Craigslist Sex Trafficking Enterprise

Craig Newmark and Jim Buckmaster are owners and operators of a criminal enterprise CRAIGSLIST, consisting of Craigslist Inc., the well-known website craigslist.org ("craigslist"), and a couple of putative charities Craigslist Foundation and Craig Newmark Philanthropies, set up to acquire good will and political protection to craigslist.

Craigslist.org was created as a classified ads website in 1995. Craigslist, Inc. was incorporated in 2004. Craig Newmark was listed as the Chairman and remains the Chairman through the 2019 corporate filing¹, despite his statements denying or downplaying his role in managing craigslist. Jim Buckmaster is the CEO of craigslist.

Craigslist uses a typical for internet-based businesses freemium model. It attracts potential customers by free services, then upsells them to paid premium services, or starts charging for formerly free service.

Craigslist publishes local classified ads all over the US and many locations abroad. For years, it posted all ads free of charge, except for jobs in San Francisco – Bay area in California. Not charging for services and using .org domain, Craigslist, Inc. deceived many users to believe it was a non-profit. Nevertheless, it is an extremely profitable corporation, and it has been expanding number of categories in which it charges for the ads.

Most likely, Craig Newmark and Jim Buckmaster respectively hold slightly less than 60% and 40% of Craigslist, Inc.², and the rest is owned by the employees. The net worth of Craig Newmark was estimated by Forbes at \$1.3B³. Craig Newmark explained low monetization of the website by claiming extremely long-time horizon for craigslist⁴:

I'm not in a hurry. Our planning horizon is 200 years, or until the singularity.

The Erotic Services section was present on craigslist since 2002. It allowed pimps, prostitutes, and child sex traffickers to post ads free of charge. It is believed that craigslist was shielded by its political patronage, as shown below. Also, craigslist claimed protection under the Section 230 of Communications Act 1934/96. Because many of its activities were not known at the relevant times, these claims were successful. Attempts by state Attorneys General to do something about craigslist and its managers ended in November 2008 when the Democratic party won the elections. Craigslist and AGs of forty states signed an agreement extremely favorable to craigslist. Under that agreement, craigslist started charging for the ads in the Erotic Services categories. Most of these ads still facilitated sexual abuse of children or illegal prostitution.

Craigslist became one of the largest and most visited websites in the US. It was estimated that one third of its revenues was derived from such ads. The actual number might be much higher. Craigslist is private and refuses to speak about its finances.

Ads categories for illegal sexual services changed repeatedly, but craigslist always derived substantial (or even most) revenues from them all the time from November 2008 to March

2018. Initially, it was the Erotic Services category. It was replaced by the Adult Services and Therapeutic Services. Then the Adult Services was dropped. The illegal sexual services were the only ads category for posting in which craigslist charged everywhere in the US.

Most ads categories were free everywhere. For a long time, craigslist charged only for job posts in a few large cities, and apartments rental by brokers in the NYC. When craigslist was forced to stop accepting ads for illegal sex service in March 2018, it sharply expanded the number of categories in which it charged for posting ads. Based on these and other facts (see the analysis below):

craigslist and affiliated entities have been in the business of facilitating child sex trafficking and other illegal sex services; other activities provided cover and/or additional income to this illegal business.

Craigslist facilitated the illegal sexual activities not only by attracting audience and posting ads for it, but also by providing the posters with untraceable email addresses on craigslist.org domain and relaying emails to and from them.

Note that the Section 230, even in the form it existed before the 2018 amendment, in the most favorable to craigslist interpretation does not cover its activities. The Section 230 protected interactive services providers from liability for third parties' content, not facilitators of child sex trafficking, conducting their business through interactive services.

Craigslist still facilitates sex trafficking of minors, especially in the category Gigs -> Talent.

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Craigslist Protectors in Photos and Documents

Fig. 1. A photo of Craig Newmark with a top-level politician



(probably 2013) Craig Newmark is on the left⁵.

Fig. 2. Another photo of Craig Newmark with a top-level politician



(unknown year) Craig Newmark is on the left⁶.

Fig. 3. A letter from a third top-level politician⁷



Nancy Helosi Speaker of the House

August 18, 2007

Craigslist Foundation 4th Annual Nonprofit Boot Camp Berkeley, California

Dear Friends.

Thank you for attending the 4th annual Craigslist Foundation Nonprofit Boot Camp in San Francisco. Congratulations to Darian Rodriguez Heyman, Executive Director of the Craigslist Foundation, along with his cadre of devoted staff and volunteers, for once again organizing a successful nonprofit conference. Darian's passion for advancing social progress and for capacity building in the nonprofit sector is evidenced by the increased interest and attendance at this event.

I am also proud to recognize Craig Newmark, the founder of Craigslist, for creating and managing a groundbreaking website that allows individuals to pool their resources, exchange information and affect positive change in their communities.

I know that this conference will provide you - the next generation of nonprofit leaders and social entrepreneurs- with the knowledge and resources to help fight for those who cannot fight for themselves. It is encouraging to know that some of the most innovative minds will gather in common cause to benefit our nation's communities. Your leadership and dedication to your constituencies are inspirational to all who wish to make the world a better place.

Remember, as you go forward with your work, our nation appreciates all that you do. Your efforts are vital to the lives of the people for whom you champion. I hope that your work proves as rewarding to you as it has been to the public that you serve.

May this year's Boot Camp stoke the fires that drive you, and may you leave better equipped for the great quest for justice and social change.

Best wishes for a productive time for networking, professional development and fun.

Best regards,

Jancy Pelosi

Nancy Pelosi Speaker of the House

Fig. 4. 2008 ads page on craigslist, a sample (the highlight is added)⁸

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Interviewer Interviewer Interviewer Go JAN FEB MAR Uiguggggggggggggggggggggggggggggggggggg	 (?) ⊗ (?) ⊗ (*) (*)
all s.f. bayarea san francisco south bay east bay peninsula north bay	
search for: w4m in: erotic services Search only search titles Poster's Age: min max	
Found: 33477 Displaying: 1 - 100 Next>> [1 2 3 4 5 6 7] [1]	
Feb 27 - <u>For Those Who Want ONLY The VERY BEST in SENSUALITY - w4m - 24 -</u> (russian river) pic Feb 27 - <u>BUSTY-HOT & GUARANTEED TO MAKE YOU POP! - w4m - pic</u> Feb 27 - <u>School Girl Buni wants to dance for you at her house!</u> - w4m - 19 - (pittsburg / antioch) pic Feb 27 - The Search For Sparks - w4m - 22 - pic	
Feb 27 - <u>ILOVE PLAYTIME - w4m - 20 - pic</u>	
Feb 27 - LATINA DREAM dAte w4m - 22 _ (brisbane) pic	
Feb 27 - <u>*:j.* I R R E S I S T A B L E *:j.* - w4m - 20 -</u> (sunnyvale) pic	
Feb 27 - <u>Hey Gents - w4m - 19 -</u> (haight ashbury) pic	
Feb 27 - FLIRTATIOUS & AFFECTIONATE MADDISON : San Francisco GIRL NEXT DOOR! - w4m - 21 - (San Francisco) pic	
Feb 27 - Sweet facedesireable body pretty tasty too w4m - 23 - pic	
Feb 27 - x°o*•°oSUPERBUSTYPLAYMATE x°o*•°o - w4m - 22 - (downtown / civic / van ness) pic	
Feb 27 - <u>Ready to confess your dark desires? - w4m - 22 - pic</u>	

Fig. 5. A photo of Craig Newmark with Jim Buckmaster



Craig Newmark is on the left, Jim Buckmaster is on the right.

Evolution of craigslist

2004. Craigslist, Inc is registered

All posts are free, except for job posts in the San Francisco – Bay area. Paid jobs posts in other areas were apparently attempted unsuccessfully⁹. Paid job posts in additional areas and paid ads for rentals by brokers in the NYC were introduced later¹⁰. Erotic Services section exists and features unpaid ads by prostitutes, pimps, and child sex traffickers¹¹. It also features a promotional link to the Sex Workers Project¹² - an advocacy for illegal prostitution, run by the radical Urban Justice League. From the press¹³:

And while prostitutes also advertise on other sites, the police here and across the country say Craigslist is by far the favorite. On one recent day, for example, some 9,000 listings were added to the site's "Erotic Services" category in the New York region alone: Most offered massage and escorts, often hinting at more.

2008, Nov 6: craigslist starts charging fees for the erotic services ads

Craigslist starts charging for ads in the Erotic Services category¹⁴. Ironically, this is presented as a concession to the pressure of Attorneys General from 40 states. This happens two days after Barack Obama and the Democratic Party win the elections. All the evidence suggests that craigslist intended to charge fees¹⁵ for such ads all along but didn't risk doing that under Republican administration.

Now craigslist makes money by facilitating sexual abuse of children and illegal prostitution, thus becoming a digital brothel. Craigslist would continue deriving at least substantial part of its revenues from these activities, even as the categories are renamed and the providers and traffickers are directed to avoid explicit language.

As part of the agreement with the AGs, craigslist agrees to screen erotic services ads. It does screen them, but only for the language. In effect, it coaches the payers to make the ads more deniable.

2009 Erotic Services are replaced by Adult Services are added

Craigslist creates the Adult Services category, which initially supplements, then replaces the Erotic Services¹⁶. Whatever few restrictions craigslist agreed to in its Erotic Services section, do not apply to the Adult Services¹⁷. The essence - facilitating sexual abuse of children and illegal prostitution – doesn't change. Also, the Therapeutic Services becomes a harbor for such ads. Remarkably, "adult services and therapeutic services" are the only service categories in which craigslist charges for ads. From the press¹⁸:

Maureen says that there aren't any real checks in place under the new system— Craigslist merely charges more per listing and takes longer to post them to the site. "You just can't say what you offer anymore; now everything is offered through massage service," she told Ars.

2010 craigslist removes Adult Services, keeps "Therapeutic Services"

After letters from child survivors of sex trafficking facilitated by craigslist and the consequent bad publicity, craigslist agrees to close its Adult Services. The ads for sexual abuse of children

and illegal prostitution move to the "Therapeutic Services". Craigslist screens these ads to ensure that language of them is deniable, in its opinion. This is the only services category for which craigslist charges fees¹⁹. After that, craigslist succeeds to deter public scrutiny.

It was estimated that ads from the Adult Services generated 30% of the craigslist revenues in 2010²⁰. The estimate doesn't include the "Therapeutic Services". It is possible that more than 50% of the craigslist revenues came from facilitating sexual abuse of children and illegal prostitution²¹.

But even 30% is enough to demonstrate that craigslist is a brothel that uses interactive computer services (rather than a street corner) in its operation, as opposite to an interactive computer service that might be protected by the Section 230 for ads posted by third parties.

2014 Samples

Craigslist expands categories in which it charges fees²² for posting ads. This is what the fees schedule looks like (omitting job postings, the highlight is added):

- 3. Brokered apartment rentals in New York City—\$10.
- 4. Therapeutic services in the United States—\$10 (reposting of live ads \$5).²³
- 5. Tickets by-dealer in the United States—\$5.
- 6. Cars/trucks by-dealer in the United States—\$5.

It is likely that craigslist's dependence on the revenues from facilitating illegal sexual services decreases.

2015, May 29

Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act (JVTA) is passed and signed into the Law. This is a federal law, containing grave criminal penalties for anybody remotely connected with sex trafficking. Craigslist reacts by demanding more deniable ads from the "massage parlor" brothels advertising in the Therapeutic Services²⁴. The "Therapeutic Services" remains the only service category for which craigslist charges²⁵, and the only category for which craigslist charges in all US locations. The Polaris Project, a respected advocacy working against sex trafficking²⁶, said in 2019:

... the IMB [illicit massage parlors]-related ads, which moved from "adult services" to the "massage" section on Backpage, and to a lesser extent, to the "therapeutic services" section on **Craigslist**.

Many of those ads might have been deniable²⁷, if they were not in the place where illegal prostitution was advertised openly, and sexual abuse of children was known to be advertised. The law enforcement fails to act, probably because of the political patronage craigslist has in the DC.

The category **Gigs** -> **Talent** earns the craigslist owners a special place in the Purgatory. It mixes up small job offers (gigs) for teens with enticement to prostitution. The following are sample ads looking for Talent²⁸ (out of the order):

May 8 Get free stuff just by writing reviews on Amazon May 8 needed busty cute female \$\$\$ massage girl (sfv) May 8 Salsa and Tango dance Partner gig (Sherman Oaks) May 8 Need flower delivery drivers Sunday for mothers day

Every day, thousands of teenage girls go on craigslist looking for a small gig or to show their talents (writing/singing/dancing/working) and see offers of \$\$\$ for sex.

On another day²⁹ (out of the order):

Dec 28 Clothing models needed! Blondes Brunettes 25-35 years old (Downtown LA)

Dec 28 New escorts needed. Female owned. Make great \$. Highest split 80-20 (LA)

Dec 28 Real Estate Assistant/mentee (Hermosa Beach)

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Dec 28 *** Female Amateur Wanted **** Private Video **** $250.00 cash. 1 hr (SGV)
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Here is an example of how it worked (August, 2016)³⁰.

A 63-year-old Las Vegas man used ads on Craigslist to lure teenage girls into sex trafficking, according to a Metropolitan Police Department arrest report obtained by the Las Vegas Review-Journal.

•••

"The investigation also indicated the suspect had been involved in this type of activity since October, 2015," the release said.

2018, March: FOSTA-SESTA is signed in Law

FOSTA-SESTA amends the Section 230 removing perceived immunity from private and state actions related to sex trafficking. Loudly complaining, craigslist removes the "Therapeutic Services" and Personals categories. Apparently to compensate for the loss of the revenues from the "therapeutic services" ads, it starts charging for posting ads in many new categories. Some of them are³¹:

- All services in the US and Canada
- All by-dealer categories in the US (expanded from rentals in the NYC only, tickets, and cars)
- All Gigs
- Jobs postings in areas where they have been free

In 2019, craigslist starts charging individuals for car sales ads^{32} – something that was a no-no before. That suggests a possibility that craigslist revenues from facilitating child sex trafficking and illegal prostitution were much higher than earlier estimated.

Gigs -> Talent category is paid now. It was cleaned up, but not enough³³. Examples:

Jul 17 CASTING: NEW TV SHOW (White Plains)

Jul 17 VIP Event Hiring Smart & Attractive Event Models (\$400-\$900) (Manhattan)
Jul 17 Paid focus group for Foodies (New York)
Jul 17 Sociable girls to work for profitable events

Prosecution Prospects

Craigslist's Email Relay

One of the services provided by craigslist to its advertisers, including those engaged in child sex abuse and illegal prostitution, was *email relay*. Craigslist allowed them to create an email alias on its domain craigslist.org³⁴, then received and forwarded messages to and from them. The intent and effect of these measures were to conceal identities of those persons from the public and police.

Thus, craigslist served as a physical connection between participants in the illegal sex-for-sale transactions. That makes craigslist an intermediary in every act of child sexual abuse and illegal prostitution, committed with the use of craigslist.org email aliases, probably millions of counts. From craigslist help³⁵:

When replying to a post you'll see an address like: rcc9la26d7534400a6a03514c34f9200@sale.craigslist.org

When answering an email you'll see an address like: rcc9la26d7534400a6a03514c34f9200@reply.craigslist.org

Some persons engaged in illegal sex services even used those email aliases off craigslist³⁶, making craigslist an accomplice in other potentially illegal activities.

Fictitious Deniability

The massage parlor ads that would have been deniable in another place are not deniable in the "therapeutic services" category of craigslist, because craigslist clearly indicated, and its users knew from the experience that those were ads for illegal sex services.

Continuing Violations of FOSTA-SESTA and JVTA

There are all signs that craigslist makes attempts to comply with the recent legislation increasing liability for having connections to sex trafficking. The content of craigslist's Gigs -> Talent categories show that it is not successful in that. Craigslist attracts child sex traffickers, pimps, prostitutes, and their customers because it has been in the business for so long. The measures to comply with the law that would have been enough for a normal business are not enough for craigslist, so craigslist and its principals are liable for facilitation of illegal sex trafficking under these laws.

Success against Backpage

The last but not the least is that craigslist lost the political patronage that allowed it to facilitate sexual abuse of children and illegal prostitution on the enormous scale in 2008 – 2016.

Even before FOSTA-SESTA legislation, Backpage and individuals behind it were successfully prosecuted for facilitating prostitution and related offenses³⁷. Backpage was a smaller, less connected, and less sophisticated version of craigslist.

Declaration

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

s/ Leo Goldstein Leo Goldstein Texas, USA January 30, 2020

Published Research, Samples

Craigslist as a source for heroin: a report of two cases³⁸

Digital Sin City³⁹:

By 2005, Craigslist became a virtual prostitution zones, in which it host 25,000 new prostitution-related ads every ten days in the United States alone (Farley 2006).

... our mechanism showing a separate market created by Craigslist over and above commercial vice, highlights the possibility of new entrants both from the supply side and the demand side.

From the Press

2009

From *Police warn Craigslist and other online sites used to sell sex with children* (Vancouver Sun, 2009)⁴⁰

Craigslist and other online social networking sites are being used to sell sex with children, say police and child protection workers here as the online classified ad website comes under pressure in the United States for its "erotic service" listings. Craigslist founder Craig Newmark was in Vancouver Monday but he pulled out of all media interviews in Canada ... "There is no question the Internet is being used as a tool at times to prostitute or pimp out young people, just as it is being used by pedophiles to locate children as potential victims," said Sgt. Tim Shields, media relations officer for the RCMP in British Columbia. "The pedophile of the past would go to a playground. But the pedophile of today goes to the Internet."

2010, the last attempt to rein craigslist in

From Sex-trafficking opponents fight Craigslist's 'adult services' ads (Washington Post, 2010)⁴¹:

Newmark is the founder of the worldwide online bazaar Craigslist. MC is a 17-year-old girl who says she was repeatedly sold for sex through ads on Craigslist. ... "I was first forced into prostitution when I was 11 years old by a 28-year-old man," she wrote. "I am not an exception." ...

Andrea Powell, head of Fair Fund, a District-based group that works with girls and teens who have been sold for sex, calls Craigslist "the Wal-Mart of online sex trafficking." She said most of the young people she works with are sold through the site, which has 20 billion page views a month. Her organization was one of the groups that paid for the Post ad and vouched for the women's stories; AK has met with Attorney General Eric H. Holder Jr., Powell said. ...

Powell and Malika Saada Saar, who heads the District-based Rebecca Project, said online pimps stay one step ahead of attempts to monitor their online activity. They said pimps drop the word "innocent" from an ad intended to appeal to a pedophile, for instance, and replace it with a new code word. "Young," "new to town," and "fresh" are common code words, the women said. On Friday, on the Washington area Craigslist adult services section, more than 600 ads contained one of those descriptions.

CNN, 08/02⁴²:

Craigslist's shame: Child sex ads

"All day, me and other girls sat with our laptops, posting pictures and answering ads on Craigslist. He made \$1,500 a night selling my body, dragging me to Los Angeles, Houston, Little Rock -- and one trip to Las Vegas in the trunk of a car. I am 17 now, and my childhood memories aren't of my family, going to middle school, or dancing at the prom. They are making my own arrangements on Craigslist to be sold for sex, and answering as many ads as possible for fear of beatings and ice water baths." No one from Craigslist responded to M.C. ...

Law enforcement officials and anti-trafficking organizations have repeatedly asked Craigslist to rein in its sex ads in an effort to stop the selling of children for sex. Craig Newmark and Craigslist CEO Jim Buckmaster have made some efforts to screen the site for children sold for sex and cooperate with law enforcement investigations. But for the most part, they have ignored such pleas, maybe because they just made an estimated \$36 million in profits from these sex ads in the last year alone.

While Craigslist has made selling children a virtual stop-and-shop for predators, it alone doesn't by any means account for the explosion of child trafficking. Prostituting children has become a growth business for all sorts of criminal elements because it is hugely profitable and virtually unprosecuted.

CNN, 08/0343:

Sold on Craigslist: Critics say sex ad crackdown inadequate

Of all the sites that offer "adult services," Craigslist is one of the most popular. The online classified ad site is used regularly by about 50 million Americans for everything from buying used lawn furniture to finding a job or a roommate. It's also used to sell sex, making Craigslist a prime target of a nationwide campaign against internet prostitution.

"Most of the young women we've worked with who have been exploited online talk about Craigslist," said Andrea Powell of the anti-trafficking group The FAIR Fund. "Craigslist is like the Wal-Mart of online sex trafficking right now in this country."

According to police who investigated the case of the missing 12-year-old, she had previously advertised on Craigslist under a false name and age. Craigslist declined to provide copies of the ad, citing privacy concerns.

Craigslist founder Craig Newmark defended his site ...

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¹ <u>https://businesssearch.sos.ca.gov/Document/RetrievePDF?Id=02679281-26931734,</u> <u>https://businesssearch.sos.ca.gov/Document/RetrievePDF?Id=02679281-25066866</u>

²"According to court documents from a 2008 legal battle with eBay, Newmark owned 42% stake at the time–a stake worth \$1.6 billion today. His stake could be higher given that eBay sold its 28% stake back to Craigslist in 2015."

https://www.forbes.com/sites/angelauyeung/2018/08/13/why-billionaire-craig-of-craigslist-is-giving-millions-to-journalism-and-education

³ <u>https://www.forbes.com/profile/craig-newmark/</u>

⁴ <u>https://www.wired.com/2004/09/craigslist-3/</u>

⁵ Source: <u>https://www.thextraordinary.org/craig-newmark#gallery</u> Image: <u>https://www.thextraordinary.org/media/k2/galleries/312/craignewmark8.jpg</u>

⁶ Source: <u>https://www.thedrum.com/news/2011/03/23/craigslist-kings-next-big-thing-site-which-will-help-non-profits-get-ahead</u>

Image: <u>https://media-assets-01.thedrum.com/cache/images/thedrum-prod/public-news-old-19973-</u> master.Craig Newmark with Obama--default--280.jpg

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¹⁰ Fees schedule example:

https://web.archive.org/web/20080306003216/https://www.craigslist.org/about/help/posting_fees

¹¹ Example: <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20030606234025/http://newyork.craigslist.org/ers/</u>

¹² Examples: <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20040603030723/http://newyork.craigslist.org/ers/, https://web.archive.org/web/20060420212448/http://newyork.craigslist.org:80/ers/</u>

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¹⁴ https://www.sfgate.com/business/article/Craigslist-to-charge-for-erotic-services-ads-3186689.php

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https://web.archive.org/web/20081217235248/https://www.craigslist.org/about/help/posting_fees

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¹⁷ Example: <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20090517011600/http:/sfbay.craigslist.org/ads/</u>

¹⁸ <u>https://arstechnica.com/tech-policy/2009/05/no-erotic-services-no-problem-for-prostitutes-on-craigslist/</u>

¹⁹ Fees schedule:

https://web.archive.org/web/20120331134222/https://www.craigslist.org/about/help/posting_fees Services listings example: https://web.archive.org/web/20120107025143/http://sfbay.craigslist.org/thp/ ²⁰ "His listing services in several cities are estimated to generate \$122 million in 2010, and Adult Services makes up about 30 percent, or around \$36 million, of that amount."

https://www.cio.com/article/2415355/5-lessons-learned-in-craigslist-adult-services-shutdown.html

²¹ <u>https://abcnews.go.com/Technology/craigslist-hosting-adult-services-ads/story?id=11565631</u>

²² <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20140727085158/https://www.craigslist.org/about/help/posting_fees</u>

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²⁵ <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20170202061220/https://www.craigslist.org/about/help/posting_fees,</u> <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20180308051041/https://www.craigslist.org/about/help/posting_fees?lang=en&cc=us</u>

²⁶ <u>https://polarisproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Human-Trafficking-in-Illicit-Massage-Businesses.pdf</u>

²⁷ <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20180104014228/https://sfbay.craigslist.org/d/therapeutic-services/search/thp</u>

²⁸ <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20150509034249/http://losangeles.craigslist.org/search/tlg</u>

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³⁷ <u>https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/true-crime/wp/2018/04/13/backpage-ceo-carl-ferrer-pleads-guilty-in-three-states-agrees-to-testify-against-other-website-officials/</u>, <u>https://oag.ca.gov/system/files/attachments/press_releases/signed%20dec%20for%20arrest%20warrant%20pdf_Redacted.pdf</u>

³⁸ <u>https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.3109/14659891.2015.1090495</u>

³⁹ <u>http://gkmc.utah.edu/winter2016/sites/default/files/webform/abstracts/Digital%20Sin%20City_WCBI2016.pdf</u>

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⁴¹ <u>https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/08/06/AR2010080606376.html</u>

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