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Abstract

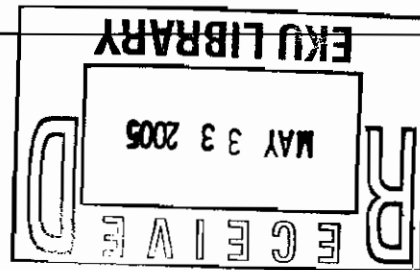
The provision of sexual services for profit has become a major illicit industry in the hidden economy of Kentucky. Prostitution on the streets, in massage parlors, through escort services, and in bars and strip clubs is common throughout much of the Commonwealth. The evidence shows that criminal organizations ranging from individual entrepreneurs, to small crime networks, to international sex trafficking organizations are active in the provision of illicit sexual services in Kentucky. Thousands of women are employed as sex workers, over one million illicit sexual transactions occur annually, and criminal organizations rake in a minimum of \$100,000,000 a year in revenues from the illicit side of the sex industry.

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Prostitution and the Sex Industry in Kentucky

Gary W. Potter, PhD.
Professor, Criminal Justice and Police Studies,
Eastern Kentucky University



Prostitution and the Sex Industry

The sex industry and illicit services provided by that industry, most notably prostitution, are conspicuously under-researched segments of the hidden economy in the United States. Very little is actually known about the prostitution industry and much of what we think we know is inaccurate. For example, most of the public and most law enforcement officials believe that the most common form of prostitution is streetwalking. But the general consensus among those who study the sex industry is that 80-90 percent of all prostitution occurs in a variety of off-street venues (Lyman and Potter, 2004: 178-179; Miller and Jayasundara, 2001: 465). The widespread use of the Internet has also significantly changed the nature of prostitution in ways that the public and law enforcement frequently fail to comprehend. Prostitution services are widely advertised on the Internet. In addition, a variety of Internet sites feature commentary from male customers of prostitution services, referring other potential customers to those services, or warning them away. Internet sites exist that provide advice to potential customers on how to find prostitution services, how to avoid arrest, how to carry out negotiations, and what constitutes proper etiquette in arranging for sexual services (Hughes, 2003; Sharp and Earle, 2003).

There is some literature in the criminological research on prostitution. The overwhelming majority of that literature deals with studies of prostitutes themselves, exploring motivations for entering prostitution (Bryan, 1965; Davis, 1971; Esselstyn, 1968), the lifestyles of prostitutes (Bryan, 1966; Bryant, 1982; Greenwald, 1970; James, 1977) and complex relationships among various actors in deviant street networks (Miller, 1986). Other literature explores the history of prostitution (Anderson, 1974; Holmes, 1972; Winick and Kinsie, 1971) and legal developments related to the prostitution industry (Haft, 1976). There is precious little literature, however, on the business of prostitution. In addition, much of the scholarly literature focuses on the most visible and easily identified of the prostitutes, the streetwalker.

There is some literature on adult female prostitution, although much of it is from a psychological perspective (see, for example, Barclay and Gilmore, 1972; Choisy, 1961; Davis, 1971; Esselstyn, 1968; Gebhard, 1969; Hirschi, 1972; Jackman, O'Toole, and Geis, 1963; Pomeroy, 1965; Silbert and Pines, 1981; Winick and Kinsie, 1971). In addition, there is a smaller body of work on under-aged, adolescent prostitutes (see, for example, Bracey, 1979; Gray, 1973; James and Meyerding, 1977; MacVicar and Dillon, 1980; Newman and Caplan, 1981). But, there is surprisingly little in the literature on the supposed "elite" of the prostitution trade, the escort service worker or call girl (Bryan, 1966, 1965; Greenwald, 1970, 1969).

The literature on motivations for entrance into prostitution often stresses psychological problems. For example, several authorities suggest that masochism, homosexuality, incestuous fantasies, fear of abandonment, and the need to prove physical attractiveness play a major role (Choisy, 1961; Greenwald, 1970; Newman and Caplan, 1981). In addition, frigidity, Oedipal fixation and maternal rejection, have also been cited (Winick and Kinsie, 1971: 81-85).

Economic factors are also cited in the literature. Silbert and Pines (1981), James (1977) and James and Meyerding (1977) cite the need for economic survival as a motivation among juvenile prostitutes. But James (1977) also notes a large number of affluent adolescent women engaged in prostitution and Bracey (1979) reports that a number of her subjects were simply trying to make extra money despite their comfortable living conditions. Jennifer James (1977) reports that 57% of her sample of prostitutes cited a desire for money and luxuries as a principle motivation. Davis (1966: 361-362) has argued that economic factors are more complex than issues of survival, on the one hand, and attainment of luxuries on the other. In Davis' assessment, prostitution is a trade-off between economic rewards and opportunities and a loss of legitimate status and self-esteem. Akers (1985) has argued that the economic choice prostitutes face is not one of survival, but a choice between taking a low-paying, low status job and a less-respectable, but higher-paying job.

Still other experts look toward an inability to maintain a conventional and disciplined life-style as a major motivation in prostitution. Gagnon and Simon (1973: 225-229) suggest that prostitutes' lives are marked by drift and vacillation and that entrance into prostitution is often precipitated by a series of accidental events coming together in a particular social configuration. Others point to discipline problems, such as conflict with teachers and other school authorities, poor grades in school, and an inability to adapt successfully to the conventions of the educational system (Jackman, O'Toole, and Geis, 1967). Similarly, it has also been suggested that prostitutes dislike the conventional work world. Paul Gebhard has argued that, rather than being drug addicts, abused or abandoned children, or women with insatiable sexual desires, prostitutes are simply unable to adapt to conventional work environments (Gebhard, 1969: 28-30).

Estimates of the number of prostitutes in the United States vary widely from 250,000 full-time prostitutes (Sheehy, 1973) to 600,000 full-time and 600,000 part-time prostitutes (Esselstyn, 1968). Winick and Kinsie (1971: 14) take the middle ground

with an estimate of about 500,000 full-time prostitutes and about 500,000 part-time prostitutes, performing approximately 300,000 tricks a night. Nonetheless a substantial part of the prostitution industry involves women and men working in venues other than streetwalking. In fact, estimates indicate that streetwalkers comprise only about 20% of the prostitute population, with call girls making up 15% and prostitutes working in a business establishment of some kind (i.e., massage parlor, bar, hotel, brothel) making up the remaining 65% (Simon and Witte, 1982: 253).

Off-street prostitution takes many forms. Generally, however, those forms can be categorized in two major categories. The first of these categories is legal businesses. These are enterprises such as strip clubs, bars, health spas, saunas, beauty salons, tanning salons, and massage parlors that operate as ostensibly legal businesses in permanent locations. They are plainly visible. They can and do advertise. They offer legal services as well as illegal ones. The second venue involves prostitution that must operate in a clandestine manner. These sex businesses operate from private residences, hotels, mobile homes, empty businesses and warehouses, and other nonpermanent locations. They cannot advertise and must rely on word of mouth, references provided by cab drivers, bartenders, and others, or on Internet chat rooms and discussion boards to make themselves known to customers (Raymond, Hughes and Gomez, 2001; Lyman and Potter, 2004: 177-183).

Some prostitution enterprises are run by individual entrepreneurs, such as a call girl who advertises her services on the Internet or takes referrals from bartenders and hotel employees. Other prostitution enterprises are small, informal partnerships that are sometimes family-based. But most organized illegal sexual services involve, at some level, financing, organization, protection, or outright control by organized crime groups (Raymond, Hughes and Gomez, 2001; Lyman and Potter, 2004: 177-183).

In the last two decades additional concerns have been raised by the specter of sexual trafficking of women, especially from foreign countries, to the United States for the purpose of prostitution. Most commonly, trafficking involves the movement of girls or women from other countries to the U.S. to work in one or another of these off-street venues (Monzini, 2004, Ugarte et al., 2003). Trafficking, particularly when organized crime groups are involved, can also involve the movement of women from location to location around the United States to staff off-street prostitution venues. This is done for three reasons. First, it is considered a positive marketing strategy to change the women available to customers from time to time. Second, moving women from place to place prevents them from establishing friendships and relationships in the community that might make it possible for them to find help should they wish to break free of the sex industry. Finally, regular movement of women from place to place makes it easier for prostitution enterprises to escape detection and prosecution (Raymond, Hughes, and Gomez, 2001: 8). The U.S. government estimates that about 50,000 women and children are annually trafficked into the United States, primarily from Latin America, the former Soviet Union, and Southeast Asia (Raymond, Hughes, and Gomez, 2001: 7).

Assessing Prostitution in Kentucky

Researching any clandestine industry is difficult and prostitution is no exception. For purposes of this research the form, prevalence, and incidence of prostitution in Kentucky was assessed using three data sources. First, a content analysis of all daily and weekly newspapers published in Kentucky from January 1, 2000 to November 1, 2004 was undertaken. The databases of all 46 newspapers were searched for all stories related to prostitution and the sex industry in Kentucky. The vast majority of these stories involved arrests made at various prostitution venues. However, some additional reporting either investigated the sex industry, particularly in Louisville, Lexington, Covington, and Newport, or reported details on the operation of that industry as part of stories dealing with local legislative attempts to zone and control that industry.¹

In addition a content analysis of men's writings on the Internet was undertaken to examine both the organization of sexual trafficking and the market dynamics of the sex industry in Kentucky. Men's writings about the sex industry and their experiences with prostitution can be found in a number of relatively accessible places on the Internet. Any commentaries mentioning Kentucky cities or towns posted on those sites between January 1, 2000 and November 1, 2004 were also subjected to a content analysis.²

Finally, an examination of databases and advertising sites for the sex industry was also examined. Twenty websites advertising prostitution services in Kentucky were reviewed and subjected to analysis.³

The content analysis was designed to elicit information about four aspects of illegal sex work in Kentucky. First, an attempt was made to assess the prevalence and incidence of prostitution. Second, information was collected on the operation of the sex industry itself, specifically a description of the sex industry, the actors involved, the methods of operation, and the organization of prostitution and attendant services. Third, data were collected on recruiters and traffickers, specifically trying to assess who operates businesses dealing in prostitution and other sexual services and what is known about the operation of those businesses.

Finally, information was collected on the methods of recruitment, movement, and control utilized in the sex industry. Where possible, data were gathered on how women are recruited to the sex industry; where they come from and how they got here; and what forms of control exist to keep them at work providing sexual services.

An explanation is needed regarding why traditional law enforcement/criminal justice agency data were not utilized in this research. First, that data are primarily related to arrests and are therefore incomplete. Arrests in the sex industry focus on street prostitution and, much less commonly, on massage parlor operations. Arrests are relatively rare especially when considered in the context of the widespread incidence and prevalence of prostitution both nationwide and in Kentucky. Second, the data themselves are suspect and incomplete. Arrest data for Kentucky are not available for any year past 2000 because of collection and analysis problems. But, even where those data exist, they are incomplete and inaccurate, often failing to even report the sex of those arrested. Other information, such as age, is similarly suspect as a result. Nonetheless the data are worthy of some review and mention despite their limitations.

Table 1: Prostitution Arrest Data for Kentucky 1995-2000

Year	Total Arrests	Juvenile Arrests	Males Arrested	Females Arrested	Unknown Gender
1995	803	12	111	691	1
1996	604	2	20	113	471
1997	643	1	54	192	397
1998	1,287	1	336	944	7
1999	974	2	332	631	11
2000	998	0	352	694	-34

Source: Kentucky State Police. (1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001), *Crime in Kentucky*. Frankfort: Commonwealth of Kentucky.

The arrest data demonstrate that prostitution is a persistent problem for law enforcement. The nature of that problem is what the present research seeks to address.

Street-Level Prostitution

Street-level prostitution accounts for no more than 10-20% of all prostitution activity nationwide (Lyman and Potter, 2004: 178-179; Miller and Jayasundara, 2001: 465). The street trade is highly transient with sex workers frequently off the streets for a variety of reasons. Obviously, street-level sex workers are highly susceptible to arrest for both prostitution and other offenses such as drug possession. Women enter the criminal justice system and are removed from the street. Women leave the criminal justice system and are returned to the street. Other women lose jobs or health benefits for their families and are forced into prostitution to deal with a pressing financial problem. Some street-level sex workers engage in prostitution only sporadically. Many initiate sex work but leave it within days or weeks.

Street prostitution is found in most major metropolitan areas of Kentucky. In Lexington several prostitution "strolls" can be readily identified, including the "North-Side," one block North of Main Street; the area around East Seventh Street and North Limestone Avenue; and the "East End," which is the Winchester Road area (Yuen, 2003; Lannen, 2002a; 2002b; Meeker, 2002; Truman, 2000). Some of Lexington's street prostitution involves women forced into sex work against their will, including one organized prostitution ring operated by a Hispanic crime network (Honeycutt, 2000).

Street prostitution in Louisville receives considerable attention from those posing information on the various Internet web-sites used by customers to exchange information (World Sex Guide, comments at State: Kentucky, City: Louisville). For example, a posting for January 2, 2004 makes note of street prostitution activity in the Dixie Highway and Gallagher Street area, where sex workers were strolling area sidewalks. In addition, postings on the World Sex Guide have identified other major "strolls" in Louisville, including:

- Preston Street;
- Seventh Street;
- Breckinridge Avenue;

- First Street between Breckinridge and Kentucky Avenues;
- Brook Street between Ormsby and St. Catherine;
- The corner of Second and Magnolia;
- First from Oak to Magnolia;
- Seventh Street from Hill Street South to Oleanda Avenue;
- Fourth Street from Winkler Avenue South to Central Avenue;
- Ormsby Street between Second and Preston; and,
- Preston between Oak and Woodbine.

In Covington, street prostitution has been identified on several "strolls" including: Madison Avenue, Greenup Street, 5th Street, 10th Street, 15th Street, and the corner of Madison Avenue and Robbins (Fisher, 2000; Whitehead, 2002; Garretson, 2001).

Smaller cities such as Shelbyville have also developed problems with sex work on the street. The area around Eighth and Main Streets and the Wesley Apartment complex off U.S. 60 have both been locations for street prostitution (Reichert, 2001; Sting nets prostitution arrests, 2003).

Street prostitution, in all its forms, is usually informally organized around what are known as deviant street networks (Miller, 1986). A deviant street network is a group of individuals mobilized to carry out a variety of illegal behaviors, such as prostitution, larceny, check and credit-card fraud, auto theft, drug traffic, burglary, and robbery.

It is likely that where street prostitution exists other criminal activities are informally interwoven into the prostitution enterprise. Street sex workers are the lowest paid women in the profession and are usually considered the least desirable by customers. Men's writings posted on the Internet concerning street prostitution in Kentucky seem to confirm these attributes. Men write that they have paid as little \$10 for sex and no report indicates a fee exceeding \$100 for any act. In addition, these customer postings suggest that the physical attractiveness of street workers is far below that of women working in massage parlors, bars, and in escort services in Kentucky.

Trying to estimate the incidence of street prostitution is, for reasons discussed above, a highly speculative business. Based on other research, it is a fair estimate that any identified urban "stroll" will only have between three and five women working it at any given time (Center for impact studies, 2001; Miller, 1986). Because of the nature of street prostitution, women working the streets engage in a much higher number of sexual transactions than other sex workers. Once again, based on other research, it would appear that an estimate of 10-20 tricks a day seems appropriate (Center for Impact Studies, 2001; Miller, 1986). This research has been able to identify 24 urban "strolls," no doubt once again an underestimate. But, based on that number, it is fair to say that somewhere between 70 and 120 women are working the streets each day in Kentucky. Because of the high turnover in street-level sex workers, it is also fair to suggest that somewhere between 200 and 400 women are engaged in street-level sex work on an annual basis. The number of sex business transactions carried out by street workers would then be in the neighborhood of 700-2400 a day, or about 250,000 to 900,000 a year. Based on the prices for street sex posted by men in their Internet writings, the mean amount paid per transaction is about \$60. Thus, street level sexual services in Kentucky probably generate between \$15,000,000 and \$54,000,000 a year. These are, of course, very rough estimates that also fail to include those unique forms of prostitution discussed below that are not well researched and for which no estimates can be attempted.

Certainly the most unique example of street prostitution in Kentucky is that which occurs on U.S. Route 119 in Harlan County. Women working a rural stretch of highway is something not readily found in any other area. But, on this stretch of rural road, streetwalking "country-style" has been a persistent problem. Police allege that women working this area are engaging in sex work in order to raise funds for drug purchases, in particular to feed their addiction to the painkiller OxyContin (State police crack down on prostitution in rural Harlan County, 2003; Authorities claim Harlan man prostituted wife for OxyContin, 2001; Prostitution arrests up, 2003; County traces prostitution influx to drug, 2001).

Finally, a version of street prostitution often occurs at truck stops along the major interstates. Often referred to as "lot lizards," the women who work these venues offer sex for a modest price and directly solicit customers. Studies of organized crime in Kentucky have found that truck stops often serve as vice entrepots, offering prostitution, drug sales (especially stimulants), and even slot machines and video gambling machines (Potter and Gaines, 1992: 42). A recent example of prostitution occurred at the Williamsburg Truck Stop just north of the Kentucky-Tennessee border where a woman was arrested on a solicitation charge (Petke, 2002).

Sex Work in Massage Parlors

Without question the most common form of sex work in Kentucky is to be found in massage parlors. Nationally, estimates place the percentage of sex workers operating out of massage parlor venues at 25% (Lyman and Potter, 2004: 178-179). A sex worker in a massage parlor usually works for a manager who hires the masseuses, collects the client's fees, keeps the books, and distributes "tips." Frequently, massage parlor managers are women serving as paid employees for larger organized crime groups operating in the sex industry.

The massage parlor is a particularly useful venue for prostitution. First, it is an ostensibly legal business that can advertise and operate in a more or less permanent location. Second, it removes the sex worker from the street, reduces the need to solicit customers, provides a relatively safe environment, and standardizes the conduct of business. In the 21st Century, however, the massage parlor has taken on increasing importance in the world of organized crime, in that it is also frequently a venue for the sexual trafficking of women brought into the United States by organized crime syndicates specifically for the purpose of prostitution.

Local ordinances try to control massage parlors that offer sexual services either through specifically targeting the sex industry or through zoning regulations. Some municipalities, such as Lexington, have been somewhat successful in reducing the number of these establishments. Other cities, specifically Louisville, Covington, and Georgetown have initiated efforts to control massage parlors through local ordinances. But, despite these local efforts, even in municipalities with ordinances, some massage parlors continue to operate as fronts for prostitution.

A major difficulty for police is separating massage parlors offering illicit sex from businesses simply offering therapeutic massages. In general three variables point to illicit activity at massage businesses: (1) an offer of a nude masseuse or a full body massage; (2) a business operating 24 hours a day; and, (3) advertising suggesting "no hidden fees."

Determining how many massage parlors engaged in prostitution exist in Kentucky is difficult. A search of business telephone directories turns up both legitimate massage practitioners and businesses offering sexual services. In addition, many illegal massage parlors do not list with these directories. A summary of arrests at massage parlors will turn up only a very incomplete list. Finally, these businesses come and go, frequently changing names, changing locations, and moving across contiguous municipal boundaries. In order to estimate the prevalence of massage parlors offering illicit sexual services in Kentucky a list was compiled of massage parlors mentioned or reviewed in men's writings on the Internet. A list was also compiled of all massage parlor-related arrests mentioned in newspaper coverage in Kentucky between January 1, 2000 and November 1, 2004. Those lists were then cross-matched with massage parlor listings from the three major business telephone directories on the Internet (WorldPages.com, RealPages.com, and SuperPages.com). While the resulting prevalence estimate of 48 massage parlors engaged in sex work is certainly incomplete and misses many such establishments, it does provide some indication of the prevalence of massage parlors engaging in prostitution in Kentucky during the period 2000-2004.

Table 2: Number of Massage Parlors Identified as Offering Sexual Services

Location	Number of Massage Parlors
Bullitt County	1
Cave City	1
Covington	5
Crestwood	1
Elizabethtown	1
Florence	1
Georgetown	3
Lexington	2
London	2
Louisville	21
Mayfield	1
Newport	1
Oak Grove	2
Paducah	2
Richmond	3
Wilder	1

Estimates from other research and an informal averaging of the number of women reported in news accounts as working in massage parlors where arrests had been made suggest that each establishment employs an average of between four and five women (Center for Impact Studies, 2001). Extrapolating from that estimate, it would be fair to suggest that on any given day between 192 and 240 women are working in massage parlors in Kentucky offering illicit sexual services. But, just like other areas of the sex industry, women come and go from massage parlor employment. Based on estimates from other research, that would suggest that somewhere between 600 and 1400 women work in Kentucky massage parlors on an annual basis (Center for Impact Studies, 2001).

Reviews of the massage parlors in men's writings indicate that fees for what is euphemistically referred to as "full-service" range from \$150 to \$200 in Lexington, Georgetown, and Louisville to as little as \$100 in Richmond and London. It was also interesting to note that comments posted for Louisville showed a remarkable continuity in massage parlors from year to year with very few name or address changes, indicating unusual stability in the sex industry in that city. The massage parlor business is very lucrative and sex workers in the parlors are very busy. An estimate published in an investigative report by the Louisville Courier-Journal suggested that the average massage parlor sees 25 customers a day, resulting in revenues of about \$100,000 a month (Riley and Adams, 2004). Using these estimates as a basis, the 48 massage parlors engaged in providing prostitution services uncovered in this research would serve about 438,000 customers a year with annual revenues of about \$57,600,000.

Escort Services

Individual escorts, or call girls or organized escort services, claim to offer a higher level of sexual service than other forms of prostitution. Women are presented as more attractive, better educated, and engaged in providing a more varied portfolio of sexual services. The price is also much higher than other forms of prostitution. In Kentucky, the hourly charges for escorts ranged from a low of \$225 an hour to a high of \$3,000 an hour. In addition to the agency's referral charge, there is an expectation of a "tip" or "gift" to the escort in return for services rendered. Common practice suggests that the "tip" should be the rough equivalent of the agency's hourly charge. Escort services often offer both "in-call" and "out-call" services. An in-call involves the customer going to an apartment or business front for the assignation. The-out call involves the escort going to the customer's home, business, or hotel room.

Escort services are also bifurcated by those providing full-service and partial-service, although this distinction is a more a matter of attempting to provide legal cover to the operators of the service than a reflection of the reality of the business. Partial-service means that the escort will engage in behaviors that will facilitate masturbation by the customer or will provide manual stimulation to the customer. Full-service means oral sex and intercourse are considered to be integral to the service being purchased.

Escort services are easily located through business telephone directories, Internet advertising, and advertising in magazine and newspapers that feature sexual themes. While no list can ever be complete, a search of three major business telephone directories Internet listings (WorldPages.com, RealPages.com, and SuperPages.com) revealed a total of 54 escort services listed for Kentucky. Most of those services were located in Lexington and Louisville.

Table 3: Number of Escort Services Identified as Offering Sexual Services

Location	Number of Advertised Escort Services
Anahcim	1
Bowling Green	2
Lexington	33
Louisville	15
Nicholasville	2
Paducah	1

Some of these services also had their own Internet sites with descriptions and pictures of the escorts, rates charged, and brief discussions of the types of sexual services that might be available from each escort. In addition, at least eight escort services not listed in the business directories, and therefore not accounted for in Table 3, were discussed in the review of men's writings on the Internet about prostitution. Based on the Internet sites for listed services the average number of women employed by an escort service ranged from 3 to 8, for a mean of 5.5. If that number were extrapolated to all the services listed in the business directories, it would mean that there are about 297 escorts active in Kentucky. Because women come and go from these services and the business directory listings are incomplete at best, this is a very rough estimate. Once again, based on estimates suggested by research on the sex industry in Chicago, a rough estimate would suggest that between 900 and 1,500 women are involved in escort service businesses in Kentucky on an annual basis (Center for Impact Studies, 2001). Escorts tend to engage in the lowest volume of business in the sex industry. They also engage in the most expensive assignations in the sex industry.

Previous research suggests that an escort will engage in about five transactions a week (Potter and Pelkey, 1993; 1994). That would mean about 1,500 transactions between escort service workers and customers occur each week in Kentucky, or about 78,000 such encounters a year. Based on the hourly rates listed by those escort services advertising on the Internet, the mean hourly charge would be about \$300, suggesting a volume of around \$23,400,000 a year for escort services in Kentucky.

Confounding any attempt to arrive at true number of either escort services or escorts is the fact that improvement in communications technology (cell phones, pagers, e-mail, Internet discussion boards) have made it possible for individuals engaged in the provision of sexual services to operate independently of any escort agency. While an educated guess is that there are only a handful of independents operating in Kentucky (five located in this research), it is only a guess. Internet websites such as www.lapdance.com, and the World Sex Guide (among others) that contain "reviews" from customers provide ample evidence that this is a fluid business. Women enter the trade, leave it, and return. Women work for agencies and then go independent or vice versa. Women leave one agency and go to another.

Advertising for escort services on the Internet leaves little doubt, however, of what is being offered. For example, one such site advertises the services of eight different women. They are variously described as:

"Hot and sexy"
 "versed in all of the 'international' languages" (not a reference of linguistic expertise)
 "loves to role-play, kinky and sensuous"
 "sweet and exotic"
 "kinky and sweet"
 "couples welcomed"
 "well versed in EVERY kink and Fetish"
 "zany humor, carefree attitude, and bubbly personality"

Similarly, another escort agency website offers a wide range of services from its seven escorts, including:

"Private 1 on 1 session with men, women or couples"
 "open to almost any fantasy"
 "will also perform for parties"

Not to be outdone, yet another escort agency describes its three escorts as providing:

"Romantic dinners, movies, traveling, and experiencing the world"
 "having a sneaky side as well"
 "girl next door"

It is at these higher levels of the prostitution trade that the role of criminal organizations is easy to discern. In the call girl or escort service market, a high degree of organization is required. Escort services usually hire attractive, well-educated, and very high-priced prostitutes, although some make use of women already working for massage parlor operations. The operating procedures for most escort services are standardized. The initial contact is made by telephone, or less commonly through e-mail, a means of verification of the client's identity is established (a credit card number, hotel room, etc.), the fee is established for supplying an "escort," the escort checks back with the agency by phone as soon as she arrives in the customer's room, negotiations for sexual services occur following specified rules of conduct (the customer names the act or the price or preferably both), and the service is provided as expeditiously as possible.

The manager of the enterprise is a person with sufficient investment capital to establish an office or apartment, buy advertising, put in phones, and pay for protection. Escorts themselves are similar to commission salespersons, who, based on their expertise (and probably their physical attributes), sell the organization's services for a profit. Most call girl operations work very simply. The agency collects a fee (on average \$300 in Kentucky) for supplying an "escort" to a customer. The escort often gets a portion of that fee (33 percent is the standard commission, but some new escorts get none and some highly valued escorts get half). The escort is then free to negotiate a "tip" for her services to enhance that commission. At its most complex design, there are four positions in such an organization: a financial backer, a business or sales manager, drivers or security personnel, and a sales staff of service providers (Lyman and Potter, 2004:177-183).

An escort may negotiate the price of a particular service with each customer on an individual basis. She may negotiate the time she will spend with the customer, the clothes she will wear, the demeanor she will adopt, and the acts she will perform. Nevertheless, she will not usually negotiate the portion of the initial referral fee paid to the agency. Discounts come from her end of the business. It is also expected that she will follow the steps necessary to protect the organization from detection by law enforcement. She will secure identification, she will not name either the specific act or the price in negotiations, and, if suspicious, she will challenge the customer to reveal his law enforcement connections, if any. Failure to follow these procedures will abrogate the responsibility of the agency to supply her with protection, legal services, and money for bail and fines (Lyman and Potter, 2004: 177-183).

Sex Work and "Gentlemen's Clubs:

Sex work in businesses that feature women performing in the nude or with minimal clothing has become an accepted part of the business community in many cities and towns (Center for Impact Studies, 2001; Raymond, J., D. Hughes, and C. Gomez, 2001). As long as such establishments do not violate zoning or other local ordinances, "exotic" dancing is a legal enterprise that can be widely and openly advertised. In addition, certainly not all clubs or bars featuring stripping encourage prostitution and not all dancers performing in such venues engage in prostitution. But, dancers are either employees or private contractors who make most of their money from the amount of contact they can maintain with patrons. The business of sex in a gentleman's club differs slightly, depending on whether the woman is employed as a dancer or a b-girl (bar girls, discussed below).

Dancers usually pay the club a modest fee for performing on premises and for the use of the club's facilities. They recoup their costs and any additional profits in the form of tips from patrons. Those tips come in small amounts, dollars, while they are performing on stage. The real money comes from table or private dances. A table dance occurs off the stage on the floor of the club. The dancer performs for a single patron who pays between \$10 and \$40 at most Kentucky clubs. For that fee, the dancer will perform directly in front of the patron for the length of time it takes to complete a song, taking off clothing as the song progresses. The dancer will usually sit with the customer for a while after the dance, getting him to purchase a drink for which she receives a small kickback, and hoping that he will contract for her to do another table dance. The conversation that occurs while she is sitting there is often sexual in nature and can progress to negotiation for sexual acts:

A variation of the table dance is a "lap dance" which occurs in the same manner except the dancer "dances" while sitting in a prone position on the patrons lap. The same opportunities for prostitution obviously exist in this setting and negotiations may take on a greater sense of urgency for the patron.

Most gentlemen's clubs offer VIP rooms, champagne rooms, or other private venues off the floor for high-tipping customers who require more personal attention. Charges for a dance in this venue usually go as high as \$100-\$400. The activity is certainly more sexual, but not always illegal in this setting. For example, there may be no contact, but the customer may engage in masturbation while watching. However, this setting also provides an ideal venue for sex work that does involve touching, usually oral sex, for a larger tip.

Finally, there is a gray area of sex work in these clubs that involves dancers and heavy-tipping patrons who become what dancers refer to as "sugar-daddies." Sugar daddies are men who buy a large number of dances, offer tips in excess of the minimum and, in essence, rent the dancer for an entire evening's entertainment. While there is no explicit exchange of money for sex, the business of a sugar daddy can be so lucrative, running into the thousands of dollars, that the dancer does engage in sex either on or off premises in order to insure her customer's fidelity.

Due to the various forms of sex work available in these clubs, it is very difficult to estimate how many dancers exchange sex for money. Some small number may do so on a regular basis. A larger number may do so occasionally when business is slow or they have a compelling financial exigency. A still larger number may fall into the dancer-sugar daddy dichotomy discussed above. The generally accepted estimate is that, excluding the sugar-daddy phenomenon, 25% to 50% of women working as exotic dancers exchange sex for money on a regular or occasional basis during their dancing careers (Center for Impact Studies, 2001).

The other kind of sex work found in bars with a sexual theme is carried out by what are referred to as b-girls. B-girls (bar girls) frequently work for enterprises connected to organized crime groups. The bar girl plays a dual role. First, she attempts to get the customer to buy her drinks (at exorbitant prices, often ranging from \$20 to \$150 per drink), getting a commission on each drink she can sell. The cost of the drink pays for personal conversation at the customer's table. The more drinks the

customer buys, the more explicit the conversation becomes and the more the b-girl becomes tolerant of touching and fondling. When her customer is no longer willing to pay simply for conversation and casual contact, she attempts to engage him in the purchase of sexual services, either on premises or at another location. In some venues, either masturbation or oral sex is performed on premises at the table or booth. According to "reviewers" on the Internet, in one Newport bar a customer's order of a \$400 bottle of "champagne" results in oral sex being performed. According to men's writings, the price for either manual or oral stimulation in these bars ranges from \$100 to \$1000, depending on the "classiness" of the venue and the sex worker. There is considerable variation in price reported, with Lexington being the most expensive city and Louisville and Paducah apparently offering the more price-sensitive services.

There are several sites that both list strip clubs and post men's writings on the services provided. The two most complete are the Ultimate Strip Club List and LapDance. Reviewing the postings for Kentucky clubs where men have in their commentaries indicated that prostitution services were available produces a list of 64 clubs located through the state.

Table 4: Number of Bars and Strip Clubs Identified as Offering Sexual Services

Location	Number of Strip Clubs Referred to in Men's Internet Writings on Prostitution
Bowling Green	2
Covington	8
Henderson	2
Lexington	11
Louisville	28
Mannington	1
Newport	4
Oak Grove	1
Paducah	3
Richmond	1
Shepherdsville	1
Sparta	1
Wilder	1

At any given time, 10-20 women, on average, work at most of these clubs. There are clubs that employ only three or four women at a time; on the other hand a handful of clubs employ 50-100 at a time. Turnover is quite high, with dancers and bar girls entering the business, leaving, and returning. Based on other research (Center for Impact Studies, 2001), it would be fair to estimate that, on any given day, 600-1300 women are employed at these clubs in Kentucky but as many 2,500 to 5,000 may work at these clubs on and off on an annual basis. As indicated above, not all of these dancers or b-girls engage in the provision of illicit sexual services. Based on urban research, it is suggested that between 25-50% of these workers will engage in prostitution (Center for Impact Studies, 2001). There is no indication of how often illicit sexual services might be provided and certainly the number of times would vary greatly between B-Girls, a high volume business, and dancers, a much more discrete business. If we were to use the same incidence estimates and cost per transaction estimates as we did for escorts, we would arrive at a very speculative number of somewhere between 40,000 and 170,000 transactions annually, with a volume of between \$12 million and \$51 million. These would, however, have to be very soft estimates based on the lack of extant research in the area.

Sex Trafficking

The United States Department of State estimates that 45,000 to 50,000 women and children are trafficked to the U.S. from other countries each year by organized criminal networks (Richard, 1999). Organized trafficking networks often make use of massage parlors and occasionally escort services as venues for sex work by trafficked women. Some trafficking networks are nationwide in their scope, although most are regional. The common practice for such networks is to move women in and out of areas where a demand for prostitution services exists (Monzini, 2004; Ugarte et al, 2003).

Several major federal prosecutions of trafficking networks in recent years provide an outline for how these criminal organizations operate in the sex industry. For example, from February 1996 to March 1998, about 40 Mexican women and girls, some as young as 14 years old, were moved from Veracruz to sites in Florida, North Carolina, and South Carolina. The women had been promised work as waitresses, housekeepers, landscapers, and caregivers for children and the elderly. When they arrived in the United States, however, the women were confined in brothels serving migrant worker communi-

ties. They were threatened with harm to their families back in Mexico, they were subjected to frequent beatings, and armed guards prevented their escape. Each woman was required to engage in prostitution until she had paid back a \$2,000-\$3,000 fee charged by the traffickers for smuggling into the U.S. (U.S. v. Cadena, 1998).

From October 1996 to August 1997, Alexander Mishulovich, a Russian-American émigré, recruited women in Riga, Latvia for jobs as dancers in Chicago. The women were assured they would be dancing in respectable bars and nightclubs, fully clothed, and would be paid \$60,000 a year. When they arrived in Chicago, however, the women found that they had to dance in the nude. Mishulovich seized their passports and visas that he offered to sell back to them for \$60,000. The women were locked in hotel rooms and apartments and routinely beaten. They were regularly threatened with death or harm to their families back in Latvia (U.S. v. Mishulovich, 1999).

In a similar case, women responded to ads placed in Czechoslovakian newspapers advertising legitimate jobs in the United States. Upon arrival, however, the women found that no such jobs existed and they were expected to perform sex work in New York City strip clubs. Once again, the women's passports were taken by the trafficker and they were not allowed to leave until they had turned over several thousand dollars to the traffickers (US v. Milan Lejhanec and Ladislav Ruc, 1998).

Ludwig Janak, a German national, operated a sex-oriented tour service in Thailand. Working with human traffickers from Thailand, Janak recruited Thai women to come to the United States to work in restaurants. But the Thai trafficking network turned the women over to a Korean madam who forced them to work in brothels. The women were required to live in the brothel in basement rooms with barred windows. The condition of their employment was that each of them had to perform 500 acts of prostitution to pay off their smuggling fees (US v. Wattanasiri, 1998).

While no federal trafficking prosecutions have focused on Kentucky, several local cases at least raise the specter of a trafficking problem in the Commonwealth. For example, Chun Cha Holland was arrested for promoting prostitution through her New World Health Spa in Lexington in 2001. Previously she had been arrested for promoting prostitution at another massage parlor. Holland recruited women from Korea and required that they pay the expenses of their travel and immigration papers by engaging in prostitution (Associated Press, 2000). Similarly, between 2001 and 2004, 60 of the 68 women arrested for prostitution in Jefferson county were Asian nationals, most of whom had identity papers (driver's licenses, etc.) from California, Texas, New York, and Georgia. These women moved from place to place working in the sex trade in different cities, usually only staying in location for a few weeks. Most of the women lived on mattresses on the floor of the establishment in which they worked (Adams and Riley, 2004).

Similar indicators of human trafficking can be found at sites as remote as McCracken and Christian Counties. In Mayfield and Paducah prostitution arrests at massage parlors found Asian women working at the parlors and either living on premises or in adjacent trailers. Three Korean women were working at a massage parlor in Burnside and living behind the business in trailers (Western Kentucky officials concerned with illegal massage parlors, 2003).

Conclusion

This research has, at best, been an only cursory look at the illegal side of Kentucky's sex industry. But even this initial attempt to assess its scope and reach suggests that the prostitution business is alive and doing quite well in the Commonwealth. Based on the data available, an incomplete list suggests that there is a minimum of 166 businesses involved in sexual trafficking on a daily basis in Kentucky. The incomplete data would also show that between 4,000 and 8,000 women in Kentucky, excluding those women working the streets for whom no estimate can be arrived at, are also working in the industry. And although speculative, it is possible to suggest from the available data that Kentucky male customers engage the services of sex workers a minimum of 800,000 times a year, with the actual number probably being at least twice that. The revenues that accrue to criminal organizations from this level of illicit sexual services (at a minimum) would be \$108 million, with both numbers most likely several times these minimum estimates.

In addition, this research has shown that some of the more problematic behaviors associated with the sex industry are also becoming problems for Kentucky. Nationally and internationally there are strong indications of the involvement of other organized crime groups, such as outlaw motorcycle clubs, transnational criminal organizations, and drug and arms traffickers in the illicit sex industry (Raymond, Hughes, & Gomez, 2001; Richard, 1999). While additional research is needed, there is also some evidence of participation in the trafficking of women for sex by similar criminal organizations serving the Kentucky-based sex industry. Because criminal organizations often offer multiple illicit enterprises, and sometimes overlap in their participation in such enterprises, there is a need for comprehensive research on organized crime activity in general in Kentucky.

Utilizing this type of research design, it is not possible to make estimates related to child prostitution in the Commonwealth. Nevertheless, between 1995 and 2000, 18 juveniles were arrested on prostitution charges in Kentucky. In that arrest is the tiniest tip of the iceberg in the sex industry. It is a safe assumption that those arrests are the reflection of a much larger problem. That concern was confirmed by an investigation in Nelson County where a woman was arrested for offering three girls, 16 years of age and under, for sex. The child prostitution ring in New Haven, Kentucky had been operating for over a year (Sloan, 2003: B2). Further, no attempt was made in this research to estimate the prevalence of male prostitution in Kentucky, most of which occurs in different settings and venues.

Controlling the sex industry without victimizing the many women who work in that industry and who are themselves already victims is extremely difficult. Local ordinances and zoning regulations have sometimes been successful in dislocating sex businesses. But, the usual result is that the sex industry then simply becomes the problem of a neighboring municipality or county. Nevada has controlled the ancillary problems associated with prostitution, particularly health issues and problems of violence against women, by legalizing, taxing and licensing prostitution in several of its counties.

The real problem, however, is beyond the reach of the police or courts or legislatures. In a society that commodifies both women and sex, it should surprise no one that a robust market exists for illegal sexual services. Since the end of the 19th Century Americans have regarded prostitution as a problem amenable to legal responses. But the facts show that those legal responses have been miserable failures. Prostitution in the United States is as widespread as ever, with official estimates placing the number of full-time prostitutes at about 500,000, the number of part-time prostitutes at about 1,000,000 and the number of sexual transactions required to support that industry at about 750 million sex acts a year (Kappeler, Blumberg, and Potter, 2005). In a patriarchal society that systematically discriminates against women (both economically and politically) and sexualizes everything from trucks to beer, the widespread selling of women's sexuality to men should surprise no one.

Endnotes

¹ The newspapers whose databases were searched for this research were: The Advocate-Messenger [Danville]; Central Ky News-Journal [Campbellsville]; Corbin News-Journal [Corbin]; Corbin Times-Tribune [Corbin]; The Courier-Journal [Louisville]; The Crittenden Press [Marion]; The Daily Independent [Ashland]; The Daily News [Bowling Green]; Floyd County Times [Prestonsburg]; Franklin Favorite [Franklin]; Georgetown News Graphic [Georgetown]; Glasgow Daily Times [Glasgow]; The Gleaner [Henderson]; Grant County News [Williamstown]; Grayson County News Gazette [Leitchfield]; Greensburg Record-Herald [Greensburg]; The Hancock Clarion [Hawesville]; Hardin County Independent [Elizabethtown]; Harrodsburg Herald [Harrodsburg]; Henry County Local [New Castle]; Herald Ledger [Eddyville]; The Journal-Enterprise [Providence]; Kentucky New Era [Hopkinsville]; The Kentucky Post [Covington]; Kentucky Standard [Bardstown]; Lebanon Enterprise [Lebanon]; The Ledger-Independent [Maysville]; Lewis County Herald [Vanceburg]; Lexington Herald-Leader [Lexington]; The Messenger [Madisonville]; Messenger-Inquirer [Owensboro]; Morehead News [Morehead]; Mountain Advocate [Barbourville]; The Murray Ledger & Times [Murray]; News Democrat & Leader [Russellville]; The News-Enterprise [Elizabethtown]; The Oldham Era [La Grange]; The Paducah Sun [Paducah]; The Paintsville Herald [Paintsville]; Richmond Register [Richmond]; Russell Register [Jamestown]; Tribune Courier [Benton]; Sentinel-News [Shelbyville]; Sentinel-Echo [London]; Union County Advocate [Morganfield]; and, The Winchester Sun [Winchester].

² The major sites which were searched for references in men's writings to Kentucky-based prostitution were: (1) alt.sex.prostitution: a newsgroup which is primarily an information exchange site for men seeking prostitution and evaluation of prostitution services; (2) The World Sex Guide, located at which is a site organized by location containing details of the operation of the sex industry and experiences with prostitution services;

3) BigDoggie.com, located at , also provides reviews of escort services in Kentucky by their customers, as well as commentary by the escorts themselves; (4) is a site on which clients post their experiences with the sex industry; (4) Jane's Guide located at <http://www.janesguide.com/travel/kentucky.html> is a database for escort services; (5) lapdance.com, located at a site which posts reviews of men's experiences at gentlemen's clubs and strip clubs; and, (6) The Ultimate Strip Club List, located at which is a site organized by location listing bars and clubs catering to the sex industry and containing customers' reactions to the services offered. As of November 1, 2004 all of these sites were active and represented all such sites discussing Kentucky. Of, course these sites and similar sites change content regularly, as well as web addresses and names. So other sites may add information on Kentucky in the future and some of these sites may reduce the quantity of information available or drop mentions of Kentucky altogether.

³ The following sites advertising sexual services, representing all Kentucky sites advertising sexual services as of November 1, 2004, were located and subjected to content analysis: (1) Bluegrass Beauties, located at , a site providing information on six escorts; (2) Callia Girl, located at , a site maintained by an independent call girl; (3) Candy Kemp, located at , a site maintained by an independent escort; (4) Divinity Escorts, located at , a site advertising the services of six escorts; (5) Escort Service & Massage, located at , a site featuring reviews of thirteen Kentucky-based escorts; (6) Escort Set, located at , a site containing advertisements and contact information for 12 escorts; (7) Escorts Network Guide, located at (8) Exclusive Travel Marketing, located at , a bulletin board with postings from two Kentucky-based escorts; (9) Fantasy Kentucky Escorts, located at a site advertising the services of eight escorts; (10) Hot Local Escorts, located at , a bulletin board featuring postings for sixteen Kentucky escorts; (11) Independent Escorts, located at http://www.independentescorts.net/United_States_South_East_Kentucky.shtml; (12) Karen's Closet, located at , a site providing descriptive information about services from an independent escort; (13) Kentucky Adult Links, located at , a site featuring postings for two escorts from Kentucky; (14) Jessica Renee Fox, located at , a site advertising an independent escort; (15) Lustful Lacie, located at , a site advertising an independent escort; (16) Megan Leah, located at , a site maintained by an independent escort; (17) Naughtynightlife.com, located at , a bulletin board with postings from eight Kentucky escorts; (18) Sophie's Outcall.net located at (19) U.S. Escort Network, located at and, (20) Your Kentucky Sweethearts, located at , a site featuring three escorts.

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NOTES

NOTES

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