

Prostitution and Pornography: Reforming a Perspective

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Abstract

Happiness is a subjective emotion that can quickly be twisted by the depravity of humanity's sinful nature. Human trafficking deprives an individual's natural right to life, liberty, and their pursuit to happiness. Of the two divisions of human trafficking, sex trafficking, especially involving children, is the most despicable and most evolved. The United States and further the state of Virginia is a crucial player in combating human trafficking. While there are currently many successful tactics state governments and nonprofit groups are utilizing in order to eliminate human trafficking there are more intense strategies the Virginia State Government should implement. One aspect of human trafficking is prostitution, which currently is becoming a socially acceptable form of work that allows for more individuals to be held captive in slavery. Another aspect of human trafficking is pornography, which has been deemed a right by federal courts but, is an increasing way to involve more children in human trafficking. There are several proposed solutions for these problems, all of which would greatly reduce the number of victims impacted by the deprave human beings trying to seek their own happiness by depriving the pursuit from another.

Problem Articulation and Literature Review

The world today is filled with deprave and sinful actions that leads to the decay of our society. Virginia has been facing several of these issues, but none are as dire and despicable as the human trafficking crisis. Human trafficking is a large crisis because there are many avenues of trafficking like labor trafficking, sex trafficking, and individuals who are in debt being taken advantage of by their debtor. By far the largest sect of the human trafficking industry in Virginia,

Number of arrests of adults and juveniles in Virginia for assisting or promoting prostitution, for prostitution, and for human trafficking-commercial sex acts

Age	Arrest Year	Prostitution	Assisting or Promoting Prostitution	Human Trafficking, Commercial Sex Acts*	Total
Adult	2012	540	285	n/a	825
	2013	462	397	n/a	859
	2014	407	560	n/a	967
	2015	418	273	n/a	691
	2016	405	497	n/a	902
	2017	266	355	n/a	621
	2018	196	198	n/a	394
	2019	207	302	5	514
	2020	139	129	9	277
	2021 thru June	34	80	4	118
Juvenile	2012	0	1	n/a	1
	2013	3	0	n/a	3
	2014	2	1	n/a	3

Figure 1 "Sex Trafficking Response Coordinator Annual Report" (Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services, December 2021). <https://www.dcjs.virginia.gov/sites/dcjs.virginia.gov/files/publications/victims/trafficking-response-coordinator-annual-report-2020-2021.pdf>

as seen in figure one, is the trafficking for sexual purposes.¹ What other countries, states, and federal agencies are doing to handling this is focusing on the roots of human trafficking in order to snuff out the leaders at the top. House bill HR 911 focuses on rehabilitating those arrested for prostitution psychologically, physically, and professionally all while assisting in connecting the victims to safe houses. The biggest issue facing this program is finding funding, as with all other programs relating to human trafficking. The programs laid out in HR 911 are incredibly

¹ "Sex Trafficking Response Coordinator Annual Report" (Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services, December 2021), <https://www.dcjs.virginia.gov/sites/dcjs.virginia.gov/files/publications/victims/trafficking-response-coordinator-annual-report-2020-2021.pdf>.

important to Virginia because if the commonwealth stands together in supporting the victims instead of shunning and looking down upon them then the victims will be less likely to go back to their abuser. As for the second goal laid out in HR 911, which is criminalizing the production of pornography, the language used in the bill was very vague in terms of what pornography was. This was intentional because currently the amount of child pornography on the internet is at an all-time high and with more minors being on the internet they unknowing create pornography. There are a few bills that already address child pornography and ban its production and ownership but, to prevent minors from viewing it as well as. In Isaiah 61:1-3 (NIV) it states that

“¹ The Spirit of the Sovereign Lord is on me, because the Lord has anointed me to proclaim good news to the poor. He has sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim freedom for the captives and release from darkness for the prisoners,² to proclaim the year of the Lord’s favor and the day of vengeance of our God, to comfort all who mourn,³ and provide for those who grieve in Zion -- to bestow on them a crown of beauty instead of ashes, the oil of joy instead of mourning, and a garment of praise instead of a spirit of despair. They will be called oaks of righteousness, a planting of the Lord for the display of his splendor.”²

Virginias should reflect Isaiah’s intentions with the same vigor and compassion.

When researching HR 911 I found an analysis of different countries and states current laws and how they were both received by the public and law enforcement and if they were effective. *Survivors’ Conceptualizations of Human Trafficking Prevention; An exploratory study* discussed the legislative history of human trafficking within the United States and in an international sense. This study brought great light to survivors’ opinions on what would have been helpful in preventing them from falling prey to human trafficking while also identify what society could have done to assist in recovery faster.

In order gain a better understanding as to if the solutions laid out in HR 911 would be met with any cultural backlash I gained an understand of the history of human trafficking within the United States coupling with the sexual revolution to today. The analysis, *Human Trafficking Is More Than Sex Trafficking and Prostitution: Implications for Social Work* seemed morally flawed and I found issue with the authors opinions on the difference between sex work and that of prostitution.³ The author made a weak argument on how the social values of society can change to a more independent minded women and how society needed to distinguish between the two, human trafficking and sex work.⁴ It gave perspective on how a government should handle cultural change while also remaining firm in the fight against human trafficking.

An article written by Allison Luzwick correctly demonstrates and defends how state prosecutors today should be to prosecute both pornography producers and distributors for human trafficking under certain federal and international codes. Most state prosecutors have difficulty

² “Isaiah 61:1-3 NIV - - Bible Gateway,” www.biblegateway.com, n.d., <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Isaiah%2061%3A1-3&version=NIV>.

³ Maria Beatriz Alvarez and Edward J. Alessi, “Human Trafficking Is More than Sex Trafficking and Prostitution,” *Affilia* 27, no. 2 (May 2012): 142–52, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109912443763>.

⁴ Jessica Donohue-Dioh et al., “Survivors’ Conceptualizations of Human Trafficking Prevention; an Exploratory Study,” *Evaluation and Program Planning* 83 (December 2020): 101873, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evalprogplan.2020.101873>.

prosecuting perpetrators of trafficking within the porn industry because there was difficulty distinguishing pornography from prostitution. Luzwick writes:

“When it comes to the experiences of those who are trafficked for its production, pornography is indistinguishable from prostitution, but false distinctions, based on who is paying for the sex acts, have been used to create artificial legal lines between prostitution and pornography. 20 in porn, the argument goes, the buyer is not having sex with the trafficked person; (s)he is merely paying for the privilege of viewing a reproduced image of that person engaging in sexual acts.”⁵

The distinction that prosecutors in Virginia need to focus, outlined in HR 911, is the production side and not the consumption side. If prosecutors are able to stop production by having it criminalized it would lead to the product not being available.

In *Educators as the “Frontline” of Human-Trafficking Prevention: An Analysis of State-Level Educational Policy*, the authors heavily discussed how human trafficking prevention and advocacy has changed over the past several decades and the key players to prevention. The author states that, “educators spend an average of 40 hours per week with students in school settings. Teachers, educational leaders, and staff thus are critical to the identification and prevention of trafficking victimization.”⁶ This is a concept that exemplifies why funding needs to be added to Virginias Human Trafficking Prevention Task Force. In order to educate teachers who spend a large amount of time with students who could be being trafficked into the signs and resources to assist in rescuing the student.

⁵ Allison J. Luzwick, “HUMAN TRAFFICKING and PORNOGRAPHY: USING the TRAFFICKING VICTIMS PROTECTION ACT to PROSECUTE TRAFFICKING for the PRODUCTION of INTERNET PORNOGRAPHY,” www.proquest.com, 2017, <https://go.openathens.net/redirector/liberty.edu?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/human-trafficking-pornography-using-victims/docview/2049663731/se-2>.

⁶ Melinda Lemke, “Educators as the ‘Frontline’ of Human-Trafficking Prevention: An Analysis of State-Level Educational Policy,” *Leadership and Policy in Schools*, January 26, 2018, 1–21, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15700763.2017.1398337>.

Legislative History

Human trafficking and the subjects of human trafficking like prostitution and pornography have been around since the dawn of time there have been many different attempts to combat it. Virginia has been on the rise with the number of citizens arrested for both a prostitution related crime as well as crimes relating to child pornography. This rise should not necessarily be viewed as out right bad, it is despicable, but it also demonstrates that the tactics that are in place are working at exposing these criminals. As seen in figure three in 1980, Roanoke VA a city that is a hub of interstate travel implemented two very successful tactics that are still in use today.⁷

The first was auto seizure which has helped in identifying vehicles that are transporting victims. The second and most productive tactic was advocating for public awareness and launching education campaigns. Public awareness and education campaigns are expensive but they offer a high yield in reports of abuse and human trafficking. In 2021, the Virginia human trafficking coordinator recognized that Virginia human trafficking education programs had been met with several issues ranging from under funding to not being able to get to local law enforcement agencies to teach them how to handle certain situations. Human trafficking laws in Virginia in the past 40+ years have generally stayed the same with some differences in the tools educating the public and law enforcement to look for signs of trafficking within their community. There has also been a greater push to have hot lines/messaging services that victims can use when they are at truck stops on the interstate. The laws are helpful and have shown to have been successful, but the changes proposed by HR 911 will yield greater efficiency and a higher success rate for trafficked individuals.

Demand Reduction Tactics	1 st Known Use	Site
Law Enforcement & Post-Arrest Interventions		
Reverse stings (street operations)	1964	Nashville, TN
Reverse stings (web-based)	1995	Everett, WA
Shaming: Names and/or photos publicized	1975	Eugene, OR
Shaming: "Dear John" letters sent home	1982	Aberdeen, MD
Auto seizure	1980	Roanoke, VA
Driver's license suspension	1985	Tampa, FL
Geographic exclusion zones	1975	Beaver Falls, OR
Community service	1975	Miami, FL
Surveillance cameras targeting prostitution	1989	Horry County, SC
John schools	1981	Grand Rapids, MI
Public Awareness/Education Campaigns		
Neighborhood Action Targeting Johns	1975	Knoxville, TN

Figure 3 Michael Shively et al., "A National Overview of Prostitution and Sex Trafficking Demand Reduction Efforts, Final Report" (U.S. Department of Justice, April 30, 2012), <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/238796.pdf>.

Policy Alternatives

Given the rise of human trafficking related incidents like prostitution and pornography, which includes both child and adult pornography, there are several options in how to prevent these instances from occurring. They range from something a little more extreme like outlawing the possession of pornography and making standardized "internet modesty code" and increasing street surveillance for promiscuous crime. To the less extreme of simply changing no laws in regards to how victims of prostitution/human trafficking are handled legally and continuing to allow pornography to become a growing industry within Virginia. Both solutions are not effective or feasible both fiscally and socially because these options do not please law

⁷ Michael Shively et al., "A National Overview of Prostitution and Sex Trafficking Demand Reduction Efforts, Final Report" (U.S. Department of Justice, April 30, 2012), <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/238796.pdf>.

enforcement agencies and interest groups like the Salvation Army and the Polaris Project. The last semi-feasible alternative would be a combination of the current legislation with HR 911. This would specifically strengthen the legitimacy of third-party rehabilitation programs for human trafficking victims while at the same not overloading the law enforcement agencies that are currently understaffed and finding it difficult to retain current employees.

The first alternative which would outlaw the possession of pornography, require an “internet modesty code” and increasing street surveillance for promiscuous crime is social improbable. Since the modernization of pornography by the internet as well as cell phone cameras the debate over whether the government has the right to categorize as it as public nudity/sexual acts. Several lawsuits have taken place regarding this and each time the court has stated that citizens have a right to freedom of expression.⁸ This would lead to issues with enforcing the legislation and cause a large disapproval with some of the louder more proactive pro-pornography and sex work third-party groups. Citizens and third-party groups would also see the later part of this solution, an increase of street surveillance, as a violation of privacy. Most third-party groups today are already in legal disagreements to whether conversations or pictures can be taken in a public place. If law enforcement tried to increase street surveillance this would lead to higher levels of governmental distrust. Also, law enforcement agencies would not be able to effectively live up to that standard because of the lack of funding and time of the current officers. Overall, this alternative to HR 911 is ineffective fiscally, socially, and would cause to many legal issues in the long run.

Another alternative to adopting the procedures laid out in HR 911 is to simply have the current legislation remain the same. This alternative though is no beneficial to both law enforcement agencies and interest group because they would both be disgruntled in different ways. Law enforcement agencies are already struggling to adapt to the current influx of child pornography cases, because “the number of reported pornography offenses involving child exploitation in Virginia has generally grown over the past decade, from 224 in 2012 to 631 in 2020 (an increase of 182%).”⁹ With minors having private unsupervised access to the internet at earlier ages, most starting in elementary school, this rate is likely to continue to grow. Additionally, the current Virginia human trafficking report coordinator elaborated in a report in 2021 that the current legislation was underfunded and back logged due to COVID-19. This makes this alternative ineffective because law enforcement is unable to receive human trafficking training because there is not enough funds to hire another specialist to conduct this training in a timely manner. It also does not address the growing pornography issue which will leave interest group aggravated and demanding more action for the Virginia legislature.

The last possible alternative, like mentioned earlier, would be a middle ground between increasing government involvement but also third-party delegation. Meaning, the government would grant third-party organizations certifications digitally, through online tests, and allow the third-party organizations to work on educating local law enforcement on sex trafficking. This alternative would not address the rise in child exploitation/pornography cases in Virginia which would lead some organizations to become frustration with the lack of advancement legally.

⁸ Ronald Dworkin, “Is There a Right to Pornography?,” *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 1, no. 2 (1981): 177–212, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/764457>.

⁹ Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services, “Sex Trafficking Response Coordinator Annual Report,” December 2021, <https://www.dcjs.virginia.gov/sites/dcjs.virginia.gov/files/publications/victims/trafficking-response-coordinator-annual-report-2020-2021.pdf>.

Although it would be more cost effective but eliminating long term government jobs and allowing agencies to be taught free of charge by these certified third-party organizations. One concern though is accountability, because the law enforcement agencies could possibly not receive the same level of education which could cause social justice issues in the long run. Out of all three alternatives though this one is the most cost effective and socially inclined to please both law enforcement and third-party organizations.

Proposed Solution

The most effective solution is HR 911, which is only a small step in the right direction of a more just and connected community. In order to stop human trafficking further action needs to take place not just on the prosecuting side but completely fulfilling the circle with victim prevention and recovery. Referring to the Appendix, section one addresses mandatory temporary seven-day rehabilitation program instead of sole jail sentences and then the opportunity to go directly into a safe rehabilitation program run by a third party that is certified by the state. Most delegates, state and federal agencies, and interest groups are going to question if this is feasible and cost effective. This plan in the short term will require additional funds to be allocated towards the performance of this program as well as additional jobs to be opened. However, in the long-term this plan will yield to be successful because this program has already been demonstrated directly in states like Texas.

Specifically, in regards to prostitution, Texas has had a program since 2007 that has come highly praised by both law enforcement and third-party organizations. When this was originally proposed it was actually proposed by a judge who saw a greater decrease in repeat drug use offenders when he gave them a chance of rehab over jail time. In 2019, Texas has continued to implement this program and has seen a decrease in repeat prostitution.¹⁰ Primarily this one potential issue some law enforcement may have with this solution is lack of funding for additional personnel to monitor the transition for offenders. This program would need additional fund upfront but over a period of 10 years, like in Texas, the results will ease the burden of constant repeat arrests. An article recently written analyzed this concept of eradication through rehabilitation and hand similar finding to the system in Texas as well.¹¹ Additionally, third party organizations like Polaris and the Salvation Army would greatly appreciate this program because they acknowledge that prostitutes aren't intentional criminals. Most of the time the person being arrested it the prostitute and not the john or pimp/madam.¹² By treating like a victim, which they are, this will lead to better relations with victims of human trafficking and law enforcement.

¹⁰ "The Texas Human Trafficking Prevention Task Force" (Office of the Attorney General, December 2019), <https://www.texasattorneygeneral.gov/sites/default/files/files/divisions/human-trafficking/HumanTraffickingReportActivities2019.pdf>.

¹¹ Hannah Byrum, "Human Trafficking Definitions to Eradication in Virginia: A Human Trafficking Definitions to Eradication in Virginia: A Legislative Analysis Legislative Analysis," 2020, <https://digitalcommons.hollins.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1025&context=ughonors>.

¹² "Prostitution in the United States," HG.Org Legal Resources, 2020, <https://www.hg.org/legal-articles/prostitution-in-the-united-states-30997#:~:text=Every%20year%20in%20the%20U.S.>

Section two of HR 911 address the pornography sector of human trafficking but, not directly the child industry. This part of the bill will likely be the most controversial section because of some interest groups that believe pornography is a right under the first amendment of the U.S. Constitution. A survey was over the past 43 years, which can be seen in figure four, that demonstrates that most Americans today still believe pornography should be legal. The argument though is this section would strictly address the production of pornography, not the possession of pornography.¹³ Currently, no state has outlawed the production of pornography which makes it difficult to judge whether this policy would also be fiscally effective in the long run. HR 911 would be more likely to be successful if it did not include this section, but it is possible certain parent and religious organization would be able to support this in the long term. The law enforcement might face issue due to privacy concerns but, by adding HR 911 to the Virginia Code it would ensure criminalization for these acts and arresting in this case would be generally left up to the officer's discretion.

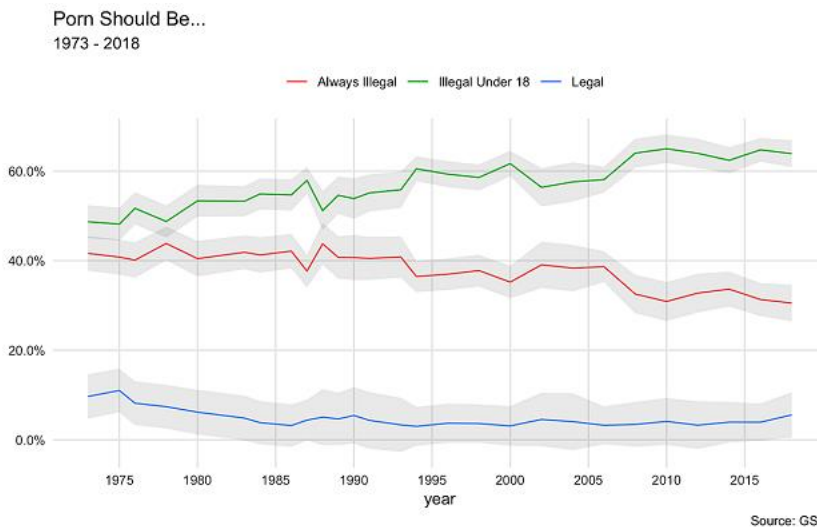


Figure 4 "Sex Trafficking Response Coordinator Annual Report" (Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services, December 2021). <https://www.dcjs.virginia.gov/sites/dcjs.virginia.gov/files/publications/victims/trafficking-response-coordinator-annual-report-2020-2021.pdf>.

Executive Summary

The Human Trafficking Crisis in Virginia

Globally there are an estimated 800,000 people per year being trafficked for sexual purposes, this includes children.¹⁴ Virginia is having several major ports and interstates allow for individuals to easily pass-through state borders and have victims be at a decreased chance of recovery. Additionally, the rate of child exploitation in the pornography industry has risen 185% from 2012 to 2020 and will only continue to rise with the use of technology in citizens everyday lives.¹⁵ Human trafficking also includes labor trafficking, which is considered slavery and that needs to be firmly addressed in the Virginia general assembly. The crisis of human trafficking

¹³ Catharine Mackinnon, "Pornography as Trafficking Pornography as Trafficking," *Michigan Journal of International Law* 26, no. 4 (2005), <https://repository.law.umich.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1241&context=mjil>.

¹⁴ Melissa Byrne, Sophia Parsh, and Bridget Parsh, "Human Trafficking: Impact, Identification, and Intervention," *Nursing Management (Springhouse)* 50, no. 8 (August 2019): 18–24, <https://doi.org/10.1097/01.numa.0000575304.15432.07>.

¹⁵ Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services, "Sex Trafficking Response Coordinator Annual Report," December 2021, <https://www.dcjs.virginia.gov/sites/dcjs.virginia.gov/files/publications/victims/trafficking-response-coordinator-annual-report-2020-2021.pdf>.

will continue to grow and without the reallocation of funds to the human trafficking prevention budget more Virginia citizens, especially women and children, will continue to fall victim.

Legislative History

Human trafficking is one of the oldest crimes against humanity and Virginia has been working very hard that past 50+ years to combat the ever-changing industry. In 1980, the first major public awareness and education campaigns were launched in Roanoke VA and received federal recognition for its achievements. These programs according to the 2021 Human Trafficking Report are incredibly underfunded which makes it difficult for these programs to perform and see results. Other states like Texas also have campaigns for public awareness and education but they are more funded and also delegate some of the responsibility to third party organizations that also offer training. Texas, generally, has some of the most restrictive human trafficking law relating to prostitution and pornography because they are a bordering state to Mexico, which is a hub of drug and human trafficking. The policies implemented there would be success here as well like their rehab or jail program with persons arrested for prostitution. And harsher sentences for individuals found with child pornography.

Alternatives and Solutions

Since human trafficking is one of the oldest industries in the world there have been many attempts to prevent victims from falling prey to the promises of money, security, or simply a chance at a better life. All options and attempts currently on the table have several issues and in order to identify the best option it must be cohesive with certain criteria. The criteria for a successful prevention method include programs and legislation that is cost effective, easily enforceable by law enforcement, and met with the support of special interest groups like the Salvation Army and the Polaris Project. Three alternatives from HR 911 range from not changing current legislation, becoming radically stricter on prostitute arrestees and porn holders, or implementing legislation that delegates some authority to state certified third party organizations. All of these options are flawed in some way, whether they are not cost effective or would not be met support from interest groups.

HR 911, although, it can be perceived as radical due to the outlawing of the production of pornography within Virginia is the most probable long-term solution. States like Texas have implanted policies similar to the ones outlined in section one of HR 911 and have had a lower reconviction rate for prostitutes in their state. In other states there are programs like this but, they pertain to drug abusers, who are treated less like criminals and more like citizens needing help with addiction. Section one would treat the prostitutes arrested like victims of trafficking and not like criminals. This is feasible only if more funds are allocated to Virginias Human Trafficking prevention budget. The solutions laid out by HR 911 would be well supported by special interest groups but may face difficult implementing section two legally because it would be up to the officer's discretion.

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Appendix
HOUSE BILL NO.911
Offered October 24, 2022

A BILL to amend § 18.2-346.01. and § 18.2-374. of the Code of Virginia to provide mental health and life development classes to individuals who are arrested for prostitution and classify the production of obscene and lewd material as a felony under § 9.1-902.

Sponsors – Robert Bell and Mayce Combs

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Virginia:

SECTION 1. Amend § 18.2-346.01. to provide mandatory mental health care and life development classes to individuals who are arrested for solicitation, prostitution.

- A. Individuals who are arrested in the crime of prostitution including the prostitute, the pimp/madam, and the customer are currently charged with a misdemeanor and required to be tested for STDs.¹⁶
- B. WHEREAS every nine prostitutes/pimps being arrested there is one customer.
- C. WHEREAS eliminating the prostituting individual by means of societal and economic assistance/rehabilitation the individual will be less likely to return into sex trafficking.¹⁷ If an individual is arrested for prostitution the individual will still undergo a mandatory STD test but will be required to be placed into a seven-day rehabilitation program. In which the individual will be given:
 - I. Mandatory one-on-one mental health treatment with a licensed crisis mental health care professional.
 - II. Mandatory group therapy sessions.
 - III. Career and professional development.
- D. At the end of the seven-day rehabilitation program the individual will be given the opportunity to leave or enter a state certified mental health facility, group home, or with a human trafficking victim recovery program. The individual will also be given the opportunity to leave and not enter into any of these programs but will be required to do serve punishment as seen fit by the court.

¹⁶ “Prostitution in the United States,” HG.Org Legal Resources, 2020, <https://www.hg.org/legal-articles/prostitution-in-the-united-states-30997#:~:text=Every%20year%20in%20the%20U.S.>

¹⁷ Kelly Allen, “Prostitution and Human Trafficking: Know the Difference,” The Exodus Road, March 5, 2021, <https://theexodusroad.com/prostitution-and-human-trafficking-know-the-difference/>.

SECTION 2. Amend § 18.2-374. to classify the production of obscene and lewd material as a felony under § 9.1-902.

- A. Child pornography in the form of photographs, videos, or digital images are currently illegal but given the state of technology within the lives of Virginians it is difficult to determine the age of an individual within photographs, videos, or digital images accessible to the public.¹⁸
- B. WHEREAS “the number of reported pornography offenses involving child exploitation in Virginia has generally grown over the past decade, from 224 in 2012 to 631 in 2020 (an increase of 182%).”¹⁹
- C. WHEREAS pornography is the third most common industry that harbors victims of human trafficking, besides escorts and intimate massages.
- D. WHEREAS all law enforcement agencies shall charge any individual physically or digitally present in Virginia with a class 6 felony under § 9.1-902 when found with the means of:
 - I. Production, or under suspicion of production due to probable cause
 - II. Or, possession of physical or digital sexually lewd or obscene images, videos, literature, or material.
 - III. Or, is under the active solicitation of ownership of such material.
- E. This bill will outlaw the production of pornography, not the possession of pornography.

SECTION 3.

- A. Amendments to § 18.2-346.01. and § 18.2-374. will take effect on January 1, 2023.

¹⁸ Polaris, “2019 Data Report: The U.S. National Human Trafficking Hotline.,” 2019, <https://polarisproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Polaris-2019-US-National-Human-Trafficking-Hotline-Data-Report.pdf>.

¹⁹ Virginia Department of Criminal Justice Services, “Sex Trafficking Response Coordinator Annual Report,” December 2021, <https://www.dcjs.virginia.gov/sites/dcjs.virginia.gov/files/publications/victims/trafficking-response-coordinator-annual-report-2020-2021.pdf>.

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