PIMP CHATTER: EXAMINING ONLINE PIMP RECRUITMENT TECHNIQUES

by

NATASSIA C. BAXTER

B.S., Austin Peay State University, 2010

A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the

University of Colorado Colorado Springs

in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of Master of Criminal Justice

School of Public Affairs

2017
This thesis for the Master of Criminal Justice degree by

Natassia C. Baxter

has been approved for the

School of Public Affairs

By

Anna Kosloski, Chair

Stephanie Ryon

Michael Landon-Murray

Date ________________

ii
Use of the Internet within the sex industry and the larger sex trafficking network is widespread and advancing quickly at a time when globalization is making the Internet more available to those within the network, including in third world countries (Hughes, 2000; Hughes, 2001). Oftentimes pimps will use websites such as Backpage in their exploitation efforts of sex workers (Hughes, 2001; Kristof, 2012). Due to the privacy and anonymity of the Internet, this makes the targeting, arrest, and prosecution of these individuals by law enforcement more difficult. Using data collected from October 2014 to July 2015 in 11 cities, this explorative study examines some of the techniques pimps/recruiters use in their online recruitment on Backpage.com. Additionally, analysis was performed to examine if the pimps were targeting or more interested in a specific race or age group. Results found supported the existing literature on the “finesse” recruitment technique used by pimps, however there was no indication of the use of the “guerilla” technique. Analysis of the race/age preference revealed that an overwhelming majority contacted the ad, which advertised a Caucasian women. Furthermore, it was also found that 19% contacted the ad including a “young friend.” Our findings were merely exploratory and the first of their kind, therefore they should be used to point towards a need for more research within the field of Internet use and pimp recruitment.
DEDICATION

To all the individuals who vigorously defend the lives of those impacted by sex trafficking and the larger human trafficking network, as well as those public servants who bravely work to eliminate and prosecute those responsible. Also to my future daughter who I’ve literally carried with me throughout my Thesis journey, whom I hope will always defend the lives of those less fortunate or in need, I dedicate this to you.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Anna Kosloski, my thesis chair, in her unrelenting positivity, support, and dedication to my project, without whom I would not have completed my Thesis in the timing that I did. I would also like to thank the rest of my committee, Dr. Stephanie Ryon and Dr. Michael Landon-Murray, in their support and commitment to assist me in producing the best product that I can.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**CHAPTER**

I. INTRODUCTION ................................................................................. 1

II. LITERATURE REVIEW ................................................................. 7

   2.1 Sex Trafficking ........................................................................ 7

   2.2 The Sex Industry and the Players within it ......................... 11

   2.3 The Internet and its Use in Pimp Recruiting ....................... 17

III. METHODOLOGY .......................................................................... 22

   3.1 Sample Selection ................................................................. 22

   3.2 Data ..................................................................................... 24

   3.3 Variables & Analytical Technique ....................................... 27

IV. RESULTS ................................................................................... 30

V. DISCUSSION .............................................................................. 36

   5.1 Limitations .......................................................................... 39

   5.2 Future Research ................................................................. 40

VI. CONCLUSION ............................................................................ 42

REFERENCES .................................................................................. 44

APPENDIX ..................................................................................... 49
## LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>The TVPA’s Minimum Standards</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Ad Number Race/Age Chart</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Content of Mentioned Websites</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Focused Coding Themes, Meanings, and Examples</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Coding Theme Percentages without Duplicates</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Race/Age Preferences</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE

4.1 Visual Coding Theme Percentages without Duplicates…………………..34
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

If it's a new girl trying to get on my team, I have sex with them first because I know I can get in they head. Once I make love to them, or what they think is love, know what I'm saying, I really don't have no feelings behind it. I just be thinking about money. That's my main thing is money, so I be like, I have sex with them.

It was like I mind-fucked 'em. I was in they head.

And then after that, they just start giving me whatever I need. They give me all they money. They cater to me, they spoiled me. All of them did this for me. And even though I know it was kind of wrong for putting them through that because they ain't have to do it — but they chose to. I didn't make them. I didn't force them. It just ended up happening like that. (Walters, Satija, & Smith, 2017, para. 6)

This was the statement given by Jasmine Johnson, a convicted sex trafficker, when asked about recruiting girls to sell sex. Her recruitment style would be considered “finesse” pimping. Characterized by manipulating the victim through showing love, affection, friendship, or kindness, it is often used by pimps and human traffickers as a tactic to exploit individuals in the sex industry or within the larger human trafficking network (Davis, 2006; Williamson & Prior, 2009).

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) defines trafficking as “the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt, bondage, or slavery,” and that “which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age” (U.S. Department of State, 2016, p. 8). Human trafficking, or more simply, slavery, has a history that dates back to the beginning of civilization. Nearly every history book written about ancient, or not so ancient,
societies contains the historical records of human servitude or the conquering of one civilization over the other. Slavery, and the “subordination of women” is recorded in the Bible most famously with the enslavement of the Israelites by the Egyptians (Giles, 1994, p. 4). Ancient Rome, a once powerful empire, also enslaved many individuals, many of whom were conquered through war victories, such as the Samnite Wars and the destruction of Carthage and Corinth in 146 B.C. The Romans were known to acquire slaves through piracy, orphaned children, or the enslavement of their own illegitimate children (Yavetz, 1988). Additionally, the enslavement of Native peoples, Africans, and other minority populations in the U.S. has a history dating back to the founding of the “New World” in 1492 and ending with the American Civil War in 1865 (Logan, Walker, Hunt, 2009).

Today in the U.S. and around the world, slavery and the wars fought to end it, is taught and discussed in history classes as a barbaric and unfortunate part of our past. However, according to a video report by USA Today “There are more slaves today than any other point in history” (USA Today, n.d.). Likewise, some researchers would argue that slavery has not ended but has only been swept under the rug of new legislation, different terminology, and social disapproval, thus allowing for human trafficking to go somewhat unnoticed as a form of modern day slavery (Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 1999; Logan et al., 2009; Ruggiero, 1997).

Furthermore, the annual Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report in 2015 estimated that there are close to 80,000 trafficked persons throughout the world (U.S. Department of State, 2016). This approximation was found using globally collected data from law enforcement, therefore their estimates may be low. Many cases of human trafficking go
unaccounted for, particularly those that take place in isolated locations, such as the mining camps in Peru (U.S. Department of State, 2015). Additionally, many individuals involved in human trafficking, even as a victim, may be too scared to report the crime for fear of being prosecuted (Davis, 2006; Ruggiero, 1997; Wilson & Dalton, 2008).

Human trafficking can take many forms: Forced labor, bonded labor or debt bondage, domestic servitude, forced child labor, the use of child soldiers, and sex trafficking, to name a few. Of these, sex trafficking has been identified as one of the most common types of human trafficking (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2016). Victims of sex trafficking can be found all over the globe, including in many westernized or industrialized countries, such as Europe and the U.S (Ruggiero, 1997; Davis, 2006; Logan et al., 2009; Williamson & Prior, 2009; Kotrla, 2010). Many of the victims are sexually exploited through prostitution, pornography, exotic dancing, or commercial sex. Most cases of sexual exploitation involve the trafficking of a person through force, fraud, or coercion, however it is pertinent to note that not all persons involved in sex work are forced into it (Holsopple, 1999; Hughes, 2001). Many may choose the life of a sex worker for various reasons, such as financial benefit, economic opportunity (Okonofuua, Ogbomwana, Alutua, Kufrea, & Eghosa, 2004; Weitzer, 2007; Weitzer, 2012), or even for “romance, friendship, or companionship” (Weitzer, 2012, p. 33).

In his book, “Legalizing Prostitution: From Illicit Vice to Lawful Business,” Weitzer (2012) compares two different types of sex work, categorizing some as “indoor prostitution,” and others as “street prostitution.” Sex work in “brothels, massage parlors, bars, hotels, saunas…” etc. where the sex worker primarily works indoors would be
considered “indoor prostitution,” while “street prostitution” refers to sex work that literally takes place on the streets or outdoors. Both types of prostitution may involve a third party (i.e. someone who controls the worker, such as a middleman or manager). In street prostitution, the third party would primarily mean the pimp. A pimp’s role/identity can range from businesslike to abusive and controlling (Holsopple, 1999; Smith & Christou, 2009). Some may be a part of a larger sex trafficking network that may have global connections, while others may work alone only having one or two sex workers under their control (Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 1999; Davis, 2006). Regardless of the type of pimp they are, most have to do some type of recruiting to establish or maintain their business. In the excerpt at the start of the chapter, convicted sex trafficker Jasmine Johnson explained how she would manipulate the girls through showing love and affection at first, while later taking on a more controlling role as their pimp. In these instances the sex workers or victims tend to develop a dependent relationship on the pimp with many having a hard time convincing themselves to leave their life of prostitution or sex work. Some may have a drug dependency they need to satisfy, while others may simply need the basics of a roof over their head, clothes to wear, or food to eat (Davis, 2006; Estes & Weiner, 2001; Williamson & Prior, 2009).

Just as the pimps themselves can vary, their recruitment styles may also have a wide range of variability. Research on recruitment styles has indicated there are two dominating types of recruitment techniques primarily used by pimps: “guerilla/gorilla pimping” and “finesse pimping” (Kennedy, Klein, Bristowe, Cooper, & Yuille, 2007; Williamson & Prior, 2009). Furthermore, globalization and the spreading availability of the Internet have led traffickers, recruiters, and pimps alike to take advantage of the
Internet’s privacy and anonymity, using it as a tool for recruitment and communication, thus making it more difficult for law enforcement to arrest the individuals involved. Most available research on recruitment techniques is based off of testimonials, police records, or interviews with current and/or prior sex workers. No available empirical research exists involving the pimps and/or recruiters themselves. Information obtained from sex workers has proven to be invaluable to the sex trafficking community for rehabilitation, prevention, and prosecution, however recounting such events may have the unintended consequence of traumatizing or triggering the individual and possibly leading to biased or exaggerated data (Brainerd, 2013; Crowe, 2015). Additionally, some of the individuals may have experienced a great amount of mental abuse as a sex worker, therefore making the possibility of mental health issues greater and raising issues of “trueness” in the research (Lofland, J., Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, L. H., 2006, p. 169; Tsutsumi, Izutsu, Poudyal, Kato, & Marui, 2008).

It is for these reasons that the following study used data directly from the source, the pimps/recruiters themselves. The purpose of this study was to explore the recruitment techniques of pimps online. Using data from a subsequent study, the researcher analyzed communication of pimps from solicitation decoy ads that were posted to Backpage.com. This website is popular among those in the sex industry to post personal sex ads for johns (e.g. the solicitors) who essentially use it to online shop for various types of sex services. As indicated by this study, Backpage.com is also used as an avenue for pimps/traffickers in their efforts to persuade an individual to work for them. This study utilized a mixed methods approach using Nvivo and simple statistical procedures. Analysis was conducted through qualitative methods using Nvivo, and where applicable simple statistics, such as
the average were calculated. Pimp communication was coded for themes and assessed to explore patterns within the recruitment messages. Using these methods to evaluate and address the research questions allowed for a further understanding of how pimps/traffickers recruit prostitutes to work for them, who the pimps/traffickers target in online recruitment, and how they try to draw individuals in so they may exploit them.

The following section will provide a review of the current literature surrounding sex trafficking and how prostitution falls within that network. It will also more closely assess use of the Internet in the sex industry, the players within that industry, and current research on pimp recruitment techniques. By evaluating the current literature it will simultaneously paint a clearer picture of the role recruiting plays in the sex trafficking network, while also pointing towards a need for more reliable and unbiased information.
CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

As mentioned in the previous section, the sex industry in the U.S. and around the world is more connected to the larger trafficking network than one might assume (Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 1999; Davis, 2006). Some researchers have said that that the industry contributes to the promotion of sex trafficking and increases “human trafficking inflows,” while others would argue that prostitution, massage parlors, and pornography are simply taking advantage of a business opportunity whose goal is to meet the needs of its sexual consumers in a thriving, capitalistic, and technologically advanced market (Cho, Dreher, & Neumayer, 2012, p. 67; Raymond, 2003; Smith & Christou, 2009). For these reasons we will more closely review the literature on sex trafficking within the larger context of human trafficking, the sex industry and the players within its network, and the use of the Internet in the sex industry by individuals such as pimps in their recruiting efforts of sex workers.

2.1 Sex Trafficking

The prevalence of sex trafficking is most accurately measured through official reports. Most recently, the United Nations indicated that the prevalence of sex trafficking has decreased worldwide (UNODC, 2016). Some would attribute this to more awareness in communities and law enforcement resulting in a greater number of trafficking cases to be recognized and acted upon (Howland, 2017; UNODC, 2016). Oftentimes societal education will come in the form of awareness campaigns, such as the “End It” movement (U.S. Department of State, 2016). Typically these use social media as a platform to promote and educate the community on whichever initiative they are supporting. Schools,
businesses, and even celebrities have been known to take part in campaigns they feel are a worthy cause. For example, in 2017, the “End It” movement ignited responses from celebrities such as Peyton Manning, Ashton Kutcher, and Senator Bob Corker.

Not only do these campaigns bring awareness to communities, but they also open the door for more funding in research. Since 2001, the Department of State has produced the Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report, which is known as the “world's most comprehensive resource of governmental anti-human trafficking efforts” (U.S. Department of State, n.d., para. 1). A culmination of the prior year’s human trafficking statistics from around the world, it uses a three tiered system to rank countries based on law enforcement training and efforts to combat trafficking, the implementation of laws against trafficking and traffickers, and the assistance of survivors. The tier rankings are based off of a country’s ability to meet the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking in persons, which was a part of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (U.S. Department of State, 2015). A list of the minimum standards can be found in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1
*The TVPA’s Minimum Standards*

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The government of the country should prohibit severe forms of trafficking in persons and punish acts of such trafficking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>For the knowing commission of any act of sex trafficking involving force, fraud, coercion, or in which the victim of sex trafficking is a child incapable of giving meaningful consent, or of trafficking which includes rape or kidnapping or which causes a death, the government of the country should prescribe punishment commensurate with that for grave crimes, such as forcible sexual assault.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>For the knowing commission of any act of severe form of trafficking in persons, the government of the country should prescribe punishment that is sufficiently stringent to deter and that adequately reflects the heinous nature of the offense.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The government of the country should make serious and sustained efforts to eliminate severe forms of trafficking in persons.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Department of State, 2015
Oftentimes, the report will shed light on efforts made by a country or region over the past year, as well as identify areas for improvement, thus increasing the need for more research. The report may also serve as lesson in how countries can move up in the tier system and lead to a push for more or different legislation. For example, in 2014, the TIP Report found that in the Western Hemisphere (e.g. North and South America) there were a total of 8,414 trafficking victims identified, 596 more than the previous year and five new or amended legislation recorded, one more than in 2013 (U.S. Department of State, 2015). Other research in the TIP Report is based off of personal accounts of those who have been identified as victims of trafficking. One such story reported was that of Cara:

When she was 14 years old, Cara met Max while on vacation in Greece with her mother. She fell in love with him and, after only a few weeks, Max persuaded her to move in with him, rather than return to England. He soon broke his promise to take care of her and forced Cara to have sex with strangers. Max first convinced her that the money she made was helping to keep them together; he later threatened to kill her mother if she tried to stop. In time, Max gave Cara to another trafficker who forced her to send postcards to her mother depicting a happy life in Athens. Cara eventually suffered an emotional breakdown and, once hospitalized, was able to ask for help. Hospital staff contacted her mother, who had no knowledge of Cara’s abuse. They returned to England, where Cara is rebuilding her life and aspires to help other trafficking victims. (U.S. Department of State, 2015, p. 26)

Other accounts reveal a more positive narrative, such as how they have been helped by the anti-trafficking community:

I am so grateful. I don’t know all the people. I want to tell them all thank you for helping us, because I know that they don’t only help me but all the other people, too. I want to tell them that the services have helped me a lot, a lot, a lot. I felt like I was in a hole, without exit—in a well with no way out—and they helped me to get out. (U.S. Department of State, 2016, p. 38)

An area that the TIP Report has found to have high prevalence rates of sex trafficking is the Asia Pacific Region. Most of the countries in the region were ranked as Tier 2, Tier 2 watch list, or Tier 3 in 2015 and 2016 (U.S. Department of State, 2015;
U.S. Department of State, 2016). Home to one-third of the world’s population, the Asia Pacific Region is also an area that has increasing amounts of migrant workers coming into it (Schloenhardt, 2001).

Research has shown us that traffickers are known to target specific areas they know large numbers of migrant workers are coming into knowing they will be vulnerable and eager to find work (Okonofua et al., 2004; U.S. Department of State, 2016). Other research has found that when migrants are recruited to work in industries such as mining, logging, or agriculture, or when raw materials are found, the incidence of sex trafficking increases (U.S. Department of State, 2015). The isolation and low governmental oversight provides the perfect cover for traffickers to control their victims through means such as taking away their passports, threatening them with little to no pay, or threatening them with physical harm (U.S. Department of State, 2016). For example, pimps have been known to use extreme physical harm in their controlling efforts. Some have even been known to use whipping with objects, strangulation, and setting fire to their workers in extreme cases (Davis, 2006). Some sex workers have described having been beaten with a “pimp stick,” which is a wire coat hanger that has been “unraveled and doubled over” (Kennedy et al., 2007, p. 6). Not only to do traffickers use violence to control their victims, but they also use other methods such as “love,” “debt,” “drugs,” and their “authority.” In fact, it was reported that more often than not, these methods are used rather than physical violence (Kennedy et al., 2007).

Sex trafficking is also an issue in more Westernized countries, such as the U.S. and in Europe (Kotrla, 2010; Ruggiero, 1997; Williamson & Prior, 2009). In 2015 the TIP Report listed the United States as one of the top three countries of origin for
trafficked victims in the U.S. (U.S. Department of State, 2016). For instance, in 1999 a report by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research found that of the 700,000 to two million individuals who are trafficked every year, 45,000 to 50,000 come to the United States, with states like New York, California, and Florida containing the highest numbers of trafficked victims (Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 1999). More recently, however reports have identified smaller cities, such as Toledo and Columbus, Ohio as hubs for sex trafficking. Cities such as this have been found to be more vulnerable for sex trafficking due to their close proximity to the Canadian border and a major waterway (Williamson & Prior, 2009; Wilson & Dalton, 2008). Sex trafficking in the U.S. has also been known to be highly prevalent in and around military bases with many bases representing some of the highest demand for sex workers (Raymond, 2004). The research in this area has also shown us that Asian workers tend to be recruited to work near military installations for businesses like Korean Massage Parlors (KMP’s) (Davis, 2006; Florida State University Center for the Advancement of Human Rights, 2003).

Other sex services that victims can be trafficked for include prostitution, exotic dancing, commercial sex, and pornography (Davis, 2006). All of these fall within the sex industry making it a topic of interest and concern for law enforcement and the larger trafficking community. Therefore, in the next section we will review the current literature on the sex industry and those involved in it.

2.2 The Sex Industry and the Players within it

The sex industry contains a broad category of sex services, as well as individuals. It can include everything from prostitution to sex tourism and everyone from the traffickers to exotic dancers. It is also prevalent all over the world in places such as...
Nigeria, Pakistan, India, and even San Antonio, Texas (Huda, 2006; Okonofua et al., 2004; Walters et al., 2017). However, depending on the country or region the legalization of some of its services may vary. For example, prostitution is decriminalized in New Zealand and legalized and regulated in the Netherlands, whereas in the U.S., with the exception of some counties in Nevada, it is illegal (Farley, 2004; Martinez, 2016; Raymond, 2004).

One of the more well-known services within the sex industry is prostitution. Prostitution is a business in which a male or female, minor or adult, sells sex to a buyer for a specified price. It often involves the use of force, fraud, or coercion, however its victims will often say otherwise (Tsutsumi et al., 2008; UNODC, 2016; Wilson & Dalton, 2008). Many are recruited as young as 11 years old making them particularly vulnerable to the control and brainwashing often used by pimps against their prostitutes (Kotrla, 2010). “Pimps tend to seek out children from dysfunctional families, who live in poverty, who are homeless, who are runaways, throwaways, and giveaways and who have been sexually abused and emotionally neglected” (Davis, 2006, p. 16). Some may even experience an opportunity to leave their circumstances, but refuse to leave due to fear, shame, self-blame, loyalty, hopelessness, isolation, and dependence, among other things (Davis, 2006).

In comparison, there are those who chose to prostitute on their own accord. Many view it as a good way to make money to support themselves, their family, or a drug habit, while others may view it as an opportunity to explore greater economic opportunity in a new country (Okonofua et al., 2004; Weitzer, 2012; Williamson & Prior, 2009). Many may choose to operate without a pimp, giving them more control over their choices and
their money. A study involving 50 women who were incarcerated for a prostitution-related offense found that 60% of them had not been under the control of a pimp and showed significant differences between the other 40% who had. For example it was found that the pimp controlled women were more likely to be single, less likely to have completed high school, and more likely to come from severely dysfunctional families. In contrast, the non-pimp controlled women were more likely to have job experience, less likely to have been sexually active at a young age, and less likely to be runaways as a child (Norton-Hawk, 2004).

For those who chose to prostitute on their own, it may be likely that the place in which they are working has legalized or decriminalized prostitution, which has prompted much debate not only in society but between researchers as well (Weitzer, 2012). Proponents of legalization would argue that legalizing sex services helps to “safeguard the human rights of sex workers, to protect sex workers from exploitation, to promote the welfare and occupational safety and health of sex workers, and to create an environment that is conducive to public health” (Farley, 2004, p. 1087-1088). Proponents also generally take the stance that prostitution is a demand that isn’t going away anytime soon. The innate needs of men (or women) to have sex aren’t something the government or society should try to control. As for the prostitutes themselves, proponents would say it is their personal choice how they want to use their body and how they chose to make money (Farley, 2004). Research has shown support for both sides. For example in a study whose aim was to investigate whether or not legalizing or decriminalizing prostitution would affect a person’s physical and mental health concluded that,
Legal sex businesses provide locations where sexual harassment, sexual exploitation, and violence against women are perpetrated with impunity. State-sponsored prostitution endangers all women and children in that acts of sexual predation are normalized—acts ranging from the seemingly banal (breast massage) to the lethal (snuff prostitution that includes filming of actual murders of real women and children). (Farley, 2004, p.1116)

Other research with similar goals found results that were slightly different. In a comparison of “indoor” vs. street prostitution, it was found that overall those who work in the “indoor” professions, such as brothels and massage parlors, are better protected, have more job satisfaction, are exposed to less health hazards, and make more money, while street prostitutes are forced to secretly promote their business to customers making them more vulnerable to arrest and negative social stigma (Weitzer, 2000). The researcher’s argument was that if prostitution were more regulated it would keep sex workers off the streets and in the safer environments of “indoor” prostitution. Nevertheless, the debate for or against the legalization of certain sex services, such as prostitution is one that will always provoke strong opinions on both sides. However, for other sex services such as sex tourism the opinions may be more alike than they are different.

Sex tourism refers to when an individual travels to a different country or region in order to more easily or secretly access specific types of sex services they would not have available to them in their own country. Consumers of sex tourism often desire cheap, quality sexual experiences with minor children or citizens of the chosen country (Estes & Weiner, 2001; Huda, 2006). Popular destinations for this type of service are Sri Lanka, Cambodia, Costa Rica, and the Philippines (Huda, 2006; U.S. Department of State, 2016). When an individual is interested in sex tourism he/she usually has a contact they use to set up the tourism experience, such as a “connector” (Williamson & Prior, 2009,
pg. 49). For example, a Costa Rican man who was sentenced to 8 years in prison for “running a prostitution ring that supplied underage girls, some as young as 13, to tourists,” would be considered a “connector” (“Child-prostitution ring,” 1999).

Having a contact like this is common in the sex industry due to the secretive and sometimes illegal nature of the services a person is seeking. Oftentimes the network of people is quite complex, involving many different individuals, each having a specified job or purpose. For major sex trafficking rings a network can involve parties from all over the globe (Estes & Weiner, 2001; Huda, 2006; Ruggiero 1997). Other networks may be smaller involving only 2 or 3 individuals (Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 1999; UNODC, 2016).

Some of the other players within the sex industry identified by Williamson and Prior are recruiters, groomers, bottoms, watchers, wife-in-laws, and traffickers (2009). Recruiters are often used by the traffickers or pimps to find “fresh faces” who will work for the trafficker. Oftentimes, they are also involved in other illicit activities such as drug dealing or may have been forced to recruit by their pimp for whom they used to prostitute. A groomer has been identified as someone who prepares the prostituted person or sex worker to enter into the field of sex work. He/she may buy clothing for them or show them the “ropes” of the industry. Bottoms, contrary to their title, are sometimes considered the “second in command” next to the pimp or trafficker. They may be the ones to dole out punishments or demand money from the workers so that the pimp doesn’t have to. The watcher is someone who is in charge of walking the girls back and forth from their jobs, ensuring nothing happens to them or they try to escape. Lastly, traffickers, or pimps are the ones in charge whose “sole purpose is to make money” off of
the exploitation of the sex workers (Williamson & Prior, 2009, pg. 54). As stated by Holsopple,

A pimp is any man or woman who induces, promotes, and profits from the prostitution of women, and children. A pimp uses physical and sexual violence to control where she goes, sell her as a commodity, force her into unwanted sex, and prevent her from escaping prostitution. (1999, p. 47)

Oftentimes, pimps are portrayed on TV and in entertainment as flashy, money-loving, smooth talking men who throw parties and always have lots of beautiful women in bikinis around them. In part, that image is true. Every year there is a Player’s Ball in which numerous pimps and their “hoes” get together to give out the award for the best or most successful pimp. The party is glamourous and shiny, with lots of beautiful women in bikinis around. The vibe has even been described as “laid back” and “cocktail-partyish” (Simpson, 2000, p. 94).

It’s worth noting, however that the network of players involved in the sex industry varies and some may not use the same language to define what a person’s role is. At times the trafficker or pimp may serve in all of these roles, indicating he/she may only control one or two prostitutes or may just be getting started in the business (Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 1999; Williamson & Prior, 2009). The lingo may also depend on who is using it and what avenue of communication is being used. For instance, many in the sex industry use the Internet for communicating and for business transactions. Using this type of medium requires knowledge of where to look, who to contact, and what lingo to use to find what it is one is looking for (Castle & Lee, 2008; Hughes, 2001; Kristof, 2012).
2.3 The Internet and its use in Pimp Recruiting

Modern day sex trafficking would not be where it is today if it weren’t for the Internet. Due to globalization, the Internet has become an avenue those within the sex industry widely use in their efforts (Hughes, 2000; Hughes, 2001). This is the reason why using “parental controls” on children’s Internet and media activities is so common, and why classes are now offered that teach children about Internet safety. A simple Google search of an unsuspecting or multi use word (e.g. “trick”) may result in the viewing of explicit content, or worse, a virus.

Additionally, the Internet’s spreading availability to third world nations makes the web available for not only Westernized societies but all over the world. There are many reasons the Internet is such an attractive tool to use in the illegal sex trade. Sex is considered taboo in many societies around the world, therefore the Internet can offer protection for individuals who may face judgement, discrimination, or prosecution based on their sexual intentions or desires. No matter what your preferences or practices are sexually, there’s always someone on the web who shares those same desires and is looking to connect. As Rietmeijer, Bull, & McFarlane put it, “… the potential of instant interaction with many like-minded people in a relatively anonymous fashion enhances the use of the Internet for sex-seeking purposes” (2001, p. 1433).

An example of this can be found in the online efforts of sex tourists who often use chatrooms as a way to find out what the cheapest, most exciting places to travel for sex are. Such tourism enterprises advertise fulfilling desires that may be considered taboo in one’s own society, including sex with minors, sex with “exotic” women, or sex with someone of the same gender. The sex tourism market allows for discussion of these
topics without any fear of judgement. In his research of internet use for sex tourism, Chow-White (2006, p. 886) described such websites by saying,

> The websites are product providers, experience oriented and user driven. They act as a virtual store window for the sex tourism industry while providing points of sale for potential travelers, frequent fliers or those who just want to do some window-shopping.

Another area the Internet provides cover for is prostitution. Prostitution is illegal in the U.S., unlike some countries, such as Germany, the Netherlands, and New Zealand who have decriminalized or legalized prostitution (Farley, 2004; Raymond, 2004). This makes the anonymity of the Internet an attractive tool to use. Pimps, johns, prostitutes, and other players can use the Internet to post personal ads or troll through chat rooms looking for someone to recruit or hook up with. Websites such as Backpage, Milko Space, Local Space, and numerous others are all used in the sexual exploitation or selling of sex services, some of them making roughly 22 million a year in profits (Hughes, 2001; Kristof, 2012).

Other more well-known and possibly unsuspecting websites that are used in sex trafficking or prostitution efforts are Facebook, Myspace, and other social media outlets (Latonero, 2011). Reports have found that “increasing numbers of university and high school students are using social media to recruit their fellow students—some younger than 18 years old—into situations of sex trafficking” (U.S. Department of State, 2015, p. 21). Craigslist also used to make the list as a place to advertise and find sex services on the net, however recently efforts were made by the Chicago Cook County sheriff’s office to stop Craigslist from allowing sexual advertisement in their “Adult Services” section. Action was taken that resulted in a lawsuit and a hearing before the U.S. House of Representatives Judiciary Committee Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism, and Homeland
Security. Eventually Craigslist agreed to take the section off their website, however some have argued traffickers, johns, prostitutes, and pimps have simply found other websites to use in their efforts (Dixon, 2013).

Furthermore, escort services, or “indoor prostitution” is also an area in which the Internet is widely used for business transactions or advertisement (Weitzer, 2000). It’s been found that escort services typically attract white, middle to upper class men with higher incomes (Castle & Lee, 2008). Further, in a review of escort websites by Castle & Lee it was found that services were typically catered to attract straight, male men by only advertising women as the escorts (2008). Most of the advertisements contained pictures of naked or nearly naked women along with a description of her personality and mannerisms. Surprisingly the websites contained contact information, such as an email address or phone number, which demonstrates the creators or users of the websites did not generally fear arrest or prosecution (Castle & Lee, 2008). Other studies that have examined the content of online sex ads have found that “naming sex workers, sex acts, price” and race were common themes posted in the advertisements (Chow-White, 2006).

Because the use of online sex content and communication is so widespread within the sex industry, it is also an area that is highly taken advantage of by traffickers or pimps. Many use it to post ads of their sex workers, make business transactions, communicate within their network, or communicate with potential customers (Hughes, 2001). Some have been known to pose as model agency representatives who troll the Internet looking to recruit individuals who may be interested in a modeling career or something similar, while others use the websites explicitly for recruitment purposes (U.S. Department of State, 2015).
A topic of interest for some researchers has been the recruitment techniques pimps employ while trying to recruit an individual to work for them. Most research in this category has identified two dominating styles used by pimps or traffickers in their efforts: “finesse” pimping and “guerrilla/gorilla” pimping (Kennedy et al., 2007; Williamson & Prior, 2009). Finesse pimping could be simply explained as the sneakier, more manipulative way of recruiting individuals into the “life.” After a pimp has found someone vulnerable enough, they may use methods such as extreme kindness, compassion, the promise of a relationship, or bribery to gain the person’s trust. An excerpt from a study that evaluated minor sex trafficking victims perfectly captures this type of recruitment style:

She took me to her friend’s house and I stayed there, and I was only 13 years old. I stayed with her one friend for a couple weeks. . . . she went and she took me and my friend out on dates and my other friend and my friend’s little sister, and we did it, and then she just took us to the store and buy some hygiene products and stuff like that. (Williamson & Prior, 2009, p. 50)

“Guerrilla” or “gorilla” pimping is the more aggressive form of recruitment, in which pimps will use more outright criminal activities to force a person into prostitution, such as through abduction and extreme physical violence (Kennedy et al. 2007; Williamon & Prior, 2009). A 14 year old who was abducted by her pimp described how she was taken while playing on the playground and then beaten and threatened with her life. Her pimp even went so far as to say he’d been “watching” her and she was going to be his “ho” (Williamson & Prior, 2009, pg. 51).

Although the research on recruitment techniques has been helpful to law enforcement, the victims, and the larger sex trafficking community, most research has only involved the personal accounts of the sex workers, parents of the sex workers,
outreach workers, and/or health nurses (Kennedy et. al, 2007). So far no empirical research has been conducted using actual pimps and/or trafficker responses to assess recruitment techniques. Numerous documentaries, news articles, and the like have interviewed former or current pimps in their pimping efforts, however these types of sources do not have the ability to explore themes and patterns in an empirically based way (Kristof, 2012; Walters et. al, 2017; Wells & Ljunberg, 2013).

This lack of empirical research is why the following study was conducted using secondary data collected directly from the pimps themselves. It qualitatively explored the recruitment patterns and themes of pimps or traffickers through the website Backpage.com. Additionally, some quantitative measures were taken in order to better assess who is doing the recruiting and who they are targeting online.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will explain why the population studied was appropriate to assess recruitment techniques used by pimps online, how the data was collected, and the analytic techniques used in the exploration of the qualitative findings. As reviewed in the literature, the use of the Internet in the sex industry by individuals such as pimps is widespread and likely to continue (Hughes, 2000; Hughes, 2001). Oftentimes pimps use websites, such as Craigslist and Backpage for recruiting sex workers, therefore an analysis of their techniques online is applicable for the following study (Dixon, 2013).

3.1 Sample Selection

Currently the literature on recruitment techniques by pimps and/or traffickers is limited and not specific to the use of the Internet. Additionally, most of the studies have collected data from prison inmates or juvenile probation officers using former prostitutes or sex workers as their population (Kennedy et al., 2007; Williamson & Prior, 2009). The problem with using these individuals lies within the potential psychological harm this could cause the prior sex worker. Interviewing may be triggering and traumatic, causing, in some cases, more mental health issues than already exist (Tsutsumi et al., 2008). Additionally using these individuals may affect the “trueness” of the study due the chance of possibly skewed or deteriorating memories (Brainerd, 2013; Crowe, 2015; Lofland et al., 2006, p. 169). Furthermore, the use of the Internet within the sex industry and sex trafficking efforts has been extensively researched showing us that its use is widespread and unlikely to go away anytime soon. Pimps/traffickers are continually seeking new ways to exploit individuals online or use it in their business efforts, making
it difficult for law enforcement to combat (Castle & Lee, 2008; Dixon, 2013; Hughes, 2000; Hughes, 2001; Latonero, 2011; Rietmeijer et al., 2001).

It is for these reasons the current study chose to assess recruitment techniques from the pimps/traffickers themselves. Using secondary data, pimp responses and communication via Backpage.com were evaluated. Originally the data was collected with the intention of studying the responses of the johns. However, when it was discovered a group of the responses were from pimps or recruiters, the initial researchers compiled an additional dataset that became the focus of this research study. The study was set up in such a way that those responding to the solicitations, johns and pimps, were unaware they were communicating with decoy ads. The use of the decoy allowed the researchers to better evaluate the true communication of the pimps. Given respondents were unaware the ads were decoys, the likelihood of an honest answer was higher. During data collection, the researchers did not respond to the pimps/recruiters or johns but simply collected their responses from email, text message, or voicemail.

In comparison with other studies which have evaluated recruitment techniques, this one was unique due to its evaluation of Internet use and pimp responses. Unlike face-to-face contact, communicating via the Internet may require a different technique of the pimp/recruiter to get what he/she is wanting. Face-to-face contact gives the pimp/recruiter the option of physical intimidation or harm to recruit an individual to work for them. Likewise, the physical presence of a person may influence the individual to do something they wouldn’t otherwise agree to do for fear of disappointing or angering the requesting party. The privacy and anonymity of the Internet allows for the requested party to either ignore, “delete,” “block,” and or simply verbally reject the request without
any fear. Therefore, the pimp’s requests or recruitment techniques may have been unique
to the Internet.

3.2 Data

Data was originally collected between October, 2014 and July, 2015, excluding
the months of November and December, 2014, in the 11 Communities Empowered
Against Sexual Exploitation (CEASE) cities (Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Denver,
Houston, Oakland, Portland, Phoenix, San Diego, and Seattle). Using decoy ads created
by the original researchers, content was uploaded to Backpage.com on a rotating schedule
in each of the cities. For the present study, the data was then de-identified and extracted
for pimp/recruiter responses only. Pimp responses to the ads came in the form of either a
text message, email, or voicemail. Due to text limitations, many of the messages were
split into two or more lines of data, therefore these responses were organized into one
cohesive message. Messages were matched according to the sender and which ad/who
they were responding to. Per this sorting, the total number of contacts was 70. However,
further analysis of the data revealed two of the contacts were not transparent enough to
determine if it was a pimp/recruiter response, therefore they were further eliminated,
making the total number of contacts for evaluation 68. Twelve of the 68 messages were
sent multiple times to different ads, therefore for analytic coding only 47 contacts were
used. The information within the data contained the type of communication (i.e. text,
email, or voicemail), the ad number, the de-identified number of the pimp/recruiter, the
phone number listed on the specified ad, the date and time of communication, the length
of the call (if it were a voicemail; text messages were represented by the number “0”),
and the message content. However, due to issues with the data transfer some of the data
had missing information, such as the type of message (text, email, or voicemail), the number associated with the ad number, the identification number of the pimp/recruiter, the phone number on the ad, the date and time of the contact, and the length of the voicemail. Because we were primarily concerned with the content of the message, the missing information minimally affected the study.

Furthermore, the ad number was indicative of which women were in the ad, their age (adult or minor), race, the city where the ad was displayed, and the content of the ad (explicit or more refined). For purposes of the study, the researchers only needed knowledge of the race and age (adult or minor) of the women in the ad therefore that was the only analysis that was made of the ad number. Table 3.1 on the following page displays what race/age was indicated by the ad number. As a note about the table, the “young friend” option was always represented by the “4,” which meant that the ad content included information insinuating that a Caucasian female and her “younger friend” were being advertised. For the purposes of this study, contacting the “young friend” ad indicated that the pimp/recruiter was potentially interested in the minor in addition to the adult. Seeing as how there was an ad listed which mentioned only an adult Caucasian, the pimp/recruiter would have been given the choice to choose an adult or the option with a minor.

Next, some of the data contained lingo only used within the sex industry, therefore interpretations had to be made in order to understand the content of the messages. For this the researcher used the online Urban Dictionary. This is an online dictionary that defines the meanings and associations of slang terms. Information on its website is submitted by users and those knowledgeable of the slang meanings of words.
Table 3.1

Ad Number Race/Age Chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1- Caucasian</td>
<td>1- Caucasian</td>
<td>1- Caucasian*</td>
<td>1- Caucasian*</td>
<td>1- Caucasian</td>
<td>1- Caucasian*</td>
<td>1- Caucasian*</td>
<td>1- Caucasian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2- African American</td>
<td>2- African American</td>
<td>4- Caucasian &amp;/or Young friend</td>
<td>4- Caucasian &amp;/or Young friend</td>
<td>2- Professional- African American</td>
<td>4- Caucasian &amp;/or Young friend</td>
<td>4- Caucasian &amp;/or Young friend</td>
<td>2- African American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3- Hispanic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3- Hispanic</td>
<td>3- Hispanic</td>
<td>4- Caucasian &amp;/or Young friend</td>
<td>3- Hispanic</td>
<td>3- Hispanic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4- Caucasian &amp;/or Young friend</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4- Caucasian &amp;/or Young friend</td>
<td>4- Caucasian &amp;/or Young friend</td>
<td>5- African American</td>
<td>4- Caucasian &amp;/or Young friend</td>
<td>4- Caucasian &amp;/or Young friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5- Young Caucasian</td>
<td>5- Young Caucasian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The number “1” may not be represented (e.g. Dallas1 & Dallas = Caucasian)

Some of the lingo used within the data were “BP” (Backpage), “P” (pimp), HMU (hit me up), “Stack up 5 bands on a car” (one stack = $1000), and “Trix” (Someone who is easy or sleeps around). In addition to using slang and industry lingo, many of the pimps/recruiters did not use proper grammar or spelling but instead used shortened SMS (Short Message Service) language that is often used when sending text messages. Other sources of confusion came when the researcher had to piece the broken text messages...
together. Technological issues caused some of the messages to be sent incompletely, leaving letters or whole words out of the intended message.

An interesting finding within the data was the use of websites and promotion through YouTube videos. A total of 13 websites were mentioned, therefore content analysis was assessed to see if any patterns or themes could be noted. A table displaying the type of website or whether or not the website was available is displayed below.

Table 3.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of website</th>
<th>Occurrence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Porn</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rap video</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escort website</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solicitation website</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By using this set of data, the researchers were able to assess the different types of responses pimp/recruiters use online in their recruitment efforts. Additionally, by indicating the race of the contacted individual, the researcher could identify if race were a significant factor in determining who the pimp/recruiter reached out to. Prior research has shown us that prostituted persons are equally likely to be African American or White, while fewer are found to be Hispanic (Wilson & Dalton, 2008).

3.3 Variables and Analytical Technique

Two exploratory research questions were the focus of this study:

1) What recruitment techniques were used by the pimps/recruiters?

2) What racial/age preferences did the pimp/recruiters have, if any, when responding to the ads?
Evaluating these questions allowed us to add to and enhance the existing research on pimp recruitment techniques and better assess who pimps/recruiters target online. Additional exploratory analysis of the content within the data also allowed for a better and more unique understanding of how pimps within the sex industry use the Internet in their “entrepreneurial” efforts (Smith & Christou, 2009).

For the analytic evaluation, “coding” was used in order to look for themes and “render… meaningful” assessments from those themes (Lofland et al., 2006, pg. 200). “Initial coding” or open coding was done first to determine any outstanding patterns or themes within the data (Lofland et al., 2006, pg. 201). Some of the themes noticed were the mention of “travel,” “modeling/photographers,” and mention of the word “trust and loyalty.” After “focused” coding was completed, it was determined the coded themes would be Offering Something, Appearance, Happiness, Mutual Benefit, and Other Illicit Behavior (Lofland et al., 2006, pg. 201). A table explaining the operational meaning/definition and examples of these codes is located on the following page in Table 3.3.

Using these coded themes allowed the researchers to evaluate how they might apply to the existing literature on “finesse” or “guerilla” pimping (Williamson & Prior, 2009). They also indicated whether or not the existing research contains information regarding different uses of the Internet within the sex industry. Additionally, for reliability measures, two coders were used to compare coding answers against one another. Results indicated an 89% reliability rating for Offering Something, an 80% rating for Appearance, a 56% rating for Happiness, a 71% rating for Mutual Benefit, and a 67% rating for Other Illicit Behavior, making the total reliability score 79%.
Table 3.3  

*Focused Coding Themes, Meanings, and Examples*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focused Coding Theme</th>
<th>Meaning/Definition</th>
<th>Communication Content/Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Offering Something   | Offering services, opportunity, money, etc. | “3500 plus generous tip”
|                      |                    | “trendy [f]ashion makeover you have the look let me give you the hook”
|                      |                    | “I will uplift you, motivate you, invest in you & dedicate my mind body & soul to guide you on the path to get it” |
| Appearance           | Complimenting or mentioning the woman’s looks/status or mentioning his/her own looks/status | “Hey gorgeous? I ran across your add & thought you were absolutely ravishing”
|                      |                    | “I see that you are very sassy & confident in your beautiful sexy ass skin & from your ad I can see that you are on your $hit” |
| Happiness            | A perceived feeling/emotion | “Happiness is what WE desire so happiness is what we get”
|                      |                    | “Is you happy wit your current situation” |
| Mutual Benefit       | Promotion of their own business or mention of how they can help one another | “… in need of a girl with some know how that can help me step into the game, look out for me”
|                      |                    | “Hi by any chance were you looking for a driver to do your outcalls? Im free tonight btw” |
| Other Illicit Behavior | Indication or mention of another illegal behavior/activity | “Maybe smoke of this KUSH”
|                      |                    | “Save me as {Recruiter J}420* new clients get free joint with order :)” |
CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The results of this study can be found in the proceeding tables. Table 4.1 illustrates that after evaluating 47 different messages, Offering Something was found to be the most frequently occurring theme, found in 51% of the communication content, while Other Illicit Behavior was found in the lowest percentage of communication messages (5%).

Messages that were coded as Offering Something ranged from offering money for services to increasing the woman’s status, and offering services to assist in their escort business. For example, one pimp said “How you doin baby I'm [Recruiter C] would you be interested in makin a 1000 dollars a night under my management.” Here “Recruiter C” was offering his services as a pimp and the possibility of making money. Others offered much more than money, for example

_Tha name [Recruiter D] bbygurl .. be around pimps .. know tha game like I not a pimp tho .. get to this $$$$ with a down female , LONGEVITY, LOYALTY , TRUST .. txt or kall if interested bbygurl ! Watch "OCCAPELLA .. BTHOMP” on YouTube Get thiz $$$$$ with me bbygurl_

and

_Looking for partner to get this money all I want is 20% off ever play .so if u down hit me ..team work make the dream work I want disrespect u I want hit u  im very understanding careing no how to treat a beautiful woman with respect_

The pimp/recruiters in these messages were offering not only monetary gains, but also more emotional needs, such as “loyalty,” “trust,” and “respect.”

Messages coded as Appearance mostly contained compliments by the pimp/recruiter by using words like “gorgeous” and “beautiful.” In fact, the word “gorgeous” was mentioned 6 times in the message content. In the following message, the
pimp/recruiter used Appearance or complimenting multiple times within his/her text, and
also commented on his/her own status or appearance at times,

> Wats good wit a real one love look i no u get tex[t] a lot shit you hella wet so you
know niggas go get at u all the time you carry yourself very well and you about yo
money just like me thats y im texting u i cum with a lot to bring to the table yeah
I'm a p but it's more to the game then pimping and hoein ma i get money a lot of
ways and i would love to eat with you out here ba and if yo heart is as good as
your face looks I want chu ba look love my shit right im a good ass dude and im
feelin u a lot ma can a young top hat get lost in the peanut butter love.

Another example of Appearance, which included complementing stated, “What's going
on luv?? like wht I c, u ready for change n life?? let's talk about getting to the real
paper.”

The coded theme Happiness was a concept that was picked up in the original open
coding process. Messages asking whether or not the woman is happy and telling her she
should be “enjoying” herself were coded as Happiness. As previously mentioned, the
reliability rating for Happiness was 56%, making it the lowest reliable coded them. This
could be due to different interpretations of the concept of happiness. For example, due to
the context within the message “enjoyment” may have been interpreted as Happiness in
one instance and not in the other by each of the coders. Messages containing the mention
of “enjoyment” stated, “Are you tired of just sitting in the room all day. Do you like to
enjoy yourself sometimes?” and “Hey gorgeous? i ran across your add & thought you
were absolutely ravishing. I’ve been in this game a while & was looking for a wifey to get
$ & enjoy life with.”

Furthermore, Mutual Benefit was the second highest coded theme within the data.
Initial coding revealed surprising findings in how it appeared other “players” within the
sex industry used the ads to promote themselves. For example, the following pimp/recruiter promoted his/her photography business,

*Hi working on a photography project and looking for local models for a sports theme calendar shoot. I was seeing if you were interested in interviewing. Having interviews today and Tuesday of next week. If interested let me know. Have a great day.*

Others promoted or advertised their escort websites or driving services by saying things such as, “Hi. I'm {Recruiter G} I was wanting to know if ya needed a driver this evening” and

*Loved your ad on Backpage! You're invited to create a profile on Escort Life San Diego (& Dallas). It's free to join and we'll help you grow your business. Escort Life is the best place to create a profile and showcase yourself, just look at some of the lovely girls in Las Vegas (https://lasvegas.escorts.life) - Visit us at https://sandiego.escorts.life*

For the last coded theme, Other Illicit Behavior, messages promoting drugs or “kush,” were indicative of another illegal behavior or business. For example one pimp/recruiter said, “I wanted to let you know i deliver 420 and Edibles Im fast and professional If you need anything, Save me as {Recruiter J} 420* new clients get free joint with order :).” Another message in particular that intrigued both of the coders stated, “Hey I'm {Recruiter Q} if u are a single mom that's really trying to make a good amount of money and won't to do it legitly text me back asap and u must have I'd.” The requirement of needing an ID prompted both coders to categorize it as Other Illicit Behavior.

Additionally, it is important to note that coding of the messages was not mutually exclusive. In other words, it was found that there were common pairings of the coded themes within the messages. For example, in 12 of the 47 different messages Offering
Something and Mutual Benefit were found together, and in 11 of the 47 messages Offering Something and Appearance were found together. A complete list of the messages and their coding can be found in the Appendix.

Analysis which included the duplicated ads (68) gave us similar results, with Offering Something being calculated at 51%, Appearance at 14%, Happiness at 5%, Mutual Benefit at 23%, Other Illicit Behavior at 5%, and No Coding at 2%. The slight differences found could be attributed to the proportion of indicated themes within a highly duplicated message. The No Coding theme was inserted for a message which did not result in any type of coding, due to either their uncertainty in meaning or a technical error. For example, the first “no coded” message contained a link to a website that did not work, while the second “no coded” message simply stated, “This an escort name {Recruiter F}.” For complete coding results, please see Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 on the next page. Figure 4.1 was included in order to give a visual representation of the themes’ occurrence.

Next, analysis using the ad number to determine who the pimps/recruiters contacted revealed that an overwhelming majority contacted the ad with a Caucasian female in it (83%). The ads displaying a Hispanic female in them received 10% of the contacts, and African Americans received 7%. It’s important to note, however, that 10 of the 68 data contacts did not indicate the ad number, therefore only 58 of the contacts were evaluated for race/age preferences.

In addition, the ad numbers also indicated if the “young friend” ad were contacted. For this study, contact of the “young friend” ad meant that the pimp/recruiter was interested in either the adult and the minor or just the minor. For example, one of the
Table 4.1

*Coding Theme Percentages without Duplicates*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coding Theme</th>
<th>% of occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Offering Something</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appearance</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happiness</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutual Benefit</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Illicit Behavior</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Coding</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

messages stated, “Hi are you and your friend available for travel I would like to find someone to take to Las Vegas.” Results showed us that 11 out of the 58 contacts made were for the “young friend” ad. Therefore, 19% of the pimps/recruiters were interested in the mention of a “younger friend” or minor. Table 4.2 on the following page gives the complete results of the race/age indications.

![CODING THEMES](image)

Figure 4.1: Visual Coding Theme Percentages without Duplicates
In order to more fully explore the meanings/contributions of the study, the next section will discuss the findings in greater detail. Each coded theme will be qualitatively assessed by looking at the specifics of our findings, and how they compare or add to the existing literature. The same assessments will be made using the ad race/age findings.

Table 4.2

_Race/Age Preferences_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>Adult + “young friend” (minor)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

In this explorative study, coded themes from the content of online pimp recruitment communications were evaluated. The major finding from this study was the occurrence and use of Offering Something to the women in the ads in order to convince or persuade them to work for or with them. This finding has numerous applications within the existing literature on recruitment techniques, particularly those which evaluate the use of “finesse” pimping (Kennedy et al., 2007; Williamson & Prior, 2009). Many of the comments which were identified as Offering Something contained elements such as offering money, services, happiness, a better life, expensive items such as “Prada” and “Gucci,” and even a “safe, clean, environment” to the women in the decoy ads. It was also found that “guidance” was offered multiple times within the content of the contacts with statements such as, “I provide guidance direction and protection.. something like a ride or die relationship ..if interested hit me back.” Another study on pimp recruitment indicated similar results with the use of offering “guidance” (Williamson & Prior, 2009). These findings are consistent with the finesse technique in that they show kindness toward the targeted individual and make promises of buying her things (Williamson & Prior, 2009). In a study of juvenile children who were trafficked into prostitution, one girl was quoted saying, “He bought me clothes, shoes, socks, makeup, and hygiene stuff. He said I was his girl” (Williamson & Prior, 2009, pg. 51).

Another pattern, which can be associated with “finesse” pimping, is the coded theme Appearance. Most of the coded Appearance content in the study contained the use of compliments, which is often a technique used by a “finesse” pimp who is trying to
manipulate through kind words (Williamson & Prior, 2009). The following excerpt from
the data is a good example of the use of compliments and Appearance:

> How u doing superstar I'm {Recruiter B} and I was just wondering as gorgeous
> as you is , Is you happy wit your current situation you is in at the time because
> you have way to much potential to settle for less and you know you really in truly
deserve nothing but the best. I don't mean no harm or nothing I just know u can
do a whole lot better and all I would like is for that opportunity to really show
you rather than tell you but only chances make champions fuck a 5star cuz I just
know you is an all star. I just know u ready to get ahead instead of just getting by
I know you won't to have more in you know you deserve more but an opportunity
is nothing if u don't reach out and grab it.

The concept and coded theme of Happiness could also be interpreted as a finessing

The concept and coded theme of Happiness could also be interpreted as a finessing
technique, due to the fact that often comments were made that indicated the
pimp/recruiter was concerned about the woman’s well-being, asking her if she were
“happy wit her current situation.”

The coded themes Mutual Benefit and Other Illicit Behavior require a different
kind of analysis due to the fact that they don’t really fit in with the existing “finesse
pimpering” or “guerilla pimpering” literature. As previously stated, the Mutual Benefit theme
was a surprising one to the researcher, however prior research on the players or
“network” within the sex industry shows that some pimps/traffickers may serve in
multiple roles, such as the “groomer,” “watcher,” “recruiter,” or in this case the “driver”
(Williamson & Prior, 2009, pg. 53-54). Other Mutual Benefit codes found instances of
promotion for their escort websites. This finding contributes to the existing literature on
Internet use within the sex industry, which is widespread and difficult to control (Castle

Other Illicit Behavior as a coded theme was also unique in that some of the
contacts appeared to be more inconspicuous about their illicit behaviors. As mentioned
before, lingo and slang were used quite often in the content of the contacts, therefore interpreting the meaning of some of the communication was difficult. In the message which stated the she “must have I.d,” it was assumed by both coders that the pimp/recruiter was trying to lure the women in the ad to another form of illegal activity. In contrast, those that mentioned the use of drugs were usually very upfront about offering drugs. It is a well-known fact that the drug trade and prostitution are well connected, therefore this finding was not surprising (Davis, 2006; U.S. Department of State, 2016).

Furthermore, our findings of the race/age preferences also matched the current literature. Referring back to Table 4.2, we found that 83% of the pimps/recruiters contacted the ads with a Caucasian female in them. This mimics the study that found that the majority (63%) of sexually exploited children were white, as opposed to a minority (36%) (Davis, 2006). It has also been shown that it is more likely a prostitute or sex worker began his/her career as a minor rather than as an adult, possibly because pimps/traffickers tend to target younger individuals due to easier manipulation and control (Davis, 2006; Estes & Weiner, 2001). Although our findings showed only a 19% preference rating for the “young friend” ad, the significance of that choice points toward the growing and continuous problem of child sexual exploitation.

Many of the findings within our research did provide support for existing literature, however due to the fact that recruitment techniques were studied through an online website (Backpage.com), our results may differ slightly from other studies. For instance, we were not able to associate any of our communication content with the “guerilla” recruitment technique found in other studies (Kennedy et al., 2007; Williamson
The only message which contained more manipulative and insulting language stated, “It's {Recruiter P} for the record baby! How u get money wit that wack post!? Choose up 2 move up come wit a fee and come eat! Wat u waiting for?” The researcher may have found more examples of the “finesse” technique may have to do with the fact that the Internet offers more protection, privacy, and anonymity, making it more difficult for pimps/recruiters to physically harm or intimidate an individual and easier for the individual to refuse an offer.

These results are not meant to downplay the reality that many pimps still use fear, intimidation, and physical harm as a way to control their sex workers (Davis, 2006; U.S. Department of State, 2016). In fact, it’s been found that although a pimp/recruiter may use “finessing” techniques to recruit an individual into prostitution or sex work initially, they will eventually begin to use more “guerilla” style techniques later on in order to maintain control over the victim (Davis, 2006; Williamson & Prior, 2009). One study, for example, found that 55% of sex trafficking victims were lured by promises of economic opportunity, while 9.4% were forcibly kidnapped (Silverman, Decker, Gupta, Maheshwari, Patel, Willis, & Raj, 2007). Later on victims experienced things such as depression, anxiety, PTSD, HIV/AIDS, beatings by a “pimp stick” (Kennedy et al., 2007, p. 6), or even death threats to themselves or their family members (Farley, 2004; Tsutsumi et al., 2008; Williamson & Prior, 2009).

5.1 Limitations

The biggest limitation for the present study was the small sample size. Due to extraneous factors or technical errors we had to eliminate some of the data, giving us only 68 communication messages to work with. Having a longer data collection period may
have given us more data to work with, therefore enhancing our coding abilities and strengthening the study. Additionally, as mentioned in the Methods chapter, the data in this study was originally collected with the goal of assessing communication made by the johns. The data that was used for present study was extracted from the original study due to its irrelevance. Consequently, some of the data may have been missed through extraction and elimination. Having a study that is more focused on the targeted group may also produce a greater number of quality responses.

Another limitation of the study which is closely associated with the last statement is the fact that 10 of the 68 (15%) of the contacts had missing information. Had the study been targeted toward the pimp/recruiters themselves, the data may have been more complete, giving us a more accurate depiction of the pimp’s desires (race/age).

5.2 Future Research

The present study was exploratory in its efforts, therefore more research of the online recruitment techniques of pimp/recruiters would be valuable. Our study found many correlations with the existing literature, however ours was also unique in that it used the pimps themselves, rather than prior or current sex workers as the population. Future research on this topic would benefit from using possibly more than one known sex ad website. Not only would this expand the data content, but it would also add a variety that may not be explicitly present when using one website. Other recommendations for future research would be to use a larger sample size and design a study that specifically targets pimps/recruiters. Including language in the ad that may entice a certain type of recruiter (e.g. finesse pimp, guerilla pimp, drug dealer, driver, etc.) may also be
beneficial, so that the literature on these different types of recruiters may be expanded and enhanced.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

She explained everything to me and she told me 30 minutes would be $150 to basically suck the guy up and have sex with him . . . we’d basically go to a hotel or the guy would call you and say he’ll be at this place at this time. . . . and there is an Internet cite called Craig’s list and that was what she was on. (Williamson & Prior, 2009; pg. 54)

It is because of statements like this that the research on sex trafficking, prostitution, and more specifically Internet use in recruitment techniques needs to continue. Whether or not a person believes sex work or prostitution should be a personal choice, there is no denying the connection it has with sex trafficking and the larger human trafficking network. Everyday individuals of all race, age, and sex are impacted by the trafficking network and the sex industry, therefore the commitment to further research in the prevention, suppression, and punishment of individuals involved is necessary.

The present study, although mighty in its efforts, was only able to capture a small piece of the puzzle of Internet recruitment. Due to globalization and the spreading availability of the Internet, it is likely that pimps/traffickers will continue to exploit its use in their efforts of exploiting human beings (Hughes, 2000; Hughes; 2001). As the advancement of technology continues, so too must the advancement of research within the field.

Lastly, it’s important to note the significance of studying the pimps/traffickers in this research. As previously mentioned, most research typically involves the use of the victim, or prior sex worker testimonies. However, these studies can only provide one aspect of the sex trafficking network. It’s been shown that more often than not the pimps or perpetrators (johns) of sex trafficking are less likely to face arrest or prosecution than
the victims or sex workers (U.S. Department of State, 2016; Wilson & Dalton, 2008).

More focused efforts on the perpetrators and buyers of sex work will not only lead to better prevention techniques and prosecution within law enforcement, but also more awareness in society of who these individuals are and what to look out for (U.S. Department of State, 2016).
REFERENCES


### APPENDIX

**A. List of Message Content and Coding**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Message Content</th>
<th>OS</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>MB</th>
<th>OIB</th>
<th>NC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I see ur ad and I like ur dedication. if u feel like uq un happy or going in circles get back to me. Champions win championships. Wanna upgrade lets go</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instead of making trix dreams come true how about trix making your dreams come true to increase your acceptability. I'm {Recruiter A} Team {Recruiter A} International.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good afternoon Honey, looking for an escort to a formal business party this evening. Looking to wrap up what should prove to be a very lucrative deal for the both of us. Pick up 10ish till noonish tomorrow. 3500 plus generous tip</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A million text to choose up and you've ignore them all but at some point you'll will have to question if your win or just getting by...choose wise not lies.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How u doing superstar I'm {Recruiter B} and I was just wondering as gorgeous as you is , Is you happy wit you r current situation you is in at the time because you have way to much potential to settle for less and you know you really in truly deserve nothing but the best. I don't mean no harm or nothing I just know u can do a whole lot better and all I would like is for that opportunity to really show you rather than tell you but only chances make champions fuck a 5star cuz I just know you is an all star. I just know u ready to get ahead instead of just getting by I know you won't to have more in you know you deserve more but an opportunity is nothing if u don't reach out and grab it</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hey gorgeous? i ran across your add &amp; thought you were absolutely ravishing. Ive been in this game a while &amp; was looking for a wifey to get $ &amp; enjoy life with. I do have a DADDY but dont let that scare because its all love you this way, he is cool as ice water plus he be on the move. I know together we kan make mountains move. He will put you on some professional consistent money. We love to travel, party ect. Happiness is what WE desire so happiness is what we get. Can i ask you a question?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baby girl I don't mean to be rude I no you probably get this shit way too much but just to be real with you baby girl I'm a young sexy nigger in need of a girl with some know how that can help me step into the game, look out for me and you know I'm going to appreciate it I'm going to take care of you right</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How you doin baby I'm {Recruiter C} would you be interested in makin a 1000 dollars a night under my management</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tha name {Recruiter D} bbygurl .. be around pimps,,
know tha game like I not a pimp tho .. get to this $$$$ with a down female, LONGEVITY, LOYALTY ,
TRUST .. txt or kall if interested bbygurl! Watch 
"OCCAPELLA .. BTHOMP" on YouTube Get thiz $$$$$ with me bbygurl

Hi my name is {Recruiter E}. Can I have you text or call
Gorgeous L (lady) to get to know each other. Roll with me, don’t be a loner Bargirl. {I will} introduce you to
handsome gentleman bank acct credit at least 1000 hr.
{V}ersace DC Gucci Houston Prada Dallas Cache Cali
LA Atlanta trendy {f}ashion makeover you have the look
let me give you the hook no BFE n et my instructions introduce you to a higher level Billion dollar gentlemen
with million dollar spending habits.

Hi Working on a photography project and looking for
local models for a sports theme calendar shoot. I was
seeing if you were interested in interviewing. Having
interviews today and Tuesday of next week. If interested
let me know. Have a great day.

Hey. Just ran across your ad on BP. I provide driver &
other services. If interested in a 5+ yrs experienced &
reliable service or details you can respond.

The worst move you can make in life is not making a
move at all, if it doesn't make progression it will result in
a lesson

Hey can u model 4 300 outcall have you heard about
ayeayeayesong.com from the barbershopJokestv
soundtrack by djcutsdomainname.net

You are too Beautiful  Ivory Entertainment looking for
models and dancer love to chat with you We do club and
car shows promotions we also do comedy shows
Beautiful love to work with you

Hi are you and your friend available for travel I would
like to find someone to take to Las Vegas

This an escort name {Recruiter F}

Hey babe you busy? I got some ppl in town I can send
your way let me know asap ..... Btw message This
number my other number is messed up I dropped it in
water... so I got this temp number till I get a new phone
and don't ever say I don't look out for you

Hi. I'm {Recruiter G} I was wanting to know if ya needed
a driver this evening

What's popping mommy.. I go by the [name] of
{Recruiter H}.... I'm loving the way / that body look..
Are you looking for a new home cause if he ain't gonna
treat you right then I ain't gone treat you wrong.. Let me
be that one who take care of your every need, want, and
desire!! Holler at you gwala (money)..

What's going on luv?? like wht I c, u ready for change n
life?? let's talk about getting to the real paper

Hey sweetie pie my name is {Recruiter I} and I am 25
years old I am contacting you to see if you are interested
to have a personal driver  I drive a 2015 Altima
<p>| I wanted to let you know I deliver 420 and Edibles Im fast and professional If you need anything, Save me as {Recruiter J} 420+ new clients get free joint with order :) | + | + | + |
| Say Ms Kitten, Im going to upfront and honest with you from the jump ma, Im a P &amp; I Believe you &amp; I can come together and make our dreams become reality &amp; conquer our worlds Love....I see that you are very sassy &amp; confident in your beautiful sexy ass skin &amp; from your ad I can see that you are on your $hit So I ask, Are you ready to turn it up a notch and use your potential to take yourself to another level...To go places that you have only fantasied of, To enjoy and absorb new experiences of your dreams, To have everything you need and want in life ....Then devote your trust, faith, loyalty &amp; dedicate yourself in me love &amp; I will uplift you, motivate you, invest in you &amp; dedicate my mind body &amp; soul to guide you on the path to get it , maintain it and sustain it everyday all day You Feel Me Baby Thats what I can do for you if your willing to choose to let me FWM &amp; Let$ Make The$e Comma$ Happen Love....{Recruiter K} baby, if you with text me back or ask for my real number | + | + |
| Hi, You're invited to post for FREE on <a href="http://www.ASexyService.com">www.ASexyService.com</a> the hottest classifieds site on the web! | + | + |
| Hey, there are thousands of guys going to pajobss dot com. So post your ad on pajobss dot com and see if your phone rings. Thanks | + | + |
| Loved your ad on Backpage! You're invited to create a profile on Escort Life San Diego (&amp; Dallas). It's free to join and we'll help you grow your business. Escort Life is the best place to create a profile and showcase yourself, just look at some of the lovely girls in Las Vegas (<a href="https://lasvegas.escorts.life">https://lasvegas.escorts.life</a>) - Visit us at <a href="https://sandiego.escorts.life">https://sandiego.escorts.life</a> | + | + |
| If your happy, this message dont apply to you. But if your not happy and you been in this game for 3 months and dont have a fly whip like a benz, bmw, Cadillac than you should choose {Recruiter L}. I mean how hard is it to stack up 5 bands on a car. If your tired of seeing your money go to pills, alcohol, drugs and other frivolous spending than choose Success. If you been in this game for a year and dont have an apartment and still living in hotels, than choose up. {Recruiter L} the name, | + | + |
| Hi by any chance you need a driver for outcalls? &amp; Hi by any chance were you looking for a driver to do your outcalls? Im free tonight btw | + | + |
| Hey Bunny, I'm a Boston area photographer and can take new pics for your ads. Very reasonable rates! Would you like to see examples of | + | + |
| Hello are you interested in making 2200 to 4800 a night? | + |
| Hi my name is {Recruiter M} &amp; I'm a former escort but I now work for western union &amp; I flip money. 200=2000, 300=3000 &amp; so on up to 10,000. HMU if you're interested | + | + |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wassup baby girl I know you caught up in your situation but in this life you aint gonna be able to progress the way you want unless u boss up dig me. I'm going to new jersey today and I'm trying giving you the opportunity to choose this pimpin so we can hit the road you need a nigga to match your grind and your mind so it will be worth the time! Hit me if your ready to step up and hit this interstate!! There ain't no losing with this management and guidance baby let me know - {Recruiter N}</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good afternoon? I'm looking for a new, independent, sweet, and thick lady who can travel 2hrs to Longview Tx and do a date from 11pm to 5am for 2000 cash?</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi Can I borrow a sec of your time My name is {Recruiter O} Im in town a few days on biz. While here I'm looking for a female about getting money like me I rap/rap so I get my OWN money at the sametime I TRAVEL so u dnt have to sit in a room I hve my OWN house/cars/hustle Just need a female on my level HIT ME BACK IF THAT'S YOU- {Recruiter O} -$.<em>If you want to do BETTER you have to TAKE A CHANCE.</em> You should be ENJOYING yourself while MAKING MONEY* Why settle for crumbs and not be appreciated for :your hustle...Im there 24/7 with you<em>NO sitting around waiting</em> How going to know whether Im what YOU BEEN HOPING FOR if you DENY me before you TRY :ME<em>JUST TEXT ME AND LETS SEE WHAT WE CAN COME UP WITH</em>Maybe smoke of this KUSH and just CONVERSE.* $-{Recruiter O}-$</td>
<td>+ +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you ever thought to do internet modeling? Check out my business card. Click on the web link and read. You can make good money on your own time and i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking for partner to get this money all I want is 20% off ever play..so if u down hit me ..team work make the dream work I want disrespect u I want hit u im very understanding caring no how to treat a beautiful woman with respect</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Its {Recruiter P} for the record baby! How u get money wit that wack post!? Choose up 2 move up come wit a fee and come eat! Wat u waiting for?</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hey I'm {Recruiter Q} if u are a single mom that's really trying to make a good amount of money and won't to do it legitly text me back asap and u must have I.d.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you tired of just sitting in the room all day. Do you like to enjoy yourself sometimes. Let's Do some major travel and get some real money doing it.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hey now Cutie This {Recruiter R} A Gentleman of Leisure I ran across your ad here on Bp. Idk if you have folks or if your happy with your team but if your seeking better for your self my door stays open for a solid young lady seeking proper guidance.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would like to have u join my team In the escort &amp; massage biz for 20 years in NYC area. need girls to work on a partnership deal in Houston &amp; NY City Area very</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
safe areas in Houston next few weeks Al so own www.thexylist.com. {Recruiter S}

Hey what's up mami my name {Recruiter T} I'm 26 from sw houston..I don't claim to be a pimp or anything like that..just seeing if your interested in joining a relationship of getting money together I provide guidance direction and protection.. something like a ride or die relationship ..if interested hit me back.

What Would You Do If You Could Go All In On Everything You Ever Wanted? How Many Times Have You Peeled Through The Fence To See If The Grass Truly Was Gr Greener On The Other Side. Where The City Of Sin Makes Money Dreams Come True! {Recruiter U}

Hear it is sweetie let's not waste your time or mine, Are you looking to leave your P.... If you're TIRED of your living conditions; NEED help, I would like to HELP you WITH your current living conditions. I'm PROPER ceo of PROPER management. I manage a few properties, I offer ANYTHING and everything a SAFE, CLEAN environment. I'm not interested in taking your money, I'm looking to BETTER your QUALITY of life. I am willing to answer your questions. CALL me at (770)XXX-XXXX.

Wats good wit a real one love look i no u get tex a lot shit you hella wet so you know niggas go get at u all the time you carry yourself very well and you about yo money just like me thats y im texting u i cum with a lot to bring to the table yeah I'm a p but it's more to the game then pimping and hoein ma i get money a lot of ways and i would love to eat with you out here ba and if yo heart is as good as your face looks I want chu ba{ck} look love my shit right im a good ass dude and im feelin u a lot ma can a young top hat get lost in the peanut butter love
B. IRB Approval Document

University of Colorado
Colorado Springs
Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the Protection of Human Subjects

Date: 2/21/2017

IRB Review

APPROVED

IRB PROTOCOL NO.: 17-127
Protocol Title: Pimp Chatter: A study of pimp recruitment online
Principal Investigator: Natassia Baxter
Faculty Advisor if Applicable: Anna Kotsioski
Application: New Application
Type of Review: Exempt Category 4
Risk Level: No more than Minimal Risk
Renewal Review Level (If changed from original approval) if Applicable: N/A No Change
This Protocol involves a Vulnerable Population: N/A (No Vulnerable Population)
Expires: 20 February 2018

*Note, if exempt: If there are no major changes in the research, protocol does not require review on a continuing basis by the IRB. In addition, the protocol may match more than one review category not listed.
Externally funded: ☐ No ☐ Yes
OSP #: Sponsor:

Thank you for submitting your Request for IRB Review. The protocol identified above has been reviewed according to the policies of this institution and the provisions of applicable federal regulations. The review category is noted above, along with the expiration date, if applicable.

Once human participant research has been approved, it is the Principal Investigator’s (PI) responsibility to report any changes in research activity related to the project:

- The PI must submit all protocol, recruitment, advertising, and consent form amendments/revocations to the IRB for approval.
- The IRB must approve these changes prior to implementation.
- If you are a student, please note that it is required to include the IRB approval letter to the library when you submit the dissertation/thesis.
- The PI must promptly inform the IRB of all unanticipated serious adverse (within 24 hours). All unanticipated adverse events must be reported to the IRB within 1 week (see 45CFR46.102(b)(3)). Failure to comply with these federally mandated responsibilities may result in suspension or termination of the project.
- Renew study with the IRB at least 10 business days prior to expiration.
- Notify the IRB when the study is complete.

If you have any questions, please contact Research Integrity Specialist in the Office of Sponsored Programs and Research Integrity at 719-255-3903 or irb@uccs.edu

Thank you for your concern about human subject protection issues, and good luck with your research.

Sincerely yours,

Michelle Okum, Ph.D.
IRB Reviewer