment was coded "yes" if the participant reported that they had "sought any kind of substance abuse treatment in the past." Drug or alcohol problem of a family member during childhood was coded "yes" if the participant answered positively to the question: "Did any of your family members have problems with drugs or alcohol when you were growing up?" Mental health and physical health problems were coded "yes" if the participant reported a specific diagnosis of either.

The measure of program efficacy used in this study was a lack of prostitution-related recidivism or lack of rearrest records for prostitution among participants of the diversion program. Prostitution rearrest (recidivism) was first explored in the City of Phoenix arrest records; if no rearrest

record was found, names were sent by the City of Phoenix Prosecutor's Office to the Arizona Department of Public Safety. Included in names searched were all aliases, which incorporated name, date of birth and social security number variations known by the Phoenix Prosecutor's Office. The City of Phoenix Prosecutor's Office staff provided prostitution-specific recidivism records for all participants for 12 months after the prostitution arrest that led to involvement in the diversion program and that information was added to the database.

Description of the Participants

The educational level achieved by the participants was as follows: 39.2% ($n = 173$) had an 11th grade education or lower; 34% ($n = 150$) had completed high school, a vocational school, or received their GED; and the final 26.8% ($n = 173$) reported having some advanced education past high school. Reported childhood experiences of abuse were emotional abuse ($n = 150$, 33.5%), sexual abuse ($n = 125$, 27.9%), and physical abuse ($n = 101$, 22.5%). Drug and alcohol problems by a family member while they were growing up were reported by 257 participants (57.4%). Having a mental health diagnosis was reported by 26.1% ($n = 117$) and a drugs and/or alcohol problem was reported by 35.5% ($n = 159$). Age of first drug use was reported by 352 participants with an average age of 17.7 ($SD = 6.95$). A prior arrest was reported by 269 participants (60.3%). A current physical health problem was reported by almost a third of the participants ($n = 144$, 32.1%). Past experiences with substance abuse treatment was reported by 173 participants (38.6%). Many of the participants reported having children ($n = 285$, 63.6%) with a range of 1 to 12 children ($M = 2.74$, $SD = 1.94$). Most of the participants reported having some current contact with their families ($n = 366$, 81.7%).

RESULTS

Chi square and t tests were used to compare the participants who were rearrested for prostitution compared to participants not rearrested for prostitution. Participants who were rearrested in the 12 months of opportunity for prostitution ($n = 65$, 14.5%) were found to be somewhat different from the participants who did not get rearrested ($n = 383$, 85.5%). Prostitution recidivists were more likely to be rearrested for prostitution if they had a prior prostitution arrest record when compared to nonrecidivists ($\chi^2 (1, N = 446) = 15.49, p < .001$). Prostitution recidivists were to be more likely to report having a problem with drugs or alcohol when compared to nonrecidivist participants ($\chi^2 (1, N = 465) = 17.1, p < .001$) and more often reported that they had sought drug treatment in the past ($\chi^2 (1,$

$N = 448$, $\chi^2 = 11.39$, $p < .005$). The two groups did not significantly differ regarding gender, race, age of entry into prostitution, duration of prostitution involvement, age of first drug use, abuse (emotional, physical, and sexual), mental health problems, and family drug history.

The relationship between program completion and recidivism was found to be highly significant, with the participants who completed all program requirements less likely to have been rearrested within 12 months (6.4%) compared to partial completers (19%) and those who completed an intake only (27.1%), ($\chi^2 = 26.14$, $N = 441$, $p < .001$). This finding indicates that the attendance of all three parts of the program had important ramifications for prostitution-specific rearrest for the participants.

Predictors of Recidivism

Logistic regression was used to determine the contributions of key variables towards yes=no prostitution recidivism. In the model, prostitution recidivism was the dependent variable; the independent variables included childhood factors (sexual, physical, and emotional abuse) and adult factors (substance abuse addiction, past seeking of substance abuse treatment, and prior arrest). The factors entered into the regression were selected because they were identified as risk variables for difficulty exiting prostitution in the literature or were found to have a significant relationship in the initial analyses. On the first step, childhood emotional, physical, and sexual abuse was entered. On the second step, substance abuse problem, past seeking of drug treatment, and prior prostitution arrest were entered together into the equation. Significant predictors of prostitution recidivism included childhood physical abuse, substance abuse problem and prior arrest.

A test of the full model versus a model with only childhood factors (emotional, physical, and sexual abuse and family member with a drug and/or alcohol problem) was statistically significant, ($\chi^2 = 23.3$, $N = 213$, $p < .001$). This model was able to correctly classify 80.3% of cases. Table 1 shows the logistic regression coefficient, Wald test, and odds ratio for each of the predictors. Employing a .05 criterion of statistical significance, and while holding all other variables constant, childhood physical abuse, substance abuse problem, and prior arrest had significant partial effects. The odds ratio for childhood physical abuse indicates that a participant reporting childhood physical abuse is two times more likely to be rearrested for prostitution. The results also suggest that for diversion participants who have a prior prostitution arrest, the odds of rearrest for prostitution are nearly five times greater than for participants without a prior arrest. Finally, for clients who reported an addiction to drugs and/or alcohol, the equation found that the likelihood or odds of being rearrested for prostitution was two times more likely.

TABLE 1 Summary for Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Prostitution Recidivism

Predictor	B	Wald	p	OR
Childhood abuse				
Emotional	.409	1.07	.30	.66
Physical	.698	3.55	.05*	2.01
Sexual	.193	.255	.61	.825
Prior prostitution arrest	1.548	7.55	.006**	4.70
Addiction to drugs and=or alcohol	.797	3.86	.05*	2.22
Sought drug and=or alcohol treatment	3.052	.002	.96	1.02

*p < .05. **p < .01.

From the survival analysis, program completers were found to have a 68% lower risk of being rearrested for prostitution than all other participants (intake only and partial completers). Participants who reported a problem with drugs and=or alcohol were found to have a 75% greater chance of rearrest for prostitution. Also each prior arrest of an individual participant increased their chance of prostitution rearrest by 24%. By visual inspection of the Kaplan-Meier survival analysis estimate graph (see Figure 1), the first 10 months appear to be the most critical for all three groups for rearrest. Table 2 shows the results from the proportional hazards regression analysis predicting prostitution recidivism.

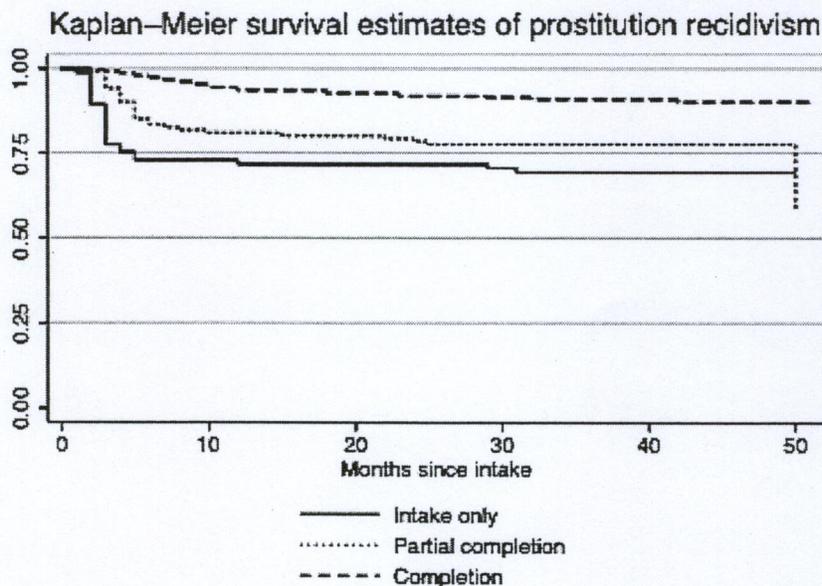


FIGURE 1 Survival analysis of prostitution recidivism.

TABLE 2 Results from Proportional Hazards Regression Analysis Predicting Rearrest for Prostitution

Independent variable	Parameter estimate	SE	Risk ratio
Completion categories			
Intake only			
Partial completers	.29	.30	.75
Completers	1.15	.32	.32**
Race			
African American			
Hispanic	.28	.35	1.32
White	.06	.30	1.06
Other	.03	.56	.97
Highest degree of education	.01	.05	1.01
Drug and/or alcohol problem	.56	.26	1.75*
Number of prior arrests	.22	.08	1.24**

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

DISCUSSION

The goal of this study was to explore the risk factors of prostitution recidivism to assist the diversion program in targeting the most at risk clients and to evaluate the impact of attending a prostitution diversion program on prostitution recidivism within 12 months post initial arrest. The main findings of this study include the identification of risk factors related to prostitution recidivism of diversion attendees and the factors that are predictive of prostitution recidivism. Four statistically significant risk factors for prostitution rearrest were detected in the sample of diversion participants including: prior prostitution arrest, having a drug or alcohol addiction, having sought drug and alcohol treatment in the past, and not completing the diversion program. Participants with prior arrests for prostitution were significantly more likely to be rearrested within the year of opportunity. As clients only have three chances to use the "diversion" plea agreement (upon their fourth arrest they are charged with a felony), this finding indicates that these participants have at the minimum been offered the diversion program on a previous arrest and may have a prior attempt at completing the requirements. It is also possible that many of the program clients returned to prostitution but those rearrested were recognized as "known" prostitutes to law enforcement due to having at least two prior arrests for prostitution.

The relationship between prostitution involvement and substance use has received considerable research attention. Young, Boyd, and Hubbell (2000) found in their interviews of 203 women with histories of crack use, that of the women who had experienced prostitution, many reported that they used crack to help them feel less guilty and experience less sexual distress, to feel more confident and in control, as well as helping them deal with

the negative feelings associated with prostitution. Drug use for women involved in prostitution may serve to numb the psychological distress resulting from lifetime exposure to violence and abuse frequently reported in prostitution studies (Farley & Barkan, 1998; Surratt, Kurtz, Weaver, & Inciardi, 2005). This study's finding of greater risk for recidivism and noncompletion of the program if the client reported an addiction to drugs and/or alcohol may also be related to the need to earn money to pay for their addiction and limited ability to be legally employed while actively using drugs and/or alcohol. Having sought drug and alcohol treatment in the past may be a demonstration of the seriousness of the drug and alcohol problem.

Noncompletion of the prostitution diversion program was the final risk factor identified to contribute to prostitution recidivism. The diversion program is time consuming and requires physical attendance and multiple levels of action (including active participation in groups). Participants who are actively drug using or participating in prostitution may find attendance difficult; this may be a particular problem for participants with pimps who decide how they spend their time. The findings of this study indicate that participants who complete the program are at reduced risk for prostitution recidivism.

The significant impact of the completion of the program was found in the survival analysis. Partial completion did not have the same positive impact on decreasing recidivism as completion but their rearrest rates were lower than the clients who completed only the intake interview. This suggests that even limited contact with the program may have positive effects on decreasing rearrest.

Diversion programs are often designed for first-time offenders who are young or new to criminal behavior. The participants of this study rarely reported recently entering prostitution, as the average duration of reported prostitution involvement was over 7 years. The creators of this diversion program recognized that targeting only first-time offenders was not reaching women who were motivated to exit prostitution involvement, and the program was designed for individuals in all stages of prostitution involvement. Women who had been in the lifestyle for years, had the experience of living the hard life, and were ready to get out served as an example to the first offenders of where they were headed.

Clinical Implications

The two characteristics that appear to predict prostitution recidivism are drug and alcohol addiction and a prior attempt at drug treatment. The findings of this study indicate the need for increased attention within the diversion program on substance abuse treatment and a relapse prevention model lasting at least 10 months should be required as part of the diversion agreement.

This is the first efficacy study of a prostitution-focused diversion program.

A number of important limitations should be considered upon interpretation. This study was a secondary data analysis of data gathered by the diversion provider (Catholic Charities) and the City of Phoenix prosecutor's office. The personal data was collected by three caseworkers and was retrospective, self-reported information from the participants that cannot be verified. The information entered by the three caseworkers may have had some variation. We used official city and state criminal charges information as our recidivism variable. It is important to note that any arrest is based on a combination of factors including opportunity (we do not know if the participants were rearrested and incarcerated for another crime or in another state), chance, and luck. Our results may significantly underestimate the actual rate of prostitution recidivism. The final limitation is that the study population was limited to individuals arrested for prostitution that also signed a plea agreement to attend a diversion program and at minimum attended an intake meeting in a large southwestern city.

Implications for Future Research

Future studies on prostitution diversion programming should include separating out males and females, participants that began prostitution involvement prior to age 18, as well as the impact of time in "the life" and type of drugs used. Perhaps providing some of these interventions in a noncommunity setting like a jail or prison can also impact the prostitution recidivism of women who have experienced prostitution.

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**City of Phoenix and Catholic Charities Prostitution Diversion Program
Outcomes from intake interviews from 7/2006 to 6/2010**

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The DIGNITY Prostitution Diversion Program is an alternative response system for the City Prosecutor's office in lieu of incarceration for persons arrested for prostitution. The program is based on the belief that people involved in prostitution are looking for a way out. The City of Phoenix Prosecutor's office offers clients the Diversion Program as an alternative to mandatory jail time.

The Prostitution Diversion Program (PDP) was a pilot program in July 1997 for only 100 defendants successfully completing and was implemented as a permanent pledged program in 2001. The goal of the program is to give prostituted people the help needed to break away from the vicious cycle of prostitution and rebuild their lives.

The program consists of case management services, implementation of a client service plan that addresses the individual needs of the client, a 36 hour intensive educational classroom program; weekly groups including a substance abuse/addictive behaviors group, a sexual abuse trauma group (facilitated by a clinical social worker and faculty member of Arizona State University), life skills classes, and Prostitutes Anonymous meetings. Clients receive referral services and specialized information, including career development tools to ensure clients can transition more easily into legitimate livelihoods. The program was developed specifically to assist women and men involved in the dangerous lifestyle of prostitution.

Previous Recidivism Studies:

- 2000 study had a 31% recidivism
- 2004 study had a 26% recidivism
- 2008 study had a 14% recidivism

From July 1997- June 2011, the program has saved the City of Phoenix \$3,180,769 in jail cost.

Demographics:

Clients: 797 adults ages 18 to 55 years old

Gender: male: 19 (2.4%)

Female: 778 (97.6%)

Race:

African American: 231 (38.9%)

Hispanic: 82 (13.8%)

Caucasian: 235 (39.6%)

Other (including Native Americans, Asians and all others) 46 (7.7%)

Education: level completed

Elementary: 17 (2.2%)
 Middle school: 35 (4.6%)
 Some high school: 244 (31.8%)
 High school/GED: 277 (36.1%)
 Some college: 189 (24.6%)

Age at Intake at CC Prostitution Diversion

Range from age 18 to 63 years (*Average age=30.6*)

Age of Entry into Prostitution

Range from age 4 to 55 years (*Average age 23.45,*)

Entry into Prostitution or Sex Trafficked before age 18

173 clients (24.9%) of participants
 age range from 4 to 17 years (*Average age 14.74*)

Entry into Prostitution or Sex Trafficked after age 18

521 clients (75.1%) of participants
 age range from 18 to 55 (*Average age 26.3 years*)

Duration of time being prostituted or sex trafficked

Range from less than 1 year to 42 years (*Average duration 7.3 years*)

History of Childhood Abuse reported Yes:

Emotional abuse: 213 (26.7%)
Physical abuse: 149 (18.7%)
Sexual abuse: 258 (32.4%)

Violence and Victimization while being sex trafficked or prostituted:

Rape by pimp: 72 (9%)
 by customer: 279 (35%)
Assault by pimp: 206 (25.8%)
 By customer: 744 (93.4%)

Current medical problem:

Yes: 266 (35.8%)

Pregnant:

Yes: 25 (3.1%)

Mental Health Diagnosis:

Yes: 218 (29.1%)

History of Suicide attempt:**Yes:** 150 (18.8%)**Drug use in last 6 months:****Yes:** 531 (66.6%)**Self identified Problem with drugs/alcohol:****Yes:** 246 (30.9%)**History of drug treatment:****Yes:** 271 (34%)**Reported that a family member had a problem with drugs/alcohol when growing up:****Yes:** 467 (58.6%)**Who they lived with growing up:**

Foster family/group home: 40 (5.3%)

Relatives: 93 (12.3%)

Bioparents: 248 (32.8%)

Bio-parent and a stepparent: 115 (15.2%)

Mother only: 212 (28%)

Father only: 30 (4%)

In contact with their families now:**No:** 149 (18.7%)**Any children:****Yes:** 479 (60.1%)**Are the children under the age of 18?****Yes:** 384 (48.2%)**If under age 18, do you have custody?****Yes:** 200 (52.1%)**Housing:** most live in apartments (74.7%)

The below are living in unstable or no housing

Motel/hotel: 81 (10.2%)

Halfway house: 20 (2.5%)

Homeless: 45 (5.6%)