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## Exploring racial disparities in sex trafficking special docket court programs

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### Abstract

**Purpose:** The United States criminal legal system has a long-standing and well-documented history of perpetuating racial disparities in health and well-being through inequitable policing, sentencing, and incarceration practices. In the last decade, the criminal legal system has re-considered their response to women arrested for solicitation via sex trafficking specialty courts.

**Methods:** The current study leverages publicly available data from one large Midwestern county to explore the presence of racial disparities within women's referral to, election to participate in, and success within one specialty court program for women in the sex trade.

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Declaration of competing interest

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CRedit authorship contribution statement

**Aaron Murnan:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Supervision, Software, Funding acquisition, Data curation, Conceptualization. **Gwen England:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Funding acquisition, Data curation, Conceptualization. **Samantha Boch:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Conceptualization. **Caneacha Matthews:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft. **Henry O. Duah:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft. **Islam Qasem:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft. **Sarah Manchak:** Writing – review & editing, Conceptualization.

**Results:** Between 1990 and 2022, approximately 27,790 women were arrested or cited for solicitation (about 2.5 per day). Among them, 67.0% were White, 31.4% were Black, 0.9% reported another racial identity; and 0.7% had racial identity missing from their record; which aligns with county demographics. Rates of referral to sex trafficking specialty court programs were similar for White and Black women arrested for solicitation (11.6% vs 13.1%,  $p = 0.28$ ). However, racial disparities were observed within rates of women who elected to participate in these programs (83.1% - White; 56.9% - Black,  $p < 0.001$ ). Although not statistically significant within the small sample of program graduates, White women who participated in the program were more likely to graduate compared to their Black peers (20% vs 9.1%;  $p = 0.07$ ).

**Conclusions:** Much greater attention is needed to establish equitable practices and access within this unique branch of specialty court programming. Specifically, these programs should seek to cultivate better reputations as trusted providers among Black women in the sex trade.

### Keywords

Sex trafficking; Racial disparities; Specialty court programs; Treatment diversion; Drug courts

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## 1. Introduction

Women involved in the sex trade are uniquely vulnerable to a myriad of adverse experiences and poor outcomes such as poor physical and psychological health, exposure to various forms of violence, and substance use disorders (Love, 2015; Mufti & Finn, 2013; Murphy, 2010; Wiechelt & Shdaimah, 2011). The criminalization of sex trading exacerbates well-documented physical and mental health disparities and limits women's access to treatment, healthcare, and potential protections from law enforcement (Capous-Desyllas et al., 2021; Harcourt et al., 2005; Stardust et al., 2021). As such, this population remains difficult to identify and connect to beneficial services that could otherwise bolster their health and well-being. Despite an extensive body of research characterizing their vulnerability to violent victimization, homicide, severe substance use, and poor mental/physical health outcomes (Argento et al., 2015; Gilchrist et al., 2005; Mufti & Finn, 2013; Murphy, 2010; Quinet, 2011; Salfati et al., 2008), very few evidence-based practices exist to mitigate their risk.

Over the past two decades, the criminal legal system has reconsidered its approach to women who are arrested for selling sex or other associated offenses through the advent of specialty court programs as an alternative to traditional punitive criminal justice responses (Kulig & Butler, 2019; Liles et al., 2016). This is particularly consequential, as many women participating in the sex trade enter the criminal legal system each year following a solicitation arrest. Like other specialty court programs or "problem-solving courts," such as those for individuals with substance use disorders (SUDs), adolescents, and military veterans (Kulig & Butler, 2019; Marlowe et al., 2016), these programs adopt a non-adversarial, treatment-focused approach. Specifically, these programs connect women with trauma-informed substance use and mental health treatment programming instead of punitive actions such as incarceration (Kulig & Butler, 2019; Liles et al., 2016). These programs also seek to address social determinants underlying criminal and substance use behaviors by connecting participants with educational opportunities, job training, legal

employment, and criminal record expungement (Kulig & Butler, 2019; Miner-Romanoff, 2017; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2011; Wahab, 2006).

These programs show promise. Specifically, program completion is associated with reductions in recidivism and re-arrest rates as well as improved employment and educational attainment (Godoy et al., 2023; Miner-Romanoff, 2017). Positive effects are even observed among participants who engage, but fail to complete all program requirements, indicating a dose-response effect may exist (Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2011). Program evaluations are limited in number and by a strict focus on justice-related outcomes (such as re-arrest and recidivism) as opposed to health and well-being outcomes for participating women. Even so, specialty court programs designed for women in the sex trade constitute a promising intervention for a population that is unlikely to receive alternative service connection or services to mitigate health risk associated with sex trade involvement within a criminalized environment.

### 1.1. Broader racial inequity within criminal legal system practices

The United States is infamous for long-standing and well documented racial disparities and inequities in the treatment of its citizens at every level within its criminal legal system. Studies consistently demonstrate over-policing within predominantly Black communities and higher rates of traffic stops, use of deadly force, and searches for Black citizens in the states (Kovera, 2019; Langston & Durose, 2013; Zare, 2024). In turn, Black individuals are significantly more likely to be arrested, convicted, incarcerated, and to receive the death penalty compared to White individuals (NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, 2013; Snyder, 2012; Spohn, 2015). When comparing sentencing outcomes, Black individuals are more likely to receive longer sentences for comparable crimes compared to White individuals (Hetey & Eberhardt, 2018; Kovera, 2019; Kurlychek & Johnson, 2019; Spohn, 2015). One such mechanism for this disparity is that over-policing in communities of color and inequitable conviction practices result in more offenses, which directly impacts sentencing outcomes, as the presence of prior offenses is a heavily-weighted, common rationale for justifying longer sentences (Hester et al., 2018).

Racial differences have also been observed within diversion treatment and specialty court programs for individuals with problematic substance use, mental health challenges, military veterans, and other special groups. In fact, these disparities in specialty court program referrals are wider than those in sentencing observed within the larger criminal legal system (MacDonald et al., 2014; McElrath et al., 2016; Nicosia et al., 2013). Some scholars have suggested this may be due to unchecked discretion extended to court personnel in terms of determining specialty court referrals (MacDonald et al., 2014; Nicosia et al., 2013), which could reflect structural racism and the biases of court personnel who do not demographically match those who are arrested.

There is a paucity of knowledge about whether commonly observed racial disparities within the criminal legal system and other specialty court programs extend to women's referral to, and success within, sex trafficking specialty court programs designed for women in the sex trade, including victims of trafficking. Identification of racial disparities within women's matriculation through the criminal legal system following a solicitation or solicitation-related offense stands to provide valuable insight and momentum towards establishing more

equitable practices within this unique branch of specialty court programs. Documentation of such disparities could serve as the basis for policy recommendations, interventions, and strategies to make these programs more equitable. This study seeks to leverage publicly available data, in a first-of-its-kind initial exploratory inquiry into whether racial disparities exist within women's referral to, election to participate in, and success within specialty court programming for women in the sex trade. We hypothesize, that similar to other arenas of the criminal legal system, racial disparities in women's referral to and success within sex trafficking specialty court programs exist.

## 2. Methods & materials

The current study leveraged two siloed datasets to investigate racial disparities within access to and success within sex trafficking specialty court programs. The first data source was publicly available arrest data from a large Midwestern county that spanned from 1990 to the end of 2022. These data were compiled in a database by county court personnel with support from the Principal Investigator (PI, [masked for review]). Given the limited nature of this data, we were unable to look at many commonly analyzed descriptive data such as age and socio-economic status. From this dataset, we queried only information related to racial identity and charges, to examine the racial demographics of women arrested or cited for commonly charged prostitution-related offenses, including solicitation and loitering. The second source of publicly-available data was maintained by the same county's sex trafficking specialty court program. This program maintains separate databases to support program metrics reporting that encompass: a) women who are referred to the program; b) women who elect to participate; and c) women who 'graduate' or complete the program requirements. Additional details related to these data can be found in the Specific Measures section below.

The specialized court program from which the data were drawn is housed in a large Midwestern county's municipal court and serves women in the sex industry and adult female victims of sex trafficking. The two-year program includes intensive probation and assistance with reintegrating women into the community. This goal is accomplished through women's participation in substance use treatment programs, trauma-informed mental health services, and record expungement. As part of the program, women are expected to meet regularly with program staff, comply with regularly scheduled urine screens, and attend weekly court sessions.

The Ohio Supreme Court established specific clinical and criminal eligibility criteria for accessing this program. A pre-requisite for program participation is a guilty plea to a criminal charge. The court is gender specific in that it only serves women; however, program participation is available to anyone who identifies as female, regardless of sex assigned at birth. Any woman who meets DSM-V diagnostic criteria for a substance use disorder (American Psychiatric Association, 2013); has participated in the sex trade, including those who meet criteria for being the victim of sex trafficking; and who expresses a desire to exit the industry are eligible to participate regardless of the charge to which they plead guilty. The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA; 2000) defines sex trafficking as "the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, obtaining, patronizing, or soliciting of a

person for the purpose of a commercial sex act, in which the commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not yet attained 18 years of age.” Therefore, anyone whose participation in the sex trade industry has been influenced by ‘force’; ‘fraud’; or ‘coercion,’ as well as anyone who participates in the sex trade before the age of 18 meets criteria as a *sex trafficking victim*. While some sex trafficking specialty court programs serve only individuals who are confirmed to meet criteria for sex trafficking victimhood, this specific specialty court program serves women who meet trafficking criteria as well as women who participate in the sex trade industry who do not meet formal criteria as victims of sex trafficking.

## 2.1. Specific measures

As mentioned, data utilized by the current study came from two primary sources: 1) publicly available, county level arrest/citation data for a large Midwestern county; 2) records maintained by a sex trafficking specialty court program within this county.

**1) Publicly-available, county level arrest/citation data.**—This data is primarily used by the court system to track and create public records of criminal background (charges, arrests, and citations) of individuals within the county. As such, it has a narrow focus and only includes data on the following items: name of the cited individual; date of citation; eye color; hair color; height; weight; racial identity; citation number; name of offense; date of offense; offense zip code; and last reported address. This data is electronically available for search via public domains; however, our specific data inquiry (including all records for solicitation, loitering, and prostitution citations/arrests) was provided electronically by the county for the purpose of this inquiry. Within the selected county, prostitution charges are typically reserved for individuals arrested in the process of trying to solicit prostitution as opposed to an offense charged to women seeking to sell sex. As such, the majority of charges filed against women picked up for selling sex in the county were solicitation charges.

**2) Records maintained by the sex trafficking specialty court program within this county.**—The sex trafficking specialty court program maintains separate records of a) women who are referred to their program; b) women who elect to participate in their program; and c) women who ‘graduate’ or successfully completed the requirements of their program. These datasets are maintained to monitor the size of the program and progress of women who participate. They also contain limited court participant demographic information similar to county level data. To support our project, the court provided a de-identified dataset to the researchers that included all referrals between 2015 (when the data first began being maintained) and 2022; indication of whether women elected to participate in the specialty court program; and whether they ultimately ‘graduated’ the program. “Election to participate” refers to women’s decision to participate in the sex trafficking specialty court program after being referred. These programs are voluntary, so many of those who are referred elect to not participate. The program does not keep a log nor has access to reasons for women’s election to not participate or participate. In some rare cases, women have been excluded from participation due to predatory behavior towards other women in the program such as efforts to coerce women to return to the sex trade industry.

These instances are similarly not systemically captured. “Graduation” refers to whether women successfully complete the requirements of the two-year sex trafficking specialty court program. These datasets are incredibly simplistic including only racial identity of participants, election to participate in the program (yes/no), and whether women graduated the program (yes/no) among all women who had been referred to the program between 2015 and 2022.

## 2.2. Statistical analyses

We utilized descriptive statistics to categorize and characterize the various samples: those arrested for solicitation or a related offense; those referred to the sex trafficking specialty court program; those who elected to participate; and those who successfully completed the specialty program requirements. Descriptive analyses and chi-square tests were conducted within IBM SPSS Version 29 (IBM Corporation, 2022). All study procedures were approved by the University of [masked for review] Institutional Review Board (IRB).

## 3. Results

Between 1990 and 2022, approximately 27,790 total citations or arrests for solicitation were issued to women in the county of focus, which equates to roughly 2.5 citations per day. Among those cited or arrested, 18,621 women identified as White (67.0%); 8729 identified as Black (31.5%); 251 women identified as another racial identity (0.9%); and 189 women had their racial identity missing from their record (0.6%) – however, these were not unique individuals. For comparison, the breakdown of racial identity in the study county was 53.2% White, 28.6% Black, 6.2% Asian, and 7% multi-racial, according to the 2020 census data (US Census Bureau, 2023). We have compiled citation data by racial identity across time in Fig. 1 below.

The sex trafficking specialty court program in this county began its own record-keeping in 2015. To support better comparisons of arrests/cites with referrals, we also examined citations and arrests specifically between 2015 and 2022. During this timeframe, 4091 citations or arrests for solicitation or related offenses were issued to women. Among the individuals cited or arrested, 712 identified as Black (17.4%); 3258 identified as White (79.6%); 57 identified with another racial identity (1.4%); and an additional 64 had their racial identity missing from their citation record (1.6%).

Since the inception of record keeping at this specialty court program (2015) to 2022, 477 women have been referred to the sex trafficking specialty court program. Of those 477 women, 378 identified as White (79.2%), 93 identified as Black (19.5%), and six identified as American Indian or Alaskan Native (1.3%). Among the women cited/arrested between 2015 and 2022, White women were slightly less likely to be referred to the sex trafficking specialty court program compared to Black women (11.6% referral rate compared to 13.1%); however, differences were not statistically significant ( $p = 0.28$ ). We were unable to calculate rates of referral among women who identified as Native American or Alaskan Native as citation level data on identification as Native American/Alaskan Native instead classified these cases as identifying as ‘Other’ racial identity with all individuals who identified as another racial identity beyond Black or White. Of the women referred, 77.8%

ultimately participated in the program ( $n = 371$ ). Among the group who were referred and elected to participate, 84.6% of women identified as White ( $n = 314$ ) compared to 14.2% who identified as Black ( $n = 53$ ) and 1.3% who identified as Native American/Alaskan Native ( $n = 5$ ). White women were more likely to elect to participate compared to Black women (83.1% compared to 56.9%;  $p < 0.001$ ). Dating back to 2015, only 68 women have successfully completed the program's requirements (a graduate rate of 18.3%). Among the women who graduated, 63 identified as White (92.6%) and only five identified as Black (7.4%). Graduation rates among White program participants was higher than that of Black program participants (20% compared to 9.4%); however, racial differences within graduation rates were not statistically significant ( $p = 0.07$ ). It is worth noting that disparities in graduation rate were approaching significance, and White women were on average twice as likely to graduate as their Black counterparts. For an illustration of the various sources of data, sample sizes and racial demographics within each group, and other details, please see Table 1 below.

#### 4. Discussion

Using data from a large Midwestern county and one specialty court, we observed disproportional rates of women's election to participate in sex trafficking specialty court programs between White and Black women arrested for solicitation-related offenses. These findings are aligned with observed racial disparities in access to and success within programming observed across the larger network of specialty court programs and diversion treatment programs both federally and within the study state of Ohio (Justice Programs Office, 2022; MacDonald et al., 2014; McElrath et al., 2016; Nicosia et al., 2013). However, our findings are unique in that statistically significant differences across racial identity were not observed within referrals to the program or in rates of successful program completion among participants. Instead, current exploratory findings from our study suggest racial differences in who participates in and, as a result, who completes these programs, which may be informed by racial disparities in White and Black women electing to participate in sex trafficking specialty court programs. These decisions are likely informed and influenced by structural racism, poor historical treatment from the criminal legal system, and women's perceptions of whether these court-programs and systems are harmful or trustworthy, which could explain why Black women are less likely to elect to participate (Murnan et al., 2024). To promote equitable utilization of these programs, future research is needed to explore factors and perceptions that underly differences in women's decision-making that inform elections to not participate in the programs.

Historical arrest and citation data reflected changes in volume of arrests and citations as well as racial proportions of those arrested. Specifically, over the last 30 years an increasingly higher proportion of women arrested or cited for solicitation-related offenses identified as White and a lower proportion identified as Black. Unfortunately, we were unable to explore mechanisms for these evolutions in frequency of solicitation-related offenses as well as changes in racial proportions of those cited/arrested. Historically, Black individuals are charged with more 'serious' or 'severe' charges, despite comparable offenses, to White individuals (Zare, 2024). So, it may be the case that the Black women in our county were more likely to be charged with higher severity charges, beyond just solicitation, following

arrest – which would preclude their inclusion in our identified sample. Another possible explanation may be related to the Anti-Trafficking movement and on-going efforts to execute sex trafficking sting operations. Anti-Trafficking approaches often center White women as victims, which may contribute to inequitable extensions of victim status and/or treatment options to Black women. In fact, Black women in the sex trade have expressed that police sting operations targeting trafficking as well as social services for trafficking victims tend to focus on areas in which White women sell sex and much fewer exist in areas where predominantly Black women are selling sex (Murnan et al., 2024). Future research should seek to illuminate mechanisms underlying shifting patterns in arrests and citations for solicitation and solicitation-related offenses with emphasis on understanding evolving racial demographics of those who are arrested.

Scholars have previously suggested differential rates of referral observed within other types of specialty court programs may be the result of discretion of criminal legal employees at both the referral and acceptance process (Macdonald et al., 2014), which introduces an avenue for potential racial bias. Undoubtedly, systemic and individual-level factors are likely to influence disparities at various phases in the processes of referral, election to participate, and program graduation/completion. Within our study, it is interesting to note that racial disparities were not observed within rates of referral to the sex trafficking specialty court program. A large portion of women who were referred to the sex trafficking specialty court program were White (79.2%); however, referral rates among women arrested/cited were slightly higher among Black women (13.1%) compared to White women (11.6%). This is not consistent with prior findings that reflect racial disparities in referral processes within other types of specialty court programs. This undoubtedly constitutes a priority area for future research to examine using larger datasets with more comprehensive demographic, social, and economic variables to better understand these relationships and changes – in addition to whether women are re-arrested following program graduation.

The primary observed driver of racial differences in women’s participation in sex trafficking specialty court programs was women’s willingness to elect or voluntarily plea into these programs following referral. In our sample, 83.1% of White women referred, elected to participate compared to 56.9% of Black women who were referred. Recent qualitative findings among Black women in the sex trade reflect common experiences of police maltreatment, brutality, and sexual coercion as factors that erode their trust in the criminal legal system and undermine their perceptions of these programs as potentially beneficial (Murnan et al., 2024). Further, many of the women who participated in that qualitative study also detailed having multiple family members who have had similarly negative experiences with law enforcement (Murnan et al., 2024). It is likely that eroded trust in these systems and women’s expectations that they will be discriminated against or mistreated inform their decisions to participate in these court programs. Sex trafficking specialty court programs may be well-served to thoroughly consider and incorporate new strategies to differentiate themselves from the criminal legal systems from which they are embedded, as well as establish trust and rapport with Black women in the sex trade within their community. It is also imperative that program personnel and staff create equitable and inclusive environments that acknowledge the unique challenges of Black women and support their program success. In sum, findings reflect that better supporting Black women and their willingness to



participate in these programs upon referral may promote equity in who enters and benefits from these programs.

Notably, only 18.3% of all the women who participated in the program successfully completed it (n = 68), regardless of racial identity. Rates of graduation among women who participated were twice as high for White participants (20%) compared to Black participants (9.4%), although differences were not statistically significant. Low graduation rates, including lower rates among Black women, may be related to disproportionate rates of disenfranchisement, low socio-economic status, as well as environmental risk factors. Further, low graduation rates may also be related to the intensity of program requirements (see Methods). Sex trafficking specialty court programs in this county are long (~2 years), which is significantly greater than the average length of traditional substance use treatment (about 6 months to 1 year) or in many instances, much greater than an incarceration sentence. These programs typically include a large amount of court oversight such as: regular urine screens, meetings at the courthouse, and rules related to living arrangements, romantic relationships, and other lifestyle elements. Findings from a recently published qualitative study indicate Black women arrested for solicitation or related offenses identify these strict rules, aggressive oversight, and resulting fear of failure within these programs as major barriers to their willingness to participate (Murnan et al., 2024). In fact, some women shared that serving ‘jail time’ would even be easier than completing specialty court programming.

Further, program success rates among all racial demographics may be enhanced by better aligning programs expectations to the goals and desires of current, past, and prospective participants. It may be the case that amending specialty court programming policies and intense requirements to be more approachable may support more women agreeing to participate. Given prior benefits observed for women who graduate as well as women who exit sex trafficking specialty court programs early, the foci of equitably ‘getting more people in the door’ should be prioritized. Discrepancies between treatment goals of women who participate in sex trafficking specialty court programs has also been previously documented (Murnan, 2021). At present, the literature evaluating sex trafficking specialty courts is almost exclusively focused on completion of the program and rates of recidivism following the program (Kulig & Butler, 2019; Miner-Romanoff, 2017; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2011; Wahab, 2006). However, program success could be redefined to include other impactful outcomes identified as treatment goals by women within these programs such as rebuilding family relationships, obtaining employment skills, reducing substance use, and exiting the sex trade (Murnan, 2021; Murnan & Ferber, 2020). Improvements in mental and physical health, health risk behaviors (substance use and sex trading), and socially determining factors of treatment success all constitute factors that not only promote women’s health and well-being, but also are likely to influence diminished recidivism rates for participants. These programs should consider amending their foci, requirements, and protocols to best meet the needs of this population. It is likely that the inclusion of policies that better reflect needs and preferences among women in the sex trade would result in more equitable outcomes, higher rates of participation, and higher graduate rates. Future research is needed to better illuminate additional factors underlying observed racial disparities as well as

strategies to best mitigate and address racial disparities in women's willingness to participate in these programs and their success in these programs once involved.

#### 4.1. Limitations

Despite the merits, the study has limitations. First, the current study utilized data from one large Midwestern county. The degree to which findings are reflective of disparities in other cities across other regions is an area for future research. It is important to note the limited nature of our quantitative analyses given the dataset restrictions. Due to these limitations, it may be the case that confounding factors that were not collected by county records may have influenced racial disparities and thus were not captured in our analyses. Future research should seek to use comprehensive modeling strategies that can better illuminate intersecting, and potentially confounding factors on racial disparities that we were unfortunately unable to evaluate in our work. Moreover, the results are limited to solicitation and loitering charges only, which might have underestimated the number of citations and arrests. In addition, the data accessed was siloed and with sparse sociodemographic information on participants, which profoundly limited our areas of inquiry. For future research, more comprehensive records from criminal legal systems will be needed to evaluate possible disparities in conviction rates, sentencing outcomes, and treatment referrals to specialty courts to help illuminate points in the matriculation process that most greatly contribute to observed disparities. Larger datasets including multiple counties or states could bolster the feasibility and rigor of analyses in future efforts to better understand racial disparities within these programs and the process to participate. Further, future inquiries could leverage geographical data to explore how racial differences may emerge across neighborhoods within cities. Qualitative studies are critically needed to identify experiential factors that contribute to observed disparities, as a better understanding for mechanisms underlying disparities stands to improve and help target intervention efforts to address them.

### 5. Conclusion

The current study is the first seeking to document the presence of racial disparities within women's referral to, election to participate, and success within sex trafficking specialty court programs. Findings reflect that a disproportionately low number of Black women elect to participate in sex trafficking specialty court programs following referral compared to their White counterparts. Low rates of electing to participate among Black women may be influenced by historical maltreatment and inequitable treatment of women and their family members by police and other criminal legal actors. The criminal legal system and its specialty court programs must thoroughly and purposefully seek to implement effective strategies to more equitably recruit and engage women in these programs. Further, these programs' recruitment and efficacy may be enhanced by re-aligning programming to better meet the needs of a more diverse population of prospective participants. These efforts should seek to hire and leverage the expertise of Black women with lived experience in the sex trade or as victims of trafficking to guide the creation of more equitable and effective practices to better meet the needs of women of color within these programs. Future research is needed to illuminate and contextualize these processes underlying these observed disparities as well as

test the efficacy of strategies to reduce disparities within the referral and success within these programs.

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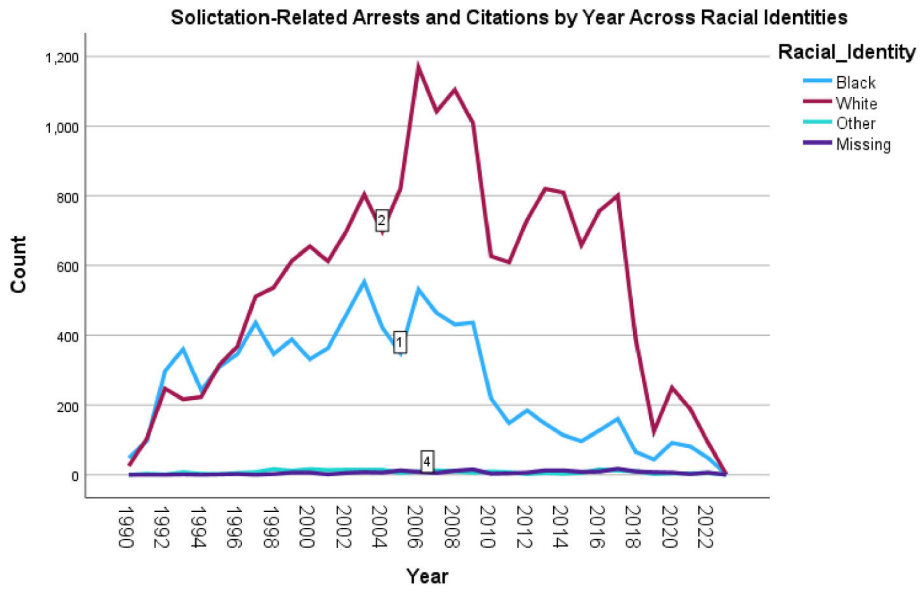
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**Fig. 1.** Figure 1: Arrests for Solicitation-Related Offenses by year across racial identities within Franklin County, Ohio.

**Table 1**

Proportions of sex trafficking referral; election to participate; and graduation among women arrested or cited for solicitation or related offenses between 2015 and 2022.

	<b>Total</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Other Racial Identity</b>
<sup>a</sup> <b>Citations and Arrests</b> Includes all citations or arrests issued for solicitation and solicitation-related offenses	n = 3970	n = 3258 (79.6%)	n = 712 (17.4%)	n = 57 (1.4%)
	<b>Total</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Native American/Alaskan Native</b>
<b>Referrals</b> Includes all women referred to participate in the program	n = 477	n = 378 (79.2%)	n = 93 (19.5%)	n = 6 (1.3%)
<b>Elected to Participate</b> Includes all women who elected to participate after being referred	n = 371	n = 314 (84.6%)	n = 52 (14%)	n = 5 (1.3%)
<b>Graduation</b> Includes all women who completed all program requirements	n = 68	n = 63 (92.6%)	n = 5 (7.4%)	n = 0 (0%)

<sup>a</sup>Racial identity was missing from the records of 189 citations/arrest records for solicitation or related offenses within this timeframe.

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