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An Overview of Other Sex Buyer Arrests in the United States

A Preliminary Summary Based Upon Research from the National Assessments of Prostitution and Sex Trafficking Demand Reduction Efforts



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Most arrests of sex buyers are the result of <u>reverse sting</u> operations using fictional online ads or undercover police posing as prostituted persons. However, sex buyers may also be arrested as the result of investigations or enforcement actions in response to offenses against real victims. In more than **880** U.S. cities and counties, arrests for soliciting prostituted persons have occurred on an ad hoc or opportunistic basis, such as when police witness suspicious activity or disturbances, and then learn that the people are engaged in prostitution. For the purposes of Demand Forum, the creation of this category of tactic that we have called "<u>sex buyer arrest</u>" was intended to acknowledge and document events in which police decide to arrest those buying sex, rather than just ignoring their role as the funding source and driving force for all prostitution and sex trafficking.

There is no specific program, technique, or criminal codes that are needed for sex buyers to be arrested without using reverse stings to produce evidence of their culpability. This category within our typology captures a wide range of circumstances and methods for accomplishing the arrest of sex buyers that are not dependent upon proactive sting operations. As we have documented the kinds of sex buyer arrests that have occurred in hundreds of U.S. cities and counties, patterns became evident. Types of scenarios in which sex buyers have been arrested without conducting reverse stings include:

- investigating sex trafficking, child sexual abuse
- investigating other crimes (e.g., rape, robbery, drug trafficking)
- investigating suspicious activity or sexual conduct in public view
- investigating reports of disturbances
- traffic stops
- brothel raids

When reverse stings have not been conducted, arresting and sanctioning sex buyers is dependent upon the awareness and will of police and prosecutors to pursue prostitution solicitation charges when that crime is encountered during the course of their other work. Although progress has been made toward equity, still it is not uncommon for investigators pursuing prostitution and sex trafficking cases to encounter sex buyers in brothels or clubs and interview them to corroborate the allegations of commercial sex and then simply let them go, while they arrest and prosecute brothel managers and traffickers, and prostituted or trafficked women.¹

By capturing hundreds of instances in which police decided to enforce prostitution laws against purchasing sex while pursuing other crimes, we hope to provide practitioners with evidence that it is possible to do so, and the range of circumstances in which it can be done. Our research also found that the same sanctions and post-arrest programs that are applied to buyers arrested in stings can be – and often are – applied to sex buyers arrested by other means.

Circumstances of Sex Buyer Arrests

This category of tactic is best illustrated with actual examples. To illustrate the application of post-arrest programs and sanctions that have also been used for those that have been arrested. Immediately below, we provide a few examples of each of the major categories introduced above. We then provide a set of additional examples that demonstrate the variability of situations and methods that are used to arrest sex buyers, the range of criminal charges by which buyers are arrested and prosecuted, and the geographic breadth and prevalence of the use of this type of tactic.

¹ Carl Hamilton, "Woman linked to Elkton Road spa charged with sex trafficking," *Newark Post*, December 18, 2020, https://www.newarkpostonline.com/news/woman-linked-to-elkton-road-spa-charged-with-sex-trafficking/article_01c629b5-ae77-5c0f-b408-263739f1ae20.html; Tom Fitzgerald, "Former Montgomery County State's Attorney's office employee found to be customer in Rockville massage parlor bust: report," *Fox 5 Washington DC*, August 12, 2019, https://www.fox5dc.com/news/former-montgomery-county-states-attorneys-office-employee-found-to-be-customer-in-rockville-massage-parlor-bust-report.

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Investigating Sex Trafficking, Child Sexual Abuse

In January, 2023, the Chautauqua County Sheriff's Office collaborated with Homeland Security Investigations on an investigation that led to a man being arrested and charged with transportation of a minor with intent to engage in criminal sexual activity, and sex trafficking of a minor. The Chautauqua County Sheriff's Office had received a complaint that the suspect had been sexually abusing two children over the prior eight years. A subsequent investigation identified a total of four minor victims. During interviews with investigators, the victims stated that the man raped or attempted to rape and sexually abused them. The suspect threatened them with violence or threatened to hurt their families if they disclosed what he was doing. The complaint also stated that the man had regular sexually abusive contact with one minor victim beginning when she was eight years old, as often as three to four times each week. That victim also told investigators that the man started paying her in exchange for sexual abuse, beginning when she was 13 years old until age 16 years old. On one occasion, the man took her to Erie, PA, to pick up drugs. Prior to returning home, the man stopped at a motel to repeatedly rape and physically abuse her.

In August 2021, a 46-year-old Scottsbluff, NE man was accused of asking a 17-year-old girl to send him nude photos in exchange for money. The man was charged with sex trafficking of a minor, a Class IB felony; possession of child pornography, a Class IIA felony; and attempted incest, a Class IIA felony. Scottsbluff Police were contacted in December 2020 by a local counselor who had a 17-year-old client who had reported messages that were sexual in nature involving the suspect. The teen said she had been asked by a man on Facebook for nude photos in return for money. The girl admitted to sending photos, though she had covered her "private parts." The girl said she questioned the identity of the man, believing she had determined the man's real identity as a family member due to the conversation. Police had previously investigated reports involving the man making sexual comments to the girl. The girl then messaged the man's actual account, and he sent the girl sexual comments. Police obtained a search warrant and were able to tie both accounts to the suspect's cell phone. A search of his account also showed multiple screenshots of a nude female with digital markings over portions of her body to conceal them. A warrant for the man's arrest was issued and he was arrested, then was arraigned in Scotts Bluff County Court.²

In April, 2021, law enforcement officials arrested a man in Belton, TX after he tried to solicit sex (or more correctly, paid sexual abuse of a child) and sexually explicit images from two underage girls and sent "child pornography" (child sexual abuse materials, or CSAM) to their mother. The children's mother reported that the man, who she had a relationship with in 2015, started sending her messages on Facebook with sexually explicit requests involving her and her daughters. He sent a message trying to solicit oral sex from one of the daughters in exchange for money, then sent a message containing CSAM, the affidavit stated. The mother reported the first incidents to the Belton Police Department, and the message containing CSAM triggered a National Center for Missing and Exploited Children cyber tip that identified the man as the person who sent the image, according to the document. The man was arrested on a second-degree felony charge of prostitution of a minor and a seconddegree felony charge of possession of "child pornography."

Investigating Other Violent Crimes (e.g., Rape, Robbery, Drug Trafficking, Assault, Homicide)

In March, 2023, police on Long Island, NY arrested the man they believed was responsible for murdering a 39year-old mother he met online for paid sex on Valentine's Day, and then dumping her body next to a dumpster behind an auto parts store. Nassau County Police said the pair met through a "dark web" site where users exchange money for sex. The woman was known to police for struggling with drug addiction and was resorting to prostitution to support herself and her children. In the early hours of Valentine's Day, police said the man picked up the victim in his car and parked behind a business in Mineola when an argument broke out. The man made demands regarding purchasing sex when she objected and wanted more money. The man didn't have enough money, and then became violent. Police alleged that the man strangled the victim and then drove to dump her body behind an auto parts store in South Hempstead, and dumped her nude body there. Afterward, the man went about his daily routine, going home and then to work. Detectives used surveillance cameras and license plate readers to identify the vehicle, then the registered owner (the homicide suspect) and his address,

² Maunette Loeks, "Scottsbluff Man Charged with Sex Trafficking, Other Counts," Star Herald, August 13, 2021, https://starherald.com/news/local/scottsbluff-man-charged-with-sex-trafficking-other-counts/article f4274bdf-e1b7-54a7bcfa-f31759e5daa8.html.

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eventually arresting him. Police continued investigating his digital history, trying to determine whether he had attacked other women he'd met online.³

In January, 2023, a male sex buyer was arrested on charges stemming from his allegedly raping a prostituting woman at gunpoint and beating her with a second weapon in East Hartford. After the assault, the woman walked to the nearest hotel on East River Drive and reported the incident to East Hartford police. Responding police reported that the woman had been bleeding from a large cut on her forehead and was taken to Hartford Hospital. The victim told police she had been trying to "make some money" on Wethersfield Avenue in Hartford when a man in a vehicle approached her. She got in his car to discuss the price of sex acts, and he then drove her to East Hartford and stopped on East River Drive to complete the transaction. She said the man instead raped her at gunpoint and beat her all over her body with a baton. In a subsequent interview at the East Hartford police station, the alleged offender acknowledged to police that the woman in the incident had agreed to have sex with him for money. The man was charged with aggravated first-degree sexual assault, second-degree assault, and brandishing a facsimile firearm.⁴

In April 2020, a man was arrested and faced felony charges after police alleged that he forced a prostituted woman to perform a sexual act and then robbed her at an Allegheny Township, PA motel. The man had responded to the woman's online ad, and she agreed to have sex with him for \$80. They met at the motel, had sex, and he paid her \$50 and crack cocaine. They met again the next day for another transaction, and the man held a knife against the woman and forced her to perform oral sex on him. The man then stole her money and left. The woman called 911 just after the man drove away and gave police a description of what he was wearing as well as the license plate number of his car. When police found the man in the vehicle she had described, he had exactly the amount of money in his possession that the woman reported stolen. Police also found the discarded knife the offender had used to threaten the victim. The man was charged with felony robbery and involuntary deviate sexual intercourse by forcible compulsion, as well as misdemeanor counts of theft, receiving stolen property, and patronizing a prostituted person.

Investigating Suspicious Activity

In February, 2019 a 21-year-old man was arrested⁶ on a prostitution charge after a police officer approached a vehicle parked at gas station in North Conway, NH. A Conway Police officer was on patrol in North Conway and approached the vehicle because the circumstances seemed suspicious. Police said the woman was behind the wheel of a car, and the man was in the passenger seat. An investigation determined both of their identities, and that the pair had previously arranged online to meet and exchange money for sex. The woman in the car was charged with two counts of prostitution, along with several other charges. The man was arrested for soliciting prostitution, and his identity was publicly disclosed.

In February, 2018, police in Ansonia, CT stopped two men who were leaving a home on Beverly Drive that was being investigated for prostitution activity and other potential crimes in response to numerous complaints to police about suspicious activity. The men were both charged with "patronizing a prostitute" and were released on \$500 bond pending a subsequent appearance in Derby Superior Court. In March of 2018, police again responded to complaints about the same residence, and made an arrest of another sex buyer.

In March, 2014, three people were arrested in <u>Atlantic Beach</u>, SC after police were called to a hotel to check on a man lying naked in a truck. According to a Horry County Police report, two men at the hotel on South Highway

³ Melissa Colorado, "Suspect Killed Woman He Met Online, Left Body Next to Dumpster on Valentine's Day," *4 NBC New York*, March 3, 2023, https://www.nbcnewyork.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/suspect-killed-woman-he-met-online-left-body-next-to-dumpster-on-valentines-day-cops/4134674/

⁴ Jesse Leavenworth, "Warrant: Hartford man seeking 'revenge' on wife sexually assaulted and beat prostitute at gunpoint," *Shelton Herald*, February 22, 2023, https://www.sheltonherald.com/news/article/east-hartford-sexual-assault-east-river-drive-17796952.php.

⁵ Greg Bock, "Hollidaysburg Man Charged: Woodson Accused of Patronizing a Prostitute, Robbery," *Altoona Mirror*, April 1, 2020, https://www.altoonamirror.com/news/local-news/2020/04/hollidaysburg-man-charged.

⁶ Daymond Steer, "Vehicle stop leads to prostitution arrest," *The Conway Daily Sun*, May 1, 2019, https://www.conwaydailysun.com/news/local/vehicle-stop-leads-to-prostitution-arrests/article_a6d707c4-6c31-11e9-b310-dbe702b5c7b0.html.

17 in the Atlantic Beach area had paid \$40 each to have sex with a woman in a truck. Police arrested all three people involved, and each was charged with one count of prostitution.

Investigating Disturbances

In December 2022 a man was arrested by officials with the <u>Jefferson Parish</u> (LA) Sheriff's Office after he had been shot in the neck after trying to rob a prostituted woman he met at a motel in Harvey. Police had called to respond to a disturbance that appeared to involve violence and a potential firearm discharge. Responding officer determined that the sex buyer had arrived to meet a 21-year-old woman at the motel at the 2200 block of Westbank Expressway in Harvey for an alleged prostitution date. When he arrived at the motel the woman was in the room, as expected, but there was also a 26-year-old man was hiding in the bathroom, of which he was unaware. When the sex buyer arrived, he allegedly pulled out a gun, demanded the woman's belongings, and forced her into the bathroom at gunpoint. At that point, the unidentified man in the bathroom, who was also armed with a gun, confronted the sex buyer and shot him in the neck. The sex buyer was arrested and charged upon his release from the hospital.⁷

In November 2020, police were called to a room at a hotel in <u>Beachwood</u>, OH where a man and woman were reportedly creating a disturbance. They were still physically fighting when officers arrived. Police determined that the pair has met in the room to complete a prostitution transaction, when a disagreement led to the altercation. Both were arrested and charged with assault. The woman was also charged with prostitution, and the man was charged with soliciting prostitution.⁸

Brothel Raids

Enforcement actions targeting establishments serving as brothels have been conducted in the U.S. for well over 100 years, dating back to at least the 1880s. Most of the individuals arrested have been either running the illicit businesses, or the prostituted women and trafficked girls serving as the brothel's commodities. But occasionally, sex buyers have been arrested during these operations. For example, in 1959, the Mayor of Aberdeen, WA ordered a raid on the largest brothel in the city, resulting in the arrest of 18 male sex buyers and five prostituted women. The operation was conducted as the result of citizen complaints to the City Council. It was also reportedly responsive to accusations of pervasive corruption between politicians, police officers, and brothel owners. According to local news reports at the time, police officers and politicians were allegedly bribed by brothel owners to remain in operation. The citizens' committee signed an anti-prostitution petition that demanded

⁷ Kenny Kuhn, "Report: Man shot in the neck attempting to rob a sex worker in a Harvey motel," *4WWL*, December 6, 2022, https://www.wwltv.com/article/news/local/man-shot-in-the-neck-attempting-to-rob-a-prostitute-in-a-harvey-motel/289-101bb8cc-e4eb-493f-be9f-34225a3e37f8; Michelle Hunter, "Man who tried to rob sex worker shot when holdup goes awry, JPSO says," *Nola.com*, December 5, 2022, https://www.nola.com/news/crime police/man-shot-harvey-hotel-robbery-sex-worker-jpso/article 59beb922-74d0-11ed-aad4-03072e48a387.html.

⁸ Jeff Piorkowski, "Couple assault each other at hotel; charged with prostitution, soliciting: Beachwood Police Blotter," *Cleveland.com*, December 3, 2020, https://www.cleveland.com/community/2020/12/man-woman-charged-at-hotel-for-assaulting-each-other-prostitution-soliciting-beachwood-police-blotter.html.

⁹ John Putman, "The Historic Gaslamp Quarter and Stingaree," *Perspectives on History* 47, no. 8 (2009) https://www.historians.org/research-and-publications/perspectives-on-history/november-2009/the-historic-gaslamp-quarter-and-stingaree; Joel Best, "Careers in brothel prostitution: St. Paul, 1865-1883," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 12, no. 2 (1982): 597-619, doi:10.2307/203547; Neil Larry Shumsky and Larry M. Springer, "San Francisco's zone of prostitution, 1880–1934," *Journal of Historical Geography* 7, no. 1 (1981): 71-89, doi:10.1016/0305-7488(81)90085-2; Mary Lang, "San Diego prostitutes after the Stingaree shut down," *San Diego Reader*, July 15, 1993, https://www.sandiegoreader.com/news/1993/jul/15/feature-prostitution/.

¹⁰ Joe Donlon, "Inside a brothel raid with the Cook County Sheriff's police, and their efforts to help sex trafficking victims," *CBS Chicago*, August 30, 2022, https://www.cbsnews.com/chicago/news/inside-a-brothel-raid-with-the-cook-county-sheriffs-police-and-their-efforts-to-help-sex-trafficking-victims/.

¹¹ The Daily Olympian, "Vice Raid Ires Aberdeenites," *The Daily Olympian*, February 5, 1959, https://demand-forum.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/The Daily Olympian 1959 Vice-Raid-Ires-Aberdeenites.jpg; Longview Daily News, "Prosecutor Asks Closure of Aberdeen Vice Location," *Longview Daily News*, March 19, 1959, https://demand-forum.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/Longview Daily News 1959 Prosecutor-asks-closure-of-Aberdeen-vice-location-scaled.jpg.

the closing of the largest brothels in Aberdeen. The petition was successful, and after the raid the building was ordered to close for any and all activities for a period of at least six months.

In April, 1986, the <u>Beaver Falls</u> Police Department conducted an investigation into what officers believed was a "sex club," operating above a local restaurant.¹² According to reports, police initiated the investigation after an increase in residential reports to the station regarding suspected prostitution activity occurring at the club. Beaver Falls Police officers conducted a raid at the establishment that resulted in the arrest of 25 male sex buyers charged with patronizing prostitution. Police photographed the arrested men and the devices they were using as evidence. The Beaver Falls Mayor at the time commended the BPD and the officers assisting in the raid for doing, "a fine job in getting rid of what was a real cancer in our city."

Traffic Stops

In October, 2022, a man confessed to paying a woman for sex after being pulled over by a police officer for speeding through downtown <u>Brownsville</u>, TX.¹³ The Brownsville Police Department alleged that the man was seen on a downtown surveillance camera picking up a woman at the 900 block of East Washington Street, and that his vehicle then traveled toward Palm Boulevard prior to the traffic stop. During the traffic stop, police said the man confessed to picking up the woman to take her to his residence to pay her in exchange for sex, and that the incident was not the first time he picked up the same woman for paid sex. The man was arrested and charged for solicitation of prostitution, and the woman for prostitution.

In June, 2018, a motor vehicle stop was made in Norwalk, CT after local police patrolling the area of South Main Street observed a man that was known to them as having a suspended license driving toward them. The driver had been arrested multiple times and had contact with police just three weeks earlier. The man had two passengers — a male and female — in the car. When officers stopped the car, police said the man in the back seat attempted to flee, but was detained. An investigation determined there was probably cause supporting charges of the male passenger soliciting prostitution, and the female passenger offering prostitution. All three occupants of the vehicle were arrested, the passengers on prostitution charges, and the driver on charges of driving with a suspended license and drug possession.

Evidence of Effectiveness

There has been no formal evaluation of the effectiveness of arresting sex buyers by means other than reverse stings as a tactic to deter demand for prostitution, but that kind of evidence is very rarely available in assessing the value of criminal justice interventions of any kind. Compared to other ways of combating prostitution and sex trafficking (e.g., victim rescues, trafficker arrest and prosecution, legalization or decriminalization of prostitution), a strong case can be made for sex buyer arrests being an effective tactic, with three distinct kinds of evidence all reflecting favorably on the approach:

1. Surveys of hundreds of admitted sex buyers (or "clients" of prostitution) asked what would deter them from buying in the future, and were presented with a list of options. The things most commonly listed as likely to deter them are consequences following arrest, such as jail time, being listed on a sex offender registry, and the public disclosure of their arrest. Such responses were made more than 80% of surveyed sex buyers.¹⁴

¹² Grace Rishell, "Beaver Falls raid nets 26 arrests, sexual devices," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, April 7, 1986, https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1129&dat=19860407&id=LYNIAAAAIBAJ&sjid=RW4DAAAAIBAJ&pg=68 https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2002&dat=19860409&id=nmEuAAAAIBAJ&sjid=BNoFAAAAIBAJ&pg=4785,1630756; Grace Rishell, "Sex club charges dropped," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, January 7, 1987, https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1129&dat=19870107&id=S89RAAAAIBAJ&sjid=9m0DAAAAIBAJ&pg=2463,994020.

¹³ Alejandra Yanez, "BPD: Driver, prostitute arrested in traffic stop," *ValleyCentral.com*, October 10, 2022, https://www.valleycentral.com/news/local-news/bpd-driver-prostitute-arrested-in-traffic-stop/.

¹⁴ Anna E. Kosloski and Bridget Diamond-Welch, "The Men and Women Who Purchase Sex in the United States: Understanding Motives, Practices, and Preferences," *Women & Criminal Justice* 32, no. 3 (2022): 306-324, doi:10.1080/08974454.2021.1993424; Melissa Farley et al., *Men Who Pay for Sex in Germany and What They Teach us about the Failure of Legal Prostitution: A 6-Country Report on the Sex Trade from the Perspective of the Socially*

- 2. The survey data is aligned with extensive anecdotal evidence¹⁵ from the field of law enforcement vice operations and investigations, which consistently finds that once arrested, sex buyers express great concern about the consequences of that arrest – especially that their behavior will be exposed to their families, partners, friends, employers, and others in their communities.
- 3. The survey findings and anecdotal evidence provided by law enforcement is further corroborated by a vast body of criminological research on deterrence that finds that both "legal sanctions" (such as incarceration or probation, which require a prior arrest and prosecution) and "extra-legal sanctions" (such as social censure and negative consequences for relationships and employment, which also are usually triggered by arrest) have a deterrent effect on re-offending. 16

Collectively, the evidence is strong that arresting sex buyers, by whatever means, is likely to deter reoffending, and to also advance "general deterrence" in which awareness of the risk of sanctions can deter crime in the general population – and not just among those who have been arrested.¹⁷

Additional Examples

Below are brief descriptions of additional cases that we are providing to illustrate the range of circumstance under which sex buyers have been arrested, the charges they faced, and the geographic scope and prevalence of the application of this type of tactic. The examples are from the past decade, ranging from 2012 to 2023, and are listed in reverse chronical order.

Gainesville, FL

In March, 2023, a man was arrested and charged with attempted sexual battery, felony battery, soliciting prostitution, and drug possession after allegedly trying to pay a homeless woman for oral sex and then assaulting her. A Gainesville Police Department officer was flagged down by a woman walking down the road at Butler Plaza; the woman reportedly had blood covering her face and running down her neck. The officer called an ambulance and later reported that the woman had a broken nose and had lost a tooth. The woman told police that after her boyfriend went into a store, the sex buyer asked her if she wanted to make some money and offered to pay her for oral sex. She said he was very persistent and offered her \$400, but she continually refused. She said

https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781351112710-3/perceptual-deterrence-theory-raymondpaternoster; Robert Apel and Daniel S. Nagin, "Perceptual Deterrence," in The Oxford Handbook of Offender Decision Making, eds. Wim Bernasco, Jean-Louis van Gelder, and Henk Elffers (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 121-

¹⁷ Robert Apel and Daniel S. Nagin, "General Deterrence: A Review of Recent Evidence," in Crime and Public Policy, eds. James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia (2011), 411-436; Braga, Anthony A., and David L. Weisburd, "The effects of focused deterrence strategies on crime: A systematic review and meta-analysis of the empirical evidence," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 49, no. 3 (2012): 323-358, doi:10.1177/0022427811419368.

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Invisible 'Freiers' (Berlin: Prostitution Research & Education, November 2022), 46-47, https://prostitutionresearch.com; Rachel Durchslag and Samir Goswami, Deconstructing The Demand for Prostitution: Preliminary Insights From Interviews With Chicago Men Who Purchase Sex (Chicago, IL: Chicago Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation, May 2008), 1-34, https://humantraffickinghotline.org/sites/default/files/Deconstructing-the-Demand-for-Prostitution%20-%20CAASE.pdf; Melissa Farley, Julie Bindel, and Jacqueline M. Golding, Men Who Buy Sex: Who They Buy and What They Know (London: Eaves and Prostitution Research & Education, December 2009), 1-32, https://documentation.lastradainternational.org/lsidocs/Mensex.pdf.

¹⁵ Charlot Alter, "Catching Johns: Inside the National Push to Arrest Men who Buy Sex," *Time*, https://time.com/sexbuyers-why-cops-across-the-u-s-target-men-who-buy-prostitutes/; Nicholas Kristof, "Targeting the Johns in the Sex Trade," New York Times, February 26, 2014, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/27/opinion/kristof-targeting-the-johnsin-sex-trade.html; Kristin Pisarcik "Miami Vice: Inside 'John Stings' and Escort Stings," ABC News, March 21, 2008, https://abcnews.go.com/2020/story?id=4488667&page=1: The Associated Press. "Prostitute customers posterized." The Gainsville Sun, October 13, 2012, https://www.gainesville.com/story/news/2012/10/14/prostitute-customersposterized/31836219007/.

¹⁶ Thomas A. Loughran et al., "Deterrence," in *The Handbook of Criminological Theory*, ed. Alex Piquero (John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 50-74, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781118512449.ch4; Raymond Paternoster, "Perceptual Deterrence Theory," in Deterrence, Choice, and Crime, Volume 23, eds. Daniel S. Nagin, Francis T. Cullen, and Cheryl Lero Jonson (New York: Routledge, 2018),

he then pulled his pants down while she was sitting on a bench and put his penis in her face, so she got up and told him to leave her alone. He then punched her in the face. The man's identity was included in news reports.¹⁸

Winneconne, WI

In October 2022, a local high school teacher was arrested and charged with child enticement for a series of messages he shared with students he knew from working at Winneconne High School. The man faced charges in Winnebago County for child enticement-prostitution, soliciting intimate representation from a minor, exposing a child to harmful material, and disorderly conduct. He was arrested by the Winneconne Police Department. School administrators announced they had placed the man on administrative leave soon after the allegations surfaced. Two days before, the Winneconne High School principal contacted Winneconne police to discuss screenshots of Snapchat messages sent by the man to a 16-year-old high school student, according to a criminal complaint. The girl had shared five screenshots with the principal. All of the pictures showed a shirtless man, whom officers identified as the suspect, each with sexually suggestive captions. The student told the principal that the man had sent the Snapchat images directly to her over the summer. Two other teens reported similar Snapchat messages from the man, including one asking her for sex and offering to pay her \$40 to come to his residence. The man asked one girl to send a photo of her chest, and he sent a picture of a penis to her. When apprehended by police, the man admitted to inviting each of the three students to come to his apartment, sending the nude photo, while knowing that all three of the girls were under the age of 18.

Nanticoke, PA

In January 2022, a man was arrested and faced criminal charges for sending nude pictures of himself and soliciting paid sexual abuse of a child. He was convicted and sentenced in Luzerne County Court. Newport Township police and Luzerne County detectives arrested the man at his home in Nanticoke after an investigation revealed he had been having "inappropriate contact" with a minor female. The man was aware he was twice the girl's age and that she was a minor, but sent her multiple sexually explicit images of himself and offered the girl cash and gifts in exchange for nude photos of herself and for being allowed to sexually assault her. The man was later convicted on charges of criminal solicitation to commit statutory sexual assault, corruption of minors, and possessing "child pornography" (i.e., the term often used in criminal laws for child sexual abuse materials, or CSAM).²¹

Arcadia, FL

In August 2021, police arrested an Arcadia man accused of following a girl under 16 years of age and offering to give her money in exchange for sexual acts. The victim told officers with the Arcadia Police Department that the suspect followed her for about half a mile while making sexual advances and offering her money. The suspect was not at the scene when police arrived, but he was found the next day and admitted to the crimes, police said. Officers arrested him and he was later charged with "force/compel/coerce another to become a prostitute,"

¹⁸ Jennifer Cabrera, "Gainesville Man Arrested for Felony Battery, Attempted Sexual Battery, and Soliciting Prostitution, *Alachua Chronicle*, March 5, 2023, https://alachuachronicle.com/gainesville-man-arrested-for-felony-battery-attempted-sexual-battery-and-soliciting-prostitution/.

¹⁹ Alice Reid, "Kimberly Teacher Accused of Sending Sexual Snapchat Messages to Teen Students," *NBC 26*, October 7, 2022, https://www.nbc26.com/news/local-news/kimberly-teacher-accused-of-sending-sexual-snapchat-messages-to-teen-students; Devin Willems, "Ex-Winneconne High School Teacher Accused of Sending Inappropriate Snapchats to Students," *WeAreGreenBay*, October 6, 2022, https://www.wearegreenbay.com/news/local-news/former-winneconne-high-school-teacher-accused-of-sending-inappropriate-snapchats-to-students.

²⁰ AnnMarie Hilton, "Kimberly High School Teacher Placed on Leave after Allegations of Inappropriate Conduct at Another School District," *Appleton Post-Crescent*, September 30, 2022, https://www.postcrescent.com/story/news/education/2022/09/30/kimberly-teacher-leave-after-misconduct-alleged-another-district/8138181001.

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"contributing to the delinquency or dependency of a child," and "stalking a minor." He was held without bond at the DeSoto County Jail.²²

Stearns County, MN

In August 2021, a Glenwood man was charged with three felonies in Stearns County after allegedly soliciting a minor for paid sexual abuse and possessing child sexual abuse materials. According to the criminal complaint, police were called to a home in Avon for a welfare check after the foster parent of a 13-year-old girl said she discovered troubling conversations with adult men on several different phone applications. In one conversation the girl said she met up with a man she met on a chat app and agreed to perform sex acts with him in exchange for \$90. Investigators were able to identify and locate several adult men who had solicited the teen for sex. A Central Minnesota Human Trafficking Task Force member allegedly found a conversation between the girl and someone on the TextMe app. Investigators then tracked the phone's IP address and subscriber information registered to a 22-year-old man, who was told by the girl that she was 15 before he agreed to exchange drugs for sex and asked for nude pictures in exchange for marijuana. The man was charged with possession of child pornography (i.e., CSAM), solicitation of a child to engage in sexual conduct, and prostitution.²³

Ooltewah, TN

In July 2021, a man was arrested and charged with aggravated rape after he allegedly picked up a prostituted woman in downtown Chattanooga, then took her to his home in Ooltewah and told her she was going to be his "sex slave." The man was charged with aggravated kidnapping, two counts of rape, aggravated assault, patronizing prostitution, and possession of drugs without a prescription. The woman said he held her captive for an 18-hour period and that he drugged her and violently raped her repeatedly until she was finally able to get away. A mail carrier spotted her leaving the residence, and he took her to a nearby church where she called the Sheriff's Office. The woman was taken to a hospital and was found to have suffered numerous physical injuries. Detectives corroborated details of the woman's version of the events after getting a search warrant and entering the suspect's residence.²⁴

Lawrence, MA

In July 2021, a man was arrested for raping young girls and coercing them to allow his sexual abuse in exchange for food, shelter, alcohol, and drugs. The 49-year-old man was charged with 19 criminal counts, including rape, aggravated rape, human trafficking, involuntary manslaughter, and providing illegal drugs. His purported victims include three women and seven girls under the age of 18. He was held without bail at Middleton Jail. A mechanic and drug dealer, the man preyed on vulnerable young girls, giving them alcohol, drugs, gifts, and food, then raping them, demanding nude photos, and more. On May 20, 2019, a 13-year-old girl spent time at his Bellevue St. apartment and that night, the offender and another girl dumped the victim's body at Lawrence General Hospital and left. The girl was pronounced dead, and an autopsy listed the cause of her death as acute intoxication from a combination of fentanyl, cocaine, and other drugs.²⁵

²² Derrick Shaw, "Arcadia Man Accused of Soliciting Underage Girl for Sex," *Wink News*, August 9, 2021, https://www.winknews.com/2021/08/09/arcadia-man-accused-of-soliciting-underage-girl-for-sex; Erin O'Brien, "Arcadia Man Arrested for Stalking, Soliciting Underage Girl," *NBC 2*, August 10, 2021, https://nbc-2.com/news/2021/08/09/arcadia-man-stalked-underage-girl-offered-her-money-for-sex-police-say.

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Council Bluffs, IA

In July 2021, a Council Bluffs restaurant owner was convicted of federal sex trafficking charges for paying to sexually abuse minors. The 71-year-old man was found guilty of four counts of sex trafficking minors, two counts of sex trafficking adults, and two counts of distributing a controlled substance to a person under 21 years of age. He was convicted after a four-day trial. Over the prior 10 years, the offender had exchanged money, drugs, and other material goods to minor girls in exchange for acts of sexual abuse at his house. He had also provided access for friends to sexually assault adult women using force and coercion. The investigation was conducted by the Council Bluffs Police Department with the assistance of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.²⁶

Oneida County, WI

In January 2021, an Oneida County corrections officer (CO) was charged with soliciting prostituted women and misconduct in office. He allegedly traded information about drug investigations for sex from an incarcerated woman drug dealer. He was arrested in January by the Department of Justice–Division of Criminal Investigations and Oneida County investigators. The filed criminal complaint stated that on in January 2018, an inmate told a corrections sergeant that the CO agreed to give her information about a drug task force in exchange for sex. The criminal complaint showed the CO had previous sexual contact with women who had been incarcerated. The Oneida County Circuit Judge agreed to amend the solicitation charge to a misdemeanor count of lewd and lascivious behavior and dismiss the misconduct charge as part of a plea agreement. The offender was ordered to pay a \$2,000 fine and thus avoid prison time after reaching a plea deal with prosecutors.²⁷

Butte, MT

In December 2020, a Butte man was arrested after police responded to a call of a disturbance and possible sexual assault. He was held on \$75,000 bond in the Butte jail for suspected felony sexual assault and felony patronizing prostitution. According to justice court documents, the man allegedly subjected a 15-year-old female to sexual contact with a 13-year-old female while both were in his vehicle, and also attempted to convince the 15-year-old to allow him to sexually abuse her in exchange for money and drugs. Both alleged offenses occurred in Butte-Silver Bow County. Felony sexual assault is punishable by a term of not less than four years or more than 100 years. The mandatory minimum sentence for felony-level patronizing prostitution is 25 years without parole.²⁸

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Kennesaw, GA

In June, 2020, a local man was arrested in Kennesaw in response to allegations he had used Snapchat to solicit teenage girls for paid sexual abuse. The man allegedly used the social media app to offer girls ages 13 to 19 money for various sex acts. The investigation began when a 14-year-old girl reported the messages she had received to a children's advocacy group. The suspect had given the teenagers his cellphone number, and investigators were able to locate him through his IP address. His cellphone records were then searched, it was found that multiple underage girls been offered money in exchange for sex, sexual photos, and/or videos. The suspect was arrested at his Kennesaw home. He was charged with 12 counts of sex trafficking, two counts of computer pornography, and sexual exploitation of a child.

Eau Claire, WI

In July 2019, an investigation into prostitution occurring in local "massage" businesses was initiated in response to community complaints. Three different premises were the focus of the investigation and surveillance on one of these revealed that 223 sex buyers frequented the business in an approximate one-month time frame. The allegations and evidence of prostitution were confirmed. One of the arrests included a man that was charged with "patronizing prostitutes" under Wisconsin state statute 944.31. The man's identity was included in a police press release.²⁹

McAllen, TX

In April 2019, investigators arrested a custodian at Sharyland North Junior High after two male students said he touched them inappropriately and offered to pay them for oral sex. A third boy witnessed the incidents. Investigators arrested the man and charged him with two counts of prostitution: soliciting a person younger than 18 years old, a second-degree felony, and one count of making a terroristic threat, a Class B misdemeanor.³⁰

Honolulu, HI

In May 2016, a Kapolei High School counselor was accused of soliciting prostitution from one of his former students. The man was indicted for allegedly responding to a girl advertised online who was a runaway and a minor. At his house, the man asked the child if she recognized him, then told him who he was and showed her his school identification badge. The accusations against the teacher did not come to light until after the girl was arrested for prostitution in a separate undercover sting. Prosecutors said the victim was sent to a juvenile detention center, where she told a counselor what happened with the teacher. The counselor contacted police. Officials with the state Department of Education said that the man was initially placed on paid leave pending an investigation. The man later was terminated from his employment and pleaded guilty to soliciting a minor for prostitution. In a plea agreement with the prosecutor, the man was ordered to spend three months behind bars but was credited with time served and did not spend another day in jail. He was also placed on probation for five years and required to register as a sex offender where he was prohibited from being in close contact with minors at all times and was not allowed to possess or view pornography. The court also ordered the man to write an apology to the victim and victim's family.³¹

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Kansas City, MO

In 2016, the Missouri Court of Appeals decided unanimously to uphold the conviction of a Kansas City police officer whom prosecutors said had sex with a woman in return for not arresting her for prostitution and drug charges. In April 2014, a Jackson County jury convicted the man of corruption. He was originally charged with two counts of sexual assault and one count of deviant sexual assault, but the jury convicted him of one count of 'acceding to corruption.' According to prosecutors, the man had sex with a prostituted woman in a south Kansas City motel room in the spring of 2012 in exchange for not placing her under arrest. Detectives said an area motel had hired the man as an off-duty security officer to combat drugs, violence, and prostitution. The 13-year veteran of the KCPD had been assigned to the South Patrol Division. The evidence presented at trial was clearly sufficient to establish that the man both solicited and knowingly accepted sex from the woman in exchange for his not arresting her for prostitution. The man was sentenced to 15 days in county jail and a \$2,500 fine.³²

Phoenix, AZ

In February 2015, a former NFL player was fired from his job as an analyst for the NFL Network, headquartered in Atlanta, several days after being arrested while in Phoenix to cover that year's Super Bowl. He was booked on one count of soliciting prostitution and two counts of assault, both misdemeanor offenses, according to the Maricopa County Sheriff's Office. According to a statement released by the Phoenix Police Department, officers working security at a downtown Phoenix hotel were investigating a noise disturbance when they were contacted by a woman alleging she had been assaulted. The incident occurred in a guest room at the hotel where an argument ensued over money. The altercation allegedly turned physical, spilling out into the hallway. The sex buyer was arrested and then transported to Phoenix Police Headquarters, where he admitted involvement in the act of prostitution, but denied assaulting the woman.³³

Lufkin, TX

In March 2013, a man was arrested and booked in Angelina County Jail for solicitation of prostitution as a result of civilian reports on two separate occasions within the same week. According to reports, a woman was walking her dog along the Azalea Trail (a local walking trail), when she passed a man who began following her, who then started making sexual comments to the woman. The second instance occurred five days later where the same man was running along the trail and passed a woman, only to turn around and start making sexual comments to her. The woman told police that as she was running away from the offender, he offered to pay her for sex. The same offender was arrested later that same year, in July 2013, for indecent exposure after he exposed and touched himself suggestively while telling a woman to look at him doing so. The offender was sentenced to 120 days in jail. In 2014, the offender once again exposed himself as he was masturbating while riding his bike in Kiwanis Park. A woman reported the incident to the Lufkin Police Department. According to officials, the offender was arrested and charged with public lewdness and criminal trespass. The sex offender had a criminal trespass warning against him barring him from being in any city park after the 2013 incidents. The offender's identity, photo, age, location, and charges were released by local news sources.³⁴

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Winter Haven, FL

In December 2012, a joint investigation between the Winter Haven Police Department and the Polk County Sheriff's Office resulted in the arrest of a Winter Haven police officer. This stemmed from a September 2012 report by a confidential source who approached a Winter Haven police officer and alleged that the suspect was having sex with a prostituted woman while on duty. A criminal investigation was initiated the following day by the Winter Haven Police Department. The preliminary investigation led the Winter Haven Police Department to request assistance from the Polk County Sheriff's Office, and a three-month joint investigation was conducted. The investigation generated evidence leading to the arrest of the officer for "false imprisonment" and "purchase of services of a prostitute - first offense." The officer confessed to detectives that he paid or agreed to pay prostituted women for sex while on duty during the prior year. One of the encounters with a prostituted person resulted in the former officer being charged with false imprisonment. The man resigned from the Winter Haven Police Department and was later decertified by the state as a sworn officer.³⁵

Kennebunk, ME

In September 2012, a takedown of an exercise studio occurred after an investigation spanning several months into prostitution allegedly occurring at the business. The operation uncovered a list of sex buyers at the establishment with more than 100 individuals identified. While it is not unusual to discover buyer lists in raided brothels, the lists often are not used by law enforcement since they alone do not constitute sufficient evidence that sex exchanged directly for money occurred. For example, in an investigation of a very highvolume brothel in the Spokane, WA area, a "client list" containing 1,200 names was discovered, but police did not take any action against the men listed.³⁶ In the Kennebunk "Zumba Studio" case, however, the list was reportedly supplemented by videotapes and still shots that recorded many of the sexual encounters. Police prepared to charge the men on the list with soliciting prostitution and began to issue summons in early October 2012. On October 15, 2012, the district court released to the public a list of 21 names of men who were all summoned to appear in court on December 5, 2012. The list was the first part of a larger list that contained between 100 and 150 names, according to news reports. The remaining names were released in batches over subsequent months. In late October 2013, it was reported that the cases were drawing to a close. Prosecutors anticipated no further charges because judges ruled that the woman at the heart of the scandal could not be forced to testify. While as many as 100 to 150 names were on a ledger and sex buyers were videotaped, charges were brought against just 68 people charged with soliciting prostitution. There were 61 convictions and one acquittal.³⁷

References

To access information about specific cases and the U.S. cities and counties in which sex buyer arrests have occurred, you may go to www.demand-forum.org, open the "Browse Locations" window, and then select "Buyer Arrests" from the "Tactics" list. Similarly, the U.S. locations in which other sex buyer arrests have occurred may be mapped on Demand Forum by choosing "Buyer Arrests" from the list.

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