

Beyond Backpage

Buying And Selling Sex In The United States
One Year Later

Prepared by:

childsafe.ai Rob Spectre

Int	roduction	3
	Executive Summary	4
	Key Findings	5
	About The Author	9
An	alysis	9
	Glossary	9
	Recap - Spring to Summer 2018	11
	Advertising	13
	Spam and Scam Advertising	14
	Fierce Competition	21
	Poor Payment Processing	24
	Hobby Boards	26
	Hobby Boards Produce More Demand	32



	Data Is Premium	33
	Sugar Daddy Websites	34
	Price	38
Со	onclusions	41
	Implications for Sex Trafficking	42
	Threats To Fragmentation	44



Introduction

Executive Summary



On 6 April 2018, the United States
Department of Justice seized the dominant
online commercial sex marketplace
Backpage. Five days later, the Stop Enabling
Sex Traffickers Act (SESTA) / Allow States
and Victims To Fight Online Sex Trafficking
Act (FOSTA) was signed into law. These twin
events dramatically changed the online
distribution layer serving the underground
commercial sex economy (UCSE) in the
United States, which in turn fuels sex
trafficking across the country.

In the year since those events, the online distribution layer serving the UCSE in the United States is fragmented across dozens of websites. Similar to the phenomenon of dark web narcotics marketplaces following the seizure of the Silk Road, website categories serving both the supply and the demand sides of the UCSE are competing fiercely for market share. No single dominant player emerged in the past year. In some metropolitan areas supply and demand are starting to converge regionally, but popularity remains volatile and shifts quickly.

Measuring the size of either the UCSE and the sex trafficking economy is difficult. There are several signals that suggest in the past year that demand has fallen and supply might be



falling. These factors affect the economics of sex trafficking by reducing profitability while increasing the administrative effort to execute it.

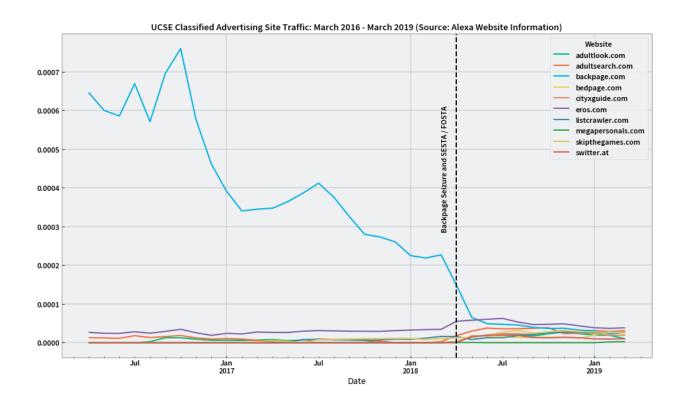
It is unlikely that a classified advertising website will gain the dominant market share enjoyed by Backpage. However, demand-oriented online communities known as "hobby boards" and "sugar daddy" sites are showing growth in popularity. This suggests the possibility of a coming shift in how sex is bought and sold online.

This report briefly summarizes the immediate online disruption following April 2018, covers the resulting economic dynamics in three categories of online communities serving the UCSE and analyzes their import for sex trafficking in the United States.

Key Findings

One year after the market disruption in April 2018, web traffic to advertising websites selling sex draw 5-8% of the unique visitors individually as Backpage did at its height in 2016.



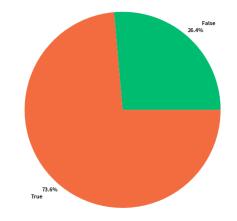


According to <u>Alexa Website Information</u>, these websites showed rapid growth in the summer of 2018. Most websites have shown flat or declining growth since October 2018.

Spam and scam advertising is rife on these websites. Reviewing a sample of 465,000 advertisements from market leading advertising website, nearly three-quarters of the advertisements observed contained the same subject line, ad copy, images and phone number while being posted in more than ten cities in a single hour. Advertising the same provider in ten different cities in the same hour is unlikely to be legitimate.

This observation appears to be qualitatively supported by observations by both

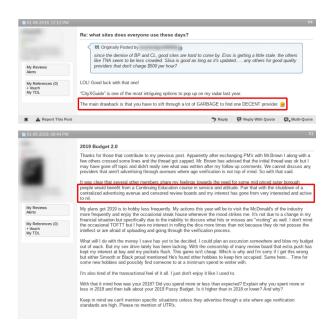
UCSE Advertisements In More Than 10 Cities In Same Hour: Dec 2018 - Feb 2019 (Source: childsafe.ai)





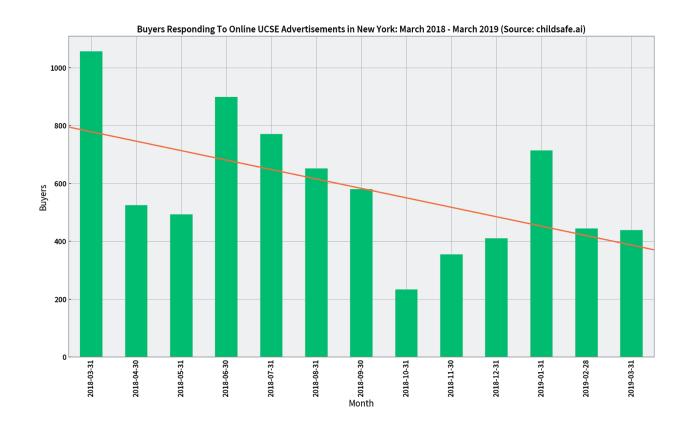
providers and buyers on these websites. Left observation comes from switter.at by self-identifying providers, right observations from TNA Board from self-identified buyers.





In at least one major market in the United States, demand in the USCE is declining. Observations of buyers through childsafe.ai's Demand Deterrence Platform is trending down from February 2018 to March 2019. childsafe.ai observed a 58% year-over-year decline in buyers responding to advertisements in March 2019, despite posting twice as many ads.





Finally, buyers are complaining more frequently in more major markets around the United States about steep increases in prices. Starting in October 2018 and continuing to present, threads about price increases have grown in frequency with buyers suggesting as much as 2x-3x increases. These increases and difficulty using new websites are cited as reasons they will be buying less in 2019.



TNA Board, New York - October 2018



TNA Board, New York - January 2019



TNA Board, Seattle - January 2019





About The Author

childsafe.ai is the artificial intelligence platform protecting kids online. The New York based software startup deploys machine learning and active collection networks observing actors that buy and sell human beings from within the surface, deep and dark web marketplaces in which those transactions occur. For law enforcement, childsafe.ai delivers a Demand Deterrence Platform serving human trafficking units around the country to reduce the wealth flowing into their local human trafficking economies.

With tens of thousands buyers and sellers identified through its networks over a year of operation, the team actively monitors, graphs and models the online ecosystems fueling human trafficking.

Analysis

Glossary

For this analysis, we'll define a few important terms.

- Underground Commercial Sex Economy (UCSE)
 The supply, distribution and demand markets for illegal prostitution in the United States.
- Human Trafficking
 Involuntary labor compelled by force, fraud or coercion including labor of individual



below the age of consent. Sex trafficking is the primary, but not the only, type of human trafficking in the UCSE.

Provider

A person providing prostitution service representing the supply in the UCSE.

Buyer

A person purchasing prostitution service representing the demand in the UCSE. Buyers frequently self-identify as "hobbyists" or "mongers" and are referred in popular culture as "johns."

Distributor

A person connecting providers and buyers representing the distribution in the UCSE. These can be both pimps and traffickers.

Operator

An entity responsible for maintaining a website serving the UCSE and profiting from its operation.

• Advertising Website

An online marketplace representing the supply of the UCSE with a classified advertising model similar to Backpage. Providers post ads for \$5-50 with 4-8 photos, a title, three or four sentences of unstructured text and a unique identifier for contact like a phone number, email address or social media handle.

Examples include cityXguide, Megapersonals, Skip The Games, and Eros.

Advertising Aggregator

An advertising website serving the UCSE that collects advertisements from a number of advertising websites and combines them into a single view for a metropolitan market.

Hobby Board

An online forum or social network representing the demand of the UCSE with a buyer oriented community where buyers can rate and review providers. Buyers pay a monthly subscription between \$20-30 per month for full access to these reviews. Examples include The Erotic Review, Erotic Monkey, RubMaps and TNA Board.

Sugar Daddy Site

A social network serving the UCSE with a user experience similar to a dating website connecting men with women under an ongoing financial arrangement. Buyers purchase an internal currency to connect to providers and unlock photo albums they



upload. These sites frequently market themselves as an "alternative" to escorts. Examples include Seeking and Secret Benefits.

Recap - Spring to Summer 2018

The twin events of the seizure of Backpage and SESTA / FOSTA becoming law in April 2018 caused dramatic upheaval in the online ecosystem of websites serving buyers and sellers in the UCSE in the United States.

In April-May 2018, the following UCSE advertising websites shutdown:

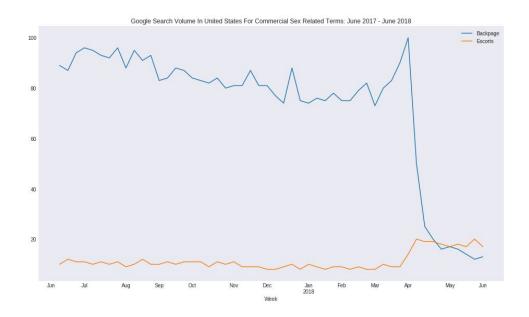
- Backpage
- Humaniplex
- Escorts in College
- Escort Phone List
- Escorts.com
- CityVibe
- MassageTroll
- Nightshift
- My Scarlett Book

During the same period, the following online communities for buyers in the USCE shutdown or discontinued service in the United States:

- The Erotic Review
- Spahunters
- Erotic Monkey
- Rubmaps
- ECCIE



As a consequence, search volume for UCSE dropped ~90% in the months following April 2018.



Observed advertising volume from childsafe.ai dropped 87% in May 2018. Observed buyers in New York for the childsafe.ai Demand Deterrence Platform dropped 67% in May 2018¹. Buyers indicated that the disruption significantly affected their ability to transact.



¹ Spectre, Rob. "FOSTA/SESTA: 3 Months Later: Sustained Drop In Demand, Market Dynamics, The New Normal." childsafe.ai, 8 July 2018.



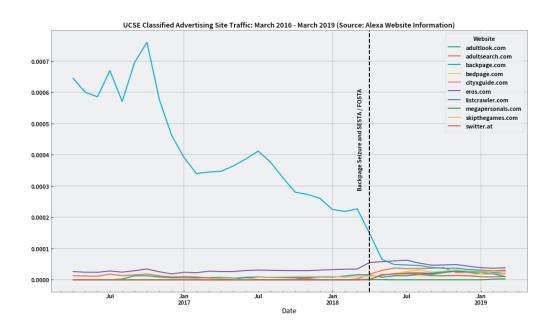
The online distribution layer for the UCSE entered a period of unprecedented volatility.

Advertising

Following the initial market reaction to April 2018, advertising websites experienced the most significant volatility among the three product categories serving the UCSE. Weaker competition contemporaneous with Backpage joined a number of new websites in a Wild West scramble for the \$150 million in annual revenue Backpage left in the market.

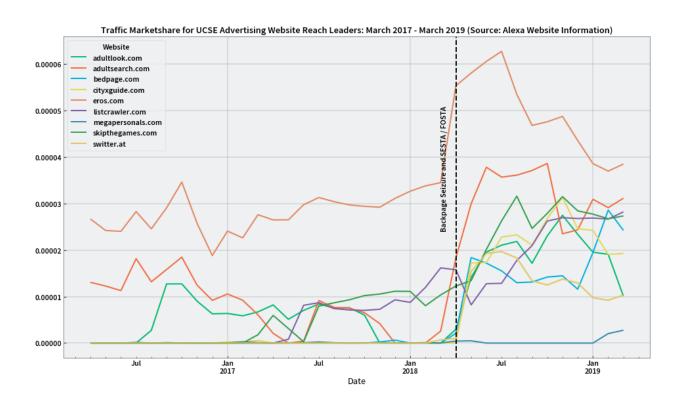
In April 2019, advertising in the UCSE remains fragmented across dozens of websites that ebb and flow in popularity by region. Visitorship and demand vary wildly for these websites from city to city and market share won is tenuous under fierce competition. All suffer from frequent downtime in both web operation and processing payments as well as illegitimate ad volume.

As a result, the eight most popular advertising websites and most popular advertising aggregator reach between 5-8% of the audience Backpage commanded at its height in 2016.





Since October, eight of those nine demonstrated either flat or declining growth.

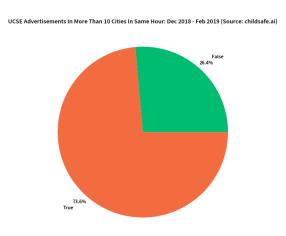


Three factors contributed to the stunted growth for these advertising sites.

Spam and Scam Advertising

A year after it was seized, no advertising website has demonstrated the ability to match the quality of Backpage's advertising inventory. Providers, buyers and indeed the operators of the advertising websites themselves indicate the market is saturated with illegitimate advertising. This dynamic can be observed quantitatively and qualitatively.





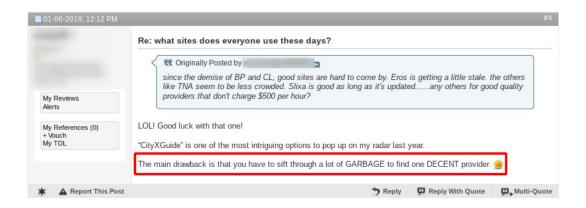
Over the three months between December 2018 and February 2019, childsafe.ai collected a sample of over 465,000 advertisements from advertising websites leading the market.

In an effort to quantify likely spam advertising, a filter was applied to that sample identifying ads that contained the same subject line, the same ad copy, the same images and the same phone number that were posted in the same hour in more than ten cities.

73.6% of the advertisements collected fit that description. The exact same content posted in ten different cities at the same time is likely an automated post that does not represent a legitimate provider. Ads that fit this description often respond with spam advertising or scam offers.

The quantitative observation is supported by reactions online by buyers, providers and the operators of the sites themselves.

Buyers indicate that providers are harder to find as a result of the prevalence of spam advertising.





Referring to Bedpage - one of the current market leaders - this buyer indicated spam advertising over repeat visits.

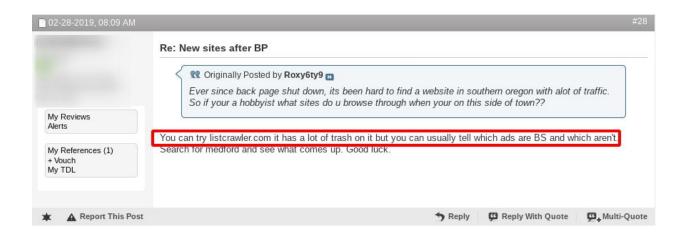


The phenomenon appeared to start shortly after Backpage's seizure.

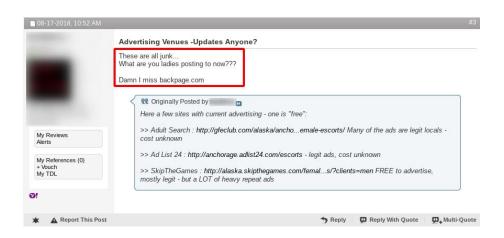


Another buyer comments having to train his eye to spot fake advertisements on a popular aggregator, Listcrawler.





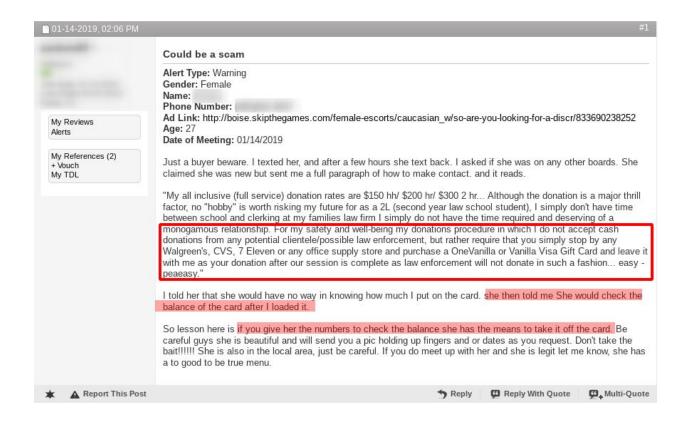
Buyers frequently comment how they miss Backpage.



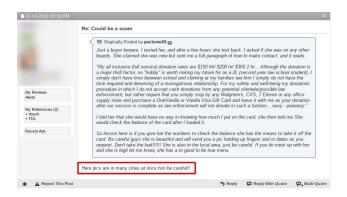
The illegitimate advertising volume is not limited to benign duplication. There is a swelling volume of scam advertisements that try to phish banking credentials, steal identities or coerce the buyer into providing gift and stored value cards.

In a post in January 2019, one buyer in Boise offered a common description of these types of scams.



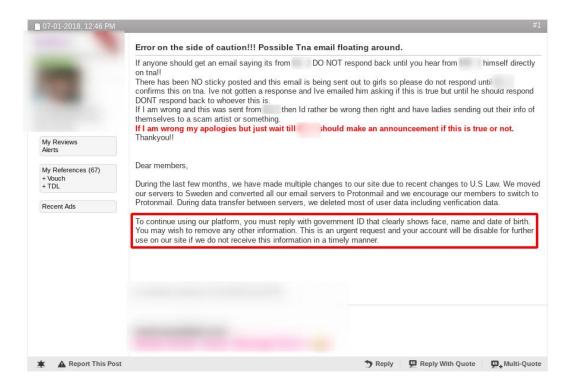


A provider responded to the buyer's post indicating that the scam advertisement was posted in multiple cities at the same time.



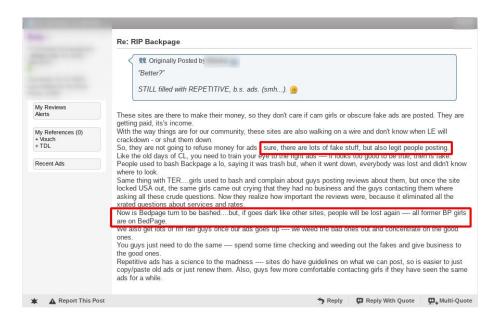


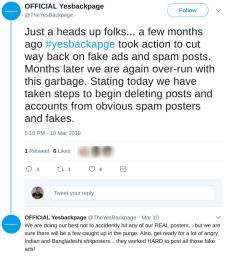
Providers and buyers from TNA Board - a leading hobby board - indicated a widespread phishing campaign in July 2018 attempting to convince users to reply with photographs of their government-issued ID.



In January 2019, one provider tried to train buyers on how best to spot fake advertisements.







Many operators of these advertising websites warn users that spam and scam advertising is rife while they attempt to address it.

An emerging advertising website YesBackpage indicated that they struggled multiple times over the past six months to stave off illegitimate advertising.

Skip The Games, a leading advertising website, displayed a banner warning about scams for nine months.





This mixture of duplicate, fake, spam and scam advertising volume create turbid visibility into the supply in the UCSE, reducing the market's efficiency to connect supply and demand.

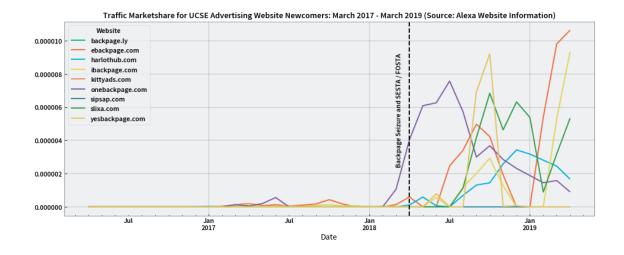
Fierce Competition



The size of Backpage's supply and demand dwarfs current websites. Both providers (left) and buyers (below) acknowledge its unequaled market share.



The vacuum left by Backpage invited more entrants into the space, now counting several dozen. Of these additional advertising websites and aggregators, nine are starting to approach audience sizes close to the market leading advertising websites.



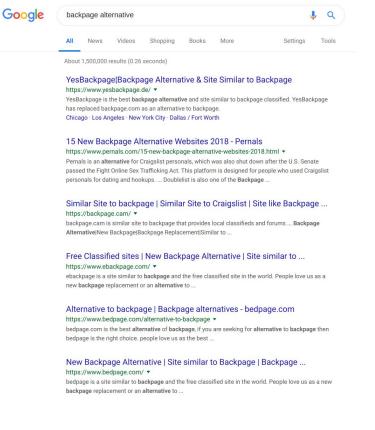


These lower traffic websites compete with the likes of cityXguide,
Megapersonals and Skip The Games with a combination of marketing strategies.

The most commonly used is Search Engine Optimization (SEO) trying to target former Backpage users. These sites often have Backpage in the name and imitate Backpage's design, though they are not connected to Backpage in any manner other than name.

Backpage.ly, OneBackpage, YesBackpage, eBackpage, iBackpage and others use a technique where phrases like "backpage alternative"

and "new backpage" appear often in an effort to target search traffic from buyers that formerly used Backpage.





Another marketing technique used by advertising sites is the distribution of free advertising in exchange for mentions on social media services like Twitter and Instagram.

Many of these new advertising websites will offer providers \$100-\$200 free credit towards future advertising for mentioning the site on social media and referring other providers.





Advertising websites will also solicit advertisers using competing websites directly. Using phone numbers posted in an advertisement on another website, sites like KittyAds and HarlotHub send offers via SMS offering discount rates. Some messages observed by the childsafe.ai Demand Deterrence Platform include:

- KittyAds.com new BackPage. Post your ad for free /w this coupon: fs0q01
- If you are not posting on HarlotHub, you are missing out! Page 1 on Google nationwide and over 100,000 daily page views. Ads are free. Google us or visit now, https://harlothub.nl
- I'm sorry to bother you. We're AT YOUR DOOR, a website for adult entertainment. Please check us out at http://atyourdoor.love

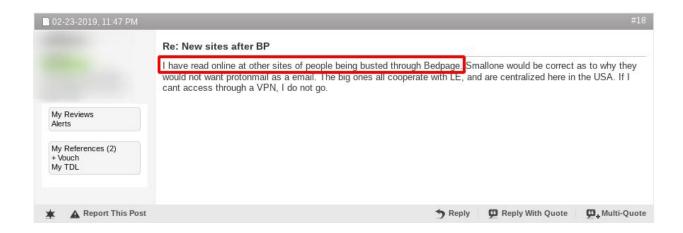


Disinformation is also a frequently used tool. One example from October 2018 involved a Twitter account spreading a false story about an arrest in Plano, Texas posing as a provider that claimed to advertise on a market leading advertising website Bedpage.

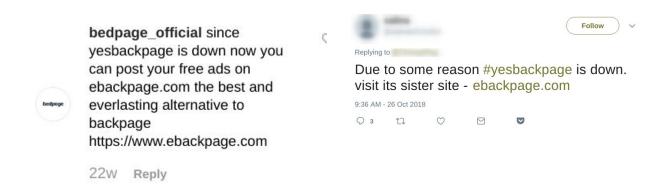
The story was shared widely in parts of UCSE participants on Twitter and was referenced by both providers and buyers when discussing



alternative advertising websites on hobby boards.



Disinformation cuts both ways - YesBackpage has also been a target of false claims.



Poor Payment Processing

Finally, advertising websites are struggling to approach Backpage's level of revenue growth. Processing credit card payments is a significant hurdle for USCE advertising sites in 2019. Much of Backpage's operation focused on the financial gymnastics required to take credit cards for advertising. Constantly applying for new merchant accounts, changing billing descriptors, load balancing payments across accounts to keep fraud/chargeback rates under acceptable limits requires significant expertise and time.



Some websites like Eros and cityXguide with years of operation have a headstart over competitors in keeping revenue flowing, but their payment methods fail with higher frequency than Backpage.

Why is my card Now getting declined

Eros declined my card, my website declined... Jesus they are just making it harder. It's never been declined. I just got a Flare X card hope that wont ve declined

Additionally, initiatives like Thomson Reuters Foundation's <u>Banks Alliance Against Trafficking</u> increased the frequency and fidelity of communication between counter-trafficking non-profits like the Polaris Project and financial institutions to identify money flows that bear trafficking risk. Website operators are finding merchant accounts, billing descriptors and shell company charters have a significantly shorter period of usability, interrupting their ability to process payments.



To compensate, advertising websites are attempting to use alternate forms of payment like cryptocurrency and gift / stored value cards. These are proving to be less popular with providers and buyers.

One provider trying to use a service called Preferred411 indicated that cryptocurrency is a non-starter.

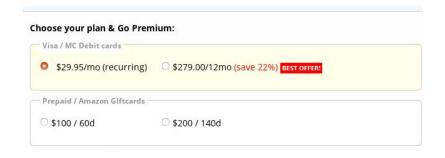
Will p411 allow credit card purchases in 2019

I am only able to extend 6 months with credit card at the moment. Have no idea how to use Bitcoin and would rather not write out a check for money order due to various reasons. It won't let me extend twice in a row for 6 months using credit. I haven't been keeping up with changes. But for those than know, will this still be possible with FOSTA,etc.



While gift cards are easier for users than cryptocurrency, services like Paygarden and Cardpool charge operators a steep markup on value. On Erotic Monkey, for example, a monthly subscription with a gift card costs 66% more than Visa or Mastercard.

Unreliable and inconsistent credit card payment options coupled with prohibitively expensive or difficult-to-use alternatives results in revenue growth that is slower and poorer than Backpage once enjoyed.



With the three factors of spam/scam advertising, fierce competition and poor payment processing, advertising websites face significant hurdles to claiming Backpage's formerly dominant position in the UCSE. It is unlikely 2019 will see a single dominant advertising website.

Should these market dynamics continue, it is unlikely the United States will see an advertising website grow to Backpage's level of influence.

Hobby Boards

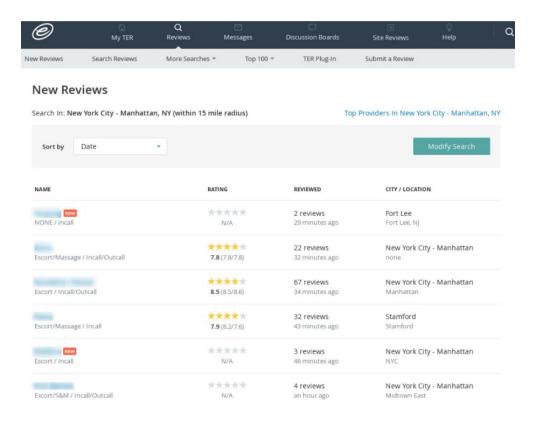
"The hobby" is euphemistic slang in the UCSE for purchasing commercial sex. Buyers "in the hobby" self-identify as "hobbyists" or "mongers." "Hobby Boards" are online forums or social networks that orient around buyers reviewing the appearance and performance of providers and share information that affirm and facilitate further participation in the UCSE.



The most popular hobby board in the United States - The Erotic Review (TER) - closed access to US-based IP addresses and removed US-based content in May 2018. Launched in 1999, TER's user experience is the one most emulated by the hobby boards that are popular today.

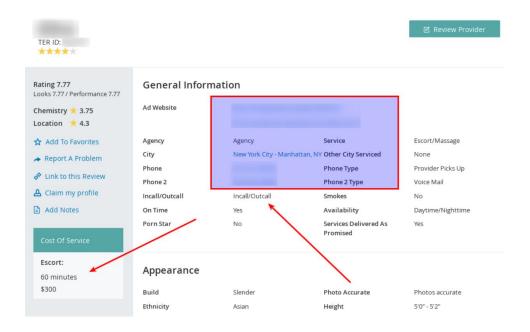
Unlike advertising websites, hobby boards are not oriented around posts of providers, but rather reviews from buyers that are associated with profiles that providers have limited agency to affect or change. These sites are less classified advertising and more like social networks similar to Yelp catering to buyers of commercial sex.

Users pick a city and browse lists of providers sorted by recency of activity.



Provider profiles contain contact information and pricing information with detail that is often banned on advertising sites like rates and location.





Contact and pricing is followed by a graphic depiction of appearance that is only editable by buyers.

Annearance			
Appearance			
Build	Slender	Photo Accurate	Photos accurate
Ethnicity	Asian	Height	5'3" - 5'5"
Age	26 - 30	Transsexual	No
Eye Color	Brown	Breast Size	34-35
Hair Color	Red	Breast Cup	D
Hair Type	Straight	Breast Implants	Yes
Hair Length	Mid Back	Breast Appearance	Super Nice
Piercings	Don't Know	Tattoos	One
Pussy	Shaved		

Below appearance is a graphic menu of services.



Services Offered

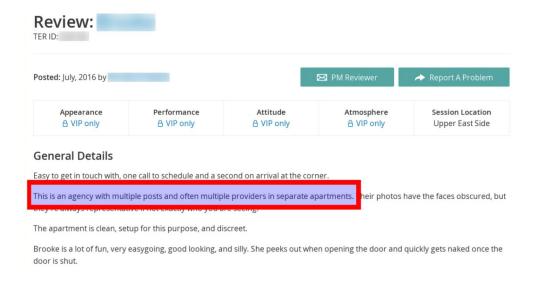
Massage	Yes - Nude	Female Condom	Don't Know
Sex	Yes	Massage Quality	Don't Know
Blow Job	Yes - Without Condom	S&M	Don't Know
Cum In Mouth	Yes - Spits It Out	Lick Pussy	Yes
Touch Pussy	Yes - On The Inside	Anal	Don't Know
Kiss	Yes - With Tongue	Will Bring Second Provider	Don't Know
Two Girl Action	Don't Know	Full, No-Rush Session	Yes
More Than One Guy At A	Don't Know	Rimming	Give & Receive - Yes
Time		Allow Film Or Picture	No
Multiple Pops Allowed	Yes		
Squirt	Don't Know		

The primary resource buyers look for on hobby boards are buyer-submitted reviews associated with these providers.

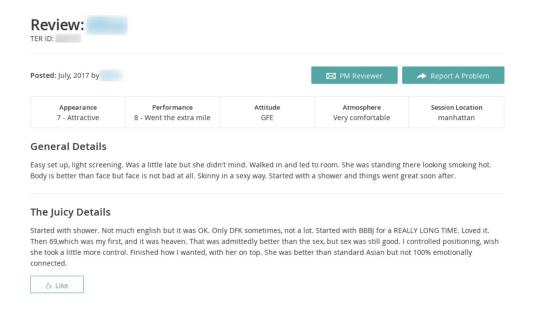
Reviews (22)					
DATE	MESSAGE	REVIEWER	APPEARANCE / PERFORMANCE		
Jul-2017 NEW	\bowtie		7 - Attractive / 8 - Went the extra mile	>	
Jun-2017	\bowtie		8 - Really Hot / 8 - Went the extra mile	>	
Jun-2017	\bowtie		8 - Really Hot / 8 - Went the extra mile	>	
Jun-2017	\bowtie		8 - Really Hot / 8 - Went the extra mile	>	
Jun-2017	\bowtie		9 - Model material / 9 - Forgot it was a service	>	
May-2017	\bowtie		6 - Nice / 6 - Nice Time	>	
May-2017	\bowtie		7 - Attractive / 6 - Nice Time	>	
May-2017	\bowtie		8 - Really Hot / 9 - Forgot it was a service	>	
May-2017	\bowtie		8 - Really Hot / 8 - Went the extra mile	>	
Apr-2017	\bowtie		8 - Really Hot / 8 - Went the extra mile	>	



The content of the reviews is the primary monetization method of hobby boards. Free users can see a small portion of the review describing how to effect the transaction.

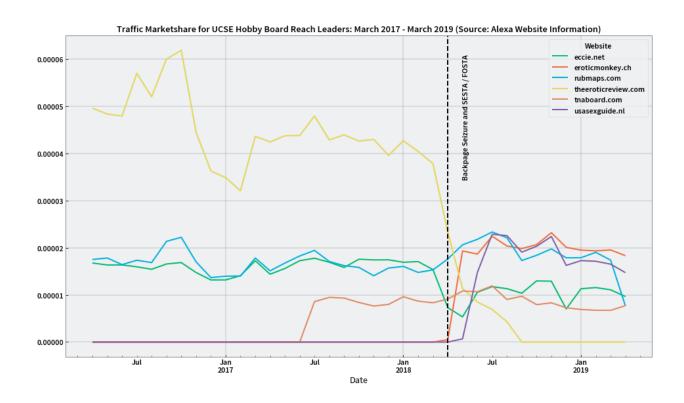


Buyers that pay a monthly subscription fee gain access to graphic descriptions of the transaction.





Similar to the traffic patterns of the advertising websites, hobby boards are competing to claim the market share previously held by TER. The scale of TER's former reach, however, is much smaller with 9% of the overall traffic received by Backpage. The competitive field is also more narrow than advertising websites.



Immediately following Backpage's seizure and TER ceasing operation in the US, Erotic Monkey, RubMaps and ECCIE shut down citing SESTA / FOSTA as the motivation. All three would relaunch a few months later. Regionally popular TNA Board and USA Sex Guide grew in popularity as well, moving them solidly into contention for national market share.

The growth of the sites during the summer appears to have flattened out. The notable exception is RubMaps - a hobby board focused on Asian massage parlors - which saw a 56% drop in traffic from February 2019 to March 2019. This drop is likely a result of a significant law



enforcement investigation of a massage parlor network in Florida that resulted in the arrest of 173 people, including New England Patriots owner Robert Kraft².

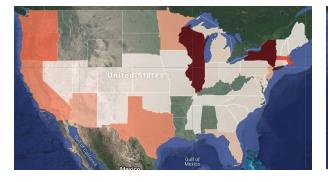
Two dynamics are emerging in this part of the online distribution layer of the UCSE in the United States.

Hobby Boards Produce More Demand

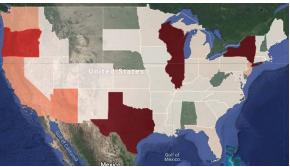
The childsafe.ai Demand Deterrence Platform powers the National Johns Suppression Initiative, a twice-yearly national operation of local law enforcement agencies, led by the Cook County Sheriff's Office, focusing on reducing the wealth flowing into their human trafficking economies³. Agencies participated from New York, Chicago, Portland, Seattle, Minneapolis, Boston, Houston, Fort Worth and others.

In both national operations, Wisconsin reached the second highest number of buyers through online advertising, lower only than New York. The law enforcement agency in that state focused their online counter-demand efforts exclusively on hobby boards.

NJSI 16 - Summer 2018



NJSI 17 - Winter 2019



³ (2019, February 6). 390 Arrested In Nationwide Prostitution Sting. *The Chicago Sun-Times*, Retrieved from https://chicago.suntimes.com/



² Mazzei, Patricia, et. al. (2019, February 22). Patriots Owner Robert Kraft Charged in Florida Prostitution Investigation. *The New York Times*, Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com

Where front page placement on an advertising in a major market will produce 30-40 buyer responses per day, front page placement on a hobby board can produce 50-60 buyer responses per day.

Those buyers are also more likely to attempt purchase again. Buyers that respond on hobby boards are 20 times more likely to be observed again than buyers who come from advertising websites.



Buyers from hobby boards appear to purchase with higher frequency and at higher price points than buyers from advertising websites. These buyers are likely the largest contributors of wealth to the UCSE and sex trafficking economies.

Data Is Premium

In April 2018, when TER took down 1.4 million reviews in the United States, buyers immediately protested the loss of their reviews.





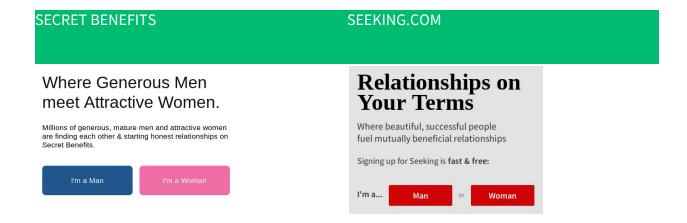
The following month Erotic Monkey and RubMaps relaunched, indicating that they moved the websites' operations to Europe. Buyers immediately took notice that Erotic Monkey now had the 1.4 million reviews that were formerly only found on TER. Erotic Monkey shortly thereafter ascended to become the most popular hobby board in the US while charging \$10 more for their monthly subscriptions than TER. While the most popular advertising website (Backpage) did not have a successor, the most popular hobby board (TER) did.

This dynamic deters new players from entering the space. Unlike ads on classifieds that value recency, hobby board reviews value reputation over time. All of these sites have operated in relative obscurity for years and even decades building up a back catalog of reviews.

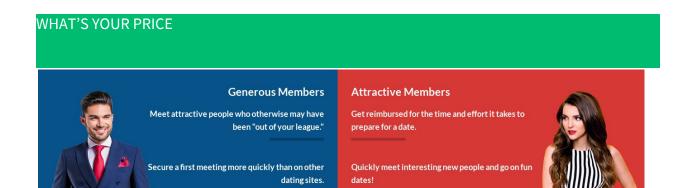
Competition will likely continue to be lower for hobby boards relative to advertising websites as these moats will be difficult to cross for new actors.

Sugar Daddy Websites

With increased public scrutiny and enforcement effort around advertising websites and hobby boards, a third product category serving the UCSE is emerging. "Sugar Daddy" websites characterize themselves in marketing to the surface web as dating services connecting "generous" men with "attractive" women.

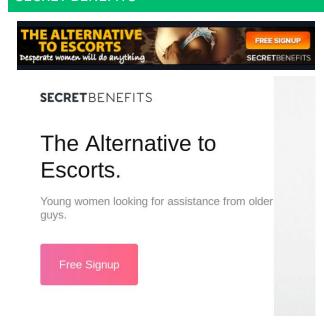


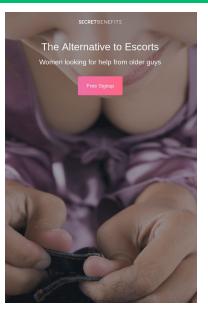




However, their marketing on UCSE advertising websites and hobby boards show different messages.

SECRET BENEFITS





In its earliest days of operation, Seeking.com put up billboards in Los Angeles and Phoenix.





A provider on The Johns Report described Seeking.com's transactions⁴.

Seeking Arrangement: A lot of Johns are going this route, thinking they are meeting the girl next door, but really they are meeting professional escorts. It is really funny. I hate when guys say they hate escorts but use this service and the escorts just switch it up on them. It is annoying because most of the johns want more time. For example, if an escort wants 500 an hour, a Seeking Arrangement guy would want to eat and party, which may add up to 3 to 5 hours for 500...Whatever...same thing.

A buyer from TNA Board who claims to have used Seeking.com offers the demand perspective, describing the transaction with slang from the UCSE.

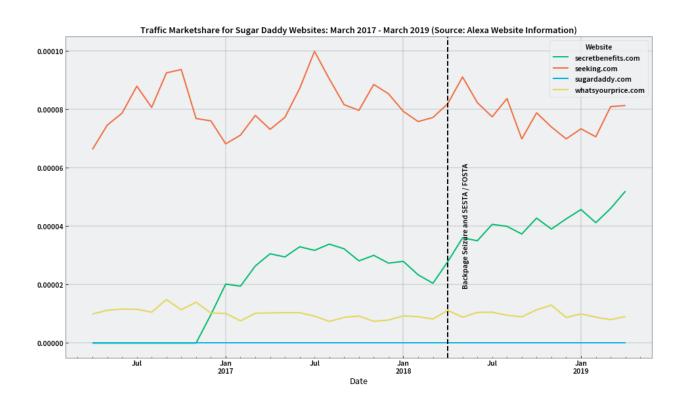


⁴ Ford, Melissa. (2017, January 13) *Backpage Alternatives for Adult Section*. https://thejohnsreport.com/thread/backpage-alternatives-for-adult-section/



Unlike either advertising websites or hobby boards, sugar daddy websites adopt pay-per-contact monetization similar to dating websites. Buyers pay for each provider they contact and for additional premium content like private photographs.

While these websites are producing sex trafficking cases, their popularity does not appear to be growing signficantly. Reach for the four leaders sits around the bottom tier of hobby board traffic or lower.



Buyers are indicating sugar daddy websites are also suffering from illegitimate posts.







It is difficult to gauge how significant a role sugar daddy websites play in the distribution of the UCSE and sex trafficking economies. While these websites do appear to be investing heavily in marketing, traffic growth does not seem to be following. Legitimate supply and demand appear to be in short supply in these marketplaces.

This will be a new market segment to watch that represents a recruiting threat for sex trafficking, but growth will likely remain slow in 2019.

Price

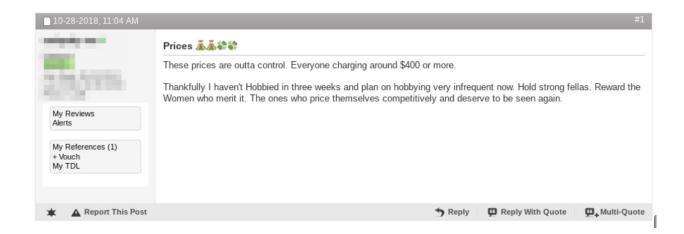
Starting in October 2018, buyers in major markets nationwide began reporting steep increases in the hourly rate for commercial sex. Consistent increases of 2-3x in hourly rates are reported on a number of hobby boards.

This thread on TNA Board in New York received 34 replies in two hours.





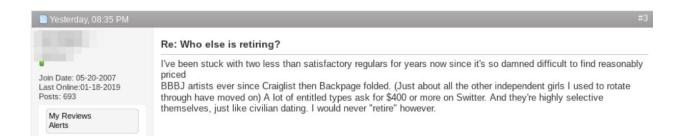
The thread began with a buyer indicating the most common rate was \$400 per hour. This is more than double the median rate observed in New York in February 2018.



Another price thread started in New York on TNA Board in January complaining about recent price increases.

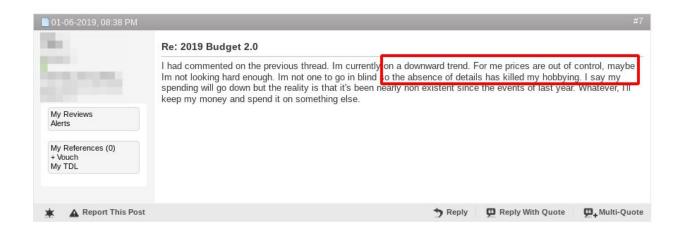


Another buyer chimed in citing the same price point.

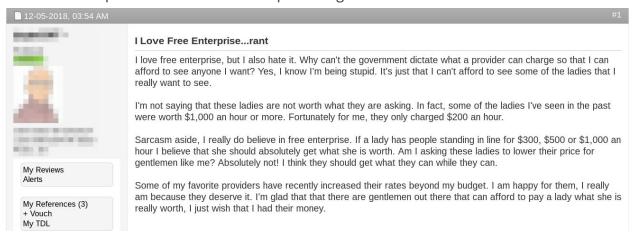




A buyer in Seattle in February indicated prices were "out of control" and deterring his buying.



In December, this buyer on ECCIE jokingly indicated he would like governmental intervention as a number of providers now exceed his price range.



Price increase indications continued through February.

An important consideration when observing buyers discussing price in online communities is that cost is a frequent friction point. Buyers haggle over price frequently and complain when there are fluctuations at their favorite establishments. Further, the social context of hobby boards is reputation - these buyers are trying to look good in front of other buyers. Hyperbole



is common and embellishment is expected in these forums. What buyers say on hobby boards can't be taken on face value.

That caveat in mind, the sustained frequency of the price complaints and their ubiquity across markets nationwide suggest an economic shift may be at play.

If hourly prices for commercial sex are indeed increasing at a significant rate, there are a few possible causes:

- The number of providers in the UCSE is declining. Reduction in supply is causing prices to rise.
- Increased distribution costs from advertising are passing through to the hourly rate. More marketing cost is increasing the price.
- Rates are being inflated through nationwide provider coordination. The hourly price is getting fixed.

With distribution undergoing unprecedented volatility in these economies, price fluctuations merit further investigation. Price will be an important economic indicator in 2019.

Conclusions

It is evident one year after the seizure of Backpage by the United States Department of Justice and the passage of SESTA / FOSTA into law, the online distribution layer for the underground commercial sex economy - and as a subset, the sex trafficking economy - remains significantly disrupted. A replacement for Backpage's former market share dominance did not emerge. Demand in the US for commercial sex is declining. Supply in the



US for commercial sex might be declining. New online modalities like hobby boards or sugar daddy websites are likely to overtake advertising in transaction volume in the short term. As a consequence of these and other factors, volatility in UCSE online will endure through 2019 and is likely to continue in the years following.

With a comprehensive survey of online market dynamics complete, the pressing question remains: what does this mean for sex trafficking?

Implications for Sex Trafficking

THE COST OF #FOSTA: I am doing my taxes. I am amazed I survived this year

financially. It makes me very concerned

FRIENDS, MY ADVERTISING COSTS INCREASED 860% FROM 2017 TO

about less blessed SWs.

LAST YEAR I SPENT \$10,400 ON ADVERTISING. #LetUsSurvive

3:20 PM - 2 Apr 2019

2018.

One economic effect of this fragmentation of distribution is an increase in the cost of customer acquisition. Finding demand online means placing more ads on more websites and soliciting more reviews from more buyers on more hobby boards.

A self-identified major market provider indicated in April 2019 (left) that advertising costs increased from \$1,209 in 2017 to \$10,400 in 2018.

Assuming the first three months of 2018 had similar advertising costs as 2017, this provider suggests the monthly advertising cost of one provider went from \$100 per month to \$1,271 per month. Also implied in this dynamic is additional administrative overhead of maintaining advertising accounts on a dozen advertising channels instead of one.

A 12x increase in the treasure and time required to market commercial sex alters the economics of sex trafficking dramatically. Startup costs are higher, monthly profits are lower and administrative hours are longer. Combined with a significant decrease in demand and increased perception of risk, sex trafficking is a less attractive illicit business in 2019 than it was in 2018. However, these dynamics are insufficient to deter sex trafficking entirely.



In the Urban Institute's 2010 qualitative study, many convicted pimps and sex traffickers indicated that entry was attractive as it represented a lucrative business with less perceived risk and lower operational costs than selling drugs⁵. One pimp described illicit rapid acquisition of wealth as his primary motivation since his youth⁶:

I was always money-motivated. They'd be off breaking windows; I'd go inside and get the money. There was an ice cream truck parked on our block for a week. They stole the ice cream; I went for the cash box ... I liked to have money, so people would hang out with me. For me if we are going to do this, [I would ask,] "How are we going to make money off it?

If sex trafficking is a crime committed in the pursuit of easy money, that money is less easy in 2019 than it was in 2018. But there is still a lot of money to be made.

Using the example above, \$1,300 per month in advertising is still 2-3x less than advertising for professional services with similar hourly rates like private attorneys, software developers, interior designers, or political consulting. Sales cycles are shorter, require less speculative work and the demand is more immune to economic downturns or seasonality, as one pimp opined⁷ "One thing about prostitution—when you can't buy food, when you can't eat, there's one thing you can and will buy. It's like gold, platinum."

With rates running \$300-600 per hour, a month of advertising can be recouped in three or four appointments. While not as wildly lucrative as when a centralized, cheap advertising channel dominated the market, sex trafficking can still be lucrative and with clearly less marketing cost than a legal professional services business.



⁵ Dank, Meredith, et. al. National Institute of Justice, "Estimating the Underground Commercial Sex Economy in the U.S." September 20, 2016, from NIJ.gov:

http://nij.gov/topics/crime/human-trafficking/pages/estimating-underground-commercial-sex-economy.aspx

⁶ Dank, 143.

⁷ Dank, 210.

Threats To Fragmentation

Finally, the threat of a distribution service rising to Backpage's share of the market remains real. While the current websites competing in the UCSE are unlikely to become dominant as the dynamics exist currently, a well capitalized actor with significant financial infrastructure could change that by consolidating the market and building out the personnel and infrastructure needed to stem illegitimate advertising volume.

Were a single entity to purchase the operations of a significant percentage of these websites and consolidate their customer bases, a majority holder of the UCSE advertising volume could be established quickly. That revenue base combined with significant investment in dozens of screening headcount and improved access to the Western payment system through ownership in a financial institution, payment processor or remittance company could produce a dominant website in the market. Both supply and demand would reward that dominance with transaction flow, rapidly propelling such a business to a marketshare close to Backpage.



The primary deterrent to such an actor is perception of criminal risk. Since April 2018, the market has observed one website seizure - adlist24 - by law enforcement. That site's operators brought up the service again shortly thereafter under a new top-level domain. Through a new Twitter account, the operators said, "We

are very sorry for inconvenience [sic] created with the domain seizure" and offered free credit to advertisers to return.



AD Lict 24

AdList24.io @AdList24_io · Jan 26

List 24 Hi Dear Customer!

We are very sorry for inconvenience created with the domain seizure.

We are back on a new domain adlist24.io with new features and upgrades.

You will have free credits on signup as an excuse, hopefully you will join us again.

#adlist24



Many of the websites currently serving the UCSE operate with a similar disregard for criminal liability. Unlike Backpage's veneer of legitimacy with banned keywords in advertising and other marketing categories like used cars, bicycles and furniture, nearly all the current websites overtly advertise commercial sex. These observed behaviors suggest the current operators have a low perception of risk.

A well capitalized actor assessing the risk of market entry might gauge a single website seizure per year as low enough to merit the reward of dominating this lucrative market.

Without an increased perception of risk for the website operators themselves, the door to this market is open to another dominant force like Backpage, particularly if it leverages a social network type user experience similar to those offered by hobby boards.

Volatile markets change with lightning speed - this market is shifting in weeks not years. For organizations seeking to reduce sex trafficking around the world, continued monitoring and analysis of the online distribution layer fueling the UCSE will be critical.

Constant change is the only absolutely certain conclusion about this economy.

