THE DAYTON POLICE DEPARTMENT PROBLEM ORIENTED POLICING PROJECT

# SAFE OASIS

PROSTITUTION REDUCTION AND RECOVERY THROUGH CONSUMER ENFORCEMENT STRATEGIES

# Prepared by: MAJOR BRIAN JOHNS & VICE CRIMES UNIT

**DPD: SAFE OASIS** 

Page **1** of **25** 

# **SUMMARY**

In 2006, various neighborhood groups, priority boards and business associations were demanding something be done to reduce the amount of prostitution in the City of Dayton. With approximately 450 sworn officers, at the time, and an estimated population of 159,067, four vice detectives were tasked with handling between 700 and 1,000 arrests per year and growing. Additionally, in areas of the city where you found prostitutes, you also found drugs, drug houses, and drug dealers, all of which exasperated the drug and prostitution situation for the Dayton Police Department.

Beginning in 2007, the Dayton Police Vice Crimes Unit utilized the four step SARA problem solving model to identify and develop innovative strategies to address the issue of prostitution. Traditional prostitution reduction initiatives only focused on arrests and convictions of prostitutes. Little was done to understand why women chose this life and incarceration was viewed as the prostitute's opportunity for rehabilitation. The new approach embraced by the Dayton Police Department Vice Crimes Unit focused on strict enforcement efforts against the male consumer, compassionate recovery efforts for the female prostitute, and substantial community engagement.

First, we changed the perception and acceptance of prostitution in the City of Dayton. The male consumers, or Johns', needed to know that if they came to these locations looking for sex that they would be subject to strict ramifications. Additionally, we found it only fitting that the Johns' who utilize the services of prostitutes be required to share in that responsibility of finance rehabilitation services. Second, with the help of many partnerships, both inside and outside the criminal justice system, we started offering a better way of life to the women who prostituted. To help prostitutes leave the streets on their own, and not through incarceration, a more active role was taken to address the factors that steered a woman toward a life of prostitution. To do this we needed to provide them with a support structure and a place where they could escape from their current lives; a Safe Oasis.

To date, DPD has formed more the 17 community partnerships, doubled the percentage of male consumer arrests vs. prostitute arrests, and handled the lowest number of prostitution arrests since 2004 resulting in a 50% reduction in prostitution arrests since 2007 when the project started.

## **SCANNING**

For decades the efforts of the Dayton Police Department consisted of uniformed patrol officers displacing prostitutes from one locale to another in an attempt to remove unsightly solicitation. While some proactive efforts involved designated undercover units posing as potential customers, traditional enforcement methods typically focused on reacting to the crime of prostitution rather than trying to identify the reasons women chose that life.

Prostitution was prevalent and unsightly in the community. All one had to do was drive down a primary thoroughfare to see several women "working" on a given avenue or street corner in an attempt to entice potential male consumers. Often times, male consumers commute from surrounding cities due to Dayton's proximity to the I-70 and I-75 highway interchange (see Figure 1 in Appendix). Local businesses and community organizations

### **DPD: SAFE OASIS**

advocated to the City of Dayton to make enforcement of prostitution activity a high priority. Problem solving through arrest was the established performance metric resulting in an everincreasing number of arrests each year. Unfortunately after several years of ever increasing arrests and convictions there were just as many prostitutes on the street.

Beginning in 2007, the Dayton Vice Crimes Unit decided to take a new approach. Research into three primary areas that contributed to the crime of prostitution were identified; female offender (prostitute), the geographical location where they operated, and male consumer (Johns'). It was believed that dramatically affecting one or more of these three areas would make a marked reduction in this type of illegal activity.

In order to gather supplemental information, DPD needed to increase transparency and communication with the community as well as local prostitutes. A newly formed vice hotline was implemented (333-vice) so that tips on prostitution activity could easily and anonymously be reported by citizens and addressed by the vice unit without undue delay. The phone number and reporting procedures of the vice hotline were shared at neighborhood priority board meetings.

Post-arrest interviews were also conducted and found the majority of street prostitutes stated they were selling themselves for money to finance their illegal drug use; typically crack or heroin. As a result, a large percentage of the female prostitutes being arrested were identified as chronic repeat offenders indicating a high rate of recidivism. Physical incarceration seemed to play a very small role in a female prostitute's decision to re-offend and thus had little effect in reducing illegal prostitution activity; even with mandatory sentencing of six months in jail.

### **DPD: SAFE OASIS**

Page 4 of 25

Lastly, but probably the most significant issue discovered during scanning, was the type of Johns' being drawn to the city in search of sex from prostitutes. Johns' were cruising the streets of Dayton on a regular basis; some with histories of violence and crimes against women. Previous reports of local prostitutes found murdered on the streets of Dayton and innocent children being solicited for sex meant the perception on of easy sex for sale in Dayton had to be changed (see Figure 2 in Appendix).

# ANALYSIS

A temporal analysis revealed prostitution activity occurred at varying and unpredictable times of the day. Geographically, the majority of the female prostitutes worked in six primary locations; including Keowee Street, Third Street, Fifth Street, Xenia Avenue, Main Street and West Riverview Avenue. In fact, annually approximately 79% of the prostitution arrests occurred in one of the six targeted areas (see Figure 3 in Appendix).

Although this knowledge was helpful for developing traditional strategies for increasing female prostitution arrests, the male consumers driving into Dayton were much more mobile and organized. When police pressure increased in a targeted geographical area, the men would quickly move to other areas. Some females would also relocate their operations, but for the most part they would stay out of sight until the police pressure subsided. For these reasons, little could be done geographically to decrease prostitution long term. Technology advancements and the prevalence of internet solicitation sites meant the enforcement strategies of the past were no longer as effective.

Statistics confirmed that a large percentage of the female prostitutes arrested were chronic repeat offenders and traditional enforcement was having little to no effect. Of the female prostitutes arrested in Dayton in 2009, 55% had previous arrests in Dayton for the same type of activity. In 2010, this number increased to 67% and decreased to 57% in 2011. Additionally, post-arrest interviews and collected data indicated the majority of female prostitutes had a history of drug related arrests and chemical dependency. Data was collected on 577 women who had been arrested on prostitution charges over a four year span (2009-2012). Of these 577 women a total of 374, or 65%, also had a criminal history involving drug arrests dating back to 1998.

It was also learned that the lack of safe housing and shelter played a large role in the recidivism rate of female prostitution offenders. Many of the women were ostracized by family and friends resulting in the loss of support structures. While most stated they did not work for a "pimp", many associated themselves with men they described as "dope boys"; not just as a means to obtain drugs, but also for housing. Women would describe staying night to night at various drug houses, prostituting themselves on a nearby street corner to support their habit or to pay back the "dope boy" for the drugs borrowed. For those women wanting a better life or recently released from jail, they soon returned to the street life because there was no other place for them to go. No safe oasis.

Upon reviewing arrest data, there was a disproportionate number of female prostitutes being arrested, especially in comparison to the male consumers seeking their services. In 2004, of the 469 prostitution arrests only 15.5% were of male consumers. 2005 and 2006 were

Page 6 of 25

disproportionately low at 13.3% and 17.2%, respectively. Clearly, more had to be done to arrest and incarcerate the men coming to Dayton for illegal sex (see Figure 4 in Appendix).

Insight on the Johns' was needed to affectively address and reduce the demand of illegal street prostitution. Dayton Police Department forged a partnership with the Dayton Municipal Court Adult Probation Department to address the issue.

Mrs. Jennifer Osborne, of the Dayton Municipal Court Probation Department, conducted a study of probationers assigned to the Sexually Oriented Supervision (S.O.S.) program offered by her department. This program specializes in sexually oriented offenders convicted of such crimes as loitering, soliciting, prostitution, public indecency, sexual imposition and voyeurism. Based on data collected, 25% of the S.O.S. clients had prior convictions for prostitution related offenses. 25% had not been officially charged with prostitution related offenses, but did have histories of being investigated by the Dayton Police Department for such activities. 10% were found to have no prior record, but did openly admit to seeking the services of female prostitutes in Dayton, Ohio without getting caught by police.

Additionally, 13% admitted to having obsessive-compulsive behaviors related to seeking out female prostitutes, sexual addictions and pornography. 12% did not report any history of sexually deviant behavior. 10% were registered sex offenders for offenses of rape, corruption of a minor, illegal use of a minor, gross sexual imposition and importuning. 6% had past histories of violence (see Figure 5 in Appendix).

# RESPONSE

The basic premise of the new approach was to assist the female prostitutes in addressing the core issues that drove them to a life of prostitution while doing whatever was necessary to deter male consumers from coming to Dayton. When planning our response we chose to focus on offender based enforcement options instead of location based strategies due to displacement issues discovered during the analysis phase.

First, to successfully reduce prostitution, it was necessary to change the mindset of the Johns' who continually traveled the streets of Dayton in search of prostitutes. It was critical to instill in their minds that such actions would have lasting ramifications, both financially and personally.

The Dayton Police Department started actively participated in national and local Johns' arrest events on a regular basis. These operations were conducted for multiple days instead of just an afternoon or evening as in the past.

The key geographic locations where these decoy operations took place also changed. We realized that "where" was no longer strictly geographically based. It was discovered that the male consumers were increasingly using internet websites to communicate with each other about the location of prostitutes, their type and quality of services, as well as posting warnings regarding police enforcement actions. Based on this, intelligence gathering and decoy operations were conducted on the internet utilizing hotels, motels, apartments, houses and anywhere where there was a chance of success.

After years of issuing a summons arrest to Johns' in exchange for a written statement, it was mandated the male consumer be taken to jail and his motor vehicle towed which in years

### **DPD: SAFE OASIS**

past had not been done. There was no more "catch and release" for the male consumer. We wanted to make the message clear that such activity would not be tolerated.

Following these operations, a letter was sent to the listed home address of the Johns' warning of the dangers of picking up prostitutes in the City of Dayton and the presence of the deadly HIV virus in 52 of Dayton's convicted street prostitutes (see Figure 6 in Appendix). Upon conviction, the names of those individuals arrested on prostitution charges were made public knowledge through broadcasts on Dayton's cable access channel and posted on the City's website.

Starting in June 2008, as part of their terms for probation, the male consumers were now required to attend The Johns' School and pay a mandatory entry fee of \$250. Dayton Municipal Court administers the school; which centers on educating men convicted of soliciting prostitutes in hopes of reducing recidivism rates with that population. This program was modeled after the successful "Sage" Johns' School and focused on a non-confrontational dialogue about the issue of prostitution between the attendees and the speakers. A light breakfast and lunch is served to the attendees while listening to guest speakers from such groups as the Prosecutor's Office, Police Department, Public Health, Oasis House for Women and even a psychologist. A recovering prostitute named "Holly", who unfortunately contracted the HIV virus through the course of her prostitution, also addresses the classes. More about the success of this program is described in the Assessment section (see Figure 7 in Appendix).

Funds collected from the school will be provided to The Oasis House to cover ongoing bi-monthly payments and other expenses for the recovery centers. The long-term goal is to

Page 9 of 25

have offender funded residential recovery centers in all six areas of the City of Dayton struggling with the problem of street prostitution.

Second, we now only physically arrest the female prostitute in specific instances. Instead of being arrested, the prostitute is issued an order-in for court and offered assistance through our non-law enforcement partners.

The formation of strong lasting partnerships, from professional service providers to educational and faith based organizations, was the key to success.

The Dayton Police Department was fortunate enough to partner with a strong faith based organization by the name of The Oasis House of Dayton. They provide women involved in the adult sex industry and prostitution with high quality, no cost services including: professional counseling, psychiatric care, GED tutoring, basic computer training, resume writing, self-employment counseling, life skills development, mentoring, outside agency referrals for food, health care, dental care, drug rehabilitation and setting up a new household. The Oasis House presently is providing weekly services to more than 250 women in need of assistance; even if currently incarcerated.

Community partners also formed together to address the community-wide problem of prostitution. The partnership of both public and private support agencies became known as the Prostitution Intervention Collaborative (PIC). This collaborative would convene on a monthly basis during the lunch hour to educate, communicate and provide solutions to women struggling with addiction and prostitution.

Members of PIC included such organizations as The Oasis House of Dayton, City of Dayton Adult Probation Department, Montgomery County Common Pleas Court (Judge Gregory

### **DPD: SAFE OASIS**

Page 10 of 25

Singer), City of Dayton Police Department, Montgomery County Sherriff's Office, Montgomery County Criminal Justice Council, the East End Community Center, Artemis House, ADAMHS Board of Montgomery County (alcohol, drug addiction and mental health services), and The Dayton Job Center. Other crucial partners not associated with the PIC collaborative who likewise provided services to the struggling women included S.T.O.P Human Trafficking, Abolition Ohio (University of Dayton) and Men of Action Ministries.

In addition to the growing community support around the women trapped in prostitution, the community wanted to show they cared by participating in street outreach operations involving the giving of gift bags to women on the street. Volunteers consisted of members of the Dayton Police Vice Crimes Unit and community volunteers. While the gift bags provided nutrition and personal wellbeing with its contents, community resource contact numbers and handwritten letters of support from area women were also included.

While partnerships were in place to provide key support services, three crucial components were still missing. A residential recovery center, financing for support services and an inpatient drug and alcohol detoxification center are needed to complete a total recovery support system.

In regards to substance abuse treatment, those women who desired help were referred to The Oasis House, a primary partner, who would act as a gateway to other problem specific services provided by our PIC committee members. Women would receive rehabilitative treatment, primarily outpatient, at facilities in and around the Montgomery County area for their addiction. While this treatment was indeed beneficial for the women, we strived for an inpatient detoxification facility of our own. Such a facility would streamline the process and time it took for a woman to receive the substance abuse treatment so direly needed. In lieu of criminal charges, a woman could instead be transported to the facility, if willing.

Finally, for the women to achieve long-term success, a residential recovery center was needed to provide the recovering women a safe place to grow as human beings and heal; a safe oasis from the streets. Here the women could live in a safe, drug free environment while at the same time receive important services such as personal counseling, educational advancement lessons, continued drug and alcohol counseling and job placement skills.

Through research of best practices and other similar prostitution recovery centers throughout the country, the recovery home was modeled after the Magdalene House located in Nashville, Tennessee. After visiting the Magdalene House and viewing their operations first hand, we felt that their model would be the best for our city and circumstances. However, funding was difficult to secure.

Luck would change in 2011. A long-term drug investigation by the Dayton Police Department and federal authorities yielded an arrest of a notorious drug dealer. In addition to many seized items, he also owned a multitude of rental homes in and around Dayton. By utilizing a program from the United States Marshalls Service entitled "Operation Goodwill", Dayton non-profits are allowed to take advantage of property obtained through illegal means for the betterment of the community. Meaning The Oasis House can acquire the rental properties and utilize the locations as long-term residential recovery centers for prostitutes. The process for appropriating seized assets is a lengthy process, but the safe oasis dream was now a real possibility (see Figure 8 in Appendix).

# ASSESSMENT

The Dayton Police Department chose to completely change the way it addressed the community-wide problem of illegal street prostitution. Instead of stale, inefficient tactics, the DPD chose to reduce prostitution by providing struggling women with additional services to guide them out of a life of prostitution and change the perception of Dayton as being an "easy mark" for Johns' coming to the city in search of prostitution. Based on our study of our six year problem oriented policing project, we feel we have met and exceeded this goal.

The method of evaluation was primarily statistical analysis of collected data in regards to the male consumer and the female prostitute in a multi-year comparison, pre and post January 2007. Such data included prostitution arrests, recidivism rates for prostitution offenders, Johns' School recidivism rates, prostitution activity surveys, prostitution arrest data, female prostitution offender drug history data, post arrest interviews and support service use data.

Data was collected from various sources to include the Dayton Police Department, Dayton Police Vice Crimes Unit, Oasis House of Dayton, the Prostitution Intervention Collaborative (PIC), the City of Dayton Adult Probation Department and the Montgomery County Common Pleas Court. Dispatch "calls for service" data regarding prostitution offenses were also evaluated even though this is not often times a good barometer for activity due to the covert, non-reported nature of prostitution offenses.

In regards to our increased enforcement of Johns' searching the streets of Dayton for prostitution activity, the collected data and subsequent decrease in this activity is very promising.

Since focusing on male consumers and adopting online based enforcement strategies, the percentage of Johns' arrested in comparison to the number of women arrested for prostitution related offenses has gradually risen; with exception to 2009. No longer is the Vice Unit so one-sided in our enforcement of a crime that involves two independent parties. Between 2004 and 2006, prior to implementation, Johns' only accounted for 15.3% of total arrests. By 2012, Johns' accounted for 37.9% of total arrests; a 148% increase since 2006 ((see Figure 3 in Appendix).

Undoubtedly, the Dayton Municipal Courts' Johns' School, program has been a success. To date, a total of 340 men have attended and successfully completed the Johns' School and close to \$80,000 has been raised from the mandatory school fees to be used for rehabilitation. In June 2011, a recidivism study was conducted of 102 men who had successfully completed the school program between 2008 and 2009. Of the 102 individuals, only six were convicted of a subsequent charge reflecting a 94% success rate and drastic reduction in recidivism (see Figure 9 in Appendix).

Another statistic emerges in support of reduced recidivism rates. Knowing prostitution arrest counts can be a reflection of enforcement efforts, we only compared counts from the start of the program to present. In 2007, a total of 151 Johns' were arrested on prostitution

### **DPD: SAFE OASIS**

Page 14 of 25

related charges. In 2012, 131 Johns' were arrested on prostitution related charges. With increased enforcement efforts and significantly increasing the percentage of Johns' being arrested, we believe a 15% reduction is a clear indication of fewer male consumers cruising the streets of Dayton in search of working prostitutes (see Figures 10-A and 10-B in Appendix).

Other data supporting these statistics comes from the present day Vice Crimes Unit Detectives. While the vice unit has seen a marked decrease in the number of male consumers searching city streets for sex, in-depth street interviews with working female prostitutes indicates the amount of time it takes for them to be picked up by a man has increased. From estimates prior to 2007 of approximately 5-10 minutes to presently where one working prostitute stated, "it takes sometimes an hour or two just to get a trick." Although this metric is less verifiable, it is a positive sign of effectiveness.

Regarding the assessment of the "female offender" variable of our problem oriented policing project, many of the positive outcomes are difficult to quantify. Arrest counts can simply be a reflection of efforts, but our female prostitution arrests have dropped significantly since 2006. In 2006, a total of 565 female prostitution arrests were made. In 2012, only 214; a reduction of 62.1% (see Figures 10-A and 10-B in Appendix).

While the above statistics are very important and promising, the most important part of our project are the individual lives that have been touched and improved by our combined efforts. The more than 17 public and private sector organizations providing assistance for these struggling women has and will continue to grow.

For example, as our commitment to providing life changing services to women involved in prostitution increased, so did the number of Oasis House referrals to our partnering support

### **DPD: SAFE OASIS**

agencies. In 2007, The Oasis House counseled and provided referrals for a total of 110 women. Through our combined efforts, this number has more than quadrupled to a total of 414 referrals in 2012.

Thanks to the great work of one of our PIC committee members, the ADAMHS Board of Montgomery County, a select number of beds will soon be available in our area for the sole purpose of inpatient drug and alcohol detoxification providing a great boost to our present efforts. Church groups, business organizations, and even a women's high school lacrosse team have donated items to assist these women. We presently have recovering prostitutes, who have returned to assist us in our efforts, teaching other women early on in the recovery process in such topics as internal healing and alcohol anonymous classes. What better way for a recovering prostitute to heal than from other women who have literally walked in their shoes.

And on an additional note of promise, the arrested drug dealer ended his legal battle and pled guilty to drug trafficking on March 1, 2013. His property, including the houses, became property of the federal government. By late 2013, the safe oasis will be a reality. Various civic groups, businesses and school groups are already volunteering to assist in the fix up, furnishing and painting of the home. Additional organizations have also stepped forward providing additional properties in the City of Dayton to be used for residential prostitution recovery centers.

Community support structures such as street outreach programs, inpatient detoxification centers and residential recovery centers are on the verge of being a reality. Through the partnerships we have formed, the Dayton Police Department is working together

### **DPD: SAFE OASIS**

Page 16 of 25

with the Community to find a solution to chronic prostitution and provide a Safe Oasis for the victims of this crime.

# APPENDIX

### Figure 1:

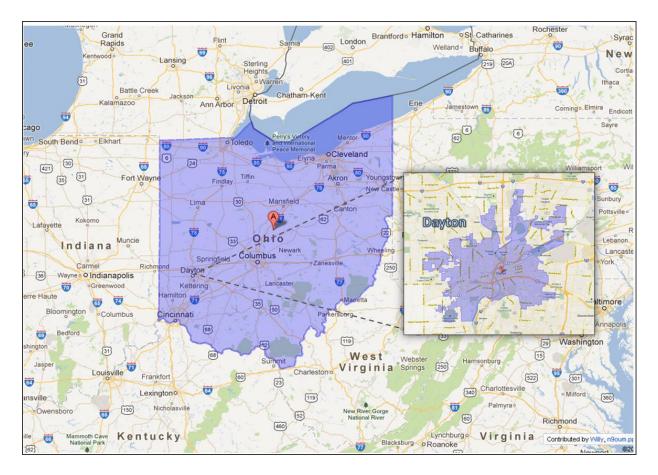


Figure 2:





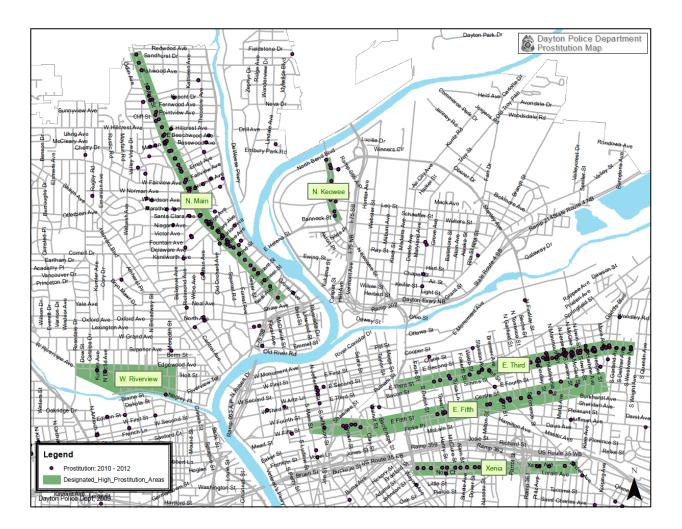


Figure 4:

ear	Female	Male	Prostitution Arrests
004	87.0%	13.0%	2004 - 2012
005	87.8%	12.2%	
006	83.0%	17.0%	
07	78.3%	21.7%	Male, 19.6%
)8	76.6%	23.4%	
09	80.3%	19.7%	
)10	76.1%	23.9%	Female,
1	73.6%	26.4%	80.4%
012	62.0%	38.0%	80.4%
d Total	80.4%	19.6%	

# Figure 5:

ir.

	PROBATION SERVICES	
Hon. John S. Pickrel Hon. Carl S. Henderson Hon. Daniel G. Gehnes Hon. Deirdre E. Logan Hon.Christopher D. Roberts	Safety Building – Room 362 335 West Third Street Dayton, Ohio 45402 937 / 333-4375	JOEL A. ZEUGNER Chief Probation Office
Date: Sept	tember 26, 2012	
To: Hon	orable John S. Pickrel	
Re: Sex	ually Oriented Supervision (SOS) Statistica	l Data
Your Honor:		
individuals particip	recent conversation regarding the profile an pating in the Sexually Oriented Supervision effective of the year 2011.	
<ul> <li>Of the fifty- related to pr</li> </ul>	-two (52) clients accepted into SOS, (13) or rostitution.	r 25% had prior convictions
however, di	3) or 25% were not officially charged with id have histories of being under Dayton Pol riminal (prostitution) or sexually deviant be	ice surveillance for
	10% were found to have no prior record, bu prostituted women (without getting caught	
	r 13% admitted to having obsessive-compu prostituted women, sexual addictions and p	
• Six (6) or 1	2% did not report any history of sexually de	eviant behavior.
	10% were <b>registered sex offenders</b> for offe Illegal Use of a Minor, Gross Sexual Impos	
• Three (3) or	r 6% had past histories of violence.	
	you for your interest in the program. Please be delighted to talk with you in more detail	
Respectfully Subm Jennifer Osborne Probation Officer Dayton Municipal O	~	

# Figure 6:

April 5, 2013
Mr. John E. Doe,
On March 11, 2005, our police records show that you were arrested for the criminal violation of soliciting prostitution while in the City of Dayton. Illegal prostitution is a serious offense that adversely affects the citizens of Dayton, and will not be tolerated. While the final disposition of the criminal case against you has yet to be determined, there are other serious health-related issues that need your immediate attention.
There are presently in the City of Dayton fifty-two known prostitutes that are inflicted with the HIV virus. This number does not include numerous other prostitutes who have yet to be tested for the disease. Many of these prostitutes are aware of their illness, but continue to prostitute, spreading the deadly disease to unknowing individuals with whom they engage in sexual contact with. In turn, the HIV virus can be spread to other innocent persons resulting in a tragic outcome for all.
My <i>sincere</i> hope is to prevent this outcome by issuing you this letter, and making you aware of the life-threatening dangers that exist with prostitution involvement. Contrary to past beliefs, prostitution is not a "victim-less crime."
If you have any questions or concerns, please fell free to contact me personally at my office, #937-333-1130. If you would like additional information on the HIV virus please contact the Miami Valley AIDS Foundation at #937-461-2437 or visit their web site at www.afmv.org.
Sergeant Chris Fischer Dayton Police Special Investigations Division/Vice Crimes Unit

### Figure 7:



# Figure 8:



Figure 9:

DA	VTON MUNICIPAL COLI	от			
DAYTON MUNICIPAL COURT PROBATION SERVICES					
Hon, John S. Pickrel Hon, Carl S. Henderson Hon, Dariel G. Gebres Hon, Deirdre E. Logan Hon, Christopher D. Roberts	Safey Building – Room 352 355 West Third Sever Dayton, Ohio - 45402 937 / 333-3375 FAX 937 / 333-5193	JOEL A. ZEUGNER Chief Probation Offic			
	ism study was conducted by the Probati ectiveness of the Johns' School.	on Department in an			
Municipal Court for male prostitutes. The inference	plemented in June of 2008 as a sanctio offenders convicted of crimes related to was that this group of offenders could wabiding lives, if given the opportunit of behavior.	o solicitation of be rehabilitated, and go			
successfully completed th of 2009. Each offender h order to qualify as a part of includes surrounding court	sisted of one hundred and two (102) ind e Johns' School between the period of a d to have completed the program at let of the study. The Montgomery County, nties, was used as a measure in determin quent conviction of loitering, soliciting, prostitution.	fune 2008 and Decembrast one year prior, in Justice Web, which also hing whether the			
	vo (102) individuals included in the stu charge. This reflects a ninety-four (94				
O A Da I	ne				



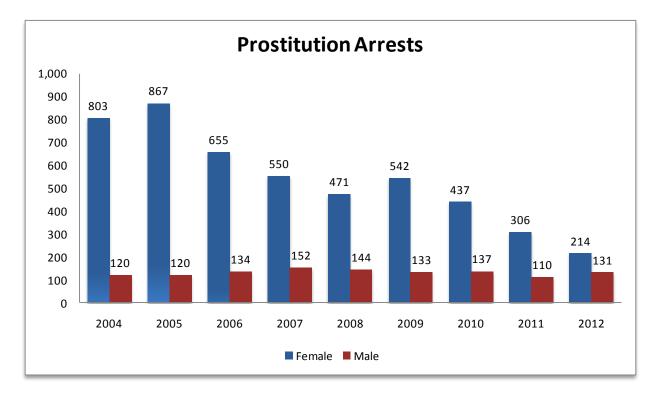


Figure 10-B:

Prostitution Arrests						
Year	Female	Male	Grand Total			
2004	803	120	923			
2005	867	120	987			
2006	655	134	789			
2007	550	152	702			
2008	471	144	615			
2009	542	133	675			
2010	437	137	574			
2011	306	110	416			
2012	214	131	345			
Grand Total	4,845	1,181	6,026			