

**Empirical Research Focused on Persons Who Have Experienced
Human Trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation
in North America: 2015-2025**

Annotated Bibliography (Revision 5.0)

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WCEW Annotated Bibliography

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Purpose

The purpose of this bibliography is to provide in-depth annotations for recent empirical research papers, with a focus on the scope, methods, and findings of publications related to human trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation in the United States, Canada, and Mexico. To be included in this bibliography, a publication had to report original empirical research in North America, and be published in English between 2015 and 2025. A special emphasis is placed on major actors in the human trafficking arena, including victims and survivors, perpetrators and other facilitators, buyers, law enforcement, and social service and healthcare providers.

**List of References for Journal Articles, Reports, and Books on Human Trafficking
and Commercial Sexual Exploitation in North America: 2015-2025**

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**Annotations for Journal Articles, Reports, and Books on
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in North America: 2015-2025**

Anderson, Valerie R., Kara England, and William S. Davidson. 2017. Juvenile court practitioners' construction of and response to sex trafficking of justice system involved girls. *Victims & Offenders* 12(5):663-681. DOI: 10.1080/15564886.2016.1185753

The purpose of this study is to explore commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) and girls in the juvenile justice system to address a gap in our knowledge about their intersection. The data for the study are derived from a larger project focused on court practitioners' understanding of female delinquency and gender-responsive practices in the juvenile justice system. The site for the research was a medium-sized juvenile justice court in the Midwest. There were two phases of data collection: 1) interviews with court practitioners and case discussions with court officers over a 3 month period; and 2) unstructured observations of juvenile court meetings related to out-of-home placements for females over a 6 month period. A total of 39 court practitioners participated in the interviews, including judges, administrators, program managers, court officials, mental health professionals. A total of 24 cases were discussed, each focused on a girl within a caseload. Eligibility for inclusion in case discussions were being a female youth, being a recent case (current or within the past 6 months) and having a court official who could answer questions about the case. Twelve staffing meetings were observed regarding girls being placed in community-based group homes or secure residential facilities in or out of the state. All data gathered were analyzed using inductive and deductive content analysis methods. Three substantive themes and several sub-themes emerged from the analysis: 1) court practitioners conceptualize CSEC among adolescents through the lenses of exploitation myths (subthemes -- the terms "prostitute" and "victim" were used interchangeably, victim-blaming ideologies were perpetuated, court practitioners were frustrated that they had limited resources with which to support CSEC victims); 2) the importance of trauma history and relational context in the lives of exploited girls (subthemes -- there was an acknowledgement of the need to address trauma, abuse, and neglect, there was a focus on family dysfunction and negative romantic relationships); and 3) system level barriers were acknowledged (subthemes -- there was a focus on using law enforcement to prosecute perpetrators, girls were sent to residential facilities or other out of home placements, there were a lack of local services to address the problem). Illustrative quotes from the data are presented for each theme and subtheme. Important observations made by court practitioners include the following: girls are considered victims but are placed as delinquents; the primary resource available in the community is residential placement, but these placements may result in adverse consequences such as revictimization; the only resource available is via law enforcement as the community does not support efforts to address the situation if these require funding; and there is a gap between services available and what girls need to recover. Recommendations for court practitioner training are provided.

Anderson, Valerie R, Teresa C. Kulig and Christopher J. Sullivan. 2022. Integrating Human Trafficking Data: A Case Study of Conceptual and Operational Variation in Ohio. *Journal of Human Trafficking*. 8 (3): 250-264. DOI: 10.1080/23322705.2020.180478.

The purpose of this study is to describe “the process and methods of integrating human trafficking data across agency record sources” (p. 250), using Ohio as a case study. The authors collect individual-level case record data from eight agencies (State Human Trafficking Response Data, State & Local Child Welfare A Data, State & Local Child Welfare B Data, Ohio Incident-Based Reporting System Data, Legal and Court Services for Victims A Data, Legal and Court Services for Victims B Data, Legal and Court Services for Victims C Data, and State-wide Juvenile Justice Data) during October 2017 to November 2018. The study explains how data was selected from the eight agencies. The case records included information on the number of youth and young adult human trafficking victims in Ohio, US. Individual data sources were assessed using criteria that matched year coverage (2014-2018), gender, victim status (known or at-risk), age status (minor or young adult), race, ethnicity, nationality, citizenship, vulnerability factors (justice involvement, foster care, runaway, and homeless), and trafficking definition. Four main findings about the assessment of methodological victim-tracing approaches were: (1) there is not a consistent use of human trafficking definitions to define cases, and (2) information could not be consistently analyzed as there was variance in data due to heterogeneity, (3) some agencies were missing crucial demographic and trafficking-related data about victims, and (4) many victims go unaccounted for by legal and social services. The authors make suggestions for improving policy and practice of agencies, concluding that a uniform reporting system is needed.

Andrade-Rubio, Karla Lorena, and Simón Pedro Izcara Palacios. 2018. Central American women trafficked to Texas. *Cross-Currents: An International Peer-Reviewed Journal on Humanities & Social Sciences* 4(6):153-158.

The study aims to describe how Mexican sex trafficking networks operate in Texas and the characteristics of Central American women who are trafficked to that state. The research is based on qualitative interviews with 9 traffickers and 23 women who were trafficked from Central America to Texas. Data were collected between 2015 and 2017. The sample was compiled through social networks and snowballing. The sex traffickers originated from nine states in Mexico, including Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, Chiapas, Guanajuato, Tabasco, Tamaulipas, and Veracruz. Most of the sex traffickers transported women from Guatemala and Mexico (88.9%), while others transported women from El Salvador and Honduras (77.8%). Only one transported women from Nicaragua, Belize, Columbia or Cuba (11.1%). All of the women had been deported from the US and were interviewed while in transit in Mexico. The women originated from Guatemala (39.1%), Honduras (30.4%), El Salvador (17.4%), Nicaragua (7.8%), or Belize (4.4%). Socio-demographic information regarding the sex traffickers that is presented in the paper includes age, years of schooling, age when started working, year when started working in sex trafficking, age when started working in sex trafficking, and number of years involved in sex trafficking. Socio-demographic data for women that is presented in the paper includes: age, age when started working, years of schooling, age when prostituted, age when trafficked in Texas, years in prostitution, and monthly salary in Texas. All of the sex trafficking networks included in this study transported underage girls to Texas. More than half of the women in the study were trafficked to Texas between the ages of 13 and 17, while just over two-fifths were 18 years or older when trafficked to Texas. The Texas sex industry did not demand women over the age of 25. More than two-thirds (69.6%) of the women included in the study did not have any experience in prostitution before being trafficked to Texas. The study includes information on fees paid by women to traffickers. Traffickers indicated that fees ranged from \$2,600 to \$6,000 USD while women reported fees that ranged from \$1,500 to \$7,000 USD. The study concludes that underage girls are deceived into believing that they will not be working in the sex industry.

Acharya, Arun Kumar. 2015. Trafficking of Women in Mexico and Their Health Risk: Issues and Problems. *Social Inclusion* 3 (1):103-112. ISSN: 2183-2803. Trafficking of Women in Mexico and Their Health Risk: Issues and Problems | Article | Social Inclusion (cogitatiopress.com).

The purpose of this article is to explore the trafficking process for sexual exploitation of women, including understanding the recruitment process, sexual violence determinants, health impacts, and trafficking/work conditions. The authors use snowball sampling to conduct interviews from 2007 to 2013 in Monterrey, Mexico with 60 women who were trafficked. The interviewers paid to disguise their identity and acted as clients at a brothel as it was the only way to interview women working at the brothel. The paper describes the interviewing process and the steps that were taken to collect data. The study overviews factors that describe the “push and pull” pressures of victims that are used by traffickers. Methods used by traffickers include teaching the woman how to be a sex worker (what to wear, what to say, and how to attract), promising travel to exotic cities, and using violence to keep the women in their situation. The term violence is often used by the women to describe their life circumstances since leaving home. The women varied in age with most (45%) being 15 years of age and younger. Explanations for this trend include the influence of buyers (i.e., their need for dominance and ideas of safety), the idea that younger females are less likely to have sexually transmitted diseases, and the concept of a consumer culture in which underage girls can consent to have sex commercially (sex for money). A high level of violence is related to the masculine idea of “keeping women in their place”. The study includes a diagram representing the connection among trends that are economic (household poverty, unemployment, motive of migration to US), social (domestic violence, infidelity, deserted by husband, family disintegration), and cultural (gender-based discrimination, cultural practices of prostitution) that tend to produce trafficking, describing reasons for the trends. The authors also describe that brothels are treated like markets, trading women’s rights for money. The study describes examples and trends of violence against women by pimps and customers as well as trends related to physical and sexual health. The use of condoms, medicine, and other forms of medical consultation are rare for the trafficked women and are always controlled by the madame or pimps. Overall, human rights violations are linked to the forced sex work of women, threatening their moral and physical well-being.

Acharya, Arun Kuman, Lilia Susana Padillo y Sotelo, and Jose Juan Cervantes Niño. 2018. The Harmful Sexual and Non-Sexual Behaviors of Trafficked Women and Children in Mexico: A Study of Victims of Sexual Exploitation. *Dignity: A Journal of Analysis of Exploitation and Violence* 3, 2 (3). DOI: 10.23860.

The purpose of this article is to understand the sexual and non-sexual behaviors of trafficked women and children in Monterrey, Mexico. The study uses snowball sampling to conduct interviews with women victims and create a key informants list. There were 70 women and children interviewed from 2007 to 2014 inside of brothels, using money as an incentive. Interviewer identities were disguised. The study gathered qualitative and quantitative data related to demographics, socio-cultural characteristics, and sexual and non-sexual behavior. The authors used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze words used by the trafficked persons during the interviews to better understand trends. Most of the women were 25 years of age and under, with 77% being minors. Traffickers used promises of food, money, security, and travel to the United States to trap victims into the trafficked lifestyle. Common reasons for accepting offers included family or environmental concerns for safety/well-being such as poverty, unemployment, and abandonment. The paper included quotations from interviewees to further elaborate on the trends. The authors used three interview questions related to harmful sexual behavior: “(1) daily average number of clients received, (2) types of sexual and physical relations victims are coerced to practice with clients, and (3) do they or their clients use any protection (condoms) during intercourse” (7). The study concluded that as the age of the victim increases, the number of clients per day decreases. Older victims were seen as less desirable to buyers due to the idea that they would be greater carriers for sexually transmitted diseases and buyer would have less dominance over them. Over half of the victims reported taking contraceptive pills regularly as pregnancies were not allowed and clients would pay more to not use condoms. Most victims also practiced oral, anal, and vaginal sex. These claims were supported by victim testimony and statistics throughout the paper. There were many cases of victims saying they were not allowed to say “no” to clients regardless of the circumstance or their preference. For non-sexual behaviors, the authors focused on consumption of drugs or alcohol. Most (70%) of the women drank daily, some (35%) used synthetic drugs, and all (100%) smoked daily. The study reviews federal and local laws and practices dealing with trafficking and victimization. Overall, the authors conclude that these practices and laws are not being enforced well enough and there should be an emphasis on women and children safety.

Acharya, Arun Kuman. 2019. Prevalence of violence against indigenous women victims of human trafficking and its implications on physical injuries and disabilities in Monterrey city, Mexico. *Health Care for Women International* 40 (7-9): 829-846. DOI: 10.1080/07399332.2018.1564612.

This article aims to better understand how violence impacts trafficked indigenous women in Monterrey City, Mexico, specifically how it effects their daily experiences and injuries or disabilities. The authors conducted interviews with 68 trafficked women (22 who were sex trafficked and 46 who were labor trafficked) and four traffickers (two madams and 2 traffickers) using snowball sampling from February 2016 to March 2017. The interviews lasted about 40 to 50 minutes and identities were concealed. Money was used as an incentive for interviewees. All interviewees had to have spoken or their family had to have spoken an indigenous language to be included in the study. Sociodemographic data was summarized, and included age, marital status, education level, and indigenous language. Principal causes to enter a trafficking situation were economic, family, or personal. Time in trafficking was usually less than one year. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was used to comprehend control tactics, violence, and power used for exploitation. Most victims were over 20 years of age, were unmarried, had an education of elementary school, and spoke Nahuatl or other Indigenous language. Trends showed that most victims working in the sex market were unmarried and under 20 years of age. Exploitation had the highest rates in sex work, house cleaning services, and street vending. Most victims worked most weekdays, experienced violence from their trafficker or madam, and experienced at least one type of violence (verbal, sexual, or physical). The most common physical injuries were skin, eye, head, and mouth; physical disabilities were mobility and hearing impairments; mental disabilities were depression and poor emotional condition; and social disabilities were discrimination and stigma. The study includes a map of Mexico that shows the regions of higher or lower trafficking rates. Interview quotes are included.

Baird, Kyla, Kyla P. McDonald and Jennifer Connolly. 2020. Sex trafficking of women and girls in southern Ontario region: police file review exploring victim characteristics, trafficking experiences, and the intersection with child welfare. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science*. 52(1): 8-17. DOI: 10.1037/cbs0000151.

The study aims to examine the characteristics and experiences of sex trafficking victims within a Canadian trafficking hub, located in southern Ontario (the greater Toronto metro area). The study compared characteristics of individuals involved in child welfare (CW) and those not involved to understand recruitment and trafficking patterns of CW youth. Researchers collaborated with the Ontario police and a child welfare agency to analyze data from declassified sex trafficking files covering 2008 to 2016. This method relied on using the Canadian definition of sex trafficking to identify cases of sex trafficking. A total sample of 223 cases were included in the study – 52 were involved with a CW agency at some point, 102 had no involvement, and 69 were unknown. From this population, variables of interest were identified and data on these variables were analyzed statistically to determine significant differences between CW and non-CW groups. The individuals included were 57% White, 17.9% South Asian, and 16.1% Black/African Canadian. Most of the trafficked individuals, though, were non-white. All CW individuals were recruited as minors and 54.7% of non-CW individuals were recruited as minors. CW victims were significantly more likely to have been recruited as minors. The police investigations occurred when 66.4% of victims were 18 or older. The individuals' country of origin was 81.8% Canadian and 18% other, including countries in Europe, Asia, South America, the Caribbean, and Africa. CW victims were significantly more likely to report Canada as their country of origin than non-CW victims. The individuals lived in a variety of family living environments prior to trafficking, with the majority living in a single parent (38.5%) or two-parent (33.3%) household. The remaining 28% lived with an extended family, in a group home, foster home, or with legally adopted parents. CW victims mostly came from single parent, foster, and group homes. A significant majority of CW victims were living in a group or foster home setting while being trafficked. CW victims reported higher rates of maltreatment compared with non-CW victims, a significant difference. CW victims were more likely to experience emotional abuse and neglect. The study found that those who had childhood maltreatment had a greater chance of being exploited with 74.6% of victims experiencing a form of it. Forms for all victims included neglect, emotional abuse, physical abuse, and sexual abuse. All victims reported high rates of substance use. CW victims were significantly more likely to report using alcohol and were more likely to report using cocaine and crystal methamphetamine. The study also reported on recruitment and entrapment strategies. The most common way victims met traffickers was online. CW victims were significantly more likely to be recruited by a stranger, while non-CW victims were significantly more likely to be recruited at work. The study identified grooming strategies to be a more common recruitment technique for CW individuals as these methods prey on the victims' desire for love and affection, but aversive techniques (threats, physical violence, pressure) are used as well. CW victims were significantly more likely to be groomed than non-CW victims. Victims with prior drug use were significantly more likely to be groomed with drugs. The study concluded that populations that are under 16 years of age, have experienced maltreatment, and have been involved with CW are most vulnerable for sex trafficking. The study suggested that prevention and intervention efforts should be directed to foster and group homes. CW agencies should target interventions toward youth who enter care with maltreatment and trauma experience.

Barnert, Elizabeth S., Sarah M. Godoy, Ivy Hammond, Mikaela A. Kelly, Lindsey R. Thompson, Sangeeta Mondal, and Eraka P. Bath. 2020. Pregnancy outcomes among girls impacted by commercial sexual exploitation. *Academic Pediatrics* 20(4):455-459. doi.10.1016/j.acap.2019.12.005

The purpose of this study is to measure pregnancy rates and pregnancy outcomes for girls who have had involvement with commercial sexual exploitation (CSE). A secondary objective was to quantify girls' pregnancy associations with personal and family factors, namely exposure to childhood adversity and behavioral health conditions. The data for this study was drawn from case files of a juvenile specialty court, examining cases of CSE from 2012 to 2016. Data extraction was updated through 2018. These court cases came from the southwest part of the United States. The researchers examined sociodemographic, health history, and family history data. The study sample included 360 biological females. Most girls were from minority race/ethnic groups and were 16 years of age or younger; however, ages ranged from 12 to 19 years. Data was obtained for a range of ethnic/minority groups. To investigate behavioral health, the researchers examined DSM diagnoses and medications from psychological assessments such as those from clinical and psychiatric reports. Illegal substance use was documented from court record screenings such as drug tests, self-reporting, and probation officer reports. Family assessment was evaluated from court narratives and probation reports. Descriptive statistics and statistical analysis were used to summarize results. The data showed that 72% of the girls had been diagnosed with a mental health disorder, with depression being the most common. The data also showed that 90% of the girls (pregnant or not) reported to have used substances, with the most common being marijuana; the next most common was alcohol and the third was amphetamines. The court data showed that 62% of the girls had a prior substantiated report of child abuse or neglect. With respect to pregnancy, of the 360 biological females, 31% had ever been pregnant. Of those ever pregnant, 18% had two or more pregnancies. The average age of pregnancy was 16 years. Among those who had experienced pregnancy (130 total cases), most had a live birth (76%) and less than a fourth had a terminated pregnancy, either through an abortion (13%) or miscarriage/stillbirth (5%). Some were still pregnant during the court case. The researchers found that almost half of the pregnancies (49%) had occurred during court supervision, occurring between nine to eighteen months after the start of the supervision. There were significant differences in the prevalence of family risk factors between girls who were ever pregnant and those who were never pregnant. Girls who were ever pregnant were more likely to have mothers with documented drug use or an incarcerated parent at the time when the girl entered the court system. Ever pregnant girls were significantly less likely to have an attention deficit hyper-activity disorder diagnosis (15% vs. 26%), perhaps due to those with a diagnosis having connections to health services. Overall, the researchers found three main outcomes. First, the number of pregnancy cases among the court cases were similar to those of CSE-related cases seen in emergency departments (31% to 32%). Next, girls who have experienced CSE have higher rates of substance use, mental health disorders, and pregnancy. Finally, girls with a history of parental incarceration and maternal drug use had stronger associations with higher pregnancy rates. The study also suggests that the teen birth rate of girls impacted by CSE far exceeds the US national teen pregnancy rate (99 live births among 360 girls compared with 2 live births for 100 girls). The researchers suggest that this specific community lacks reproductive health knowledge and resources; furthermore, the court systems need to help assist the girls who are impacted by CSE to gain access to health care facilities with providers and care that specializes in trauma and family adversity.

Barron, Christine E., MD, Jessica L. Moore, BA, Grayson Baird, PhD, and Amy Goldberg, MD. 2016. Sex trafficking assessment and resources (STAR) for pediatric attendings in Rhode Island. *Rhode Island Medical Journal* September 2016, pp. 27-30.

The purpose of this study is to describe the reported training, screening, comfort, and knowledge of pediatric physicians in Rhode Island regarding domestic minor sex trafficking (DMST). The methodology consisted of a survey questionnaire based upon a previous, similar survey of physicians regarding child sexual abuse. The survey was distributed online in 2014 and 2015 to all pediatric attending physicians listed in the Rhode Island Hospital staff services and/or the Department of Pediatrics at Rhode Island Hospital. Only physicians who had completed their training were included. Survey results were analyzed statistically using SAS. A total of 109 physicians completed the survey. Sociodemographic information regarding the physicians includes gender, medical specialty, and clinical setting. Findings from analysis of the survey data shows that most physicians (68%) reported screening no patients for DMST within the past 12 months. Also, the vast majority (83%) reported no training on DMST. An equivalently large proportion (86%) reported that they did not know of resources for DMST patients. With respect to comfort and knowledge, on average participants reported somewhat to moderate discomfort with patients who may be involved in sex trafficking (2.4 on a scale of 5), while the average participant reported very little knowledge of DMST (1.87 on a scale of 5).

Bath, Eraka P., Sarah M. Godoy, Taylor C. Morris, Ivy Hammond, Sangeeta Mondal, Saron Goitom, David Farabee, and Elizabeth S. Barnert. 2020. A specialty court for U.S. youth impacted by commercial sexual exploitation. *Child Abuse & Neglect* 100, 104041, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2019.104041>.

This is a preliminary study aimed at exploring processes and outcomes, especially related to behavioral health, within a specialty court, for juveniles who have experienced commercial sexual exploitation (CSE). The specific processes and outcomes were 1) identification of mental health disorders and substance use, 2) referrals to mental health and substance use programs and educational resources, and 3) legal trajectories and measures of stability, including court involvement, citations, child welfare involvement, and out of home placements. The court that was studied is the STAR Court, Succeeding Through Achievement and Resilience, a post-adjudication court for youth at risk of, or involved in CSE, located in Los Angeles County. The STAR court engages in ongoing assessment of youths' needs and links youth to rehabilitative and health-related services, providing a consistent, trauma-informed team of professionals to support youth and enhance continuity. Eligibility for STAR Court requires youth to be post-adjudication and have one or more of the following characteristics: prostitution-related charges; disclosed history of CSE; or be a suspected victim of CSE or considered high-risk by relevant professionals or family members. The Court serves youth who are 12 years old or older and speak English; citizenship is not a requirement. Participation is voluntary during a youth's probationary period. Data was gathered from court records, including information related to demographics, histories of mental health, substance use, educational support, substantiated child welfare allegations and placements, involvement in the juvenile justice system, and behavioral health utilization. Data was gathered from the period when the Court opened in 2012 through 2017, including both open and closed cases. Files representing 364 youth were included in the study. Data was divided into two periods: 1) baseline data for the period before each youth entered the STAR Court; and 2) data from a period after STAR Court supervision was initiated. Descriptive statistics were tabulated, and statistical analysis was conducted to determine differences for indices of stability between the baseline and post-Court periods. Measures of stability included number of delinquency citations, substantiated child welfare allegations, run-away episodes, and out-of-home placements. Differences from baseline to post-Court supervision for metrics related to mental health and substance use were compared across two categories of Court exposure: 6 months and 12 months. Almost all participants in the STAR Court were African American biological females who identified as girls, with an average age of 16 years. There were mental health diagnoses for 265 people in the sample. The most frequent mental health diagnoses were depression, sleep disorders, and mood disorders. Data analysis revealed that youth had significant increases in linkages to mental health and substance use treatment services across the STAR Court supervision period. Youth also had significant increases in prescriptions for medication, especially for sleep disorders. There were statistically significant decreases in citations (including several types of citations), substantiated child welfare allegations, placements, and running away episodes over the period of STAR Court supervision. Although differences were not statistically significant, there were increases in connections to educational services from baseline to post-Court periods. Overall findings suggest that youth who have experienced or are at high risk for CSE may benefit from participation in the STAR Court, specifically because the Court is able to identify youth's needs and link them to appropriate services thereby strengthening stability.

Bath, Eraka P, Sarah M Godoy, Georgia E Perris, Taylor C Morris, Madison D Hayes, Kara Bagot, Elizabeth Barnert, and Marina Tolou-Shams. 2021. Perspectives of girls and young women affected by commercial sexual exploitation: MHealth as a tool to increase engagement in care. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*. 32 (2 Suppl): 128–47. doi:10.1353/hpu.2021.0054.

The study aims to “assess acceptability and feasibility of a Mhealth tool to address the continuum of health and social service needs among girls and young women affected by CSE” (commercial sexual exploitation) (p. 130). The research questions focus on the perspectives of girls who have experienced CSE regarding mHealth as a way to gain accessibility to resources, recommendations for youth engagement, and concerns for associated technologies. The researchers use past findings on accessibility and benefits of mHealth to CSE youth to build upon their objective and conduct a new qualitative-based study. Results reported here are part of a larger mixed methods study. The researchers conducted the study in a large, urban county of the southwest region of the United States from March to August of 2018. To answer the focal questions, the researchers held four semi-structured focus groups containing 14 women who were 14 to 21 years of age and used a facilitator to ask ten questions. The questions are included in an appendix of the paper. The focus groups lasted for 60 minutes. The groups were recorded and took place at community-partnered locations in private rooms with groups ranging from four to six women. The women also completed a fifteen-minute survey before participating in the focus groups. All invited participants were recommended by service providers and met the eligibility criteria, including age (13-22 years), history of exchanging sex for a material object as a minor, and experience of sexual activity through force, manipulation, or coercion. Demographic information collected during the study showed that the girls and women varied in race/ethnic background, primary language, number of completed school years, housing type, and experience with homelessness. Participants were compensated with food and a gift card. After the study, the researchers transcribed the recordings and removed personal identifiers to conduct a thematic analysis and create a codebook that would be used as the way to interpret the information in relation to each person’s experience. Results of the study found that twelve of the fourteen participants reported using a mobile device as their connection to healthcare and related information; however, none of the participants reported a formal use of mHealth services. Four major themes emerged from analysis:

- **What we want:** When asked about their desires for a potential mHealth system, the participants described mHealth as a tool to promote communication between peers and health workers, alert them of appointments, share CSE-lived perspectives and educate them on health. These needs were all described in relation to creating a united community with shared benefits. They also saw it as a means to share content and perspectives with CSE experts who had lived experience. In addition, they wanted to be reminded of appointments and court mandated obligations, and to use the tool for access to health education and resources.
- **Why we want it:** The Mhealth tool could help navigate fragmented support systems by providing a safe, timely, and coordinated platform to access services.
- **How we want it:** It was suggested that the tool be fun and interesting to use via gamification, including the use of rewards, incentives, and personalization.
- **Concerns and considerations:** The participants also shared concerns of privacy, accessibility, safety, and confidentiality. Suggestions for safety were offered, including those that could help to thwart re-trafficking.

Given the specificity of the participants suggestions, the researchers recommended that a mHealth system would be beneficial if it was developed and implemented using a community-engaged and participatory informatics approach.

Beck, Megan E., Megan M. Lineer, Marlene Melzer-Lange, Pippa Simpson, Melodee Nugent and Angela Rabbitt. 2015. Medical providers' understanding of sex trafficking and their experience with at-risk patients. *Pediatrics*. 135(4). doi:10.1542/peds.2014-2814.

The purpose of the study is to evaluate knowledge gaps and training needs of medical providers, to examine the role of training for pediatric victims' needs, and to explore barriers to identification of and response to victims. The data was gathered from a survey distributed to medical providers and support personnel via their department chairs at multiple hospitals and medical clinics. The target audience for the survey included doctors, nurses, physician's assistants, social workers, and patient advocates. The survey was distributed in rural, urban, and suburban locations in the southwest area of Wisconsin, United States. The researchers sent the survey via online distribution (SurveyMonkey) to medical treatment locations that would have seen sex trafficking (ST) victim patients. The survey included questions on demographics (gender, occupation), location, clinical experience/setting, number of children among their patients, and training on sex trafficking. The survey also included patient vignettes to determine if respondents could accurately identify a victim. Also, there were questions pertaining to the definition of trafficking, common myths about trafficking, participants' perceptions about the scope of the problem, and confidence in their ability to identify victims, including barriers to identification. Statistical analysis was used to analyze the data. Of the returned surveys, 168 surveys were labeled as usable in terms of analysis. Most of the respondents were female (91%), had a social work-related background (42%), worked in urban settings (emergency departments or academic centers) (55%), worked only in pediatrics (55%), and did not have prior sex trafficking-related training (62%). For questions related to common myths about ST, most participants (85%) were able to correctly identify a myth (e.g., trafficking means movement, consent means there is no trafficking, victims are female, victims always are impoverished). Participants did not do as well with identifying a ST victimized child until they received knowledge that the minor was experiencing forced coercion and involvement with a pimp. However, those who had received prior ST-related training did a better job with correctly identifying ST victims from survey vignettes. Those with additional training most often worked in urban settings. They also were more likely to think ST is a major problem locally, were more likely to have encountered a victim, and reported more confidence in ability to identify victims. These latter individuals also were more likely to answer knowledge-based questions correctly. In terms of reported responses to encountered ST victims, most (69%) would contact child protection services and law enforcement authorities. In addition, providers with ST training, social workers and support staff were more likely to refer the patient and family to the national hotline or to services than other providers. Lack of training and awareness were the largest barriers in ST victim identification (47% reported this barrier). The vast majority (95%) were interested in learning more about victim identification.

Benoit, Cecilia, Nadia Ouellet, Mikael Jansson, Samantha Mangus, and Michaela Smith. 2017. Would you think about doing sex for money? Structure and agency in deciding to sell sex in Canada. *Work, Employment and Society* 31 (5):731-747. DOI: 10.1177/0950017016679331.

The purpose of this study is to examine agency-level factors guiding entry into commercial sex work. An occupational choice framework was used to develop the study design. Sex work has not typically been viewed as a choice, but there are reasons why some people pursue it as an occupation (e.g., migrant workers, students, some in the middle class). Some people view this occupation as a strategic choice and can potentially make better wages than otherwise. The study utilized community-engaged interviews as a method of collecting data. The interviews were intended to collect perspectives regarding sex workers, intimate partners, sex work customers, sex work managers, and police and other service providers. Participants were recruited through phone calls, newspaper and online advertising, and on bulletin boards sponsored through sex worker-led organizations such as human rights and public health groups throughout six Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) during the years 2012 to 2013. The six sites were chosen using census data on 93 Canadian CMAs and focused on representing a multitude of social, political, and cultural backgrounds or practices. There were 218 total participants: 46 from Victoria, 54 from Montreal, 34 from St. John's, 34 from Kitchener-Waterloo-Cambridge, 41 from Calgary, and nine from Wood Buffalo. Eligibility criteria included being at least 19 years old, legally able to work in Canada, and receiving money in exchange for sexual services at least 15 times in the past 12 months. Participants were compensated £35. The participants who identified as sex workers were an average 34 years of age (range of 19- to 61-year-olds). Most identified as women (77%), 17% identified as men, and 6% identified as a different gender such as transgender, two-spirited, androgynous, gender fluid or gender queer. Most participants identified as being White (69%), 19% identified as Indigenous, and 12% identified as a different minority. Seventy percent had completed high school. The median income was £23, 193, a higher income than the general Canadian population in 2013 (£18,790); furthermore, 35% received State income assistance and a similar amount identified having a disability. Participants that reported being in a lawful relationship such as marriage were at 28% and 39% supported dependents such as children. The sex workers engaged in independent street-based work, independent indoor work, or managed indoor work. Interviews were open and closed-ended and conducted through either a lead or third author and lasted an average of 1.5 hours. Data was analyzed through thematic analysis and statistical methods. The study was approved by an ethical research board through the University of Victoria. Participants reported being 24 years of age as the average for their first sexual sale and had worked the service for at least ten years, 29% sold sexual services before 19 years of age and almost half of them (43%) reported living on governmental childhood care services. The authors identified three motivations for participating in commercial sex work in Canada: (1) critical life events (one-third of reported events were negative – these are listed in the paper), (2) need or desire for money (one-third faced acute or desperate need), and (3) personal appeal of the work (one-quarter were attracted by the inherent qualities of the work). The authors included an illustration demonstrating the division of these motivations, the frequency of responses linked to each, and how they overlapped with one another. The largest reason was the need or desire for money (87%), this motivation also had the largest overlap with the other two reasons. Critical life events were the second highest motivation and overlap with the other two. Overall, the authors concluded that money was the main motivation for work, but they also found that independence, sexual/interpersonal fulfillment, and enjoyment were also reasons for choosing commercial sex work. Individual agency and social structures are tied together in considering sex work as they assist in justifying and implementing this occupation.

Bishop-Royse, Jessica and Danielle Bastian. 2021. Trafficking in the erotic labor market: A national survey. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 7(2):121-136. <https://doi-org.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/10.1080/23322705.2019.1695094>

This study provides results from a national survey on trafficking within the erotic labor market (ELM) which is defined as survival sex, prostitution, pornography, escorting, and exotic dancing. The purpose of the study is to examine how participants in various segments of this market have experienced or witnessed trafficking. The scope of the ELM includes not only sex work but also support roles such as managing staff, hosting, bartending, web design, and accounting. The study used a community-based participatory research approach in which sex workers designed most of the survey instrument and conducted a substantial amount of subject recruitment. Subjects were also recruited on social media platforms. Data was collected from 2013 to 2016. The study purposefully did not recruit individuals engaged in street level prostitution, but these individuals were not excluded from participation. In total, 1,003 participants completed the survey. Respondents included bartenders, hostesses, and managers, as well as sex workers and clients. Different segments of the survey were oriented towards different roles. The contents of the survey are described in the paper. Four types of ELM were defined in the survey, based upon types of contact between the client and the worker (type one and type two had the most opportunity for sexual contact). Respondents noted the type(s) of ELM that they participated in. Demographic characteristics of respondents are reported. Some of the key survey results include:

- About 60% had not experienced or witnessed trafficking, while 38.3% had
- 15% witnessed the trafficking of a minor sex worker; 7.5% suspected trafficking of an adult
- Of the 300 trafficking incidents reported, 64% were witnessed by performers, 25.6% by clients
- Most incidents took place in type 1 activities (e.g., escorting, prostitution, illicit massage)
- 52 (23.1%) incidents took place in type 2 activities (e.g., stripping, pornography)
- 14.3% of incidents were reported by clients engaged in these two types of activities

The accuracy of several assumptions is challenged, including the assumption that trafficking mainly happens in street-level prostitution, or only in scenarios where performers have sex-based contact with clients. ELM is diverse and there is no “typical experience” for clients, workers, or other types of performers. The paper concludes by arguing against the criminalization of activities in the ELM, since it means that people who encounter trafficking are reluctant to report it.

Blum, Denise, Tania Benoiton, and Sean Kinder. 2018. "This doesn't happen here": Child sex trafficking in rural Oklahoma. *Administrative Issues Journal* 8(2), Article 2, p.s 1-15.
<https://dc.swosu.edu/aij/vol8/iss2/2>

The purpose of this study was to explore the knowledge and experience of rural Oklahoma school personnel regarding child sex trafficking, and to identify recommendations for providing more knowledge and safety to rural areas regarding sex trafficking. The paper introduces the special vulnerability of rural areas to child sex trafficking, including rural isolation, lack of crime reporting, tight social networks that mitigate against victim cooperation, and more dating violence. To understand school personnel's knowledge of child sex trafficking, a presentation on Child Sex Trafficking and Schools (a course requirement for a graduate course) was given to personnel in the Scandrick Public School District (Pre K-8th grade), located in rural Oklahoma. A total of 11 school personnel completed an online pre-survey prior to the presentation. After the presentation, 4 personnel completed a post-survey. Data from the surveys was analyzed using descriptive statistics. In addition, 4 school personnel participated in interviews focused on the personnel's knowledge, experiences, challenges, and recommendations regarding child sex trafficking in Scandrick. Content analysis techniques were used to analyze interview data. The paper triangulates data from the surveys, the interviews, observations during the presentation, and Oklahoma policies related to sex trafficking. The pre-survey indicated that the personnel had an above average knowledge of human trafficking. Personnel who completed the post-survey showed a stronger grasp of human trafficking. Interviews revealed that the conservative community values of the school district would hamper efforts to provide education on trafficking to students and families. Further, school personnel are cautious regarding trafficking because they don't want to make false accusations. There were differences of opinion among interviewees regarding perceptions of the problem in Scandrick (some believed there were trafficking victims in the school, but others did not agree that there was a problem). Oklahoma policies require "abstinence only until marriage" as the context of sex education in schools, which limits children's knowledge of sexual behavior. The nature of sex education in Oklahoma schools depends upon the specific school district. The paper provides recommendations for state policy and professional development.

Bonilla, Tabitha, & Mo, Cecilia Hyunjung (2019). The evolution of human trafficking messaging in the United States and its effect on public opinion. *Journal of Public Policy*, 39(2), 201-234.
doi:10.1017/S0143814X18000107

This paper uses a mixed-method strategy to examine how human trafficking is defined by the public understanding. The research involves five sub-studies, including 1) qualitative research on a new data set comprising 294 anti-trafficking non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the US registered with the National Human Trafficking Resource Center by 2015; 2) quantitative analysis of a nationally representative online survey of 2,135 persons (demographic information includes age, gender, race, religion, median income, and party affiliation) focused on testing public knowledge of human trafficking; 3) a university-based laboratory experiment with 436 individuals, also testing public knowledge (similar demographic information is included); 4) an analysis of how human trafficking has been represented in the media, using a corpus of 12,763 news articles on human trafficking published in the US from 1979 to 2013; and 5) an additional survey experiment testing the impact of media messaging themes on individuals' policy and programmatic preference related to human trafficking. The study of NGOs found that 215 (of 250 coded) focus on foreign nationals and that 64 have a focus on US nationals. These organizations primarily emphasize sex trafficking versus labor trafficking. The online survey found that over half of the sample answered at least five questions correctly, however two questions were more often answered incorrectly (i.e., most trafficking victims are female, and trafficking is another word for smuggling). The university-based study found that industry context significantly influences the extent to which persons who have experienced trafficking are correctly identified as victims, with the context of sex industry being most likely to lead to a correct identification. This study also found that human trafficking knowledge is not moderated by age. The analysis of media articles examined five different messaging themes, including foreign trafficking, immigration, sex trafficking, labor trafficking, and security. This study shows that the proportion of coverage on labor trafficking and immigration has decreased over time, while coverage that frames trafficking as a "sex trafficking" topic, and a security and crime issue has increased. Domestic and security messaging "consistently and significantly increase the perceived level of importance of human trafficking and motivation to act and support policy measures to combat human trafficking" (p. 228).

Bouché, Vanessa, Amy Farrell, And Dana Wittmer. 2015. Identifying Effective Counter-Trafficking Programs and Practices in the U.S.: Legislative, Legal, and Public Opinion Strategies that Work. U.S. Department of Justice. Award No. 2012-MU-CX-0027. Doc. No. 249670. NCJRS. Pp. 1-95.

The purposes of the study were divided into three parts. The goal of the first part was to identify whether state anti-trafficking provisions increase the prosecution, arrest, and identification process of human-trafficker suspects. The purpose of the second part was to examine the effect of legal processes and extra-legal factors in prosecution of human-trafficking cases. The goal of the third part was to understand what the public knows, thinks, and feels about human trafficking and what mechanisms influence public views.

First part of the study: All of the laws considered were enacted between the years 2003 and 2012 and were grouped by state statutory provision titles of criminalization, civil remedies, and state investment. Human trafficker arrests and prosecution rates were measured by identifying 3,225 open-sourced human-trafficking suspects from all states in the U.S. between 2003 and 2012. “Models were estimated predicting whether statutory provisions were associated with the arrest and prosecution of human trafficking offenders in each state in the year following enactment of the law” (p. 2). Criminalization was the dominant legislative response across all states. Laws that have possible fiscal or bureaucratic consequences increase arrests for human trafficking (with the exception of data collection, which has a negative effect). Requiring the phone number for the National Human Trafficking Hotline to be posted publicly was the most important provision for increasing arrests. Task Forces are the strongest predictor for state prosecution of human trafficking suspects for any criminal offense. Civil provisions are less important for increasing arrests and prosecutions than state investment measures. Safe Harbor laws and civil actions strongly predict arrests and prosecutions. More comprehensive laws predict arrests and prosecution, but harsher penalties do not. For criminalization, harshness of penalties varied, but across all states the harshest penalties were for sex-trafficking a minor and the least harsh penalty was for labor-trafficking an adult. From 2003 to 2012, the number of states criminalizing traffickers rose from 3 to 49. Texas, Florida, California, New York, Ohio, Washington, and Georgia had the most arrests during that period, being over 100. For state investment, policies invested in human-trafficking changed throughout the time period as well, with hotlines being the least invested in and victim assistance being the most invested across states. Civil remedies for human-trafficking offenses also shifted throughout the time period with the procedure to “vacate prior conviction” being lowest and “low burden of proof” being highest among states. Overall, arrests across all states and the federal government have increased with 2003 being 41 and 2012 being 686. Sex-trafficking arrests were the highest among those, peaking at 567 in 2012; labor-trafficking arrests were the lowest, reaching a high of 88 in 2009. However, of all the arrests, federal agencies across all years make the most arrests for any human trafficking crime.

Second part of the study: By using the data collected from the first part of the study and survey information from state attorney generals on 479 human-trafficker prosecutions, the researchers could identify human-trafficker arrests and prosecutions from 2003 to 2012. All cases were coded to identify the nature of the criminal charge, the process of adjudication, and case disposition. Of the charged suspects, most were male (79%) and of the age 32 across all states. Most suspects were charged with general human trafficking (240), then sex-trafficking of minors (159), sex-trafficking of adults (69), and finally labor trafficking (11). General human trafficking varied from charges such as pimping (194) and drug possession/distribution (12). Charges for all categories varied, including dismiss, not guilty, guilty plea, and guilty, with most cases being dismissed (52%). There is unevenness in use of state human

trafficking laws across the US. California had 39% of the suspects who were charged with a state human trafficking offense. Suspects were charged with multiple offenses in addition to human trafficking, including prostitution, pimping/pandering, sexual abuse or rape, and kidnapping. Fifty-three (53%) percent of the suspects charged with a state human trafficking offense had the case dismissed prior to adjudication, 13% went to trial, and 35% pleaded guilty to a human trafficking charge prior to trial. Suspects were convicted of human trafficking crimes in 45% of cases, and were convicted of any crime in 72% of cases. State human trafficking cases are lengthy, with cases involving adult victims being longer and more likely to go to trial. When cases go to trial, defendants face harsher penalties than when they are adjudicated without trial.

Third part of the study: A survey was distributed to collect data on public engagement. The survey took place in Spring of 2014 and collected representative data from 2,000 Americans. Questions were designed to pertain “ (1) factual knowledge about human trafficking, (2) perceptions of prevalence of human trafficking, (3) beliefs about the types of people that are at risk of becoming victims of human trafficking, (4) concern for human trafficking, and (5) opinions about how much of a government priority human trafficking should be.” (p. ???) To help gather data, the survey included two experiments. (1) participants read a hypothetical victim story that varied in age, citizenship and gender and had to report their likelihood of involvement, level of concern, and expectation for government response. (2) Ten possible Public Service Announcements (PSA) varying in emotional level, fact-base, and effectiveness of targeting demand, were assigned at random to participants, who then had to rate their likelihood for call to action, ranging from tasks of calling a hotline or having a conversation regarding the topic. A strong majority of the public have an understanding of human trafficking as slavery, however many held incorrect views about trafficking (i.e., victims are almost always female, trafficking is the same as smuggling, it almost always involves undocumented immigrants, and requires trans-border movement. Overall, the results showed that 80% of participants have concern (“some or a lot”) for human trafficking, and the majority believe that it should be a government priority. However, based upon participant identity and behavior, the concern, knowledge, and desire for government action varied. Those who identified as female showed more concern, knowledge and desire for action. White males were the least likely to be concerned or to think it should be a priority. The public believes that sex trafficking is a more significant problem than labor trafficking, that females are most at risk, and that trafficking does not happen in their community. When they discover that a group not typically associated with trafficking in the media have been victimized (such as young boys) they are very concerned and want action to be taken. People who consumed pornography in the past year had more knowledge of trafficking, but less desire for government action. People who visited strip clubs had less concern for trafficking and thought it should be less of a government priority. People have not made the connection between public understanding and attitudes and the movement against human trafficking.

Bouché, Vanessa and S. Shady. 2017. A pimp's game: A rational choice approach to understanding the decisions of sex traffickers. *Women and Criminal Justice* 27:91-108. DOI 10.1080/08974454.2016.1250701

The aim of this paper is to understand traffickers' decisions regarding access of victims to telecommunications devices (Internet and cell phones). This question is important because some victims are allowed access for advertising and connecting with customers, and others are not, and such access can be a factor in disruption of the trafficking business. A theoretical model is developed that produces three hypotheses regarding the trafficker's decision: 1) traffickers are more likely to provide access to minor victims than to adults; 2) traffickers are more likely to provide access to victims that were not defrauded in the process of recruitment; and 3) access to devices for minor victims is more likely if the minor was not defrauded in recruitment. It is postulated that risks and rewards for trafficking vary when victims are provided telecommunications access, according to their age and recruitment circumstances. Minor victims bring more reward and less risk when they use telecommunications themselves, while victims who were defrauded bring higher risk. Denying access increases a victim's isolation and makes it less likely they will contact anyone for assistance. To test the hypotheses, a survey was administered to 115 survivors of domestic sex trafficking. The survey was developed in partnership with 14 non-profit organizations in 11 cities across the United States. It was administered in 2013-2014. All of the participants in the survey were female and 75% were minors when first trafficked. When they took the survey, 78% of the survivors were 18 years of age or older. An appendix to the paper provides descriptive statistics for all survey variables, including the dependent variable (telecommunications access), independent variables (age and whether fraud was involved in recruitment), and control variables (how long it took for victims to trust the trafficker, use of online advertising, and communication with buyers). Logistical regression analysis of data from the survey showed support for the three hypotheses. Younger victims will have more access to telecommunications than older victims, most likely because such access increases profits while not increasing risk. Victims who were recruited under false pretenses were less likely to have unmonitored telecommunications access. In such cases, the risk of access (i.e., the trafficker getting caught) would exceed the benefits. Data analysis also revealed that the impact of fraud on a victim's access to telecommunications is significant only for younger victims. The implication is that the most isolated victims are younger people who were recruited by fraud, making it very difficult for them to reach out for help or to be found. The paper concludes that the cost of getting caught increases with minor victims whose cases are more likely to be investigated, and for whom the penalties of prosecution are higher. The risk of getting caught also increases when victims have telecommunications access, however this is mitigated by age and the experience of recruitment. Traffickers have more psychological control over younger victims, and this decreases the risk of getting caught. If a victim is defrauded in recruitment, they are more likely to want to escape, therefore their access to telecommunications is reduced. This is especially the case with minor victims. Implications from the research include the following: victims who are in direct contact with buyers are less likely to have been defrauded and may resent attempts to "rescue" them; victims who are most likely to testify against their traffickers are the ones who are most isolated and difficult to reach; and treatment plans for recovery and reintegration should consider whether the survivor was defrauded. The paper also provides policy implications, with a focus on ways to increase costs and risks to traffickers.

Bouché, Vanessa and Sean M. Crotty. 2018. Estimating demand for illicit massage businesses in Houston, Texas. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 4(4):279-297.
<https://doi.org/10.1080.23322705.2017.1374080>

The goals of this study are to develop an operational definition of illicit massage businesses, and to empirically measure demand for them, with a focus on total demand and economic impact. Illicit massage businesses (IMBs) are defined as registered businesses that provide massage, wellness, and spa services while deriving some of their clientele and revenue through provision of commercial sex acts, which is an illegal activity in most jurisdictions. They are part of the illicit economy. They also may engage in other forms of illegal activity, such as money laundering. The paper hypothesizes that four factors influence the number of customers for an IMB: location, quality, price, and hour. Houston was selected as the site of the study because it is known to be a hub for sex trafficking. The paper discusses a list of 292 IMBs that was generated using Rubmaps.com, where users submit reviews of businesses. Client ratings, reviews, cost of services, and types of payment methods were gathered from the website. A sample of 45 businesses from this list was examined to determine if they were indeed IMBs and if they were still open. From this examination, a sample of 37 IMBs was developed. Surveillance videos were set up on public property outside the sample businesses on random days for a 24-hour period to determine the number and time of clientele. Viewing the video footage allowed for coding of the demand data as the dependent variable. Failed attempts to enter were not counted. Demand was measured as total demand and hourly. The independent variables were collected from the U.S. Census Bureau (i.e., population, percent of unoccupied housing, percent of renters, percent of residents who are White). Regression modeling was used to analyze the data. Results included the following:

- There is more demand in populated areas that are potentially more affluent
- The number of robust qualitative reviews had a greater impact on demand than the easier task of checking stars
- IMBs that take credit cards had more demand than those that accept only cash
- Increasing cost of services decreases demand
- The highest demand is around lunch hour
- The number of reviews on Rubmaps.com conditions the negative effect on demand of only accepting cash
- The estimated total demand for all 292 IMBs is 2,869 customers per day, or an average of 12 customers per IMB
- Total annual gross revenue is estimated at \$107,574,004.60 for all IMBs.

Bounds, Dawn T, Laurel D. Edinburgh, Louis F. Fogg and Elizabeth M. Saeywc. 2019. A nurse practitioner-led intervention for runaway adolescents who have been sexually assaulted or sexually exploited: Effects on trauma symptoms, suicidality, and self-injury. *Child Abuse & Neglect* 90: 99-107. DOI: 10.1016/j.chiabu.2019.01.023.

The study aims to investigate the influence of the Runaway Intervention Program on trauma responses at three, six- and twelve-months post-enrollment in the program. It explores what trauma responses are present in adolescents who had run away and had a history of sexual violence, and how their trauma responses change over the time they are enrolled in the program. The authors associate sexual assault or exploitation with increased mental health problems such as suicidal ideation, self-injurious behaviors, and suicide attempts. Furthermore, the authors describe youths with sexual assault or exploitation history to have post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and other trauma symptoms that influence their individual and public health choices. Therapy interventions such as cognitive behavioral, narrative, mindfulness, and trauma focused-cognitive behavioral therapy (TF-CBT) are often used as rehabilitation practices with youth, however when such approaches are not patient-centered and individualized they may not be appropriate in diverse populations. The paper describes the Runaway Intervention Program, which offers a patient-centered approach to addressing trauma and health needs to runaway youth. This program is delivered by Nurse Practitioners (NPs) who provide health care and reconnect youth to supportive relationships. The effect of the program on runaway youth trauma and associated symptoms was retroactively assessed through a longitudinal repeated measures design. Trauma responses and symptoms were assessed at each participant's enrollment, and at one or more subsequent time points (3, 6, or 12 months after enrollment). The study was approved through the Children's Hospital of Minnesota's Institutional Review Board and the Research Ethics Board on the University of British Columbia. Developmental traumatology (psychobiological approach to comprehend trauma at critical developmental stages) and resilience theory (focus of positive youth development associated with supportive relationships, nurturing environments, and community engaged activities) practices were used to inform the Nurse Practitioner-led (NP) assessments and interventions. The NPs who led the interventions were trained in trauma-informed care and oriented to work within the theoretical frameworks. The NPs were trusted to use their professional judgment to facilitate activities that would follow the study's aim to assess the youth on an individual level. All of the youth enrolled in the study received comprehensive initial assessment and forensic interviews at hospital child advocacy centers; home visits from NPs for educational, medical treatment, emotional support, goal setting, and assessment reasons; intensive care management by NPs for family service coordination; and optional therapist-led weekly empowerment groups. The youths would receive the visits weekly for the 1-3- and 4-6-month periods, then at most every three weeks for the 6-12-month period. These visits fluctuated based on the youth's life circumstances; as a result, the timely visits would not always be achieved. The visits revolved around first building a trusting relationship, second addressing health or safety concerns, and third providing emotional and educational support. The meetings took place with preference at school or community shelters. Home meetings were scheduled through in-person contact or phone calls with the parents/guardians. The interventions assisted the youth with independent actions and referred them to social services such as employment, housing, and youth-development opportunities. All participants (362) were 12-17 years of age, lived in Midwestern metropolitan areas, enrolled in a Runaway Intervention Program from 2008 to 2015, ran away from home at least once, and were assessed for sexual trauma during the three month (42% completion), six month (37% completion), and twelve month (20.6% completion) periods. Most participants identified as a girl and were in the

academic levels of 8th and 9th grade. Youth were excluded from the program if they did not speak English, were pregnant, had symptoms of psychosis or were developmentally delayed. Their trauma was measured from 0-4 on three scales: 1) emotional distress (feeling sad, stressed or discouraged in the past 30 days), 2) suicidality and self-injury (intentional injury, serious contemplation of suicide, or attempt of suicide in the past three months), and 3) UCLA PTSD trauma screen (to assess exposure to traumatic events for people seven years and up). Overall, 74% of the participants qualified to be diagnosed with PTSD. Data was analyzed using SPSS statistical software version 22. Sociodemographic data presented in the study include ethnicity, IEP (individual education program) use, free and reduced lunch qualification, number of times running away, types of sexual abuse, and types of extra-familial sexual assault. Only 42% of participants completed all the assessments at the different stages, 79% completed the assessments three or more times. Those who completed all were 0.34 years older on average. The findings from the study showed that “mean values for emotional distress, suicide ideation, suicide attempts, and self-injury decreased significantly from baseline to 3 and 6 months, and these decreases were maintained at 12 months. Current trauma symptoms followed similar trends” (p. 104). Overall, the researchers concluded that implementation of the Runaway Intervention Program decreased trauma responses in youth and offers improvement in their mental health.

Bounds, Dawn, Kathleen R Delaney, Wrenetha Julion, and Susan Breitenstein. 2020. Uncovering indicators of commercial sexual exploitation. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 35 (23–24): 5607–23. doi:10.1177/0886260517723141.

The purpose of this study is to observe the men's internet postings to identify verbal indicators of potential commercial sexual exploitation. Indicators from previous published research were used. Indicators were described as verbal red flags that could mean the existence of sex trafficking but did not prove its occurrence. The site observed was one dedicated to heterosexual men who are interested in buying sex. Users of the site were expected to share information related to the commercial sex industry. Users would be divided into members and senior members. To be a senior member one would have to be a member for at least six months, post at least 25 times, have the approval of the site moderator and past posts with credible information. The researchers observed the senior members to have more power and respect from other users. All other users who posted were considered members. Any nonmembers that did not create a username were not allowed to post and were considered guests. By the end of the study in 2016, the site had 394,115 members, over two million posts, 12,847 discussion topic boards, and just under 60 million unique visits. On average the site received 400,000 new member registrations and 200,000 unique guests every day. For this paper's specific study, the researchers broke down the data to only include the assumed men (363 members) from posting sites of Chicago, Illinois (107 users); Detroit, Michigan (163 users); Toledo, Ohio (37 users); and Northwest Indiana and Indianapolis, Indiana (56 users) during the time frame of June 1, 2014 to June 7, 2014. Postings were copied from the website. The study used content analysis to examine the postings. The content analysis found there to be 13 forum sections across all five cities; all posts from these sections were observed for linguistic indicators. The researchers did not post on any forum and copied all comments (666) into a data system to cross analyze the trends, patterns, and discourse in the content. The data system coded the posts using preset indicators, including youth (minors), impairment (vulnerability), survival needs (vulnerability), presence of pimps, and communication (pimps). About 10% of the 666 posts were considered linguistic indicators for commercial sexual exploitation with Chicago and Detroit each having more posts than Toledo and the Indiana locations combined. Of the coded categories, terms that were associated with youth (minors) were most commonly used by all locations. Overall, the research resulted in three main observations about the red flagged comments: (1) they desired youth/youthfulness, (2) they were aware of vulnerability and tried to benefit from it, and (3) they indicated the presence of pimps. The comments were often subtle when standing alone as the site restricted any talk of sex with minors, but when comparing the language in all the comments it became more evident that the verbal cues were signs for commercial sexual exploitation. The researchers suggest that more action needs to be taken by law enforcers and site to better restrict language that could suggest sex trafficking or commercialization of minors.

Boyce, Sabrina C, Kimberly C Brouwer, Daniel Triplett, Argentina E Servin, Carlos Magis-Rodriguez and Jay G Silverman. 2018. Childhood Experiences of Sexual Violence, Pregnancy, and Marriage Associated With Child Sex Trafficking Among Female Sex Workers in Two US–Mexico Border Cities. *American Public Health Association*. AJP201822315_Boyce 1049..1054 (icmec.org).

The objective of this paper is to, “quantitatively assess the relationships of childhood experiences of marriage, pregnancy, and sexual violence with underage sex trafficking” (1049). From August 2013 to October 2014 603 women were recruited from street and indoor venues from Ciudad Juarez and Tijuana, Mexico (areas considered high-risk for U.S.-Mexico trafficking) to participate in a survey about HIV risk and sex trafficking experiences. Demographic questions were asked, with regards to age of first time engaging in exploitation experiences including pregnancy, marriage and sexual violence. Univariate and multi-variate logistic regression models were used to evaluate the above factors with child sex trafficking of 16 years and younger. The study uses in-depth statistical analysis to describe predictor factors for sexual exploitation risks regarding age and pregnancy, marriage, and sexual abuse. Key findings from the study may be summarized as follows: “Combined odds of child sex trafficking among those who experienced pregnancy, marriage, and childhood sexual violence when younger than 16 years in combined models were 2.8, 1.7, and 1.7 respectively, relative to others. For 89.8%, 78%, and 97% of those who had an experience of pregnancy, marriage, or sexual violence when younger than 16 years, respectively, the experience occurred before or the same year as sex trafficking” (p. 1049).

Bracy, K., B. Lui, and D. Roe-Sepowitz. 2021. A four-year analysis of labor trafficking cases in the United States: Exploring characteristics and labor trafficking patterns. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 7(1):35-52. <https://doi.org.proxy2.cl.msu.edu/10.1080/25322705.2019.1638148>

The aim of this paper is to explore the scope of labor trafficking in the US by analyzing a cross-section of arrests of labor traffickers from 2013-2016. The study describes labor traffickers' individual characteristics and trafficking behaviors, including the distribution of arrests, different types of labor traffickers, and vulnerabilities of victims (both migrants and US nationals). Data was collected via a structured online search focusing on individuals arrested for labor trafficking, including debt bondage, forced labor, and involuntary child labor. Two procedures were used: 1) a broad-based web search of media reports to identify cases; and 2) a targeted review of selected court documents and government reports. Data were entered into a database to allow a statistical analysis of trafficker and victim characteristics. Results showed the following:

- 125 people were arrested in 47 cases; cases nearly doubled between 2013 and 2016
- Perpetrators were male and female (62.4 and 37 percent)
- Perpetrators' race was identified as Pacific Islander/Asian (53.2%), Caucasian (18%), African American (16%), Hispanic (12.6%)
- Nearly half of perpetrators (44%) were naturalized US citizens; 25.6% were American-born citizens
- 120 victims were identified in the cases; 75.2% were migrant workers and 20.8% were US domestic workers
- Most were female victims (74.3%); males were 22.9%
- More than half of the traffickers were known to the victim; 35% were recruited through staffing agencies; 35.8% were smuggled across a national border
- Arrests occurred in 20 states, with Texas having the highest percentage (34.4%)
- Migrant victims came from 16 countries; 35.2% came from Mexico or Central America; 29.6% came from Southeast Asia
- 31 cases involved a criminal organization; these organizations used force, fraud, and coercion.

The study also provides details on tactics used to find and recruit victims; locations from which victims were trafficked; tactics used to control victims; and elements of fraud in the cases. Two case studies are included to provide depth to the quantitative analysis. Strategies used by police to identify trafficking situations are described. Charges used in indictments and information on sentences are included. Victim vulnerabilities especially included needing shelter and experiencing a financial crisis. Recommendations for increasing awareness of labor trafficking, promoting detection and interdiction, and building capacity for services are provided.

Brandt, Tiffany West, Teresa Lind, Alayna Schreier, Chad M. Sievers and Teresa L. Kramer. 2021. Identifying Youth at Risk for Commercial Sexual Exploitation Within Child Advocacy Centers: A Statewide Pilot Study. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 36 (5-6): NP2368-NP2390. DOI: [i.org/10.1177/0886260518766560](https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260518766560).

The purpose of this study is to investigate the feasibility of implementing a CSEC screening instrument in Child Advocacy Centers (CACs) in Arkansas, as well as explore the risk factors and trauma associated with CSEC. The authors define CSEC as the force, coercion or manipulation of children to engage in commercial sexual activities such as prostitution or pornography. The authors further associate CSEC with long-lasting psychological trauma for youth. Risk factors include children's repetitive or early exposure to family dysfunction, homelessness, drug exposure, a connection to child welfare systems, and abuse including sexual, physical, emotional, and neglectful. To investigate a possible screening tool, the researchers used a screening questionnaire for 1,052 youth at 14 Child Advocacy Centers (CACs) in 64 out of 75 (85.3%) of Arkansas's counties. Of the youth, 918 (87%) were eligible during the six-month data collection period from November 1, 2016, to April 30, 2017. All CAC directors (14) agreed to participate prior to the study. The CACs conducted screenings for CSEC for at least 80% of all their youth ages 12 to 18 during the given time frame. The screenings identified high-risk youths to be in 34 of the 64 (53.1%) counties. The youth were not given the screening questionnaire but instead a family advocate completed the questionnaire on behalf of the youth. The questionnaire included 17 yes or no questions in a two-part format. The first part included 7 questions that were designed to determine whether the youth were at high risk for CSEC. The second part was reserved only for those at high risk. The questions are included in the paper. Of those screened, 183 (19.9%) youths were classified as high-risk, and 735 (80.1%) youths were classified as low risk for CSEC. Those at high-risk were more often older and female with an overall average of 2.20 (low-risks 0.56) risk factors, including significantly more drug use (50.8%), running away (54.6%), law enforcement involvement (61.7%), physical injury (21.9%), sexually transmitted infection (9.3%), sexually active (23%), and suspected of having experienced CSEC (35.5%) compared with low-risk youth. Youth that were reported to have CSEC experience were 22x more likely to have dealt with sexual abuse trauma than those without such a history. Furthermore, youth who were referred to mental health services had a greater chance of being high-risk. Youth classified as high-risk also showed more symptoms with the UCLA PTSD Reaction Index (rating traumatic history/feelings on a scale of 1-4). The study found that 21.4% of all youth had not been referred for mental health services, while 40.1% had been so referred. Descriptive statistics for trauma are provided in the paper, including number of traumas, trauma history, type of offender for trauma, offender age, and problematic sexual behavior. The paper also provides trauma exposure symptoms as measured by the UCLA PTSD Index for those who had been referred for mental health services. Overall, the authors suggest that a brief screening questionnaire would be useful for identifying youth at high-risk for CSEC and being able to deliver to them the proper resources.

Bruhns, Maya E, Alicia del Prado, Jana Slezakova, Alexander J. Iapinski, Toni Li and Becky Pizer. 2018. Survivors' perspectives on recovery from commercial sexual exploitation beginning in childhood. *The Counseling Psychologist*. 46(4): 413-455. DOI: 10.1177/0011000018777544.

The purpose of the study is to describe young adults' experiences exiting and recovering from CSE (commercial sexual exploitation). The research questions for the study were: 1) how do survivors who have left CSE conceptualize the process of exiting; 2) what factors are helpful or hurtful in the exit process; and 3) what recommendations do survivors have for social services to support exiting? The study used semi-structured interviews with survivors to gather data on individuals' experience with CSE. Participants were gathered through recruitment methods such as snowball sampling, word of mouth, and flyer postings. All the participants had to be female, between 18 and 30 years of age, survivors of CSE since being a minor, have not participated in commercial sex work for at least six months, and had an interest in sharing experiences in exiting or healing from CSE. Participants varied in age, race/ethnic background, and sexual orientation. All participants were racial/ethnic minorities. A total of 11 interviews were conducted. Interviews included ten open-ended questions involving information on identity, childhood, CSE experiences, leaving process, helpful and not helpful services during exiting CSE, and recommendations for improving CSE-focused services. Interview questions are included in the paper. Interview data was content analyzed using an inductive methodology. Characteristics of participants that are reported in the study include age at entry, age at exit, total years of exploitation, third party beneficiary, modalities of exploitation such as prostitution, stripping, pornography. Data analysis revealed six broad thematic domains and a rich thematic category structure as shown below (from Tables 2 and 3, pp. 423-24). To qualify as a theme, content had to be drawn from at least six interviews. The paper provides discussion and quotes for each of the themes.

1. Current Life – descriptions and reflections on what life is like now

- Currently experiencing impact of CSE involvement (motivation to help others due to CSE experience, feeling of connection to others with similar experience, continuing exposure or reminders of CSE experience)
- Career and education (currently employed or in school, long term goals for career in social services)
- Positive identity and self-description
- Engaged in personal healing and change process
- Negative or non-existent relationships
- Current stability/security of basic needs

2. Life Before CSEC – descriptions and reflections on childhood

- Family and caregivers (lack of caring or support from caregivers, familial instability/insecurity, abuse)
- Behavioral/disciplinary problems
- Specifically identified responses to abuse and trauma (externalizing/behavioral responses, internalizing/emotional responses)
- Negative feelings/intense emotions
- Involvement with therapy/case management services

3. Experience in CSE – descriptions of being involved in CSE

- Descriptions of CSE involvement (basic descriptors -- age, duration, etc., changing roles within CSE, patterns of exit and relapse)
- Initiation/first exposure to CSE (reflections on vulnerability to initiation into CSE, self-initiated, forced initiation)
- Danger, fear, and victimization while involved in CSE
- Internal responses to CSE experience (negative thoughts and feelings -- fear, depression, positive thoughts and feelings -- thrill, excitement)
- Pimps/third party exploiters (treatment by exploiters [manipulation by exploiters, isolation/surveillance, assault/abuse, “rules of the game” such as ownership, hierarchy], coercion or manipulation into relationship with pimp)
- Coping strategies (resisting role in CSE, maintaining alternatives, managing distress through avoidance/numbing)

4. Factors Supporting Exiting – factors identified as supportive or helpful

- Intrapersonal/personality factors (ambitions/hopes for a better life, determination, strength, and persistence, self-efficacy and sense of agency, resourcefulness, beliefs and values inconsistent with CSE, purpose outside self, desire to help others, self-respect or self-worth, faith or spirituality, insight/self-awareness)
- Realizations contributing to exiting process (realization of consequences of CSE [threat of violence/death, isolation/lack of freedom, lack of respect and social isolation], revelatory experiences “aha moment”, disillusionment with CSE in general, disillusionment with exploiter)
- Effortful process of making changes (changes in identity or sense of self, creating social connections outside CSE, cutting ties with exploiter or others from CSE, healing activities (spirituality, therapy), saving or managing money)
- Social support factors (general social support – people, friends/peers, impactful service providers, family)
- Access to basic needs (housing, income)
- Social services (therapy/case management services, specialized CSEC services, education)

5. Obstacles to Exiting – factors identified as barriers or challenges to exiting

- Lack of social support (having nobody, significant others present but not supportive)
- Difficulty with initial exit or entering mainstream (lack of alternative housing or income at initial exit, attachment to exploiter, lack of self-worth or self-efficacy)
- Difficulty in staying out of CSE, factors in relapse (ongoing financial stressors, temptation to return to CSE, difficulty building new identity or relationships)
- Prevention by exploiters (psychological coercion or pressure, violence/forceful coercion, system failures -- lack of access or inadequate services)
- 6. Improving services – specific ideas to improve services for CSE survivors
- Characteristics of effective service providers (non-judgmental, accepting, genuine, engaged in their work)

- Recommendations to engage youth in services (be patient, empower youth to make change, provide safety and basic needs first)
- Types of direct services (case management, meeting basic needs -- employment, housing, preventative services for at-risk youth)

Responses were compared across subgroups. In the first comparison, survivors who were 15 and younger during the time of initial exploitation were compared to those who were 17 years of age or older at initial exploitation. In the second comparison, survivors who were working professionally with CSEC or related populations were compared with those who were not so involved. The results showed that the younger group was more likely to be subjected to physical coercion into CSEC, and to be dehumanized by their exploiters, among other differences. Several differences were noted for the service providers versus non-service providers (e.g., members of the former group were more likely to be mothers and were less likely to become involved in CSE by choice). The study concluded that agencies serving people who have exited CSE should not necessarily be separated from those who are serving people who are still involved in the sex industry. The two groups are interlinked since it may take several attempts to exit CSE, much as demonstrated in recovery from substance use, and people who have successfully exited can be supportive to those who have not yet exited.

Burke, Mary, Heather L. McCauley, Anne Rackow, Bradley Orsini, and Bridget Simunovic. 2015. Implementing a coordinated care model for sex trafficked minors in smaller cities. *Journal of Applied Research on Children: Informing Policy for Children at Risk*. 6(1) Article 7. <https://digitalcommons.library.tmc.edu/childrenatrisk/vol6/iss1/7>

The purpose of this study is to illustrate the importance of care coordination, and the role of the Victim Specialist (VS) as part of a human trafficking coalition, with a focus on smaller cities. In small urban and rural areas, services for human trafficking survivors are provided by multiple, disparate social service and health care organizations working across different systems. Health care providers have recommended a care coordination model to provide survivors with needed support and resources. The Western Pennsylvania Trafficking Coalition was formed to provide first responders, fulfill basic needs for trafficking survivors, and facilitate care coordination. Law enforcement is part of the coalition. An important role for care coordination is the FBI Victim Specialist (VS) who meets with survivors to identify needs and support their access to services. In this study, two cases drawn from the work of the coalition in 2013 are highlighted to illustrate care coordination, and the challenges involved in providing services to survivors in small urban areas. Both cases involve minors, one of whom is female and one male-to-female transgender, and emphasize the role of the VS. In one case the survivor successfully transitions from sexual exploitation to independent living, higher education, and employment. In the other case (transgender) the survivor does not transition from trafficking but returns to the exploitative situation. Key findings from the case studies include the following:

- Sexually exploited youth often are involved in both the child welfare and juvenile justice systems (“dual jurisdiction”) however personnel working in these systems may not have appropriate training to support sexually exploited minors involved with both types of agencies.
- Health consequences of trafficking are profound and require multiple services across different health care and social service organizations, however the challenges of coordinating care across these agencies can be difficult.
- Coordination of care for minors is enhanced by specialists who focus on coordination and are sensitive to understanding trauma in working with survivors.
- Survivor services that are coordinated across agencies can provide an alternative to detention or adjudication for minors.
- Perpetrators of exploitation continue to threaten survivors, leading to a situation in which victim services coordinators may be viewed as law enforcement by survivors, requiring time to encourage trust between the service coordinator and the survivor.
- Assuring quality of services across organizations and systems is challenging due to limited resources.

Carpenter, A., and J. Gates. 2016. The Nature and Extent of Gang Involvement in Sex Trafficking in San Diego County. A report submitted to the United States Department of Justice. Grant No. NIJ-2012-R2-CX-0028

The purpose of this study was to “investigate the nature and assess the scope of gang involvement in sex trafficking in San Diego County” (p. 9), including detailed analysis of sex trafficking facilitation (by perpetrators), the scope and nature of victimization in the county, and estimates of the regional commercial sex economy. Qualitative and quantitative data was gathered from five major sources: 1) surveys conducted over ten years with 702 participants in a prostitution diversion program; 2) standardized intake forms with 140 sex trafficking survivors collected over two years by eight social service providers; 3) police arrest records and Sheriff booking datasets; 4) focus groups with staff members at 20 high schools in San Diego County; and 5) interviews with gang affiliated individuals involved in or knowledgeable about sex trafficking. Data from these sources was compiled into several data bases and analyzed to generate qualitative and quantitative findings. Three major categories of findings emerge from the analysis: 1) estimates of the regional sex economy (estimated in 2013 as \$810 million, with facilitators making an average of \$670,625 per year; 2) scope and nature of gang involvement in sex trafficking (110 gangs profiting from sex trafficking operate in San Diego County with a wide variety of racial/ethnic backgrounds, varying levels of centralization, organization and coerciveness, different facilitator profiles, online presences, transnational connections, and locations); and 3) scope and nature of victimization (estimated that there are 3,417 to 8,108 people who have experienced commercial sexual exploitation in San Diego County each year – about 50% of people arrested for prostitution meet the federal classification as victims of human trafficking, but are unidentified or misidentified in the criminal justice system). Data analysis includes information related to victims’ country of origin, age and residence, homelessness/foster care, and recruitment at high schools (all high schools included in the study confirmed that recruitment was happening at their school). Discussion of the data analysis includes implications for understanding commercial sexual exploitation in San Diego County (for example, the average age of recruitment is 16.1 years old but the average age for first arrest for prostitution is 19, meaning there is a three-year gap between victimization and discovery by law enforcement), as well as policy implications related to capacity building, service delivery, new programming, and future research.

Chang, Kimberly S. G, Kevin Lee, Terrence Park, Elizabeth Sy and Thu Quach. 2015. Using a Clinic-based Screening Tool for Primary Care Providers to Identify Commercially Sexually Exploited Children. *Journal of Applied Research on Children: Informing Policy for Children at Risk* 5 (1), 6.

This study focuses on exploring human trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) from the medical and public health sector in Alameda County of Oakland, California. Specifically, the study intends to do three things: (1) find the proportion of AHS (Asian Health Services) Teen Clinic patients screened for CSEC based on the use of a CSEC screening protocol; (2) assess the prevalence of CSEC among patients who are screened; and (3) comprehend how the CSEC protocol can serve as a beneficial tool in clinics for detecting CSEC. The study identifies CSEC recognized patients at an Asian Health Service (AHS) Teen Clinic from 2008 to 2011 by using chart abstractions. The CSEC screening tool finds potential predictors such as sexually transmitted infection (STI) screenings, history of sexual abuse, having more than ten sexual partners, having chronic truancy issues, and minors who were sexually active. The study reviewed 621 female youth and young adult (13 to 23 years of age) medical charts who received sexual and reproductive health services at the AHS Teen Health Clinic. Data was collected and then analyzed using a logistic regression model in Microsoft Access with information abstracted from six categories: (1) patient demographics, (2) clinical testing requests patterns, (3) home environment and safety, (4) school enrollment and performance, (5) sexuality and birth control, and (6) history of CSEC. Of the 621 patient abstracts, 177 were screened for CSEC and 13 were found to be confirmed cases. Overall, those with confirmed cases had increased expectancy to have history of STIs, have more than two sexual partners, have more than ten sexual partners over the lifetime, or had two or more risk factors. Overall, these factors were strongly associated with the positive CSEC cases more than the other risk factors. The authors conclude that the use of a CSEC screening tool offers as a strong resource for reducing CSEC and for expanding knowledge and training for clinic providers.

Childress, C., A. Farrell, A. Wagner, S. Bhimani, and K L. Maass. 2024. The half-built road: Exploring the impediments to justice for victims of labor trafficking. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 10(2):271-288. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2024.2303252>

This exploratory study aims to understand how labor trafficking cases progress through the criminal legal system, focused on why there are relatively few prosecutions of such cases. A comparative cross-case approach is used to identify common themes related to the processing of cases through the justice system and to identify barriers to prosecution. Five labor trafficking cases were selected to provide a range of outcomes. Only one of the cases was prosecuted, but not for labor trafficking under the TVPA. Three cases involved civil litigation, and multiple victims received T visas or other immigration remedies. Data regarding cases came from client and provider interviews (N=22), case records (N=27), and media reports (N=19). Also obtained were case notes from a legal advocacy organization. All documents were coded inductively. The study traces the development of cases through crucial decision points in the criminal legal process, and identifies legal, structural, and cultural barriers to their progression. Process maps show the pathway each case followed, including points where cases became stalled or were abandoned. The process maps identified eleven phases involved in processing. Fourteen barriers were found across these phases, with 66% occurring in the investigative phase, and 27% occurring in the charging phase. The most common barrier occurring in the investigative phase was victim intimidation by, or fear of a trafficker (77 times), followed by “cultural norms (41 times), lack of cohesion and clarity of roles (30 times), and disruption of powerful people, economic interests (28 times)”. In the charging phase, the most common barrier was “choosing the easiest or most certain strategy (114 times)”. The paper walks through the barriers identified throughout the processing of one case, an agricultural labor case with multiple victims and defendants. The barriers weakened the case, leading to a decision to prosecute, but not under the TVPA. The barriers are divided into three types: legal (challenges in the legal landscape that lead to misunderstanding the case); institutional (agency policies, goals, and routines that delay or derail investigation); cultural (law enforcement lack of understanding of victims’ cultures and reliance on stereotypes about victims). Barriers frequently appeared in combination. These barriers render the criminal legal process an inefficient and insufficient process for pursuing justice. The paper provides a detailed discussion of each type of barrier, reviewing barriers in each of the five cases. Illustrative quotes from interviews are included. The paper concludes that while the criminal legal system has been designated as the main arena for anti-trafficking efforts, barriers at the investigative and charging phases make prosecution difficult. More training of law enforcement related to these phases is recommended. In addition, labor trafficking victims may be better served by other avenues, such as civil remedies and broader regulatory and policy changes.

Chisolm-Straker, M., Baldwin, S., Gaïgbé-Togbé, B., Ndukwe, N., Johnson, P.N., and Richardson, L.D. 2016. Health care and human trafficking: We are seeing the unseen. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*. 27(3), 1220-1233. doi:10.1353/hpu.2016.0131.

The purpose of the study was “to quantify the frequency with which trafficked people encounter health providers in the US...to describe the health care settings most frequented by victims of human trafficking, whether their situations are recognized by providers, and which expert-recommended screening questions are being used” (p. 1221). Data was gathered through a retrospective survey that was available on paper and online. The survey was available in English, Haitian Creole, and Spanish. Participants were recruited through cooperation with organizations, advocates, and survivors. All survivors of trafficking who reside in the US were eligible to participate. Participants self-identified as survivors in the survey. The study was conducted during 2012 and 2013. Survey questions focused on basic demographics, type of exploitation, medical ailments experienced, whether health care was desired/received. For those who visited a health care provider, the survey asked about the type of provider, whether providers asked screening questions that could help to identify them as trafficking victims, whether they were correctly identified as being victims, and if they received assistance. Responses were entered into a SPSS database and analyzed using chi square tests for categorical variables and a t-test for continuous variables, with a focus on gender, US-born versus foreign-born, and exploitation type. The survey was completed by 173 survivors. Participants mostly came from the US, but survivors also came from China (next highest), Mexico (second highest), Japan, Indonesia, Poland, Korea, Vietnam, India, and Brazil. The participant characteristics that are described in the paper include US born, mean age at study completion, mean age first trafficked, less than 18 years old when first trafficked, mean age at escape, at least high school graduation, wanted to see a doctor, able to see a doctor, and talked with a doctor about being trafficked. Significant findings regarding gender include the following:

- Female respondents were more likely to be born in the US and trafficked as minors
- Female respondents were less likely to have completed high school
- Females were younger when trafficked.

Significant findings for US-born versus foreign-born survivors include the following:

- US-born survivors were more likely to be female and trafficked as minors
- US-born survivors were younger when initially trafficked.

Participants were asked what kind of trafficking they experienced. Overall, just over half (55%) were involved in sex work (e.g., pornography, stripping, escorting). When comparing males and females, there was a significant difference for being involved in sex work (mostly females), service industry (mostly males), outdoor labor (mostly males), and factory work (mostly males). When asked what health-related service providers they saw, 68% (117) of the respondents were able to see a provider and 73% wanted to see one. Of the 117, survivors saw dentists, emergency/urgent care service providers (majority of visits), OB/GYNs, primary care providers (second most visited), pediatricians, alternative healers, and other care. Less than 1% were unsure of the care they received, if any. Health providers were more likely to identify survivors who had been trafficked if the individual was born outside the US or was male. Participants who were identified as being trafficked were more likely to have been asked about six of the eight expert-recommended screening topics (about living situation, their work, if anyone was hurting them, about their ID being taken away, if they owe an employer money, if they felt safe at home, if they were forced to perform, and about their sexual partners). A significant majority of those identified as being trafficked were asked about their living situation (61%) and about their work (84%). A majority (52%) were asked whether their employer owed them money. The results also indicated that more males and foreign-born survivors would report to health care providers about their trafficking experiences.

Chisolm-Straker, Makini, Jeremy Sze, Julia Einbond, James White, and Hanni Stoklosa. 2018. A supportive adult may be the difference in homeless youth not being trafficked. *Children and Youth Services Review* 9: 115-120. DOI: 10.1016/j.chilyouth.2018.06.003.

This study explores which demographic and social factors differentiate homeless youth who have experienced labor or sex trafficking from homeless youth who have not had such experience. To identify victims of trafficking, the authors use the definition of “severe” human trafficking provided by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000. The study used data from trafficking assessments of individuals who were served by the Covenant House New Jersey (CHNJ) which is a nongovernmental organization (NGO) that provides shelter and other services to homeless people ages 18 to 22. Any individuals enrolled in the program from November 2, 2015, to February 21, 2017, were eligible to participate in the study. All data used was de-identified. The participants in the study were assessed with questions from a Human Trafficking Assessment and CHNJ’s Initial Basic/Behavioral Health Assessment (IBBHA). Standard topics included in this latter instrument are listed in the paper. The paper also provides sociodemographic information for the following variables: race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation minority, age, age left home, and ever trafficked. The Human Trafficking Assessment uses the Human Trafficking Interview and Assessment Measure. To explore which factors were associated with a trafficking experience, the results of each Human Trafficking Assessment were compared with answers to demographic and social questions. All participants were above 18 years of age. Descriptive statistics, as well as bivariate and multivariate methods, were used to analyze data. People who identified as female, transgender, or gender nonconforming were grouped together as they were considered to be at higher risk for trafficking compared with the other group of those who identified with being male (considered a protective factor); however, gender was not associated in the study with higher rates of trafficking (although most participants were female). The study took place over 15 months with 344 participants who responded to both assessments (IBBHA and Human Trafficking); 258 answered all questions. The results showed that 9.3% (33) had experienced trafficking. Most participants were of color (over 20%). The bivariate analysis showed that the following factors were significantly associated with trafficking: having an Individualized Education Plan; a history of emotional, physical, or sexual abuse; a history of having been arrested; having been in foster care; having witnessed violence at home; having a mental health issue; ever having suicidal thoughts; and having family problems with the law. The multivariate analysis, which modeled all variables together, found that those who had a supportive adult in their lives had a reduction in the odds of experiencing trafficking and those who had an arrest history had higher odds. The term “supportive adult” was not defined. The authors suggest that future studies need to explore the term “supportive adult” more with a higher sample size which can assist with evidence-based prevention programs and policies.

Chohaney, Michael L. 2016. Minor and Adult Domestic Sex Trafficking Risk Factors in Ohio. *Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research* 7(1):2334-2315/2016/0701-0006

The purpose of this paper is to provide a quantitative analysis of direct risk factors for minor and adult sex trafficking in Ohio. Ohio is a well-known trafficking recruiting state, and an important locus for sex trafficking because it is proximate to major interstate freeways and located along trafficking routes between Chicago and Detroit. The study was motivated by Reid's structural modeling approach that differentiates between direct and indirect risk factors based upon a structural equation pathway model of sex trafficking victimization. The theoretical framework adopted by the author postulates that the main risk factors for minors all relate to negative childhood experiences and adolescent informal social control, whereas adult risk factors are related to lack of social capital and independence from negative informal social controls. The risk factors are described and displayed in a table. The author tested four hypotheses:

- “Hypothesis 1: If a minor engages in survival sex, then he or she is at greater odds to be a minor trafficking victim, even when accounting for running away from home and homelessness.
- Hypothesis 2: If an individual has friends involved in buying sex or trading others for sex prior to personal involvement in the sex trade, then he or she is at increased odds of becoming a minor sex trafficking victim.
- Hypothesis 3: If a sex worker attempts to quit sex work, but is rejected or ignored, then he or she has greater odds of being an adult sex trafficking victim than those who found help.
- Hypothesis 4: If an adult sex worker was also victimized as a minor, then he or she has greater odds of currently being a sex trafficking victim.
 - Sub hypothesis 1: The odds of a sex worker becoming a minor or adult trafficking victim differ according to the individual's race/ethnicity.
 - Sub hypothesis 2: The odds of being a sex trafficking victim decrease with age” (p. 22).

The study used multivariate logistic regression models to test the hypotheses. The data for the study was drawn from a U.S. Department of Justice-funded survey through the Domestic Sex Trafficking in Ohio Research and Analysis Sub-Committee of Ohio Human Trafficking Commission in 2011. The questionnaire for the study included more than 100 questions. Survey questions used to create variables are displayed in the paper. There was a total of 328 participants in the study, all urban street-based Ohio sex workers. Most questions were binary (yes/no; have/have not) and covered topics like demographics (gender, race/ethnicity, age), as well as sex work history, experience of abuse, runaway episodes, and traffickers' transportation routes. Data was collected in-person by a trained advocate at private and secure library study rooms. All participants under 18 were reported to child welfare. Respondents were found using respondent-driven sampling (RDS) and were compensated for each referral. Participants included females and males but were mostly females (70.7%), included all age ranges but the median was 37 years, and all races but the majorities were African American (55.5%) and White (32.2%). The survey included participants from Toledo (15%), Dayton (11.9%), Columbus (44%), Cleveland (15%), Cincinnati (13.7%), and Lima (0.4%). Most respondents (60%) reported working both at street-based and higher-end sites like clients' homes. The majority (73%) also reported making less than \$10,000 a year. The results of modeling explained 18-28% of the variance in the data. Results showed

that several factors increased the odds of being trafficked as a minor: engaging in survival sex while running away (160% more likely), having friends who bought or sold sex (116% more likely), previous conflict with parents (97%), identifying as multi-racial (84%). The adult trafficking model also showed that several factors increased the odds of being trafficked as an adult: an attempt to stop sex work but did not find help (163% more likely), not seeking help to stop sex work (56% more likely). The odds of being currently trafficked decreased by 6% for every year of age. The odds that a white adult is currently being trafficked are 146% higher than the odds for an African American and 275% higher for Hispanics than African Americans. Overall, hypotheses one, two, and three were supported while four was not (although the two sub-hypotheses were supported). The authors also found that traffickers were most often an unrelated female or male that acted as a girlfriend, boyfriend, or friend for both minors and adults (54%) but in unlikely situations it could be a family member (13% and 6%). The author suggests that since survival sex while running away was the most influential direct risk for minors, and failure to find adequate assistance while attempting to leave sex work was an important risk factor for adults, that Ohio needs to educate communities on how to identify and aid sex trafficking victims, while protecting victims from retaliation by traffickers.

Christmas, Robert W. 2017. *Modern Day Slavery and the Sex Industry: Raising Voices of Survivors and Collaborators While Confronting Sex Trafficking and Exploitation in Manitoba, Canada*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Peace and Conflict Studies University of Manitoba Winnipeg. Available at umanitoba.ca

This qualitative study aims to analyze survivors' and practitioners' experiences and perceptions with sex trafficking and sexual exploitation in Manitoba, Canada while also providing an opportunity for them to share their ideas on how to handle (prevention, reduction, and interruption) the globally growing issue. The study methodology takes a grounded approach, using open-ended interview questions with the intention of gathering stories of those directly involved (survivors or practitioners). Interview questions are provided in an appendix. The practitioners were identified by word of mouth/snowball sampling and came from governmental (social work, counseling, and law enforcement) and nongovernmental (sex industry) agencies. The survivors were identified through referral letters distributed to practitioners. The research officially was approved to start in September of 2015. The author uses a social integrationist view (interpretations are reflective, subjective, and reactive) and a "human building" approach (rely on human agency and their perceptions). The author notes that women and children face the most intersectional challenges when it comes to dealing with commercial sexual exploitation and sex trafficking. Most of the participants (80%) came from Winnipeg in Manitoba and 20% came from rural parts of Manitoba. The author explored relationships between individuals and groups, including: (1) political leaders and Indigenous leaders, (2) governmental and non-governmental organizations, and (3) different experiential levels of survivors in the sex industry. There were 61 total interviews with six political leaders, 23 social workers, 24 police officers, and eight survivors. Participants were broken down further by experiential survivors of the sex industry and practitioners/community leaders; however, sometimes participants were included in both categories if they were survivors that now worked directly with treatment programs (interviewee decided which category to be placed in). All participants were highly credible and knowledgeable in their field. All interviews were conducted at a time and place suggested by the participant with most being held privately in their place of work. Analysis of all interviews was conducted by studying participants' words and categorizing them into themes. Overall, there were 38 distinct themes that the author groups as seven chapters of the thesis (chapters 5 through 9 are the main empirical chapters):

- Ch 5: Vulnerability and Prevention of the Sexual Industry Exploitation: the current Manitoba context and how counter-exploitation efforts work there; voluntariness of participation in the sex industry
- Ch 6: Violence Against Canadian Indigenous Women and Girls: history and lasting transgenerational impacts of colonization affecting Indigenous people's current vulnerability; culturally appropriate awareness and programming
- Ch 7: Awareness and Education: educating youth as well as purchasers of sex; raising awareness among the general public; specialized training for practitioners

Ch 8: The Laws: history and evolution of the laws regarding sexual exploitation and sex trafficking; the justice system and whether incarceration is a deterrent; what effect laws have on the sex industry and what police should be doing

- Ch 9: Getting Out is Harder Than it Looks: factors that keep survivors from escaping the sex industry; the high incidence of survivors who have escaped and devote themselves to helping others; the importance of system flexibility
- Ch 10: Challenges and Opportunities: collaboration and coordination; aging out of services; lack of awareness of resources that are available; technological challenges and opportunities; the need to build trust between survivors and practitioners
- Ch 11: Overall Key Findings and Recommendations: a summary.

Overall, the author concludes that sex trafficking and exploitation are a social, economic, and political problem that needs to be explored through the intersectional lenses of economics, legality, politics, psychology, society, and culture. Furthermore, awareness of the issue is most feasible through education. The author suggests that more research needs to be funded on the topics of sex trafficking marketing, prevention and early childhood abuse such as looking into trauma and victimization warning signs. This research could help identify police services and child welfare agency programs that need to be implemented, identify the need for change in provincial and national laws, further explore sex trafficking on social media and the Internet, bring light to mental health issues for related parties, and create effective interventions for sexually exploited youth.

Cimino, Andrea N. 2019. Uncovering Intentions to Exit Prostitution: Findings from a Qualitative Study. *Victims & Offenders*. 14 (5): 606-624. DOI: 10.1080/15564886.2019.1628144.

This qualitative study is designed to explore and theorize the intentions of exiting street-level prostitution using the Integrative Model of Behavior (IMBP). The intent is to operationalize key aspects of exiting. Exiting theory is used by the authors and described as the process of transitioning from prostitution to a conventional lifestyle for women. There are four exiting pathways used to contextualize the study: (1) reactionary transition, (2) gradual transition, (3) natural progression, and (4) yo-yoing (going back and forth between the lifestyles). These transitions are all determined by the woman's resources and willingness. The study analyzes the aspects of this theoretical approach through three behavior performances under IMBP: (1) skills to perform behavior, (2) lack of environmental behavior constraints, and (3) behavior intentions. Qualitative semi-instructed interviews are used to assess exiting theory's evidence for prostitution through analysis of attitude, efficacy, and normative beliefs about exiting prostitution. Participants were all from a support group for women exiting prostitution during 2013. There were 14 former and two current prostitutes that were asked open-ended questions based on their experience with prostitution and the exiting process. All questions were linked to IMBP: "(1) attitudes: benefits/advantages and risks/disadvantages of prostitution; (2) norms: specific individuals who encouraged their decision to stay/leave prostitution; (3) efficacy: situations or circumstances where they might return to prostitution; (4) agency: feeling free to choose to exit prostitution. The guide was based on IMBP constructs (p. 611)." The study includes quotes from the participants to provide support on the four IMBP constructs. The main findings show that intention to exit is a combination of glamorization, the relation of benefits to risks (positive for greater benefits and negative for greater risks), normative beliefs and the role of stigma from significant others, relying on resilience or self-efficacy, and agency. The authors provide models of their theoretical framework, including all parts of the IMBP constructs.

Cole, Jennifer and Ginny Sprang. 2015. Sex trafficking of minors in metropolitan, micropolitan, and rural communities. *Child Abuse & Neglect* 40:113-123. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2014.07.015>

The study examines “professionals’ awareness, knowledge, protocols, and experiences working with individuals who were trafficked as minors in commercial sex to better understand how trafficking of minors occurs and community agency responses. The secondary purpose...was to compare professionals’ awareness, knowledge, and experience by type of community in which they worked (metropolitan, micropolitan, and rural) to examine similarities and differences in how sex trafficking operates and community agencies’ responses to victims in different types of communities” (p. 114). The participants in the study were personnel in agencies that provides services to at-risk youth or crime victims throughout the state. Data was collected during 2012 and 2013 through a telephone survey. Responses from 289 professionals were included in the data analysis. Respondents were classified into one of four groups: metropolitan, micropolitan, rural, or a combination of these types. The types of agencies they worked in included: juvenile courts, juvenile justice, victim services, agencies serving at-risk youth, behavioral health providers, and other agencies, including schools and law enforcement. Survey questions were both closed and open-ended, and focused on the type of community a respondent worked in, awareness of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC), and experience working with CSEC victims. A series of questions focused on information regarding CSEC victims, including demographics, risk factors, trafficking situation, and a wide range of other questions pertaining to victims. Statistical and content analysis techniques were used to analyze data. Results show that respondents in metropolitan areas perceive CSEC as a fairly or very serious problem in the state compared to other respondents. Significantly more respondents in rural and micropolitan communities view CSEC as a fairly or very serious problem in their communities compared with respondents in metropolitan areas. Significantly more respondents from metropolitan areas reported that they were fairly or very familiar with state and federal statutes compared to respondents from micropolitan areas. The metropolitan respondents also were fairly or very familiar with the federal statute compared with respondents from rural areas. Significantly more professionals in metropolitan areas had received training on human trafficking compared to other respondents. Significantly fewer professionals from micropolitan areas had experience working with minor victims of sex trafficking compared to respondents from other settings. The paper also reports data on respondents’ experiences in working with minor victims of sex trafficking, including: mean number of victims worked with; mean percentage of victims by gender, citizenship, and trafficking situation (where trafficked, type of exploitation, vulnerabilities factors); relationship of trafficker-victim; how trafficker maintained control; internet-facilitation of trafficking; gang affiliation of trafficker; and other factors. There were similarities across communities with respect to these factors, including trafficking situation, relationship of trafficker and victim, vulnerability factors, tactics used by traffickers, and internet facilitation, suggesting that many aspects of sex trafficking of minors are not necessarily community-related and may be easily transferred across locales. However, in non-metropolitan communities, professionals have less awareness, training, and experience with respect to cases of sex trafficking of minors. Recommendations for training and practice are provided.

Cole, Jennifer and Ginny Sprang. 2019. Safe harbor law: Pre- to post-implementation change in service providers' knowledge and response to sex trafficking of minors. *Journal of Crime and Justice* 43(3):377-392.

This study examines changes in service providers' awareness, knowledge, and capacity for responses to sex trafficked minors in Kentucky following enactment of a safe harbor law using a pre- to post-implementation design. Telephone surveys of 323 service providers were conducted in 2012-13 and again in 2016-17, including a semi-structured interview protocol. Findings show that there were significant positive changes in the provision of training, use of trafficking related protocols, collaborations across agencies, and treatment of survivors from pre- to post-implementation. Challenges related to unintended consequences are discussed. The need for more training, funding, and placement solutions is noted.

Cole, Jennifer, PhD, Ginny Sprang, PhD, Robert Lee, MS, and Judith Cohen, MD. 2016. The trauma of commercial sexual exploitation of youth: a comparison of CSE victims to sexual abuse victims in a clinical sample. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 31(1):122-46. DOI: 10.1177/0886260514555133

The purpose of this study is to understand the histories, mental health symptoms/needs, and service utilization patterns for youth exploited in commercial sex. A second objective is to compare types of trauma exposure, trauma-related symptoms, and behaviors related to functional impairment of the commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) victims (as self-reported by youth) with a matched sample that experienced sexual abuse/assault but not commercial exploitation. The goal is to support screening and treatment protocols for CSE youth. The overall sample was comprised of 14,088 clients from 56 National Child Traumatic Stress Network (NCTSN) centers across the US. Of these, only 43 met the definition of confirmed involvement in prostitution. Youth in the CSE sample were aged 10 to 20 years old. Males and females were included. A matched comparison sample was created that matched by age, race, and primary residence. The matched group included 173 youth aged 10 to 19. Data for the study was drawn from NCTSN records stored in a data repository. Data stored in the repository is drawn from a battery of measures administered at intake and every three months until the end of treatment. Only intake data was used in this study. Measures included demographic characteristics (age, gender, race, ethnicity, and primary residence). A three-point scale was used to rate the degree (severity) by which behavior and functioning was impaired in various psychosocial domains, including academic problems, behavior problems at home or school, substance use, and other medical problems or disabilities. CSE was determined and coded (yes or no). Clinicians also rated the degree to which clients met the criteria for 13 disorders in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual 4th edition (e.g., depression, post-traumatic stress disorder or PTSD, generalized anxiety). Ratings for trauma were taken from the clinician-administered Trauma History Profile, which assesses exposure to 19 types of traumatic event. Computed variables were created from the sum of trauma events experienced. Service utilization was rated on a three-point scale (yes, no, unknown) to identify any service received 30 days prior to intake or during treatment. A questionnaire was used to screen for exposure to traumatic events and PTSD symptoms, based on self-reports or clinician determination. Emotional and behavioral problems as rated by a parent or caregiver were measured by the Child Behavior Checklist. There were no significant differences found between the CSE group and the comparison groups with respect to trauma exposure. The CSE group had significantly higher rates of involvement with detention centers, hospital emergency rooms, and self-help groups; other service provision was not significantly different. The CSE group had significantly higher rates of behaviors that can be classified as at-risk, such as skipping school, sexualized behavior, alcohol use, substance abuse, criminal activity, and running away. This group also had higher rates of youth with dissociation. The CSE group had significantly higher scores for PTSD, both for the overall score and the subscales on avoidance and hyperarousal. Nearly the entire CSE group was in the clinically significant range for re-experiencing and hyperarousal.

Contreras, Paola Michelle, Diya Kallivayalil, and Judith Lewis Herman. 2017. Psychotherapy in the aftermath of human trafficking: Working through the consequences of psychological coercion. *Women & Therapy* 40(1-2):31-54. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02703149.2016.1205908>

This paper presents three case studies of human trafficking survivors to illustrate complex themes that arise in psychotherapy that takes place in the aftermath of trafficking, specifically how the therapist could help the survivor work through issues of trust and shame. The three case studies provide vignettes that describe women who have been forced, deceived, and/or coerced into situations of sexual exploitation in the United States, one originally from Central America, one from the United States, and one from East Asia. The themes derived from the cases that are pertinent to working with trafficking survivors include the following: use of language and terminology related to victims and survivors; understanding the context of vulnerability that led to the person's exploitation; issues of trust that create obstacles to services; the requirement for basic needs to be met; the power providers hold with respect to survivors; and the way in which a sense of isolation for survivors can stymie recovery. The paper provides recommendations for clinical practice that can help in building trust in psychotherapy and reducing the sense of shame.

Corbett, Annie. 2018. The voices of survivors: An exploration of the contributing factors that assisted with exiting from commercial sexual exploitation in childhood. *Children and Youth Services Review* 85:91-98.

The purpose of this paper is to advance understanding of the factors that support survivors of commercial sexual exploitation in childhood to exit the Life (meaning lifestyle related to the commercial sex trade). The primary research question was: “What can be learned from the lived experiences of women who successfully exited childhood commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) and perceive themselves to be functioning well despite this history?” (p. 92). The study methodology was individual semi-structured interviews and thematic data analysis. Participants were recruited via flyers distributed with the support of social service agencies in the California Bay Area. Selection criteria included the following: females between the ages of 21 and 26; reside in the Bay Area; identify as a survivor of CSE in childhood; out of the Life for at least two years; report functioning well as adult; speak, read, and write English; willing to participate in a taped interview. Thirteen participants were identified and engaged in the interview process. The sample included individuals who were not connected to social service agencies while they were in the Life. Eight had no contact with professional services other than law enforcement while in CSE. Profiles for participants are provided in the paper and include age, age at time of entry into CSE, race and ethnicity, race and ethnic identity, sexual orientation, living situation at time of entry, years in the Life, and circumstances surrounding exit from the Life. Age ranges for entry into CSE were 8 to 15 years, and all participants exited the Life at 17 years of age. Interview themes are described as follows:

- The first theme that emerged from the interviews was a positive self-perception and description, which included the following subthemes: naming of self as outside the Life; connections with family; breaking the cycle of abuse; and embracing the term survivor.
- The second theme that emerged was a description of recruitment into the Life and their survival within it, including the following subthemes: sex for goods; surviving the game; pimp control; wanting to be loved; contributing family factors; and the grooming process.
- The third theme related to the challenges of exiting the Life, which included the following subthemes: naming someone who exited other than the self; the dependency of others; exiting not profitable; fear keeps you in; thinking about leaving; the importance of family; pending motherhood; wanting to be free; sustaining the exit; and professional systems not accessed.

The participants provided recommendations for service providers and family on what would be helpful while they were in the Life and in the process of exiting. These included: active listening; encouragement; non-judgment; and don't leave when we push. The interviews revealed the complexity of exiting the Life. Participants indicated that they were committed to sustaining the exit, but had challenges related to employment and housing. All were marginally stable, but a few were homeless, while others lived in a car or motels. They indicated that they could return to the Life if necessary.

Correa-Cabrera, Guadalupe. 2017. Trafficking in Persons Along Mexico's Eastern Migration Routes: The Role of Transnational Criminal Organizations. The University of Texas Rio Grande Valley. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/final.pdf>.

"The aim of this research is to understand the role of transnational organized crime in human trafficking along Mexico's eastern migration routes, from Central America to Mexico's northeastern border" (1). The paper identified two goals and six objectives:

- Goal 1 To identify the role that Mexican TCOs play in labor and sex and trafficking in order to improve government authorities' interdiction of traffickers.
- Objective 1 To determine which Mexican-origin TCOs have expanded their repertoire of illegal revenue generating activities to include human trafficking for the purposes of labor and forced prostitution.
- Objective 2 To assess the percentage of migrants that have been forced by TCOs to participate in criminal activities or prostitution.
- Objective 3 To identify the linkages between Mexican TCOs and labor and sex trafficking rings.
- Objective 4 To better understand the phenomenon of "forced labor for criminal activities" along the migration routes (among these activities are: production, transportation and sale of illicit drugs, execution of violence, and surveillance activities for these organizations).
- Goal 2 To assess the level of collaboration between Mexican-origin TCOs, transnational criminal gangs and other paramilitary groups in compelled labor and forced prostitution to improve international and intra-national efforts to combat trafficking of migrants in Mexico.
- Objective 1 To determine which specific transnational criminal gangs (e.g., El Salvador's Maras) and other paramilitary groups (e.g., Guatemala's Kaibiles) collaborate with Mexican origin TCOs (such as the Gulf Cartel and the Zetas) in sex trafficking, forced labor for criminal activities, and other forms of labor trafficking.
- Objective 2 To determine which specific activities these other groups perform in the dynamics of human trafficking in these regions and to identify the routes in which they operate (maps were attached in last report)." (p. 4-5)

The study conducted interviews with migrants in shelters, prisoners with human trafficking charges, and informants along the Eastern migrant route in Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. The study lasted 18 months and includes maps of the locations of migrant routes, cities, shelters, current and past trafficking hot spots, and criminal activity for forced labor trafficking. The study found that routes involving cartel and criminal use are highly tied to migrant smuggling. Women are trafficked from Mexico to the US. Criminal groups collaborate for maximizing benefits. Human trafficking diversifies revenue streams. Poverty increases risk of trafficking, and there are many limitations across government agencies for combatting trafficking. The study does not give specifics about the interviews but uses them to create a macro understanding of trafficking patterns in Central America and Mexico. The authors give recommendations and future research steps to elaborate significant findings.

Cotter, Adam. 2020. Trafficking in Persons in Canada, 2018. Juristat. Statistics Canada. Catalogue no. 85-002-X. ISSN 1209-6393. www.statcan.gc.ca

The purpose of this paper is to report on data from the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Survey and the Integrated Criminal Court Survey (ICCS) to examine trends in prevalence and characteristics of human trafficking in Canada, as reported by the Canadian police services and adult court services. A special feature of this report is a study that links data from these two sources to determine how many cases of trafficking that are reported by the police are processed through the court system as human trafficking cases. Highlights of the report are as follows:

- Between 2009 and 2018, the police reported 1,708 cases of human trafficking in Canada, with just under 1,400 victims. Court cases and police reports of human trafficking have been generally increasing since 2009.
- Nine out of ten cases have been reported in metropolitan areas, with half of them being in four areas – Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, and Halifax (which are not necessarily where the trafficking originated). The highest rates per 100,000 residents were in Halifax and Windsor, which are near international borders.
- Fifty-six percent of cases involved human trafficking as the violation, while 44% involved at least one other violation such as sexual services, assault, or kidnapping.
- Sex trafficking is more prevalent than labor trafficking among cases reported.
- Nearly all victims (97%) were women and girls. Just under half of the victims were between the ages of 18 and 24 (45%). Nearly one third were under the age of 18 (28%).
- The overwhelming majority of victims were acquainted with their trafficker (92%), usually a friend, acquaintance, or intimate partner.
- About half of the reported cases (48%) resulted in charges being laid, while another half (47%) had not yet been cleared, meaning that no person had been identified as responsible. In nearly all cases where a responsible party had been identified, charges were laid.
- Charges were more often laid in cases involving violation of the Criminal Code (62%) versus violation of the Refugee Protection Act (16%). Fewer cases were cleared for criminal code violations (33%) versus refugee violations (79%). Charges were laid in 80% of cases that were violations of the refugee act versus 92% for violations of the criminal code.
- Seven out of ten court cases (versus police reports) on human trafficking have another offense as the most serious, with at least one other charge being laid in 582 completed cases. Most of these cases involved sexual services as the most serious offense.
- The report notes that completed court cases involving a human trafficking charge average 16 charges per case (versus 4 charges for a case of violent crime) and took considerably longer to complete than other cases involving violent crimes. Human trafficking cases are more complex and take longer. A case involving a violent crime took an average of 172 days to complete, while a human trafficking case took an average of 358 days.
- Cases involving human trafficking as the most serious charge were more likely to be stayed, withdrawn, dismissed, or discharged (62% versus 40% for cases where human trafficking was not the most serious charge and 35% for violent offenses).
- A finding of guilty was less likely in a case where human trafficking was the most serious offense (29%) versus 58% in cases involving violent offenses. A guilty verdict is most likely to result in a sentence of custody (76%).

- The study of linked records (police reports and court cases) shows that many charges from police reports of human trafficking were for violations other than human trafficking (45%). In other words, nearly half of the cases identified as human trafficking by police were not processed as human trafficking by the courts.
- Over half of completed cases were processed for non-violent offenses, including administration of justice offenses, weapons offenses, drug-related offenses, and offenses related to stolen goods. Human trafficking was the most serious offense in 23% of the completed cases.
- Cases that did not result in a charge of human trafficking were slightly more likely to result in a guilty verdict than those including a human trafficking charge (54%). These cases were less likely to result in a guilty verdict or probation than cases involving a human trafficking charge.
- It is postulated that one reason why cases proceed in the courts without a human trafficking charge is that it is difficult to establish guilt based on the requirement for proof of coercion or exploitation required by human trafficking law.

Cyders, Melissa A, Taylor Hunto, and Alexandra R. Hershberger. 2021. Substance use and childhood sexual abuse among girls who are victims of commercial sexual exploitation. *Substance Use & Misuse* 56(9):1339-1345. DOI: 10.1080/10826084.2021.1922453.

The purpose of this article is to determine risk indicators for commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) specifically those related to substance use and childhood sexual abuse. The authors define CSEC as “a range of crimes and activities involving the sexual abuse or exploitation of a child for the financial benefit of any person or in exchange for anything of value given or received by any person.” The authors also indicate that CSEC victims who identify as girls have higher levels of substance use and therefore the study uses girls as the subject of focus. The study used de-identified cross-sectional data collected retrospectively from psychological assessments completed by girls referred by the Department of Child Services in a large Midwestern City. The department specializes in the treatment of CSEC victimized girls and who have complex trauma such as a history of running away, physical abuse, sexual abuse, and neglect. The assessments took place between 2014 and 2017 with most being conducted in a residential treatment setting (92.6%), some at their guardian’s home (3.7%), and a few at a juvenile detention center (1.2%). The girls were placed into two groups: CSEC if they had self-reported or had court documentation of acts related to CSEC; or high-risk if they had two or more assessed traumas but did not have reports of CSEC. The participants self-reported their age, race, history with substance use, history of sexual abuse, and history with domestic violence. Licensed clinicians reviewed the assessments and made diagnoses. Severity of substance use was evaluated using the Youth Level of Service Case Management Inventory (YLS/CMI) which reviews abuse on a five-level scale and has consistent inter-rater reliability. The data from the CSEC and high-risk groups was compared using an independent t-test and chi-square analysis to better understand how childhood sexual abuse and substance use are related to CSEC. There were 80 girls assessed from ages 12-17 (mean age 15): 38 were classified as CSEC and 42 were in the high-risk classification. There was no significant differentiation between the groups based on age, race, domestic violence history, or substance use symptoms. There were significant differences between the two groups, with 88% of the CSEC group reporting childhood abuse, whereas 63.2% of the high risk group had reported it. For substance use, 81% of the CSEC group met the diagnostic criteria and 44.7% met it in the high-risk group. The CSEC group had a higher likelihood of using cannabis (78.6% vs. 44.7%), alcohol (31% vs. 7.9%), stimulant (16.7% vs. 2.6%), opioid (11.9% vs. 5.3%), and other substance disorders (11.9% vs. 0%) compared to the high-risk group. Furthermore, the CSEC group had higher odds of childhood sexual abuse ranging from 5.33 to 10.67 greater odds; 90% of the girls experienced it versus 60% in the high-risk group. The relationship between childhood sexual abuse and substance use did not vary between the CSEC and high-risk groups, showing a significant relationship. The authors suggest that because of the crucial findings of this study it would be helpful to have a follow-up study that focused on intervention methods for youth CSEC victims. Furthermore, the authors suggest that CSEC needs to be de-criminalized for the victims as this experience is often used to victimize and blame them, causing further trauma.

Danailova-Trainor, Gergana. 2021. Global and U.S. trends and patterns in human trafficking: A synthesis of the evidence. *ILSA Journal of Comparative and International Law* 28(1):1-43.

The purpose of this paper is to present a comprehensive portrait of trends and patterns in human trafficking victim exploitation and assistance, and prosecution of trafficking perpetrators, drawing from data gathered by multiple international and U.S. agencies and organizations. The focus of this summary is data relevant to trends and patterns in the United States. It should be noted that there is no central repository for data pertaining to human trafficking cases in the U.S. – each agency collects its own data, and as a result, definitions of trafficking and collection methods may vary. Other reasons why there are no reliable estimates of human trafficking prevalence in the U.S. include the absence of prevalence as an outcome measure in evaluations, limited data sharing among agencies, and differences in the way human trafficking is defined, investigated, and prosecuted. Data collected from U.S. agencies shows that the number of potential trafficking cases has increased over the past several years. The US National Human Trafficking Resource Center reported that potential cases increased from around 6,000 in 2015 to more than 20,000 in 2019. The number of foreign-born victims assisted by certification and eligibility letters from the Department of Health and Human Services increased from 745 to 878 between 2014 and 2018. The number of new victims served by grantees of the Office of Victims of Crime increased from 1,366 to 4,739 from 2014 to 2018. However, the number of continuing presence applications that were approved and T visas granted to foreign-born victims declined from 2014 to 2018 (continuing presence applications from 122 to 121 and T visas from 613 to 576). Also, over the past several years, the number of victims identified in new federal human trafficking cases declined from 512 in 2016 to 340 in 2019. The study shows that most human trafficking victims in the U.S. have been exploited by sex trafficking. However, most foreign clients served by U.S. agencies are victims of labor trafficking. The study finds that in most cases victims faced coercion by non-violent means (e.g., drug addiction, withholding pay) because such approaches are harder to detect. The study also found that the DOJ initiated fewer investigations and prosecutions against human trafficking perpetrators for the past few years. From 2015 to 2019, federal investigations fell from 802 to 607, prosecutions fell from 257 to 220, and charged defendants fell from 377 to 343. At the same time, convictions rose from 297 to 475, however these included crimes beyond human trafficking. Prosecutors filed 33.5% fewer human trafficking cases over the past two years, which is the longest decline since the TVPA was enacted in 2000. There appears to be decreased effort by law enforcement and criminal prosecution. U.S. prosecutors brought criminal charges to a declining number of defendants – from 424 in 2015 to 271 in 2019. Relatively few cases involved transnational crime organizations – most involved trafficking directed by pimps. In about 40% of cases, courts ordered restitution for victims, but mainly in cases of labor trafficking.

Dank, Meredith, Jennifer Yahner, Kuniko Madden, Isela Banuelos, Lilly Yu, Andrea Ritchie, Mitchyll Mora, and Brendan Conner. 2015. *Surviving the Streets of New York: Experiences of LGBTQ Youth, YMSM, and YWSW Engaged in Survival Sex*. Adolescents and Youth Urban Institute. 1-94.

A main goal of this study was to describe and quantify the experiences and characteristics of LGBTQ youth, YMSM (young men who have sex with men), and YWSW (young women who have sex with women) to gain a better understanding of their engagement in survival sex and the role of support systems and networks. The study was funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. The study uses peer-to-peer interviews to gather data and better comprehend the experiences of the three groups with commercial sex trade. The study uses quantitative and qualitative data. With the assistance of the Streetwise and Safe (SAS) program, 300 youths were recruited for the interviews who were part of the LGBTQ, YMSM, or YWSW communities that also participated in the commercial sex market. Interviews were conducted by seven trained youth leaders. Of the 300, 283 young people were interviewed. All participants were ages 15 to 26, most being 19-20. Further research was conducted with 13 of the interviewees who were selected by local service providers and SAS youth leaders and were considered "the first wave of recruits" or "initial seeds." Four waves of chain-referral sampling were used with this group to help reduce bias selection. Most interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed, lasting 20 minutes to two hours. Of those who were interviewed, 54% identified as being a man, 42% identified as being a woman, and 4% identified as being transgender. For sexual orientation, 37% identified as being bisexual, 23% as gay, 15% as lesbian, 13% as heterosexual, 3% as queer, and 9% as other. Most participants were of a minority race: 37% identifying as African American, 22% as Latino, and 30% mixed race. Most interviewees were not in high school (76%) and almost half did not graduate or have an equivalent degree (48%); furthermore, most lived or grew up in the New York area (65%). The high correlation between homelessness and survival sex was represented through 48% saying they lived in a shelter and 10% on the street. The high correlation between needing money and survival sex was further represented by 40% of respondents paying their own bills and 21% owing money ranging from \$3-\$15,000 with the average amount being \$856. Participants reported making \$484 to \$549 from their last week, \$356 to \$734 per day, and \$91 to \$231 per encounter. From those earnings, 59% report sharing less than half. Most youths started out in the industry through either a friend or peer (46%), a stranger (26%), or own initiative (20%). Overall, cisgender and transgender women were less likely to seek out the industry by themselves. Entry into the industry ranged from 7 to 22 years of age. Most of the participants found customers on the street or stroll (48%) or through internet advertising (40%), seeing an average of three to six customers a day/night. Interviewees reported being profiled by police (23%) and 70% were arrested (9% for crimes related to prostitution). Most youths reported (78%) having some method of protecting themselves during a sex trade such as a knife, mace, or their body. Weapons were reported by some to be the reason for arrests or being frisked, often deterring them from carrying. For participants' overall perception of survival sex, 8 out of 10 (82%) have a positive one, saying it is a helpful trade for survival needs such as food or shelter (25%). What was disliked about the practice included how it made them feel (31%), sex (26.1%), "everything" (15.7%), the customers (13.7%), and being homeless (10%); 9 out of 10 participants reported disliking something about survival sex. Overall, 67% wanted to stop survival sex at some point and 5% wanted to stop immediately. Key findings from the study include the following:

- “Youth reported experiences of social and familial discrimination and rejection, familial dysfunction, familial poverty, physical abuse, sexual abuse and exploitation, and emotional and mental trauma
- The experiences of youth engaged in survival sex are not static; they change over the course of youth’s involvement in exchanging sex for money and/or material goods...
- LGBTQ youth tend to have large peer networks, which include youth who engage in survival sex. Many young people are introduced to the survival sex-economy through such networks
- LGBTQ youth, YMSM, and YWSW lack access to voluntary and low-threshold services, including short- and long-term housing, affordable housing and shelter options, livable-wage employment opportunities, food security, and gender-affirming health care. Many of the youth who are able to access these services experience institutional barriers. Among the few service providers and public benefit programs that exist, LGBTQ youth, YMSM, and YWSW report high rates of service denial, as well as violence from breach of confidentiality and unsafe and discriminatory treatment by staff and other recipients of these services, on the basis of their sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, and age.
- Many youth engaged in survival sex experience frequent arrests for various “quality-of-life” and misdemeanor crimes, creating further instability and perpetuating the need to engage in survival sex. In custody, many youth experience violence on the basis of their perceived sexual orientation and gender identity.
- Youth experience violence and abuse from multiple sources, including families, exploiters, clients, strangers, peers, and law enforcement. Youth also experience violence at the hands of staff and clients at social service organizations and other locations that are intended to be safe.
- Many youth report disappointing or frustrating experiences with social service systems and providers, which often fail to meet their need for safe housing, reliable income, and adequate mental and physical health care, as well as for freedom, independence, and self-expression.
- Youth are extremely resilient in the face of external challenges (such as violence and lack of housing and employment) and internal challenges (such as emotional and physical trauma and gender and sexual identity issues). They find ways to survive, often relying on their informal networks, street savvy, and quick learning abilities to share resources and skills and to adapt to difficult and often dangerous situations.” (p. 1-2).

The authors recommend the following for New York City and other similar locations:

- Develop peer-led outreach and accessible street-based and comprehensive drop-in services.
- Improve safe and supportive short-term shelter, long-term affordable housing, and family-based placement options subject to periodic review.
- Create safe and supportive housing and placement protocols specific to transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals.
- Broaden access to and improve gender-affirming health care.
- Adopt nondiscrimination, confidentiality, and complaint procedures in shelters, programs, and out-of-home placements.
- Develop living-wage employment opportunities.
- Improve food security among LGBTQ youth
- Design police training curricula to improve relationships with LGBTQ youth and decrease profiling, harassment, and abuse.
- Include uniform sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression (SOGIE) questions on screening tools and intake forms.
- Encourage federal, state, and local government interagency coordination.

Dank, Meredith, Jennifer Yahner, Lilly Yu, Carla Vasquez-Noriega, Julia Gelatt, and Michael Pergamit. 2017. Presenting a Human Trafficking Screening Tool in the Child Welfare and Runaway and Homeless Youth Systems. Adolescents and Youth Urban Institute. 1-80.

This study aims to develop a human trafficking screening tool (HTST) that would be able to select experiences that are related to the victimization of young people in child welfare (CW) and runaway and homeless youth (RHY) systems. Specifically, the authors aim to answer these questions:

- Does the HTST appear on its face to measure the indicators of trafficking victimization, and are these indicators comprehensive?
- Is the HTST feasible to implement within the CW and RHY contexts, as measured by its readability, understandability, and ability to produce truthful responses?
- Do youth's responses to questions on the HTST cluster in statistically supported and theoretically meaningful ways (e.g., into dimensions of force, fraud, and coercion)?
- Can the HTST distinguish youth who are trafficking victims from those who are not likely to have been victims?
- Does the HTST's validity hold across subsamples of youth defined by age, involvement in CW or RHY systems, and geographic location, and by whether the tool is self-administered, or practitioner administered?
- Can the HTST-SF perform as well as the full version HTST?

The researchers conducted a survey that was distributed to 617 youth respondents from 14 different runaway and homeless youth and child welfare agencies. The questions were designed to evaluate the effectiveness of HTST as to how it could identify sex and labor trafficking. To create a database of relevant information, the team interviewed 27 state and local human trafficking agencies for identification of known screening tools being used in their states. They then reviewed 40 existing tools: 19 for sex and labor trafficking, 8 for minor human trafficking, 9 for minor sex trafficking, 3 for labor trafficking, and 1 for adult labor trafficking. The tool is intended to target people of any gender or sexual orientation between 12 and 24 years of age in RHY and CW settings and would be between 10 to 15 minutes in length with 20 different category options such as abuse, appearance, demographics, health, sexual behavior, trafficking experience, and family history. Surveys were distributed online with the option of a paper version and could be given in English or Spanish. It was distributed either through self-administration or through a practitioner to both validate the HTST's predictions and help with question comprehension. Those who were given a practitioner administered survey were randomly selected (25% of participants) to compare if participants would be more honest if they could answer completely anonymously. The pilot survey took place in two urban locations in Washington, DC. After success of that study, the final study was distributed in youth program sites in New York, New York; Rochester, New York; Houston, Texas; and Milwaukee, Wisconsin in September of 2015. There were 209 youths from both of the New York sites, 221 from the Texas site, and 187 from the Wisconsin site. Of the results, 40% of participants reported experiencing at least one HTST incident in their lives and 27% reported experiencing one or more within the last year. "Yes" responses were measured through three groupings: (1) force with coercion, (2) fraud with coercion, and (3) sex exploitation. These groupings were measured by the HTST and the HTST-SF (short form). Both were reported to be highly effective by practitioners and took between one to two minutes to administer. With the practitioner-administered surveys, practitioners' predictions of youth being trafficked were correct 6 out of 10 times. Overall,

through development of the HTST that uses a 19-item tool and 6-item short version tool (HTST-SF) identification of trafficked victims occurs 61% of the time and 84% of the time for nonvictims. The authors conclude that the HTST and HTST-SF should be used as a basis for welfare agencies to properly and effectively identify youth sex and labor trafficked victims.

Davy, Deanna. 2015. Understanding the support needs of human trafficking victims: A review of three human trafficking program evaluations. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 1:318-337.

This study provides a review of three human trafficking support program evaluations in the US to examine the support needs of victims and the extent to which these needs are being met by support programs. An extensive literature review was conducted to identify the three evaluations; excluded were evaluations focused on prevention and awareness raising. The three program evaluations were for the Florida Freedom Project, the Comprehensive Services for victims of human trafficking at three sites in California and Florida, and the Central Texas Coalition Against Human Trafficking. These programs served foreign-born persons from countries around the world. Three key themes were identified:

- Victim Support Needs: Client support needs change over time, from a focus on immediate basic survival needs followed by needs for mental health, housing, education, job training, and employment. As basic survival needs are met, the focus shifts to longer term needs. There was no difference in this pattern based upon client demographic characteristics.
- Support Services Provided to Clients: Similar services were provided to clients across the sites. Intensive, one-on-one case management was identified as a key component in supporting victims. Such case management included intake and assessment, education on victim rights, explaining benefits, establishing safety plans, providing emotional support and crisis intervention, advocating with other agencies and law enforcement, providing transportation, making referrals and appointments, coordinating services, and following up with other organizations. The case manager must ensure that the client becomes autonomous because the time allowed for service delivery is limited. Also important is the commitment of key partners to coordinate service delivery.
- Gaps in Service Provision and Barriers to Effective Service Provision: Challenges and barriers included insufficient organizational capacity and resources, funding constraints on eligibility, service needs extending beyond providers' capabilities, difficulty identifying victims, victims not wanting to work with law enforcement, confidentiality concerns, and difficulty liaising with law enforcement. External barriers included difficulty accessing affordable housing and medical care. Details regarding these latter barriers are provided. Dental care, job placement, translation services, and culturally appropriate food also were identified as client needs that case managers experienced challenges in meeting.

The paper includes recommendations for improving programs to support trafficked persons.

Deeb-Swihart, Julia, A. Endert, and A. Bruckman. 2019. Understanding law enforcement strategies and needs for combating human trafficking. *CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems Proceedings (CHI)*. May 4-9, 2019, Glasgow, Scotland, UK. 14 pages.

<https://doi.org/10.1145/3290605.3300561>

The goal of this paper is to understand the needs of law enforcement personnel working in the field of human trafficking, especially their socio-technical needs, and to understand how HCI (human-computer interaction) researchers can design better tools to support their efforts. Sixteen law enforcement personnel working on human trafficking cases were interviewed in this study. The personnel included detectives, analysts, and other senior personnel. Participants were recruited using convenience and snowball sampling methods. All participants had worked on human trafficking cases for at least one year before the interview. The interviews were conducted in person or over the phone and were semi-structured. Participants' sex, job description, region, department type, and recruitment method are identified in the paper. Most of the personnel were from the South or Southwest region of the United States. One was from Canada. All participants were in departments that had a history of working on human trafficking cases, and they had received training in human trafficking. In addition, participants were familiar with most of the case management and database tools discussed in the paper. The findings section of the paper discusses the process of investigation for a human trafficking case, and the technology used and agency collaboration within this process. The process of investigation was similar in the United States and Canada. The stages in the process of investigation do not always go in order and may take months to years to complete:

- Starting a new investigation (proactive or reactive) – In a proactive case, there is an effort to identify victims using tools such as Marinus Analytics Traffic Jam and Thorn's Spotlight, which explore online advertisements for sexual services looking for potential victims. In a reactive case, the investigation proceeds from tips that come from a wide range of collaborators.
- Identifying a potential victim -- The focus is on the victim's real identity, location, and contact information. Also, the police wish to confirm that the victim is in a human trafficking situation. Many different tools and databases are used all at once, including social media.
- Victim interviews – The police attempt to interview the victim, and often multiple interviews are needed to assess the situation and gather valid information. One goal of this stage is to get the victim the help they need. Building rapport is essential. The interview(s) could be the basis for the entire case.
- Building a case against the trafficker – The trafficker must be identified and evidence gathered to link the trafficker to the victim, sufficient to convince a jury. Financial records are important at this stage.

Many different technologies are used in the process, including police databases (government, criminal, and court records), human trafficking-specific tools (such as mentioned above), visual analytic tools (IBM's i2 Analyst Notebook, ArcGIS, and Microsoft Power Point), case organization tools (case notes, connections, track progress), and general websites (social media sites and search engines). Because victims travel across multiple jurisdictions, collaboration between police departments and other agencies is essential. Examples of collaborators and their role in the process of investigation are visualized. Collaborators include health professionals, social services, government agencies, other local police departments, and even hotel personnel. They help with all

stages of the investigation. The paper noted that the sociotechnical needs of law enforcement center upon two key problems: lack of shared data across multiple levels and jurisdictions; and identifying partnerships, especially across state lines. Different departments have access to different information and tools, which may be difficult to share. Technology can support communication between law enforcement personnel working on different cases. It can also be used to identify common pathways victims travel between locations to find connected areas. Other tools could help with the process of conceptualizing the case and keeping track of case information. Understanding where a victim is headed can help in alerting other police departments along the way so that they can intervene. There also is a need for technology that integrates tools and connects results from one tool to another. The discussion section of the paper focuses on design challenges for building solutions for law enforcement. Policy and privacy implications also are discussed.

De Shalit, Ann, Emily van der Meulen and Adrian Guta. 2020. Social service response to human trafficking: the making of a public health problem. *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 23(12):1717-1732. DOI: 10.1080/13691058.2020.1802670.

The purpose of the study is to view human trafficking from a public health problem perspective. The study's methods included semi-structured one-on-one interviews with 22 anti-trafficking, Ontario government-funded service providers. Most of the organizations (20) offered health-related programming. The organizations were not grass-roots efforts but were new initiatives or had repurposed existing programming to address trafficking and receive government funding. An interviewee could hold any position in an agency provided their role focused on human trafficking programming. The scope of interview questions included current or planned programming for human trafficking, differences in programming since receiving government funding, how trafficking is defined by the organization, what they identify as signs of trafficking, if/how they distinguish trafficking from other forms of exploitation, and recommendations for improvements in policy and service. The focus of data analysis was on how agencies frame or construct the problem of trafficking. The study noted that all agencies only provided help to individuals who had a desire to remove themselves from their exploitation and to stop or distance themselves from any substances used and from sex work. Drug use and sex work were conjoined by some of the participants. Another guideline for providing services was that individuals must adhere to state-guided rescue procedures and be labeled as a victim. Through these guidelines, sex work is labeled as a "symptom" for being trafficked. In other words, the study explains that there is a bias among public health services that view sexual exploitation as the same as human trafficking – if sexual exploitation is observed, it is assumed to be or defined as trafficking, with sex work seen as an indicator of trafficking. Many of the interviews included calls for continuing and evolving criminalization of sex work. Interview data revealed that causes and risk factors for being trafficked included chronic substance use, history of trauma, and low self-esteem. The study makes note that these risk and cause factors are damaging to people who are identified as victims. People who are exploited are assumed to have little or no agency and to be in need of support and "rescue". No difference is found between voluntary and involuntary sex work. The study recommends that agencies instead use a "peer-based service model," one in which survivors help by consulting with current sex trafficked individuals to remove harmful bias that keep people from receiving care.

De Vries, Ieke, and Amy Farrell. 2018. Labor trafficking victimizations: Repeat victimization and polyvictimization. *Psychology of Violence*, 8(5):630–638. <https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000149>.

The study aims to advance our understanding of the risks of labor trafficking victimization, using an analytic framework that examines labor trafficking experiences as forms of repeat victimization and polyvictimization. Polyvictimization means that several types of victimization have taken place, such as physical, sexual, or emotional. The study examined the role of repeat victimization at three stages in the trafficking experience: recruitment into trafficking; transportation during trafficking; and exploitation during employment. Prior victimization is examined as a key risk factor for labor trafficking. Three hypotheses were examined: (1) general victimization that occurred prior to trafficking increases the risk of victimization in later stages of the trafficking experience, (2) specific victimization at earlier stages in the trafficking experience increase the risk of victimization in later stages; and (3) prior victimization increases the victim's risk of experiencing polyvictimization to a higher degree during employment. The study used cross-sectional quantitative data on labor-trafficked victims who had received assistance. The researchers used closed case data on trafficked workers served by 30 organizations, all tied to the Freedom Network. The organizations were divided into the regions of Midwest, Southwest, Northeast rural and Northeast urban. The focus was on trafficking victims served by seven of the 30 organizations that served workers in all four regions, each serving at least 20 workers across different industries. From people served by these organizations, a random sample of 115 individuals were selected (analytic sample), all of whom were adults and migrant workers exploited in the United States. Most of the exploited workers served in the agriculture, domestic servitude, construction, and hospitality industries. The majority of the sample also came from the Northeast urban and rural areas (63.5%), were females (53%), and had a country of origin from either Asia (40%) or Latin America (44.4%). Most of the victims were trafficked abroad and transported to the United States (75.7%). Many of them were also transported legally but had either expired or no documentation during employment (69.6%). Information from closed case records was recorded and coded. Descriptive statistics were prepared, including victimization in each stage of trafficking, control variables (region of victim, gender, region of origin, industry, where recruited, and documentation status), and prior victimization. Three outcome measures were used: 1) victimization during recruitment; 2) victimization during transportation; and 3) victimization during employment. About half of the sample experienced victimization during recruitment (50.43%) and a little less than half experienced victimization during transportation (47.83%). Also counted were the number of victimizations during employment. Seven different types of force, fraud, and coercion were measured. A binary variable indicating whether a person had experienced general victimization prior to trafficking also was included. Multivariate analysis was used to test hypotheses. Overall, the study had three main findings: (1) "trafficked workers with a history of victimization before trafficking were 4.87 times more likely to experience victimization during the first trafficking stage" (p. 634); (2) "trafficked persons who experienced prior victimization of any type were 5.12 times as likely to experience victimization during the transportation" (p. 634); (3) all individuals experienced polyvictimization but females were less likely than males to experience it by a factor of .64, and those working in hospitality experienced it less by a factor of .52. Recruitment abroad decreased polyvictimization by a factor of .80. These findings show that prior victimization increases the likelihood of victimization during recruitment, transportation, and employment. A "history of any type of victimization increases the odds of experiencing victimization during recruitment and transportation" confirming that "victimization experience can be transmitted even across crime types" (p. 636). The

findings suggest that trafficking is not a single experience but consists of multiple and repeated incidents over time.

De Vries, Ieke, Matthew Kafarian, Kelly Goggin, Elizabeth Bouchard, Susan Goldfarb, and Amy Farrell. 2020. Enhancing the identification of commercial sexual exploitation among a population of high-risk youths using predictive regularization models. *Child Maltreatment*. Vol 25(3): 318-327. DOI: 10.1177/1077559519889178.

The purpose of this study “was to enhance the identification of key predictors for CSEC among a population of youths identified as having high risk of victimization” (p. 320). The study used data from a Child Advocacy Center (CAC) database in the Northeastern United States collected from 2015 to 2017. There were 317 youths included in the study. The data came from youths’ first referrals into the system; 29.7% had more than one referral. CSEC was determined based on (1) CSEC discovered by an agency like law enforcement, (2) youth disclosed CSEC information to an outside party, (3) participation in survival sex, and (4) youth identified in sexual advertisement. There were 23% (73) confirmed cases. Data extraction included 21 history items (i.e., out-of-home care, child welfare or juvenile justice status; adverse childhood experiences; civil or criminal issues; referral items such as system involvement, running away, missing, or other current concerns). Demographic information included gender and age at time of referral. Most of the youths were female (92.4%), spoke English (94.6%), and were the average age of 15 years. The study engaged an innovative data analysis strategy designed to address gaps in the literature that make CSEC difficult to identify. This regularization method used supervised machine learning to address limitations of other methods by providing parsimonious models derived from a type of logistical regression that is effective when variables co-occur but there is a dearth of guiding theory. The data analysis showed seven variables that had the most prominent associations with CSEC: (1) youths approached to engage in CSEC, (2) youths having multiple sex partners, (3) youths spending time with people engaged in CSEC, (4) youths have contact with an agency, (5) youths have contact with CSEC-program, (6) youths traveling out of state, and (7) youths threatened with harms other than physical or sexual (e.g., verbal). Other items associated with higher risk of CSEC include mental health concerns, involvement in a CSEC specific program, reporting a false name or age. The modeling approach showed modest predictive value, with 30.77% of CSEC youth identified by the analysis. The authors conclude that behaviors and experiences associated with CSEC may vary across different populations of youth (e.g., those involved in running away). Also, factors that put youth at risk may be different from those that should be used in an assessment given different timeframes (i.e., what is most proximal). The authors suggest that information derived from this study could be crucial for welfare agencies to prioritize high-risk youths when responding to needs.

Diaz, Aida, MSW, Carolyn Liu Lumpkin, LCSW, and Erica Lizano, PhD. 2018. Practice Implications for Commercially Sex Trafficked Youth: Examining Data and Outcomes. Los Angeles, CA: Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking (CAST).

This report is based upon an evaluation of the Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking's (CAST) youth program conducted between 2015 and 2018, with a specific focus on commercially sex trafficked youth survivors. The overall sample for the study included 147 youth survivors of sex trafficking served by CAST's Empowerment Social Services Program. Eighty clients (54%) solely received emergency response services, while 67 (46%) received youth case management services beyond emergency care. The study reports on the following characteristics of survivors: demographics; gender; race/ethnicity; disability and mental health history; history of system involvement; trafficking experience (length of trafficking, forms of control by trafficker, type of trafficker); point of entry into services; duration of services; engagement with services over time; outcomes of youth engaged for six months or longer (including demographics of this group); outcomes of youth program graduates; and effects of arrests on trafficked youth (including history of arrests). Outcomes included: supportive persons in network; access to medical services; safe housing; attendance at school or employment; access to mental health services. Outcome assessment was based on a Survivor Outcome Assessment (SOA) developed by CAST to measure overall progress in 13 areas, including: housing; basic necessities/financial health; physical safety; medical health; dental health; vision; emotional/behavioral health; life skills; education/literacy; job skills/employment; support system; legal issues/immigration status; and family reunification/children. The SOA (scale of 1 – 5) is conducted jointly by the Intensive Care Case Managers with the youth on a quarterly basis to inform goals and service planning. Recommendations are included in the study, with a focus on outreach, specialized interventions, future program evaluations, and policy. Key findings included the following (text quoted directly from report, with abbreviation):

YOUTH BACKGROUND INFORMATION

- Half (50%) of the youth served were African-American/Black and over one in five were Hispanic/Latinx (21%)
- The majority of the youth survivors of sex trafficking served were female (94%)
- More than half (57%) of the youth served reported having a mental health diagnosis and nearly one in six (15%) reported having a disability.
- Forty-four percent (44%) of the youth served had a history of involvement with DCFS (Child Protective Services), 19% with a diversion program, and 37% with probation
- Approximately three in four (72%) of the youth survivors of sex trafficking served had a history of arrest. They had lower outcome scores in housing and employment and a slower rate of improvement through services compared to the youth without arrest histories.

TRAFFICKING EXPERIENCES

- The average length of time in trafficking for the 147 youth served was 1 year and 9 months, with the shortest being 1 day and the longest being 13 years.
- Among the youth served, the most common forms of abuse experienced during trafficking were physical abuse (61%), psychological abuse (56%), and sexual assault/abuse (53%).
- The three most common types of traffickers included: romantic partner (31%), acquaintance (17%), and gang (12%). However, amongst the 147 youth served, 27% of the youth reported that their trafficker was connected/affiliated with a gang.

- Among those who left services without contact (commonly referred to as “AWOL”), close to one third (28%) were trafficked by a gang. This could be due to threats of violence and gangs having multiple associated individuals, which increase the fear amongst survivors.
- Among the youth served, the average age when the youth were first trafficked was 17. Among the youth graduates, the average age of being trafficked was 16.45

POINT OF ENTRY INTO SERVICES

- Youth survivors of sex trafficking most commonly enter CAST’s Empowerment Social Services programs through law enforcement referrals (30%), self-referral through the hotline (29%), and community service providers/community members (27%).
- Youth who entered the Youth Program through community service provider/community member referrals had a higher rate of remaining engaged in services, while those who entered through self-referrals had a higher rate of leaving services without contact.
- Youth who entered the Youth Program through community service provider/community member referrals had a slightly longer average length of stay in services compared to those that entered through law enforcement or self-referral.
- Among the youth served, the average age of entering into CAST services was 20. Among the youth graduates, the average age was slightly younger at 18 when entering into services.

SERVICES PROVIDED

- The average length of time in CAST services was 9 months, ranging from 1 day to more than 2 years
- All those who graduated the program remained engaged in services for at least 6 months, while their average time in the program was one year and 3 months.
- Those who graduated services had a greater number of hours and number of services during Month 1 when compared to youth overall.

YOUTH OUTCOMES

- On average, the youth survivors of sex trafficking engaging in Youth Program services saw improvements in each of the 13 categories in the Survivor Outcomes Assessment (SOA)
- Youth entering services had an average overall SOA score of 2.53 (Vulnerable) and displayed an average increase to 3.72 (Stable-Growing) throughout services provided.

Dierkhising, Carly B, Andrea L. Eastman, and Kate Walker Brown. 2021. Examining housing instability among females who are system-involved: Comparing females with and without histories of commercial sexual exploitation. *Child Maltreatment*. 0(0): 1-10. DOI: 10.117710775595211039463.

This study aims to: 1) compare the out-of-home (OOH) care histories of females involved in the child welfare (CW) and juvenile justice (JJ) systems to matched comparison groups who have not had such experiences; and 2) identify the types of homes that provide the most stability to females who have experienced CSE. The study utilizes data from the Department of Children and Family Services and the Probation Department in Los Angeles from January 2014 to December 2017. Youth data was included in the study if they had a history of OOH, identified as a female, and had been identified as having a CSE experience. Administrative data for those who had a CSE history and those who did not was compared for age at time of data extraction and racial/ethnic identity. The compared data was then cross-referenced into four subsamples: CW with no CSE, CW with CSE, JJ with no CSE, and JJ with CSE. Demographic data for each of the subsamples included: (for JJ) age when first referred to Probation; age when first arrested; (for CW) maltreatment reports, including substantiated. Variables examined for the adolescents with CSE and without CSE included: age of first OOH care experience; cumulative time in care; group home placement; FFA certified home; foster family home; relative home; guardian home; and total placements. To investigate housing instability, additional variables included: time in care per stay; total housing changes due to leaving care without permission (LCWOP); and LCWOP by family types. The researchers also examined the size of the group home, location of home with respect to county, state, and country; and LCWOP as a reason for changing home placement. Results of statistical analysis show that those with histories of CSE had more involvement in CW and JJ, as well as more housing instability in OOH care. In both the CW and JJ groups, most of those with CSE histories would stay in group housing as their first and last form of OOH care experience, including most recent. Other key findings include the following: 1) “the CW/CSE sample spent significantly more cumulative time in care compared to their CW/no-CSE counterparts” (p. 7); 2) “females with histories of CSE in both systems experienced more housing changes compared to their counterparts” (p. 7); 3) “group homes (were) a significant source of housing instability among all females” (p. 7); 4) “racial and ethnic disproportionality was pronounced...where Black females were disproportionately represented among those with CSE, and Hispanic/Latina females were underrepresented in both systems” (p. 8). With respect to type of home showing less instability, guardian homes were identified, however only a relatively small number of females were placed in guardian homes. Females with CSE face extremely unstable living situations. The authors suggest that OOH care that was previously viewed as a safe option may not be that safe after all. The authors also suggest that the data from their study can contribute to the States’ implementation plans for the Families First Act that aims to develop data-driven and trauma-informed approaches to OOH care and reduce reliance on group homes.

Dimitropoulos, Gina, David Lindenbach, Daniel J. Devoe, Emily Gunn, Olivia Cullen, Asmita Bhattarai, Jennifer Kuntz, Warren Binford, Scott B. Pattern, and Paul D. Arnold. 2022. Experiences of Canadian mental health providers in identifying and responding to online and in-person sexual abuse and exploitation of their children and adolescent clients. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. 124: 1-11. DOI: 10.1016/j.chiabu.2021.105448.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the perceived ability of mental healthcare workers to recognize and respond to online and in-person forms of sexual exploitation in pediatric patients. The authors identify four main areas of sexual exploitation: grooming, luring, sexual abuse, and child sexual abuse imagery (CSAI). Public health professionals from Alberta, Canada participated in the study. They had to have worked with youths in a pediatric mental health related field. All responding teams of professionals came from two large metropolitan areas. There were 209 mental healthcare participants who completed the surveys which were distributed from February to June of 2018 through online services or in person. Questions included demographics, work experience, and four sections of questions related to grooming, luring, sexual abuse, and CSAI (i.e., how often encountered, how often a factor acts as a barrier for response, if they received formal training, and their confidence level in performing activities related to these types of exploitation). Sub-questions for each type of exploitation are listed in the paper. Demographic data included gender, age, education, job title, and years in current role. The survey methodology included definition of terms and vignettes of the four types of exploitation. Data was analyzed statistically. Results showed that sexual abuse was encountered more than grooming in the past year (76%). Grooming was reported more than CSAI (45%) and there was no significant difference between luring and CSAI. There were fewer barriers overall for reporting sexual abuse than grooming, luring, and CSAI such as having formal training and having more confidence when providing support. This response differed immensely when asked about confidence dealing with malnutrition which was much higher. Overall, 83% of survey participants had reported encountering a suspected or confirmed case of at least one of the four types of exploitation within the past year. The authors suggest that education and training need to be implemented for mental pediatric healthcare workers in all the areas of exploitation, but especially for grooming, luring, and CSAI. Furthermore, more prevention and identification methods need to be developed for online sexual exploitation which will reduce the risk of in-person sexual exploitation.

Dinse, L. and K. Rice. 2021. Barriers to exiting and factors contributing to the cycle of enter/exit/re-entering commercial sex work. *Social Work and Christianity*, 48(2),156-182.

<https://doi.org/10.34043/swc.v48i2.107>

The aim of this paper is to better understand the barriers and challenges of US commercial sex workers who desire to leave the industry, and to help define strategies to address obstacles. The paper reviews “push” and “pull” factors that propel sex workers out of the industry, and other factors that present barriers to departure. Empirical research with sex workers was conducted in Central Pennsylvania. Interviews with ten former and current sex workers found that both push and pull factors are involved in people’s experiences, creating a reciprocal causation effect. The data help to explain the “enter/exit/re-entry” cycle experienced by many sex workers. The data argues that a polymorphic paradigm of sex work involving both oppression and empowerment is more accurate than either of these views alone. Barriers to exit were subdivided into several types, including:

- Individual (substance abuse, mental health issues, adverse childhood, shame/guilt, physical health issues);
- Relational (social isolation, strained family relationships, lack of a supportive network, relationships within the sex industry, drug dealers and pimps)
- Situational (traumatic experiences, injury from violence, childbirth)
- Structural (lack of knowledge of services, employment, housing/homelessness, education, chronic poverty, criminal record, inadequate services, discrimination/stigma).

Based on the interviews, the most important barriers included financial pressure, substance abuse, and stigma/discrimination. The paper includes discussion of policy recommendations to address these and other barriers.

Donohue-Dioh, Jessica, Melanie Otis, Justin Jay Miller, Marie-Antoinette Sossou, Carlos delaTorres, and Thomas Lawson. 2020. Survivors' conceptualizations of human trafficking prevention: an exploratory study. *Evaluation and Program Planning* 83 (2020) 101873.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evalprogplan.2020.101873>

The purpose of this study is to bring survivors' voices into the conceptualization of a framework for human trafficking prevention, and especially to understand survivors' views regarding the importance and feasibility of prevention strategies. The methodology employed was Group Concept Mapping (GCM), an integrated, mixed-method, research design that analyzes qualitative data via quantitative approaches, namely multidimensional scaling and hierarchical cluster analyses. Participants included 35 adults identified by self-report as human trafficking survivors from one of four US states (Kentucky, Ohio, Virginia, and Michigan). The sample was comprised of both sex and labor trafficking survivors, who needed to be 18 years of age or older, speak and read English, and be able to participate in the study in person. Participants generated statements to describe what can be done to prevent people from being trafficked, and they then sorted a data set of 108 unique statements on prevention into groups based on themes or commonality. Statements were then rated according to two variables, Importance and Feasibility, on a scale of 1-5. Results indicate that survivors in this sample conceptualize prevention via a 10-cluster solution and rate the cluster on Education and Awareness as the most Important (4.60), as well as the most Feasible (4.28). This paper also discusses pragmatic prevention implications related to findings.

Edinburgh, Laurel, Julie Pape-Blabolil, Scott B. Harpin, and Elizabeth Saewyc. 2015. Assessing exploitation experiences of girls and boys seen at a Child Advocacy Center. *Child Abuse & Neglect* 46:47-59. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2015.04.016>

This study had three aims: 1) document the contexts and experiences of sexual exploitation among youth presenting at a Child Advocacy Center (CAC); 2) identify physical findings, risk behaviors, and trauma symptoms of sexually exploited boys and girls; and 3) evaluate how questions posed to survivors in a forensic interview elicit more or less helpful responses. A CAC provides forensic interviews, medical care, victim-advocacy, trauma-focused psychological care, and connections to local resources. This is a retrospective study that utilizes the transcripts of forensic interviews¹ and other chart information (lab results, self-reported assessments, and physical examinations) collected from 2006 to 2013 for youth 12-17 years old who were referred to an urban hospital-based CAC. The total sample for the study consisted of 62 patients. Sociodemographic information for the sample population that is provided in the study includes age, grade, ethnicity, housing situation, and individual educational plan. Transcripts were analyzed using a deductive coding scheme related to the research questions. Descriptive statistics were produced for quantitative data in the medical charts. Quantitative data that was analyzed separately for boys and girls included the following variables: family connectedness; caring adults; school connectedness; age of first drink; acute sexual assault; gynecological exam findings; pregnancy screening; STI screening; sex partners; problem substance abuse; post-traumatic stress disorder or PTSD; self-harm; suicide ideation and attempt; self-reported truancy; and self-reported running away from home. Illustrative quotes from interviews are provided with the results. Notable findings from analysis of data includes the following:

- Most youth were living at home or returning to live at home when they were first exploited.
- Most youth who run away are not homeless but living with an informal network of peers.
- Some youth had positive feelings about running away.
- Most youth were sexually exploited after running away or being kicked out of their homes.
- Some of the youth were recruited by older girls who were themselves exploited.
- Three types of exploitation were described: "Small transactions" by nameless, faceless purchasers of sex; by a pimp or trafficker; and via self-managed transactions without a pimp.
- Perspectives on pimps were varied, from "boyfriend", to provider, to perpetrator of violence.
- Youth without a pimp often saw the situation as non-problematic and consensual, or even an accomplishment; many posted their own ads on the internet for sex. However, these youth had clinically concerning levels of trauma, PTSD, problem substance abuse, self-harm, and suicidal ideation and attempts, suggesting that they may be experiencing cognitive dissonance.

Questions from the forensic interview are provided. The paper analyzes the usefulness of the questions. The paper also presents characteristics and symptoms of exploited youth with and without pimps. These symptoms and characteristics parallel those described above for the quantitative analysis of data. Clinical recommendations for forensic interviews are provided.

¹ A forensic interview is an approach to determine whether or not abuse has occurred and ensure the objectivity of the interviewer, including both initial questions and follow-up questions.

Edwards, Emily F., Jennifer S. Middleton, and Jennifer Cole. 2024. Family-controlled trafficking in the United States: Victim characteristics, system response, and case outcomes. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 10(3):411-429. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2022.2039866>

This study aims to answer four research questions, specifically what are the victim characteristics, case factors, system responses, and case outcomes associated with family-controlled sex trafficking in the U.S.? The authors conducted a case review of 567 alleged cases (with 698 potential victims) reported in Kentucky between 2013 and 2017. Characteristics of alleged victims/cases reported in the paper include age, gender, nationality, child welfare agency involvement, number of perpetrators who were family members, and the number of cases reported per year. The study provides operational definitions of non-relative and family members. The authors created one variable to represent 210 cases in which trafficking was confirmed by authorities. Community type was classified as metropolitan or rural based on county characteristics. The unit of analysis was the case, not the victim (some cases had multiple victims). Bivariate analysis was used to explore associations of family-controlled sex trafficking with victim characteristics, case factors, system responses, and case outcomes. Two logistic regression models were conducted to investigate the association of multiple case factors, system responses, and case outcomes with the dichotomous variable, family-controlled sex trafficking (versus non-relative trafficking). Major findings from the study include the following:

- Victims of family-controlled trafficking were more likely to have a higher number of perpetrators, live in rural communities, and be younger, suggesting that family perpetrators may have access to younger children
- Cases of family-controlled trafficking were less likely to involve drugs – that is, victim using, being given, or sold for drugs
- Family-controlled trafficking was more likely to be reported by anonymous, non-relative community members
- Cases involving family members as perpetrators were less likely to have human trafficking criminal charges filed and less likely to involve removal of the victim
- Cases involving family members as perpetrators predicted that the case would not be substantiated, compared to those without a family member.

Implications for research, policy, and practice are included.

Farrell, Amy, Monica J. DeLateur, Colleen Owens, and Stephanie Fahy. 2016. The prosecution of state-level human trafficking cases in the United States. *Anti-Trafficking Review* 6:48-70. DOI: 10.14197/atr.20121664

This exploratory study examines the “type of charge used to prosecute state-level human trafficking cases and the factors that influence the decision to prosecute” (p. 49). The intention is to better understand why relatively few human trafficking cases are prosecuted. The data reported in this study is part of a larger study on human trafficking prosecutions in a targeted sample of counties in the United States. A multi-cluster sampling approach was used to select counties for the study, based on evidence that the police had investigated human trafficking cases. The study reviewed closed case records of human trafficking investigations in 12 counties, and also conducted 166 interviews with police, prosecutors, service providers, and court officials involved in the investigation and prosecution of cases. A total of 254 cases were identified across the sites, of which 15 cases per sites were selected for the study. Cases were stratified by year (2003-2010) and type of trafficking. All cases in this study involved sex trafficking. The study focuses on 150 suspects that were arrested by state and municipal authorities and explores factors that predict state-level prosecution. Variables for each case were identified from a variety of documents and coded for analysis. The independent variables that were coded include: legal (evidence, indicators); instrumental (victim cooperation, multiple victims, victim arrested, no victim); and extra-legal variables (minor victim, victim gender, suspect race, suspect age). Three types of charge outcomes were identified for analysis: charge declined; charged with a human trafficking offense; charged with another criminal offense. The types of state charges for cases involving human trafficking suspects included promoting/compelling prostitution, prostitution, human trafficking, conspiracy, sexual assault, sexual exploitation of a child, kidnapping, drugs, other. Also coded were indicators of the means of trafficking as specified in the TVPA. Multinomial logistic regression models were used to test the impact of various factors on outcome measures. Qualitative data from the interviews were content analyzed to identify challenges state prosecutors faced in human trafficking cases. Findings from the analysis show:

- Indicators of legal evidence for human trafficking was not associated with filing human trafficking charges. When cases had more evidence of human trafficking they were significantly less likely to result in filing charges for other types of crimes as well.
- Charges of human trafficking or another offense were more likely to be filed when a case had physical, demonstrative, or digital evidence. A third of cases had no evidence supporting victim testimony.
- Victim cooperation did not predict the decision to pursue state charges in human trafficking cases, even though police and prosecutors consistently stated that lack of victim cooperation was the reason charges were not brought.
- The arrest of a victim predicted the filing of cases for human trafficking or other charges. Police may be using arrests to enhance victim cooperation. Police indicated that they had to arrest victims because it was the only available safe and secure housing for them, especially minors.
- There were numerous sources of extra-legal uncertainty that reduced the likelihood of a human trafficking charge. A minor victim did not predict the filing of charges for trafficking or other crimes.
- Prosecutors used human trafficking charges in only one-fifth of cases. Most filings were for promoting or compelling prostitution or prostitution.

Farrell, Amy, Meredith Dank, Mathew Kafafian, Sarah Lockwood, Rebecca Pfeffer, Andrea Hughs and Kyle Vincent. 2019a. Capturing Human Trafficking Victimization Through Crime Reporting. Office of Justice Programs' National Criminal Justice Reference Service. 1-41.

The purpose of this study is to examine the classification process law enforcement agencies use to classify human trafficking (HT) cases through analysis of internal records and external crime reporting programs. From January 2013 to December 2016 over 600 human trafficking investigations were examined and 60 law enforcers, victim service providers, and non-law enforcement agencies were interviewed on topics surrounding identification and reporting victims of HT in three United States communities (Northeast, West and South) that had reported HT to the UCR program in 2013-2015. The study aimed to answer three main questions (5):

1. How are human trafficking cases identified and reported by the police?
 - How are human trafficking cases identified by the police?
 - Once human trafficking cases are identified, how are these cases reported within internal law enforcement information systems?
 - Once human trafficking cases are identified, how are these cases reported to external crime reporting programs such as the state reporting systems or the UCR program?
2. What sources of information about human trafficking incidents exist outside of law enforcement data?
 - How could the sharing of information from these data sources improve case identification and increase our understanding of the prevalence of human trafficking within a jurisdiction?
 - What are the barriers to sharing information across administrative systems?
3. What is the estimated disparity between actual instances of human trafficking identified in the study communities and the number of human trafficking offenses reported to the UCR?
 - How frequently are human trafficking victims identified across multiple administrative data systems in a community?
 - What are the reasons for the disparity between reported UCR offenses and the actual prevalence of identified and unidentified human trafficking in a community?

Key findings from the study include the following:

- Law enforcement personnel struggle to distinguish human trafficking cases from other offenses
- Labor trafficking was especially difficult to identify, and in some cases was non-existent
- Offense codes for human trafficking may not exist in the records system
- Human trafficking cases were held to a higher standard of evidence
- There was a failure or delay in creating classifications for human trafficking at the state level
- Many service providers do not have assessment protocols for human trafficking

- Data systems for human service providers do not capture human trafficking as a form of victimization
- Due to underreporting, it is estimated that 29-45% of minor sex trafficking victims are identified by law enforcement or service providers
- Law enforcement may be capturing only 2.5-6% of victims, depending on community
- The Uniform Crime Reporting system undercounts human trafficking victims.

The authors concluded that there is a lack of identification training among law enforcement, HT can complicate identification of crimes, and HT victim identification was often completed later in the investigation. Codes and assessments used for HT also troubled the interviewees as they were found to not clearly classify offenses as HT, not have a trained crew to decode and assess cases properly, and not have any offensive code at all. Overall, these reported difficulties create a large issue with capturing most HT criminals and assisting HT victims.

Farrell, Amy, PhD, Susan Goldfarb, MSW, Kate Walter Brown, JD, and Mae Ackerman-Brimberg, JD, MSW. 2019b. Specialized Residential Treatment Placements for Child Trafficking Victims. Children's Advocacy Center. Northeastern University, Institute on Race and Justice, and National Center for Youth Law.

The purpose of this report is to outline policies, practices and programs that have been implemented by child welfare programs and agencies across the US to meet the needs of exploited and trafficked children within residential facilities. The report describes programs and provides recommendations for improvement. The legal landscape is contextualized by providing a review of state mandated provisions to protect child victims. A total of 128 providers that offer specialized services in a residential setting were surveyed, together with 23 program directors or clinical staff to understand the challenges of residential placement. Key findings include the following:

- The largest proportion of residential placements (48%) are in private congregate care
- Most youth who were placed had interactions with child welfare (89%), juvenile justice (77%), or mental health (69%)
- 44% of programs serve foreign national youth; 30% serve male youth
- Most programs (85%) performed a needs assessment upon entry
- 55% required a medical clearance upon entry
- Most programs (67%) require a bachelor's degree for a staff position
- 50% of programs provide trauma-informed care training
- Most programs reported multi-disciplinary team partnerships with child welfare (75%), law enforcement (75%), and case management (83%)
- 43% of facilities are in cities, 19% are suburban, 38% are rural
- Most programs (60%) integrate education into their curriculum
- On average, programs have a 1:3 ratio of staff to youth in programs
- Outcomes defined by programs are CSEC awareness (70%), empowerment (60%), family reunification ((50%), and exploitation prevention (45%)
- 78% of facilities are secured by lock-down or staff
- Responses to running away behavior include safety planning (47%), holding beds (86%), and recovery planning (84%).

The report provides recommendations on next steps for moving forward for providers, researchers, policy makers and child welfare agencies. An appendix provides the survey questionnaire used to gather data for the report.

Farrell, Amy, Katherine Bright, Ieke de Vries, Rebecca Pfeffer, and Meredith Dank. 2020. Policing labor trafficking in the United States. *Trends in Organized Crime* 23: 36-56. DOI: 10.1007/s12117-019-09367-6.

The purpose of this study is to better understand how police define their role in combatting labor trafficking, and the cultural and institutional factors that impede or facilitate their response. The study uses data from four US communities (two in the Northeast, rural and urban, one in the South and one in the West). The communities were chosen because they have a history of identifying labor trafficking cases and represented a diverse sample based on geographic location and industry type. In these communities, labor trafficking could be found in sectors such as agriculture, domestic services, and construction. There were 122 labor trafficking cases analyzed and coded from the four sites; in these cases, victims had received services and there was an investigation by law enforcement. The researchers also interviewed 24 law enforcers such as police officers and prosecutors, 34 service program providers, and 28 labor trafficking survivors, all from the four communities. All interviews were recorded and transcribed to text for coding and analysis. There were four main themes identified that related to challenges law enforcers face when trying to identify and respond to labor trafficking cases, and the roles that they play: (1) lack of clarity with the US labor trafficking definition, (2) lack of institutional readiness, (3) lack of routine labor trafficking police procedure, and (4) understanding the potential role of the law enforcer with the community in terms of labor trafficking crimes. Some key finding that emerged from the analysis included the following:

- Due to definitional issues related to labor trafficking law in US, law enforcement has difficulty distinguishing labor trafficking from other types of labor exploitation
- Prosecutors and police may have different definitions, especially with respect to the evidence needed to prove “coercion” – many cases are in a “grey area”
- It is more difficult to define the degree of harm in a labor trafficking case compared with sex trafficking – victims are intermingled with the regular workforce
- Minors often work in the US, meaning that it is problematic to view minors working as a crime
- Law enforcement does not have the training or resources needed to gather evidence in labor trafficking cases – there is almost no training on labor trafficking, and it is not considered a priority compared with sex trafficking where police have more experience (i.e., sex crimes) – agencies may have only enough resources to investigate domestic minor sex trafficking cases
- There are language and immigration barriers in labor cases
- Police have not traditionally investigated labor cases and do not have connections with employers – they also do not have internal protocols for investigating such cases and depend on the Department of Labor to bring cases to them
- Labor trafficking is not considered a priority by federal or state labor agencies and such agencies have few connections to law enforcement
- Police officers may try to assist victims even though a case is not moving forward – they try to meet basic needs such as shelter and build trust with victims.

The authors suggest steps that will improve education and partnership of/for law enforcement, including working with local regulators and labor inspectors, creating formal policies for local and federal partners when identifying labor trafficking cases, and creating more education programs on economic, social, and personal costs of labor trafficking in communities.

Fedina, Lisa, Donna E. Howard, Min Qi Wang and Kantahyanee Murray. 2016. Teen Dating Violence Victimization, Perpetration, and Sexual Health Correlates Among Urban, Low-Income, Ethnic, and Racial Minority Youth. *International Quarterly of Community Health Education*. 37 (1): 3-12. DOI: 10.1177/0272684X1665249.

This study aims to determine if teen dating violence (TVD) victimization and perpetration is associated with factors such as sexual risk behaviors, pregnancy, and STIs/HIV. A 1999 third wave data study from Welfare, Children, and Families: A Three-City Study was used to analyze 2,400 households in Boston, Chicago, and San Antonio from February 2005 to January 2006. Of the sample, 513 youth met the eligibility criteria and were asked questions in an interview based on demographics and TVD victimization and perpetration. Sexual risk behavior questions were specified by condom use, use of withdrawal, prostitution, amount of sex partners, STIs and HIV, and pregnancy. TDV was measured by acts of violence done to a person. The authors used a chi-square and Fisher's exact test to compare the variables, as well as logistic regression analysis. Key findings from the study included the following: TDV perpetration is positively associated with gender, not always using a condom, not always using withdrawal as a birth control method, prostitution, and pregnancy; TDV victimization and perpetration are highly associated with one another; and females are nearly four times as likely to perpetrate dating violence compared with males (as a means of self-defense, while males use violence for control).

Fedina, Lisa, Celia Williamson and Tasha Perdue. 2019. Risk factors for domestic child sex trafficking in the United States. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 34(13): 2653-2673. DOI: 10.1177/088626051662306.

The study aims to identify risk factors associated with domestic child sex trafficking in the United States, specifically focusing on experiences that occur prior to entering the commercial sex industry, and to compare experiences between current or former child sex trafficking victims and non-trafficked adults. The study uses the U.S. TVPRA to define sex trafficking and which individuals fit under the category, which includes all individuals under 18 years of age who engage with commercial sex work. The study explains that a combination of risk factors can result in individuals becoming involved with the commercial sex industry, such as running away and substance use. Survival sex is one type of commercial sexual activity that some will engage in to gain access to resources such as food and shelter. The study notes that having a history of abuse increases risk of engagement with survival sex. The study administered a cross-sectional survey in the five largest urban areas of a Midwestern State over six months in 2011, and collaborated with community organizations, officials, and other researchers to identify characteristics and experiences of victims of sex-trafficking. A total of 328 individuals were recruited to participate in the 76-item survey. The participants were over 16 years of age, spoke English and had engaged with commercial sex work in the past 16 months. They took virtual and paper surveys. The study used RDS methods for recruitment to reach hidden populations. Sociodemographic data gathered on participants and presented in the paper include age, annual household income, gender, and race/ethnicity. To identify trafficking, all participants were asked if their current involvement in the commercial sex industry was forced, based on manipulation by someone, or chosen on their own. Most of the sample was female (72.5%), African American (60%) and made less than \$10,000 USD (70%). Participants also were asked questions related to risk factors (ever ran away, child welfare involvement, currently/was in foster care, spent time in juvenile detention, childhood sexual abuse, childhood emotional abuse, worried about eating/sleeping, homeless, raped, family member in sex work, much older boyfriend/girlfriend, friends who bought sex, friends who sold sex, involved in a gang, dropped out of school, mental health diagnosis, frequent alcohol and/or drug use, identified as LGBT). Data was analyzed statistically to compare differences across groups within the study. Several significant risk factors were found to be associated with domestic child sex trafficking. Specifically, 62.6% of child trafficking victims ran away as a minor, compared with 27.2% of non-trafficked adults. This relationship holds even after controlling for demographic variables and other risk factors. The odds are 5 times greater for child trafficking victims to have run away compared with non-trafficked adults. The odds were twice as high for child trafficking victims to be racial/ethnic minorities compared with non-trafficked adults. Other significant risk factors were childhood sexual abuse, being raped, having family members involved in sex work, and having friends who bought sex. The study proposes that targeted prevention and intervention are needed to reduce runaway episodes and prevent running away among particularly at-risk youth. Also, it recommended that programs evaluate their practices to ensure they are reaching racial and ethnic minority youth and providing culturally relevant services.

Fraley, Hannah E., PhD, RN, Teri Aronowitz, PhD, APRN, FNP-BC, FAAN, and Emily J. Jones, PhD, RNC-OB. 2018. School nurses' awareness and attitudes toward commercial sexual exploitation of children. *Advances in Nursing Science* 41(2):118-136. DOI: 10.1097/ANS.000000000000197

The purpose of this study was to understand awareness of and attitudes towards commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) among school nurses in Massachusetts, and their perceived role in responding to the problem. The study utilized a 66-item survey questionnaire, and following the survey, focus groups in different geographical settings to explore these questions. Participants were recruited by seeking volunteers from the Massachusetts School Nurse Organization. Data was collected during 2016. A total of 112 nurses completed the survey, and 29 participated in the focus groups. Awareness, attitudes, and role perceptions were measured using the School Nurse Awareness and Attitudes Towards CSEC survey. Each of these three constructs is described in the paper. Survey results were analyzed utilizing several statistical methods. Focus group questions were guided by survey results and transcripts of the sessions were content analyzed. The paper provides information on participant characteristics (number of years in school nursing, education and credentialing, gender). Also provided is quantitative information on participants' school settings, and school community and student risk factors, awareness of student achievement, behaviors, disabilities, family relationships, and home settings. Findings related to CSEC awareness, attitudes, and roles from the quantitative portion of the study are as follows:

- Less than half reported low to no awareness of the CSEC term (43%).
- The majority reported low awareness of the multiple forms of CSEC, the scope of CSEC locally and nationally, and coercion and control methods used by exploiters (60%).
- The majority reported that they did not agree that CSEC is a major problem for school age children in the US (84%), but the majority reported that it is a major problem affecting youth today (84%).
- The majority indicated that CSEC is related to child abuse (76.8%) and should be reported to the Department of Children and Families (90%).
- Almost all indicated that youth who consent to commercial sex are not victims of CSEC (95%).
- The majority believed that both males (75%) and females (78.6%) can be at risk for CSEC.
- The majority did not agree that CSEC can affect only students living in poverty situations (71%).
- The vast majority agreed that youth who run away are emotionally at risk of CSEC (88%), yet the majority indicated that it is difficult to work with students who run away frequently (59.8%).
- Less than half believed that LGBTQ students are not at risk of running away (31.2%).
- The majority disagreed that students can get out of CSEC by asking for help (55.7%).
- The majority believed that students attending school can be victims of CSEC (86.8%), and less than half believed that exploiters may be attending school (34.8%).
- The majority did not believe that any of their students were involved in CSEC (64.29%).
- The majority believed it was important for school nurses to know about CSEC (56.2%), and less than half agreed that school nurses should be screening for CSEC (32%).
- A minority knew where to call for help if CSEC was suspected (37%).
- All nurses believed that large numbers of students were a barrier to screening for CSEC due to time constraints, and the majority believed funding limitations were a barrier to promoting CSEC prevention.
- All nurses believed that the problem of CSEC should be handled primarily by law enforcement.

Quantitative analysis of data shows correlations between levels of awareness, attitudes, and perceived roles and socio-demographic variables. A higher level of education was associated with higher awareness of CSEC. Prior training on CSEC was a significant predictor of higher awareness and influenced attitudes. School nurses who work in communities that they identified as unsafe with more diverse students had more positive attitudes toward students at risk for CSEC, while nurses who worked with special education students had more negative attitudes. Prior training was a significant predictor of more positive attitudes toward incorporating prevention of CSEC into participants' roles. Findings from focus group data analysis provides more in-depth illustrations of nurses' awareness, attitudes, and perceived roles with respect to CSEC, including quotes from individuals. The paper discusses policy implications of the findings, including recommendations for training.

Frank, Michael J. and G. Zachary Terwilliger. 2015. Gang-controlled sex trafficking. *Virginia Journal of Criminal Law*. 3(2): 342-434.

This article focuses on the analysis of sex trafficking court cases in the United States and gangs' attributes related to sex trafficking. Specifically, the article explores the recruiting and marketing strategies of both gangs and pimps, claiming gang-controlled sex trafficking is more dangerous than singular pimps due to their structure, discipline, and violence. The authors explain that gangs have joined the sexual exploitation market as it requires less knowledge and costs with a larger profit than other markets. The article describes possible revenues for gangs quickly growing their exploitation business. Gangs have a more violent reputation that instills fear on victims with minimal work. They also have more resources for preventing robberies from victims (money stolen while working or theft of a victim). Gangs also have less risk of exposure to law enforcement as there is less suspicion and they have greater networking capabilities. The authors explain the four must known aspects of a prosecution to prove a minor was sex trafficked: "(1) the defendant knowingly recruited, enticed, harbored, transported, provided, obtained, or maintained a victim or benefitted financially from participation in a venture which sex trafficked a victim; (2) the defendant did so knowing or in reckless disregard of the fact that the victim would be caused to engage in a commercial sex act; (3) the defendant knew that the victim was under the age of eighteen years, recklessly disregarded this fact, or had a reasonable opportunity to observe the victim; and (4) the sex trafficking had an effect on interstate commerce (357)." The authors then explain the differences of valid defense cases between minor and adult victims; there must be proof of coercion, fraud or force. The article explains that it is difficult at times to prove these occurrences as victims will not always admit the occurrence in court due to different recruitment and enslavement tactics from gangs and pimps such as targeting single parent or broken home victims to have more control of their emotions and higher likelihood of vulnerability. Having a sense of family or fatherhood with traffickers is a common tactic that creates followers instead of slaves. Traffickers also use flashy expenses, romantic or "Romeo" (376), drugs/alcohol, creditor/debt collectors, and extreme violence (gorilla pimps) to entice and keep victims. The authors explain that pimps can have certain advantages in some of these methods over gangs due to a gang's reputation. The article uses victim testimony and court allegations to further elaborate on some of the context to these methods. The article concludes that although pimps can have certain advantages as a solo exploiter, gangs are more dangerous and wide-spread with their trafficking business and with victims.

Frias, Sonia M and Marajose Gomez-Zaldivar. 2017. Child and Adolescent Commercial Sexual Exploitation in Mexico: The Exploiters and the State. *Dignity: A Journal of Sexual Exploitation and Violence* 2, 4 (9). DOI: 10.23860.

This paper has three goals: “a) to describe the different actors who in some way promote or facilitate CSEC, (b) to study the role of the State in protecting children and adolescents from CSEC, and (c) to challenge stereotypes about CSEC in Mexico that link the phenomenon only with pimps and criminal trafficking networks” (p. 3). The study conducted interviews with key informant experts knowledgeable about the State’s (Mexico) role in protecting adolescents from Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) in Mexico. The interviews provided information tied to reconstruction of girl victims’ life stories at a nonprofit shelter for female victims of violence in Mexico City. There were ten cases of individuals identified through interviews at seven shelters for those who have suffered from CSEC, trafficking in persons, violence, abandonment, homelessness, and abuse. Data about the cases also came from three sources -- participant observation/ethnographic notes from a December 2012 to February 2013 study, the shelter’s database, and informal conversations with female victim residents involved in CSEC. There were also seven interviews with key experts on CSEC from public institutions and six experts from non-profit organizations regarding health, social services, and public security. Interviews with these experts lasted 40 to 120 minutes and went over topics about prevention, intervention, and healing for CSEC victims. The results from these data sources demonstrated that exploitation happens in multiple forms on a given victim case. The paper uses a chart to show the indirect exploiters (police, government employees, sex buyers, and public services, including taxi drivers, hotel owners, drug dealers, pornographers, tourism entrepreneurs, bar spa and brothel owners) and direct exploiters (spouses, non-relatives, relatives, and non-relatives with parental awareness, all part of an “inner circle”) and gives detailed examples from the cases on how these exploiters intertwine with each other. Children without a direct exploiter are not recognized as victims. There was no typical profile for a Mexican sex buyer. Public authorities are included among these exploiters. The expert testimony explains more as to why this exploitation occurs such as in-state corruption, abuse of power, and authority immunity to consequences. Experts observed that public authorities are complicit in sex trafficking, and the government does not provide protection. There is no assistance, no rescue, no rescued victims, and no shelters offered by the government. Shelters are sponsored by non-government organizations. Non-profit organizations are not regulated. NGOs emphasize the importance of prevention, which costs less.

Gerassi, Lara, Andrea Nichols, and Erica Michelson. 2017. Lessons learned: Benefits and challenges in interagency coalitions addressing sex trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 3(4):285-302. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2016.1260345>

This study aims to explore the benefits and challenges of service provider involvement in coalitions that address sex trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation. Twenty-four semi-structured interviews were conducted with individuals who participated in one or more coalitions in a Midwestern city in 2015. In total, individuals associated with 18 different organizations were interviewed. Inductive analysis of data involved selective coding and open coding. Recurring themes or key topical areas were labeled as core categories. Results show the following:

Benefits

- Increased awareness and training (e.g., interdisciplinary cooperation)
- Collaboration and referral networks (e.g., improving access to services)

Tensions

- Divisive goals among coalition members (i.e., focusing on sex trafficking versus focusing on commercial sexual exploitation or sex work)
- Stagnated action and coalition inefficiency (e.g., repeated discussions about goals and what constituted the target population)
- Associated funding challenges (e.g., different requirements from granting agencies, competition over funding).

Implications for service providers and coalitions are included.

Gerassi, Lara B and Stephanie Sinkis. 2020. An intersectional content analysis of inclusive language and imagery among sex trafficking-related services. *Violence and Victims* 35 (3): 1-19. DOI: 10.1891/VV-D-18-00204.

This study aims to better comprehend state funded social services in the Midwestern part of the United States, specifically (1) the availability of sex-trafficking-specific organizations, (2) how much information about their work with sex trafficking victims/survivors those organizations make available to the public through their websites and (3) how inclusive those organizations are with intersectional identities. There are a multitude of social services that victims may encounter, including services related to topics such as mental health, substance abuse, shelter, mentorship, medicine, and intimate partner violence. The research was intended to address three questions:

1. "What trafficking-specific organizations are available in the identified region?
2. To what extent do organizations that could encounter potentially sex trafficked individuals include public information (websites) about working with trafficking survivors?
3. How publicly inclusive are these organizations regarding diverse intersectional identities (including LGBTQ+ and racial/ethnic groups)?" (p. 403)

To accomplish such, the researchers conducted a content analysis of websites that examined all forms of communication by coding raw messages such as images, texts, and illustrations in accordance with a particular focus of research. The data was collected from 17 counties and three tribal areas in a northern Midwestern state. Search terms such as "trafficking," "sex trafficking," "commercial sexual exploitation," and "domestic minor sex trafficking" were used to analyze different counties' social service websites. The search led to a find of seven sex trafficking-specific services (related to education and intervention, residential treatment, outreach, and counseling) and 176 non-trafficking-specific services to further analyze (total of 186 websites). All websites were further analyzed for three areas: (1) sex trafficking indicators (language or symbols), (2) LGBTQ+ identities (language or symbols), and (3) racial and ethnic identities (language or symbols). For the sex trafficking-specific websites, five organizations had sex trafficking indicators (three with descriptions like force, fraud, and coercion, two with the term modern-day slavery, and two with indicators related to bondage such as images of hand cuffs or bar codes); three organizations had LGBTQ+ indicators (one with symbols relating to LGBTQ+ identities and two describing LGBTQ+ specific services); and four organizations used racial and ethnic identity indicators (one with services for a Spanish interpreter and three with photos of diverse individuals). For the non-trafficking-specific websites, three organizations had sex trafficking indicators (services and providers for victims); 31 services had LGBTQ+ indicators (21 for LGBTQ+ specific services and ten for LGBTQ+ symbolism); and 84 services had racial and ethnic diversity indicators (eight for Indigenous-specific services, 65 with photos of diverse individuals, and eleven with an intersectional antidiscrimination policy). Some of the photos were stock photos. Overall, the authors concluded that in the Midwestern region studied, there were few trafficking-specific services overall and even fewer with diverse indicators relating to identity. Language and images that are used to describe sex trafficking are found to be problematic as they are not intersectional toward multiple identities and are sensationalistic (e.g., images of bondage which do not relate to the majority of sex trafficking experiences, any may lead to disengagement of survivors). The authors conclude that trafficking-specific services that are inclusive to intersectional identities are crucial for providing safety and more opportunities to multiple individuals. The authors suggest that more research needs to be conducted on how much of a role inclusive symbols and language play with the outcomes and experiences diverse survivors have with trafficking specific and nonspecific services.

Gerassi, Lara B, L.B. Klein and Mara del Carmen Rosales. 2021. Moving toward critical consciousness and anti-oppressive practice approaches with people at risk of sex trafficking: Perspectives from social service providers. *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work*. 1-17. DOI: 10.1177/08861099211025531.

This study aims to create a better understanding of (1) how racial disparities are viewed in sex trafficking, as learned from sex trafficking education, and (2) the strategies that have been used to address racism (e.g., color-evasive and anti-oppressive practices or AOP). The authors define sex trafficking as either when (1) a minor exchanges a sexual act such as prostitution, pornography, or stripping for compensation with objects like food, money, clothing, housing, or drugs, or (2) an adult performs a commercial sexual act through fraud, coercion, or force. The 2018 study uses qualitative data and is community-based, partnering with the regional Department of Health and Human Services Youth and Family Services (YFS) in a Midwestern state. Twenty-four social service providers from a 17-county region participated in the study. The organizations were identified through a web-based content analysis that found organizations that had encountered sex trafficking either directly or indirectly. Interviews took place through phone conference and were 40 to 90 minutes in length. The majority of participants identified as White non-Hispanic women (18), were in their 30s, had a graduate degree (13), had under five years of field-specific work experience (12), worked as advocates or case managers (11), and either provided service for foster care/youth (7) or intimate partner/sexual violence (7). Questions were guided around the subject of perceptions of sex trafficking education and practice strategies used for at risk subpopulations such as people of color, immigrants, and the LGBTQ+ community, but specifically focused on race. Subtopics included sex trafficking education, how race was understood in their field, demographic trends in caseloads, and prevention methods for diverse communities. After content analysis of the interviews, the authors found that most participants (20) who attended trainings had received an “everyone-at-risk” or color-evasive approach. This approach does not acknowledge racial differences with sex trafficking. Most (19) of the participants found it difficult to describe their caseloads in terms of racial trends, overall describing the caseloads in terms of socioeconomic class or homelessness. Five of the providers (three of color and two who were White and went to training in minority racial communities) described the use of anti-oppressive practice (AOP) approaches and noted intersectional-structured oppressions in the content. The study included anecdotes from the participants describing different experiences and case examples from their trainings. Most of the group had “everyone-at-risk” training (20) that focused on the circumstances one went through during trafficking rather than the victims’ racial or ethnic identity and few had received “critically conscious” training (4) that focused on intersectional differences among people’s experiences—having awareness of race. There were two main approaches when asked to describe demographic trends with caseloads: (1) color-evasive approach where providers (19) would focus on describing cases in terms of gender or socioeconomic class rather than race and (2) critically conscious and anti-oppressive approaches where providers (5) describe cases through an intersectional approach, describing relationships between race, gender, and socioeconomic class. Some of the main findings of the study include the following:

- There is disagreement and controversy surrounding the use of race as a major dimension of sex trafficking – those who wish to avoid racial stereotypes and do not address race often are trying to present training as “accessible” to all
- The color-evasive approach leaves intact the prevalent racialized views of victims that often do not present persons of color as sexually vulnerable, and contribute to biased views of who is a victim

- A critically conscious view acknowledges that people of color are significantly at risk for trafficking compared with persons who are white
- The location of services makes a difference, as those near communities of color (e.g., tribal areas) are more likely to acknowledge race as a factor -- this also happens when a caseload has a large proportion of persons of color.

Overall, the study concludes that most providers struggle with using AOP approaches with people at risk of sex trafficking and often avoid racial descriptions or use a color-evasive approach as a result. Although training that uses “everyone-at-risk” aims to avoid the use of stereotypes, it often does more harm than good by ignoring people of color-related issues. The authors suggest that incorporating AOP approaches in training across different demographics is crucial for recognizing how race and sex trafficking intertwine.

Gerassi, Lara, Tonya E. Edmond, Vanessa Fabbre, Abby Howard and Andrea J. Nichols. 2021 Disclosing sex trading histories to providers: Barriers and facilitators to navigation of social services among women impacted by commercial sexual exploitation. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. 36 (3-4). DOI: 10.1177/0886260517746130.

The purpose of this study is to better understand the process of disclosing sex trading to service providers and to identify barriers to disclosure and facilitators that encourage women to disclose. The study occurred from May to December 2016 as part of a larger project. The study uses grounded theory as the main method for framing the analysis which interprets how subjects construct their reality. The researchers interviewed women who have or had traded sex as adults and service providers who have served women who traded sex. Interviews were recorded and transcribed. The interviewees came from two community anti-trafficking partners (pseudonyms ASTE/Anti-Sex Trafficking and Exploitation and WAC/Women's Addiction Center) in a Midwestern city in the United States. The centers are comprised of over 30 service providers from 20 organizations. Women were recruited if they were 18 years or older and had traded sex at 18 or more years of age. The authors wanted to focus on adult experiences to explore the barriers met by that age group. All interviews lasted 45 to 90 minutes, took place in person, and used the life calendar method (focus on autobiographical memories by having participants put their life events on a calendar timeline). There were 30 participants for the sex trade interviews varying by race (12 White women, 17 Black women, and one biracial woman), age (18-63 years of age), and need for services such as addiction (23), homelessness (7), criminal justice (4), trafficking (3), mental counseling (2), and intimate partner violence (7). For service provider interviews there were 20 participants all of whom had to have experience providing direct services to adult women who had traded sex as adults. The service provider interviewees also varied by race (five Black providers and 15 White providers), age (23 to 63 years of age), and types of services they provided such as those for addiction (3), trafficking (4), homelessness (4), mental health counseling (1), and intimate partner violence (2). The interview findings concluded that facilitators to address sex work were (1) motivation to address personal feelings about sex trade and (2) desire to want to help or relate to women with similar experiences. The barriers that were found in terms of addressing sex work were (1) lack of a meaningful or safe space to process sex trading, (2) fear of judgment from others specifically when being part of a minority population or having a more traumatic experience, and (3) fear of being viewed differently by service providers. The authors provide quotes from the different interviews to emphasize these points. Some of the key findings include the following:

- Disclosure was viewed as helpful by some people, especially those who faced addiction – they felt that addiction helped to explain sex trading
- Women often found no one and no opportunity to discuss sex trading with service providers – there was no follow-up after intake and women did not want to be viewed negatively if they were not selling sex for drugs, which might be considered “non-relatable”
- Counselors might chastise women publicly if they traded sex – sex trading often was viewed as inappropriate to discuss in a group setting, with one reason being privacy violation (gossip)
- Some of the barriers noted above could lead to disengagement from services, especially if women feared judgment from other women
- Judgments could be based upon type of sex trading, with street work being seen as the worst.

The researchers conclude that disclosure of sex trading is difficult. Specific opportunities for disclosure need to be provided. Trauma history, racial bias, and overall personal feelings are some of the main reasons for either facilitating or creating a barrier for adult women when trying to seek social services. The authors suggest that providers need to ask questions broadly, explain the multiple reasons one may participate in sex trade, ask what feelings best reflect their experiences with sex trade, address and be aware of institutionalized racism, allow opportunities for women to facilitate the discussion, affirm their choices (regardless of the outcome), avoid motivating questions, respond in a non-biased manner, and use mirrored language. These suggestions can decrease fear of judgment from peers and providers, affirm their actions, and create a space they can feel safe to share in. The authors also suggest that it is crucial to address sex trading in a specific, designated space while also talking about addiction, shelter issues, and mental health.

Gibbs, Deborah A., Jennifer L. Hardison Walters, Alexandra Lutnick, Shari Miller, and Marianne Kluckman. 2015. Services to domestic minor victims of sex trafficking: Opportunities for engagement and support. *Children and Youth Services Review* 54:1-7.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2015.04.003>

The purpose of this study was to present selected findings from a process evaluation of three programs that service domestic minor victims of human trafficking funded by the Office for Victims of Crime from the US Department of Justice. The three programs were based in San Francisco, Chicago, and New York City, respectively, and served diverse populations of youth, some or all of whom had experienced human trafficking. Data for the study was comprised of information on clients and services provided by the programs and interviews with program staff. Programs were eligible for inclusion in the study if they provided case management and a comprehensive service model, whether in-house or through a network. For the quantitative portion of the project, program staff compiled data on clients and services and submitted the data to the project via a set of forms. Project staff entered data into an analysis file from which descriptive statistics were derived. For the qualitative component of the project, project staff conducted five site visits to the programs and interviewed staff regarding organizational involvement with trafficked minors, service needs and delivery strategies, and assessment of the programs' experiences, challenges, and perceived successes. The project also gathered anonymous case narratives for a selected number of clients that were provided by program staff. Inductive and deductive approaches were used to analyze the qualitative data. A total of 201 youth across three programs were included in the information provided by the study. The paper provides descriptive statistics on the characteristics of young people served by the programs, including the percentage of youth with confirmed trafficking experience, sex, race and ethnicity, and system involvement. From the case narratives, the project identified two patterns of engagement in the sex trade: sex trades through someone considered a sexual or romantic partner, and survival-based sex trades from youth who had run away or been "thrown away". A variety of different types of sex trade facilitators and self-arranged trades were identified. Client needs defined at intake were provided for each program as well as the percentage of clients with each need at intake. Needs include support/crisis intervention, safety planning, sexual health, food or clothing, educational support, mental health services, housing -- long term, employment/vocational support, assistance with benefits, housing -- emergency, family reunification or counseling, victim assistance or legal services, housing -- transitional, medical care, substance/alcohol abuse services, and dental care. The paper includes an analysis of the percent of client-months in which service were needed and received, needed but not received, or not needed. Programs usually were able to meet the three or four highest needs identified, including support for crisis intervention, food or clothing, and safety planning. Reasons that needs were not met include lack of available service, and young people being reluctant to access a service. One of the key reasons for reluctance to use a service was avoidance of system involvement; for example, youth would fear identification by child welfare agencies and subsequent foster care placements. The single most successful strategy for service engagement was in-house or colocated services. The project also compiled data on exit from services. It was noted that there were a large proportion of lost contacts, with the presumption that youth had returned to the trafficking situation. For youth who exited the sex trade, having a safe place to live and supportive family connections were common themes. Strategies used by programs to support continued engagement included use of grant funds to support immediate needs, providing youth-identified service needs, addressing service barriers by colocated services, prioritizing relationship building, accompanying youth to service appointments, and

maintaining flexibility in providing service. The paper provides a model of service needs by outcome areas, including safety, well-being, permanent connections, and self-sufficiency.

Gibbs, D. A., S. Aboul-Hosn, and M. N. Kluckman. 2020. Child labor trafficking within the U.S.: A first look at allegations investigated by Florida's child welfare agency. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 6(4):435-449. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2019.1594551>

This paper uses “data from Florida’s child welfare system to describe the number and characteristics of investigated allegations for labor trafficking, and to compare children with labor trafficking and sex trafficking allegations in terms of their characteristics,” and prior and subsequent child welfare experiences. Data in this study are drawn from Florida’s Department of Children and Families. The sample consists of 4,711 children who were the subject of investigated allegations of labor trafficking and sex trafficking between 2013 and 2017. Variables examined include child characteristics, out-of-home placements, and maltreatment allegations. Data analysis included descriptive statistics and multivariate methods. Key findings include the following:

- Labor trafficking represented 9% of all human trafficking allegations
- Labor trafficking was more likely to be substantiated or determined not to occur versus indeterminate, which was more likely in cases of sex trafficking
- Labor trafficking displayed higher rates of co-occurring maltreatment relative to children with sex trafficking allegations; there were lower rates of verification for co-occurring maltreatment
- Children with labor trafficking allegations were more likely to be younger, male, Black or other race, and Hispanic, compared to those with sex trafficking allegations; the proportion of males was 9 times greater for labor trafficking compared with sex trafficking
- Children with labor trafficking allegations were less than half as likely to have prior or subsequent child welfare involvement compared to those with sex trafficking allegations
- Children with labor trafficking allegations had substantial maltreatment histories; one-third of children aged 16 or less on their first labor trafficking allegation had subsequent investigated allegations.

Implications for research and practice are included.

Global Health Justice Partnership (GHJP). 2018. *Diversion from Justice: A Rights-Based Analysis of Local “Prostitution Diversion Programs” and their Impacts on People in the Sex Sector in the United States*. A working paper by GHJP of the Yale Law School and Yale School of Public Health, in cooperation with the Sex Workers Project of the Urban Justice Center. September 2018.

The aim of this report to provide an understanding of a national trend toward prostitution diversion programs (PDPs) by creating a provisional mapping and analytic taxonomy for categorizing these programs and suggesting a framework for their evaluation based upon claims to health, human rights, and justice. A prostitution diversion program (including those defined as interventions) is a court-oriented process that provides pathways to rehabilitation that represent alternatives to the criminal justice process for individuals charged with the crime of prostitution. A national survey of PDPs was conducted that included programs serving adults who have been charged with prostitution or prostitution-related offenses. Internet searches were used to identify PDPs, after which phone interviews and site visits with program staff and personnel were conducted to obtain information regarding the programs. Also, interviews were conducted with former and current program defendants/participants in several different locations. In addition, interviews were held with fourteen key informants, including scholars, advocates, and researchers to gain additional insights. A total of 42 then-operational PDPs were included in the study. Data on these programs in the report includes state, county, program name, program administrator, launch date, and a brief description as of Spring 2016. A provisional map of PDPs in the US is provided, together with detailed case studies of PDPs in some states (Texas, Illinois, New York), covering the founding, general structure, and operations within their contexts. It was discovered that nearly every aspect of a program is contingent on specific players in local government, law enforcement, and social service provision. A taxonomy of PDPs offers the following: background (the creation of PDPs and their primary driving force, models such as actors involved in the program, funding sources, and fundamental principles); entry (the process by which defendants/participants enter the program, including timing, points of entry, eligibility, legal structure, and policing practices); range of services (including types and intensity of services, duration, incentives, sanctions, harm reduction); exit/completion requirements (including follow-up and data measures); and cultural competency (staff training, program narratives, gender sensitivity and capacity to serve diverse persons). An analytic review of PDPs flags some points that arise in consideration of the programs and their histories. This review discusses the following issues: 1) human rights and dignity (programs may use coercion upon entry or during program participation); 2) health justice and ethics (there are concerns related to availability and accessibility, acceptability and quality of services); 3) justice issues (adjudicating in ad hoc and unreviewable ways, lack of transparency, increased policing, police abuse, and mistreatment by court staff); 4) transparency, accountability, and sustainability (lacking transparency in court processes and service provision, failing to stay accountable to people most affected, threats to sustainability of programs). The report concludes with recommendations for law enforcement, judges, court staff, policy makers, PDPs and service providers, and funders.

Godoy, Sarah M, Laura S. Abrams, Elizabeth S. Barnert, Mikaela A. Kelly, and Eraka P. Bath. 2020. Fierce autonomy: How girls and young women impacted by commercial sexual exploitation perceive health and exercise agency in health care decision-taking. *Qualitative Health Research*. 30 (9): 1326-1337. DOI: 10.1177/104973230913857.

The purpose of this study is to understand and improve access, utilization, and engagement in health care for survivors of commercial sexual exploitation (CSE). Specifically, the authors aimed to answer two research questions:

1. “How do girls and young women with histories of CSE view their own health and wellness?”
2. How do their life histories and past traumas influence their understanding of their health care needs?” (p. 1327)

The study utilizes qualitative data in the form of interviews. Participants were eligible for the study if they were between 13 and 22 years of age and had exchanged sex for an object of value. There were 21 girls that participated in the study who were all cisgender and between 15 and 19 years of age. The participants were recruited from specialty courts and group homes. The research was conducted in a large southwestern county in the US. Most interviewees identified as African American or Hispanic. Interviews were between 30 to 60 minutes in length and included a close-ended questionnaire. Interviews were digitally recorded and were all one-on-one. The interview included topics on participants’ views of health, health care access, and recommendations for improving the system. Interviewees described their views on safety and health, their family history, exploitation experiences, and backgrounds with social service providers (behaviors and attitudes). Iterative thematic analysis identified 15 major themes and 55 subthemes that described girls’ experiences and perceptions with health care in all stages of CSE. The authors use an inductive conceptual model called “Fierce Autonomy” to visually depict the processes that influence girls with CSE history to seek agency over all parts of themselves and their health care (shown in a diagram). One part of the model shows how adverse childhood experiences are interconnected to risk of exploitation and the other part shows the impacts from the combination of environmental factors and behavioral risks. Overall, “Fierce Autonomy” demonstrates how girls with a history of CSE desire to seek services and power over their bodies, and the connections of these actions to environmental factors and agency through behavioral choices. The model also assists in linking traumas from shared experiences to better show how those variables impact autonomy. One of the key findings is that CSE survivors exercise agency to engage and disengage with health care services. Some of these shared experiences include child maltreatment, unstable homes, care networks, lack of control during CSE, immense experience with violence and trauma, and their current view of the self (body, control, and mind). Overall, the study concludes that “Fierce Autonomy” is created through the shared experiences of the past and current perspectives of CSE affected youth. The authors suggest that these findings are crucial for health care providers and other service workers to better understand and assist young women in maintaining control over their body image and condition. The “Fierce Autonomy” model could also be used to develop a similar system of thinking with other groups such as boys and the LGBTQ+ youth community.

Gonzalez, Nicole, Chelsea Spencer, and Sandra Stith. 2019. Moving to restoration: The experience of women exiting sex trafficking. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 5(1):60-73.

<https://doi.org/10.1080.23322705.2017.1413856>

The aim of this study was to explore how service providers can better help female domestic sex trafficking victims and learn about how victims and their needs can be identified. The sample consisted of three women living at a local restoration facility in the Midwest who had exited sex trafficking. Participant demographics and related characteristics are described briefly. Each woman was interviewed individually. The general content of the interview protocol is provided. Inductive methods were used to analyze interview transcripts. Results of the study revealed four themes:

Experiences in sex trafficking

- What resources were found helpful: Some participants said they found no resources that were helpful. One participant found a detox facility that put her on the right track. Informal social support was found to be helpful and not helpful at the same time (e.g., boyfriends/traffickers, clients)
- Exiting sex trafficking – two themes emerged: 1) situations became too dangerous; 2) they wanted to stop using substances
- Barriers and motivation to restoration – three themes emerged: 1) financial barriers; 2) influences that would lead back to substance use; 3) lack of support from professionals. Motivations to restoration included starting a career and getting back to their children
- Experiences in restoration – four themes emerged: 1) therapy; 2) financial assistance and services at no cost; 3) services focusing on rehabilitation; 4) social support, or lack thereof.

Implications for professionals

- Identifiers for sex trafficking are provided (i.e., promiscuity, withdrawal from loved ones, hanging out at hotels and motels, hanging out with older men, intimate partner violence)
- How could service providers support the journey to restoration? Removing victims from the situation. Being compassionate, supportive, and patient, as well as being consistent and available. Being removed from the city where they were trafficked was also helpful. Service providers need to promote the services that are available.

The study concludes with implications for service providers and policy.

Gonzalez-Pons, Kwynn M, Lindsay Gezinski, Hanna Morzenti, and Elizabeth Hendrix. 2020. Exploring the relationship between domestic minor sex trafficking myths, victim identification, and service provision. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. vol 100. DOI: 10.1016/j.chiabu.2019.104093.

This study sought to understand whether: 1) domestic minor sex trafficking (DMST) service providers can differentiate myth from fact about DMST; 2) service providers could identify DMST victims; and 3) identification of victims impacts service provision. The qualitative study included a survey and follow-up questions that gather information on demographics (gender, organizational role, community sector), beliefs about DMST, ability to identify a victim and the need for training, and service provision. There were 69 participants who were service providers from 29 organizations. Roles included administrative care, case manager, clinician, direct service, and support staff. The study took place in a metropolitan area of the Southwestern part of the United States. Data was collected in 2016. Most of the participants identified as female (54), having the organizational role of administrator (35). They represented the mental health community sector (15) and victim assistance from domestic violence, sexual assault, and child abuse community sector (12). Most participants could distinguish myth from fact (between 50 to 70% for each category). (The eight myths are listed in the paper). The myth believed by most (55%) was that DMST had to involve force, fraud, or coercion. Most participants (54%) believed they could identify DMST victims, but 52% of participants responded with "I don't know" when asked to estimate how many DMST victims their organization encountered. The resource areas most requested by DMST victims that could be fulfilled were mental health care (18 requests, 11 reported fulfilled), shelter (18 requested, six reported fulfilled), and emotional support (18 requests, 10 reported fulfilled). Overall, the study concludes that although myths were mostly debunked by professionals, they still are persistent, especially among administrators. Furthermore, recognition of and assistance to DMST victims is problematic across all service areas. The authors suggest that a short, validated screening tool that is specific based on the organization and the environment would be most beneficial for recognizing DMST victims. Also, further education and training that is DMST centered needs to be provided in regard to debunking stereotypes and myths on sex trafficking; active engagement with survivors also would assist with these issues.

Gotch, Katherine. 2016. Preliminary data on a sample of perpetrators of domestic trafficking for sexual exploitation: Suggestions for research and practice. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 2(1):99-109. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2015.1136539>

The purpose of this study is to establish a preliminary understanding of domestic trafficking for sexual exploitation perpetrators, and to discuss potential interventions for this group. The sample consisted of 28 adult males who had an arrest, charge, or conviction for domestic trafficking for sexual exploitation, defined in Oregon as Promoting or Compelling Prostitution. From the perspective of Oregon statutes, the perpetrators may be viewed as “pimps” or traffickers. The sample had participated in an evaluation while under community supervision between 2014 and 2015 in Multnomah County, Oregon. Data were collected from pre-treatment sexual-offense-specific evaluation reports, and the completion of assessment instruments. The Hare Psychopathy Checklist was included. Other instruments included the STATIC 99/R (an actuarial risk assessment) and the Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI), a measure of criminal recidivism. The paper includes definitions of these reports and evaluations. Descriptive statistics were used to analyze demographic, psychological, and criminogenic factors that may differentiate this population. Demographic characteristics are included in the paper, including age, ethnicity, education, childhood abuse, and parental behavior. One demographic factor that was noted is that 89% of the sample was African American, probably due to police practices in the area where data was collected. Seven percent were Caucasian and 4% were mixed ethnicity. Trafficking behavior is described, including age at onset, length of involvement, victims (all were female, and some were minors), control tactics, gang involvement, and other violent behavior. Some of the key findings of the study include the following:

- 71% had a documented history of intimate partner violence, 64% had a history of general violence, and 46% had documented sexual violence
- 100% had a documented history of forcible rape
- 18% scored very high for psychopathic traits, and 61% scored in the high range
- 41% scored high on the risk assessment instrument
- 83% scored very high on the LS/CMI, meaning they are at risk for recidivism.

The study highlights a notable level of antisociality and violence, the use of romantic relationships as a primary means of control, and potential organization through street gangs. These characteristics may be distinct to domestic perpetrators compared with those involved at the international level. The marked incidence of domestic and sexual violence relates to the development of policy and practice at the state level and for local law enforcement. Effective interventions require the incorporation of specific sexual-offense and domestic violence concepts. The population evinces several factors that place them at risk for future domestic violence. Fear-based interventions would likely not be effective, but long-term gains may be improved through “consistent positive rewards from the environment and a stable prosocial life”. Implications for future research are included.

Government of Canada. 2018. Human Trafficking Consultations Report. Public Safety Canada. 2018 Human Trafficking Consultations Report (publicsafety.gc.ca)

The purpose of this article is to “identify issues, gaps, and challenges affecting Canada’s ability to counter human trafficking and to identify potential actions and initiatives to address them” (p. 3). This report presents the result of consultations that follow on Canada’s National Action Plan to combat human trafficking and work toward establishment of a new national strategy. The study conducted in-person consultations from September to October of 2019 through Public Safety Canada. The consultations were held in Montreal, Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto, and Ottawa, as well as online. They included more than 200 non-governmental representatives, Indigenous representatives, law enforcers, academics, front-line service personnel, civil workers, governmental workers, private sector representatives, and human trafficking victims and survivors. The consultations involved questionnaires that targeted finding challenges and gaps within Canada’s current human trafficking counter plan. The authors present the key findings from this study with a 4-P approach that is currently used by regional roundtables and the National Summit: prevention, protection, prosecutions, and partnerships. Overall, the participants agreed on a few methods to create a stronger 4-P approach: (1) increase collaboration and cooperation across organizations, (2) inconsistencies within anti-trafficking legislation need to be reformed, (3) agencies need more training for victim interactions, (4) the public needs more awareness, (5) prosecution of perpetrators needs to increase, and (6) socio-economic marginalization needs to be addressed. The article further elaborates on each of these methods based on participant feedback. Challenges to law enforcement action are reviewed, including enforcement of existing laws, training for law enforcement professionals, and increasing public awareness. Lack of access to, and availability of services and supports for survivors, also are discussed. The need for more funding to support these programs was a theme throughout the consultations. Some participants also created a shared list of strategies to address the main concerns and assist with a new national strategy. The article also includes statistics on participant feedback about reasons for gaps and possible solutions.

Goździak, Elżbieta M. *Trafficked Children and Youth in the United States: Reimagining Survivors*. New Brunswick, New Jersey; London: Rutgers University Press, 2016.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1c5ch9b>.

In this book, Goździak aims to “juxtapose programmatic responses—based on the principle of the “best interest of the child”—with the young survivors’ perceptions of their experiences and service needs. [She] explore[s] the tensions between the adolescents’ narratives of their trafficking and the actions and discourses of foster care and child welfare programs” (pp. 5-6). Further, she endeavored to “listen to the trafficked girls and boys in order to present their points of view. [Her] primary objective was to convey how the survivors conceptualized their trafficking experiences and their traffickers, what they perceived as their most urgent needs, and how these perceptions differed from the conceptualizations and the approaches of the service providers. [She] wanted to tell their stories. The ethnographic details come from their narratives. Case files and court documents, where included, are meant to inform and add to the narratives of service providers and child advocates whose voices [she] also wanted to capture” (p. 9). Goździak’s sample is composed of 10 individuals as well as a group referred to as the “Peruvian boys.” They are all trafficked youth, both girls and boys, who were born outside the United States and trafficked across international borders into the U.S. The book unpacks diverse findings from each of these stories, but one key theme is that “much attention and accompanying resources are spent on “rehabilitating” trafficked minors and on “healing” the trauma resulting from the trafficking experiences. However, the economic well-being of these young people garners a lot less attention. The fact that these young people are now green card holders or U.S. citizens with access to legal employment does not mean that they are not discriminated against in the labor market. Similar to other migrants—documented and undocumented—they face language barriers, wage exploitation, and lack of upward mobility. The anti-trafficking field needs to rethink easy charity and focus on labor force participation as a source of both economic stability and healing” (p. 141).

Goździak, Elzbieta M., PhD, and B. Lindsay Lowell, PhD. 2016. *After Rescue: Evaluation of Strategies to Stabilize and Integrate Adult Survivors of Human Trafficking in the United States*. A report to the US Department of Justice. Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown University. NIJ Grant No. 2012-91224-DC-IJ. Document No. 249672.

This study focuses on stabilization of foreign-born, mainly adult survivors of human trafficking who received case management services through a United States Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) Program between 2006 and 2011. To receive services through this program, a survivor had to experience a “severe” form of trafficking as defined by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (2000). Stabilization is defined as “prospects for long-term economic and social self-sufficiency”, with case managers assessing stability for each month of service on a 1-5 scale. The study used multivariate statistical modeling to determine the degree to which intervention -- months of service and need reduction together with measures of agency capacity – improve survivors’ stability. Types of needs experienced by survivors are identified. Data for the study was obtained from a database that had input from participating agencies. The number of survivors who were included in this study is 2,735, representing the clients who were included in the ORR database. In addition, fieldwork with agencies was conducted to determine how service providers assess stabilization during the provision of services. The records used for the study include information on country of origin, age of survivor, gender, type of exploitation, location after trafficking, certification status, date of entry into service program, number of months receiving services, and needs and stability assessment during each month of service. Survivor characteristics related to these dimensions are provided in the report. The study found that the greater the number of needs addressed by an agency, the greater the chance that their stability would improve. Every additional need met is associated with 1.6 increased odds of improved stabilization net of all other variables addressed in the analysis. Length of service had a highly statistically significant association with a substantial impact on the odds of improvement. However, clients left the program because of time-limited services, not always because they were ready to leave.

Greenbaum, V. Jordan, Martha Dodd, and Courtney McCracken. 2018. A short screening tool to identify victims of child sex trafficking in the health care setting. *Pediatric Emergency Care*. 34 (1): 33-37. www.pec.online.com

The purpose of this study is to describe characteristics of CSEC/CST patients, and using these characteristics, develop a quick screening tool that will help to accurately identify victims of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) or child sex trafficking (CST) among high-risk adolescents. The cross-sectional study used interviews with patients from the Children's Healthcare of Atlanta Institution. For eligibility, participants had to be a suspected victim of CSEC/CST, used the institution's clinic services from June of 2013 to May of 2014, speak English, and be between 12 to 18 years of age. These patients were compared with youths who presented during the same time period with allegations of sexual abuse or sexual assault, but who had no evidence of CSEC/CST. The clinicians interviewing the patients used a trauma-informed approach to ask questions related to race and ethnicity, medical history, reproductive history, substance use, high-risk behaviors, mental health status, and injury/abuse history. The interviewer would also note observations of youths' physical and mental state. There were 108 total patients interviewed: 25 from the CSEC/CST group and 83 from the ASA (alleged acute sexual assault/sexual abuse) group. Data was analyzed statistically, and multivariate logistic regressioning was used to identify a subset of items that could correctly determine CSEC/CST victims. They also determined the number of responses that could produce a positive identification. The CSEC/CST patient was significantly more likely to identify as African American (72%) or the "other" (16%) racial category, and have tattoos (48%), a history of injury such as fractures, wounds and traumatic loss of consciousness (33%), a history of violence from caregivers/parents (55%), a sexual history (96%), involvement with law enforcement and child services (70% and 60%), use of substances/drugs (88%), and a history of running away (88%) compared with the sexual abuse and assault group. The multivariate logistic regression yielded a six-item screening tool that showed almost complete (0.97) discrimination of the CSEC/CST group, with the odds of being a CSEC/CST victim 22 times higher if there were two or more positive responses on the six items. The questions used in the six-item tool are listed in the paper. Overall, the use of this screening tool showed to be beneficial in terms of designing a tool for youth in a health care setting that can be identified as a CSEC/CST patient by having at least 2 out of 6 positive responses. The authors conclude that this trauma-informed approach minimizes stress and can increase intervention for groups that may not have self-identified as a CSEC victim by themselves. Overall, the authors suggest the tool can be used to separate alleged CSEC/CST from sexual abuse or assault victims.

Guilmain, Lawrence Matte and Jill Hanley. 2020. Creative recourse in cases of forced labour: Using human trafficking, human rights, and labour law to protect migrant workers. *International Migration* 59(2):126-129.

The aim of this paper is to examine legal recourse for situations in which migrant workers have been exploited for labor and have been forced to work by a coercive migrant employment system. At present, Canada does not have legislation explicitly prohibiting forced labor, with this term defined as the intersection of exploitation and coercion. Courts do not appear to recognize the systemic coercion to which migrant workers are subject. Victims of forced labor may have chosen to seek redress through other forms of legislation, such as human trafficking or human rights law. The paper begins with a review of cases of forced labor that made use of the human trafficking provisions of the Criminal Code and the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA). The paper then analyzes cases in which non-trafficking charges have been brought within the framework of the IRPA, and where complementary human rights or labor law provisions have been mobilized. Only one case of a conviction in a human trafficking case was found. There were few cases of forced labor brought under provisions of other laws, although these appear to be promising. Human rights and labor laws are more accessible to migrant workers and have a lower burden of proof. The consequences for employers involved in exploitation and coercion of migrant workers, however, are relatively minor.

Havlicek, Judy, Shannon Huston, Seth Boughton and Saijun Zhang. 2016. Human Trafficking of children in Illinois: Prevalence and characteristics. *Children and Youth Service Review*. 69: 127-135. DOI: 10.1016/j.childyouth.2016.08.0100190-7409.

The study aims to strengthen systems already in place that assist with child welfare for human trafficking such as the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 and “safe harbor” laws that create a non-punitive response for minors charged with prostitution. Specifically, the study aims to address how the Illinois Safe Children's Act of 2010 has helped with issues like maltreatment that create greater risks for children to be trafficked. The following research questions are addressed in the study: 1) how many allegations of child trafficking have been investigated since passage of the Illinois Safe Children's Act, and how do these prevalence rates compare with other types of maltreatment that are investigated under the law; 2) how many children have come to the attention of CPS since passage of the Act and what are their characteristics; and 3) how do children with investigated allegations of trafficking intersect with the State child welfare system? The study notes that previous reports of the child welfare and juvenile justice systems have not done a sufficient job with serving juvenile victims and survivors of CSEC and human trafficking as they were not designed to do so. There is also evidence to support that the United States is only in the early stages of creating human trafficking solutions dealing with children. One of the ways the U.S. is responding to the issue is through creation of the Preventing Sex Trafficking and Strengthening Families Act in 2014 which allows for states to develop their own procedures when dealing with young adults under 26 years of age with child welfare involvement. Data for the study on identification of children tied to human trafficking comes from the Illinois DCFS administrative database. A three-step process was used to select the sample, described in the paper. The study gathered sociodemographic information for children and youth in Illinois with an investigated allegation of human trafficking (2012-15), including the following variables: gender; race; region of the State; maltreatment history less than trafficking (any allegation, age at first allegation, type of maltreatment, multiple types of maltreatment); human trafficking (age at first allegation, number of allegations, type of human trafficking); out of home care (any entry, timing of human trafficking). Results of the study present the number of human trafficking allegations and number of other types of allegations. Between 2012 and 2015 there were 563 human trafficking instigation allegations, less than 1% of all investigated allegations during the study period. Of these, 419 cases were under 26 years of age with 53% of them being African American, 90% being female, and 56% being from Cook County. Of these cases, 254 (59%) of them had at least one case of maltreatment. The paper presents a comparison of trafficking and several other forms of maltreatment, with data compared by year of allegation, type of perpetrator, and whether the allegation was substantiated or not. The data showed that human trafficking was more common in cases involving abuse versus neglect. Two-thirds of all cases involved maltreatment and a history of involvement with state child protection authorities. The study also presents a description of youth with an investigated allegation of human trafficking during out of home care, including total entries into out of home care, length of time in care, number of placements, rate of placement moves per year, adverse effects, first time human trafficking, and duration of placement. Just over half of the sample had at least one entry into out of home care. Half of these young people had an allegation of human trafficking before being placed in out of home care or after exit from the CWS. The remainder had an allegation of trafficking during out of home care. Overall, the study identified three needs for the State of Illinois: 1) develop and test cost effective and efficient ways of building capacity in child welfare systems; 2) identify high risk families and screen for risk factors; and 3) stabilize youth who have been placed in out of home care settings.

Helpingstine, Claire, Maureen C. Kenny and Fayeza Malik. 2021. Vicarious traumatization and burnout among service providers for victims of commercial sexual exploitation. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*. 30 (6): 722-745. DOI: 10.1080/10538712.2021.1938771.

This article aims to explore and describe professionals' experiences working with youth survivors of CSE (commercial sexual exploitation) and the impact this work has on their mental health, especially vicarious traumatization (VT) and burnout. VT was defined as a normative response to repeated exposure to traumatic content, resulting in changes in the way service professionals view themselves, others, and the world. Burnout was defined as a consequence of severe stress among helping professionals, leading to exhaustion and fatigue. The researchers used a psychological phenomenological approach in which multiple individual experiences are explored to come to a unified description of the phenomenon. The qualitative study used semi-structured interview responses from twelve professionals such as therapists, program directors, mentors, social workers, and counselors who have experience working with CSE youth from the Southeast region of the United States during March to August of 2020. All survivors were 24 to 52 years of age, had two to 18 years of experience (average of eight years), and were all Hispanic and White non-Hispanic. Three of the providers had CSE experience themselves. Interviews lasted from about ten minutes to an hour in length and explored questions with topics such as types of CSE victims they had worked with, what it is like working with CSE populations, and meaning of burnout and VT. Thematic analysis was used to analyze the data. The interviews were coded and constructed into three categories: symptoms, prevention/care, and negative experiences for VT and burnout. For VT symptoms, signs were both physical and psychological. Only two participants had not experienced VT, but all participants described potential experiences. The researchers concluded that experiencing VT was highly likely when working with CSE survivors, but chances increased based on the individual's personal life, such as being able to be triggered by certain phrases when working with survivors. There were four self-care and preventative strategies that could be used to mitigate VT: having a spiritual or religious connection, actively practicing self-care (physical, emotional, and mental health upkeep), being mindful of one's professional role, and having support from other coworkers, friends, family, or therapists. Burnout signs were described by interviewees as frustration and stress from their job that would make them feel overwhelmed. Participants also described it as an expected part of the job; however, burnout would increase with high caseloads and lack of resources to do the work. The participants described a mismatch between expectations about what they should accomplish and what they were able to do in a challenging environment with many barriers. Prevention methods for burnout were self-care, religion/spirituality, and workplace support. Self-care had a dual role – a means to treat the effects of VT and a precaution to prevent burnout. The participants who did not experience VT or burnout reported spirituality as one of their strategies – an approach that reflects self-care, increased motivation, and may be viewed as a mental health resource. The paper provided direct quotes from the interviews to support the conclusions. Overall, the authors concluded that service providers who work with CSE experienced populations are at high-risk for experiencing VT and burnout and that both are difficult to avoid. Furthermore, the authors stress that the quality of care for CSE experienced youth decreases with professionals who experience burnout and VT. The authors suggest that previous trauma of service workers needs to be addressed prior to them starting work. Also, service professionals should regularly engage in self-care activities, and engage in other organizational activities to have support from professional co-workers.

Helpingstine, Claire E, Dionne P. Stephens, Maureen C. Kenney, and Asia A. Eaton. 2021. Adolescent girls with a history of Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE): Perceptions and characteristics of social networks. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. 115. DOI: 10.1016/j.chiabu.2021.105015.

The purpose of this article is to analyze how adolescent girls with CSE (Commercial Sexual Exploitation) label and characterize their social networks. Relationships within these networks include peers, intimate partners, service organizations, and family. The researchers use Social Network Theory (SNT) as the lens for the study. This theory observes relationships through social structural conditions (macro lens), social networks (mezzo lens), psychosocial mechanisms (micro lens), and the pathways between them. The qualitative study uses interview data from a larger project focused on clients of non-profit organizations in Miami, Florida who were at-risk for or had experienced CSE. There were eight participants, all adolescent (16-19 years of age) girls from Miami-Dade County. Most identified as Black (56%) or Hispanic (32%) and lived in a home environment (47%). Interviews ranged from about ten minutes to two hours and included questions that were open-ended and prompted with topics such as describing an important person in their life and someone who has been helpful. The interviews were transcribed and coded with ten positive and negative social networks characteristics: emotional support, relational bond, trust, conflictual communications, vulnerability, and abuse (physical, emotional and neglect). There were two main themes found: (1) social networks are influential in the participants' daily lives and (2) the networks are perceived to have negative or positive outcomes. Positive social network characteristics included (p. 5):

- Emotional support – provision of support involving love, support, and care
- Relational bond – mutual positive connections and affection
- Trust – not a source of physical or emotional harm; belief will not be hurt by network.

All participants except one could list at least one person who had a positive influence on their lives, with family members being listed the most. For emotional and relational bonds, family members (usually female) and nonplatonic significant others were perceived as the most important. For trust, family relations were seen as most important to the participants. Negative social network characteristics included (p. 5):

- Conflictual communications – communication or lack thereof that elicits negative response, or relationship dynamic does not facilitate discussion
- Vulnerability – behaviors that place participants in contact with the law, get them into trouble, or put them at risk of CSE
- Distrust -- source of emotional or physical harm, potential to be hurt by network
- Abuse
 - Emotional – consistent pattern of abusive words and bullying behaviors
 - Physical – purposely causing bodily harm
 - Neglect -- carelessness, indifference, or unwillingness to care for participant.

Overall, the participants had an easier time explaining negative social networks. Similar to the positive networks, family relationships were most noted networks to have negative characteristics. One of the key findings was that family members play a dual role, both positive and negative. Some family members (siblings, grandmother) were perceived to play a supportive role, while others (mother) were viewed as often negative. Peers were a key negative social influence, encouraging participants to

engage in endangering behavior. The authors suggest that treatments like Trauma-Focused Cognitive Therapy (TF-CBT) can assist CSE youth with rebuilding trust in relationships such as with their family, or, when not considered the best option, developing healthy relationships with other adults such as mentors, teachers, and therapists which can assist with rebuilding general trust among authority figures. School-based intervention programs would be the most appropriate environment for these bonding experiences. The authors further suggest expanding this study to other geographic locations to understand the role that racial and ethnic minority identities has on relationship perceptions among youth with CSE experience. The study suggests that CSE survivors should be reunified with supportive family members in appropriate cases.

Helpingstine, Claire, Maureen C. Kenny, and Bradel Canfield. 2023. Survivors of commercial sexual exploitation: Experiences working in service organizations. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 9(4):532-545. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2021.1946334>

The aim of this research is to explore the lived experiences of adult CSE (commercial sexual exploitation) survivors who are working as mentors or advocates for youth survivors of CSE recently exiting “the life”. Sixteen self-identified survivors of CSE participated in the study. All were currently working as survivor-mentors at an agency that provides services to survivors of CSE. All but one identified as women; the majority (56.3%) identified as white. Demographic characteristics of participants are included in the paper. Participants completed an online survey with closed and open-ended questions that focused on survivors’ employment. The content of the survey is described. Forty percent of survey responses were removed due to validity issues. Some open-ended responses were selected to illustrate quantitative results. The paper reports on employment status, years worked, hours worked per week, salary range, salary satisfaction, and employer flexibility with hours worked. Descriptive statistics were used to report this data. Key findings from the survey include the following:

- 69% were working full-time; most were satisfied with the number of hours worked (62.5%)
- 61% rated their agency as extremely flexible with respect to work hours
- 56.3% reported salary as \$40,000 USD or less
- 50% were extremely or moderately dissatisfied with their salary
- 63% reported the presence of fellow survivors at the workplace
- 80% reported being involved in the process of making important decisions
- 69% felt that they were treated differently because of their survivor status; 31% reported that they were expected to share their story without consent; some felt “used” because of these experiences and/or felt that their identity was limited to “survivor” vs. a professional with lived experience
- 63% reported that their employer invested in tools to help them work efficiently
- 94% reported seeking personal therapy/counseling outside the workplace
- Most reported a case load averaging 20, which some believed was too high
- Participants varied in how they rated their organization’s trauma responsiveness; some reported they must fit the role of “model survivor” and did not want to be viewed as not being able to do their job
- Challenges included lack of organizational funding, not being seen as a credible source of information, not having their input taken seriously, with experiences and triggers not understood by colleagues.

Implications and recommendations for agencies employing CSE survivors are included.

Hershberger, Alexandra R., Jasmyn Sanders, Crisanna Chick, Megan Jessup, Hugh Hanlin, and Melissa A. Cyders. 2018. Predicting running away in girls who are victims of commercial sexual exploitation. *Child Abuse and Neglect*. 79:269-278. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2018.02.023>

The objective of this study is to define a sample of girls who are victims of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSES) and compare them to other high-risk girls who also have a history of running away and trauma, but no CSEC. A second objective is to examine the efficacy of the Youth Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (YLS/CMI) as a predictor of running away. The YLS/CMI is a juvenile justice system tool used to measure delinquency. The sample population was comprised of 80 girls who were referred for psychological assessment by the Department of Child Services. Assessments were conducted between 2014 and 2017. Data for this study were collected from deidentified charts. The mean age of the girls in the sample was 15.38 years. The ethnicity of the girls was White (37.9%), Black (39.4%), Hispanic (9.1%), Asian/Pacific Islander (6.1%), and Other (7.6%). Sexual orientation was Heterosexual (65.2%), Bisexual (28.8%), and Other 4.5%. Of the sample, 52.5% were determined to be victims of CSEC (other girls were high-risk). Identification as a victim of CSEC was based upon self-reported histories, clinician determination, or court documentation. Girls in the CSEC group were more likely to have experienced sexual abuse, a sexually transmitted infection, a Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder diagnosis, and a substance use disorder diagnosis. Twenty girls in the sample ran away immediately following the assessment. A main finding of this study is that, in the CSEC group, girls that ran away following the assessment scored significantly higher on the YLS/CMI than girls that did not run away. In the high-risk group there was no such difference. The study concluded that the YLS/CMI is a novel and viable predictor of running away in girls who have been identified as victims of CSEC.

Hickle, Kristine and Dominique Roe-Sepowitz. 2017. "Curiosity and a Pimp": Exploring sex trafficking victimization in experiences of entering sex trade industry work among participants in a prostitution diversion program. *Women & Criminal Justice* 27:122-138. DOI 10.1080/08974454.1128376

The aim of this study is to explore the ways in which participants -- adult women who had been arrested for prostitution and subsequently participated in a prostitution diversion program in a large southwestern city -- describe elements of recruitment, force, fraud, coercion, and deception as part of their entry into the sex trade industry. The research questions include the following: 1) do adults arrested for prostitution describe their experiences in terms consistent with the TVPA; 2) are there differences in life experiences for women who identify with the sex trafficking and those who do not? Data for this study is drawn from survey responses provided by 478 adult women who attended a prostitution diversion program in a large southwestern city between 2012 and 2014. To be included in the study, participants had to be adult women and respond to an open-ended question in the survey describing their entry into the sex industry. Demographic information in the paper includes age and race/ethnicity of respondents. Survey data was collected as part of the procedure for intake into the diversion program. The survey incorporated questions related to life experiences, including the following: running away before age 18; history of gang involvement; suspended/expelled from school; childhood abuse (made to bleed, bruises or scratches, hit with object, rape); past suicide attempt; family disorganization (social service involvement, foster care placement, witnessed domestic violence, witnessed drug use in house); domestic violence victimization; domestic violence perpetration; experienced rape as an adult; addiction to alcohol or drugs; prostituted another person; and sex work experience (dance/strip club, internet/telephone call girl, street prostitution, pornographic photos or films, brothel sex work or massage, both indoor and outdoor sex work). Open ended questions included experience working with a pimp. Quantitative data was analyzed by statistical methods, and qualitative data was coded based on terminology that describes sex trafficking in the TVPA. Sex trafficking themes included force, coercion, recruitment, deception, kidnapping, pimp/trafficker, entry under age 18, and no indication of sex trafficking. These terms are defined in the paper and reflect aspects of the TVPA. Responses of women who described experiences that were congruent with sex trafficking, and responses of women whose experiences were not, were compared. Women's experiences for each of the themes noted above are described briefly, with quotes from participants. A total of 33.7% of participants described sex trafficking experiences. Women who experienced sex trafficking were significantly more likely to report indicators of child maltreatment (rape, physical abuse such as being hit with an object), social service involvement, and witnessing domestic violence or drug use in the home compared to women who did not report sex trafficking. These women were more likely to have been suspended or expelled from school, had gang involvement, or run away from home than the comparison group. They also were more likely to report abusive experiences in adulthood, including domestic violence victimization and rape. Women who reported sex trafficking experiences were more likely to have engaged in more than one type of sex work, and to have engaged in both indoor and outdoor sex work compared to women who did not report sex trafficking. None of the participants used the term "sex trafficking" to describe their experiences. Women who have been arrested for the crime of prostitution also are victims of childhood maltreatment, violence, and exploitation, and they are under-identified as sex trafficking victims.

Hodge, David R. 2020. How do trafficking survivors cope? Identifying the general and spiritual coping strategies of men trafficked into the United States. *Journal of Social Service Research*
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01488376.2020.1729925>

The aim of this research is to identify the general and spiritual coping strategies used by men to cope with challenges of being trafficked for labor or sex. The study surveyed 21 men who had been trafficked into the US from Latin America or Asia using the UN definition of trafficking in persons. Demographic characteristics of the sample are provided. General coping strategies included spirituality, work, and family in descending order. Spirituality and work were reported by 29% and family was reported by 24%. Other coping strategies were also identified (e.g., agencies). Just over ¾ of respondents (76%) used spirituality to cope. For spiritual coping strategies, 43% mentioned prayer and God. Prayer was perceived to foster new hope in life, calmness, relief from distress, and divine assistance. Faith in God was viewed as a source of strength and assistance to turn to in times of distress. Church activities and people were noted as another way to cope. In one case, the trafficking experience damaged a person's relationship with God. When respondents were asked to rate the importance of spirituality, the mean value of their responses was 8.75 on a ten-point scale. For a plurality of respondents, spirituality was the most important coping strategy. The author notes that spirituality may prevent men from turning to other mechanisms such as substance abuse (as in 12 step programs).

Hogan, Kimberly A. and Dominique Roe-Sepowitz. 2023. LGBTQ+ homeless young adults and sex trafficking vulnerability. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 9(1):63-78. <https://doi-org.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/10.1080/23322705.2020.1841985>

The aim of this study is to explore the vulnerabilities and experiences of LGBTQ+ young adults (18-25) experiencing homelessness and being served by youth-serving organizations in Arizona, especially those who have experienced sex trafficking. Previous research suggests that 19-41% of homeless young adults are victims of sex trafficking, but little is known about the LGBTQ+ population. LGBTQ+ youth are disproportionately represented in the homeless population and also are disproportionately more likely to experience sexual violence compared with their heterosexual counterparts. In 2015, a purposeful sample of 215 homeless youth in Phoenix and Tucson completed the Youth Experience Survey (YES). The youth were recruited from non-profit agencies serving homeless youth. The questions asked in the YES are described in the paper. The final sample contained 194 people, after some were removed for not responding to a question on sexual identity. The majority were heterosexual. Demographics of the surveyed group are provided. Statistical analysis was conducted to compare sex trafficked LGBTQ+ youth and sex trafficked heterosexual youth. Out of 68 youth who reported a sex trafficking experience, the majority were LGBTQ+ (52.9%). The study found that youth who identify as asexual (10.3%) also report sex trafficking experiences. There was a statistically significant relationship between being LGBTQ+ and homeless and being sex trafficked, including exchanging sex for money. The paper compares the ages, living situations, family connections, and health issues between the two groups, but no statistically significant differences were determined. There was a statistically significant relationship between being LGBTQ+, homeless, and sex trafficked and reporting a suicide attempt, or reporting drug use, or reporting risk taking. There also was a statistically significant relationship between being LGBTQ+, homeless, reporting a sex trafficking experience and being raped between the ages of 13 and 17. The paper includes implications for practice and research.

Hopper, E. K., and L. D. Gonzalez. 2018. A comparison of psychological symptoms in survivors of sex and labor trafficking. *Behavioral Medicine* 44(3):177-88. <https://doi.org:10.1080/08964289.2018.1432551>.

The primary purpose of this study is to explore and document psychological symptoms in survivors of human trafficking, including post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and complex PTSD (C-PTSD). Other objectives include highlighting differences in symptoms across sub-groups, examining gender differences in symptoms, and examining pre-trafficking exposure to trauma and possible links to PTSD and C-PTSD. The data analyzed in this study are derived from psychological evaluations conducted by Project REACH, whose services include psychological evaluations and individual and group interventions. The data are based on semi-structured interviews conducted by Project REACH clinicians. Qualitative and quantitative analysis of interview data was the basis for study findings. The sample for the study was comprised of 131 survivors of human trafficking, including 65 survivors of labor trafficking and 66 survivors of sex trafficking. Demographic data for people in the study includes gender, age, regional origin, number of years in trafficking, and number of years after trafficking. The study reports on differences between labor and sex trafficking survivors for the following characteristics: pre-trafficking trauma exposure and mental health symptoms (i.e., depression, PTSD, co-morbidity in PTSD and depression, and complex PTSD). Findings from this study confirm previous research indicating that survivors of human trafficking experience a range of symptoms: over 70% met diagnostic criteria for depression; over 60% met criteria for PTSD, and almost all reported symptoms from one diagnostic cluster of PTSD. There were no differences between labor and sex trafficking survivors in rates of depression, however survivors of labor trafficking were more likely to experience depression alone, while sex trafficking survivors reported more symptoms of PTSD and C-PTSD, and co-morbid PTSD and depression compared with labor trafficking survivors. Sex trafficking survivors reported higher levels of trauma exposure than labor trafficking survivors, including pre-trafficking experiences of trauma. The study found that sex trafficking survivors “may have more severe or complex clinical presentations than survivors of labor trafficking, including particularly notable relational and regulatory impacts” (p. 186). There were no differences noted between male and female survivors, although there were differences in mental health symptoms for persons who identified as transgender, including higher level of trauma-related symptoms such as PTSD and C-PTSD.

Horning, Amber and Loretta J. Stalans. 2022. Oblivious “sex traffickers”: Challenging stereotypes and the fairness of the US trafficking laws. *Anti-Trafficking Review* 18(2022):67-86. <https://doi.org/10.14197/atr201222185>

This paper examines “third party” (e.g., pimps, boyfriends, partners, drivers) views about what constitutes sex trafficking and what background characteristics contribute to these views. It also explores their interpretation of the terms “pimp” and “sex trafficker”. The data are drawn from two interview-based studies, one in New York City (NYC) and one in Chicago, with 85 and 49 men, respectively. Data was collected between 2011 and 2014. All research participants were “third parties” who were charged or could have been charged with sex trafficking. Demographic characteristics of the research participants are provided. The process of recruiting each sample is described, as well as the analytic approach. In the NYC study, research participants were asked if and how they identified as pimps, or if not, what was their role in the sex trade. In the Chicago study, participants were asked about their views regarding pimping, trafficking for sexual exploitation, and their management practices. Only 32.7% called themselves pimps or other deviant labels, while 67.3% called themselves managers, drivers, or assistant managers. Results are organized around three themes: 1) how interviewees label themselves and see their roles; 2) their conceptions about sex trafficking and what differentiates those who hold accurate or inaccurate views; and 3) oblivious facilitators who should be distinguished from sex trafficking stereotypes. Key results include the following:

Who is characterized as a pimp

- Who qualifies is up for debate among third parties
- Some pimps drew upon popular culture notions of pimping (e.g., Blaxploitation movies)
- Some third parties did not view themselves as pimps, but used other terms; e.g., hustler, manager, bodyguard. They felt the term pimp was degrading or they didn’t fit the role
- Some stated they were not violent; some differentiated physical violence from pimping

Stereotypes about sex trafficking laws

- The majority knew that sex trafficking involved force or coercion, but only 1/3 knew that involving minors constituted sex trafficking
- Others held inaccurate views on trafficking (e.g., it requires movement across borders, it is a practice of other cultures)
- Inaccurate views were more likely if the person did not have a college education or had been pimping for less than 9 years

Problematic oblivious sex traffickers

- Some had no awareness that their behavior violated the TVPA
- Some started pimping when they banded together as youths for survival (e.g., boyfriends and girlfriends)
- Some met the definition for the most severe forms of trafficking (e.g., using force, “owning’ and selling women)

Recommendations for prosecution of third parties and for awareness campaigns targeted at potential traffickers are included.

Horning, Amber, Roisin Bermingham, Julie Striken, and Christopher Thomas. 2024. 'Pimps' self-presentation in the interview setting: 'Good me,' 'bad me,' and 'badass me'. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 10(4):543-564. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2022.2078592>

The research reported here examines how sex market facilitators (SMFs, the term used for 'pimp') "present themselves through subcultural and neutralization discourse" and how it is possible "to discern themes of SMGs' self-presentation in the interview setting". Neutralization theory explains that social actors engage in deviant acts by neutralizing "bad" feelings such as guilt and shame (e.g., justifying or excusing "bad" behavior so they can be "good" or vice versa). The interview setting may influence SMFs narrative and presentation of self in these terms. The purpose of this study is to explore SMFs narratives and how they expressed versions of "me" – "good," "bad," or "badass" and how they explained, justified, or excused these versions. Participants were recruited in the housing projects of Harlem using the term 'pimp' for recruitment; they had to play at least an ancillary role in commercial sex. Many of these individuals would qualify as sex traffickers under the TVPA. The study used a semi-structured interview protocol and asked about how the SMFs conduct work daily and their relationships with sex work involved persons and clients. The transcripts were analyzed using the concepts of "good me," "bad me," and "badass me". Nonmetric multidimensional scaling (MDS) was used to determine how neutralization and oppression discourse manifested in accounts. In total, 85 SMFs participated in the study; all were male, and most were minorities (74.1% African American and 25.3% Latino). Demographic characteristics of participants are included in the paper. Results for the first stage of MDS show the frequency of rhetoric and neutralization as variables in the data. High frequency variables occur in more than 50% of cases and do not distinguish between them. The only variable in this category was "badass" discourse, which suggests that pimping is an oppositional act and often framed as "good". Socially, being "bad" is "good". Several subcodes for "badass" are defined and discussed later. Self-presentations include those that externalize ("good me" and "bad me") and those that internalize ("badass me"). Variables in the 30-50% range included: externalizing ("good me") – nice guy, oppression (marginalized status), appeal to higher loyalty (e.g., family); externalizing ("bad me") – being good is bad, badass "other" (e.g., being a pimp is due to something innate), denial of responsibility, denial of injury, condemnation of the condemner; internalizing ("badass me") – guilt, money, credibility, power due to women. The study provides descriptions of each of these variables together with quotes from participants. Variables in the 19-29% and 1-18% range are also described. An MDS plot shows graphically how the variables relate to one another. The three types of narratives are depicted ("good me," "bad me," and "badass me"). Cases are assigned to one of these types. Depending on assignment, they manage interviews differently. Almost one-third of participants switched between the three types of narratives in a single account. The findings support prior literature showing that presentations were responses to being evaluated.

Hornor, Gail and Jennifer Sherfield. 2018. Commercial sexual exploitation of children: Health care use and case characteristics. *Journal of Pediatric Health Care*. 32(3): 250-262. DOI:10.1016/j.pedhc.2017.11.004.

The purpose of this study was to “describe pediatric health care use, familial psychosocial factors, child sexual abuse case characteristics, and patient demographic characteristics of adolescents before or at the time of their most recent identification as a CSEC victim” (p. 252). The authors obtained data from chart reviews for all adolescent patients (12 to 21 years of age) suspected of CSEC from October 2014 to December 2016 at a CAC (Child Advocacy Center) or ED (Emergency Department) in a Midwestern pediatric hospital in Columbus, Ohio. Descriptive statistics were used to characterize patterns of health care use and other factors. There were 63 referrals for CSEC to the CAC or ED with most being female (98.4%). Other characteristics of patients were as follows: African American (54%), between 14 to 17 years of age (20.6-23.6%), and bisexual (27%). For sexual activity descriptors most began sexual activity from the age of 13 to 14 years (58.7%) and had a partner who was less than four years apart in age as a minor (57.1%) or adult (65.1%); some had more than ten sexual partners (34.9%). The paper includes statistical data on the following factors: pediatric health care use (number of health care encounters, number of admissions, age at time of admission, age at time of ED/urgent care visits, number of well-child care visits, number of specialty care visits), mental health/behavioral characteristics (mental health disorder, mental health medications, mental health counseling, compliant with mental health plan), other high-risk indicators for CSEC (STIs, UTIs, PID, pregnancy, drug and alcohol use), familial psychosocial characteristics (types of living arrangements, parental drug and alcohol concerns, type of parental drug and alcohol use, parental drug and alcohol use, parental mental health diagnosis, parental mental health treatment compliant, parental low functioning, parental domestic violence, child witnessed violence, parental law enforcement involvement, parental law enforcement history, reasons for parental law enforcement involvement, parental CPS involvement, history of CPS involvement, parental history of sexual abuse as a child, intervention to address risk factors), sexual abuse case characteristics (parent believe/support child, living arrangement of child at time of assessment, disclosure of sexual abuse, STI, type of STI, drug use, drugs with positive test result, relationship with perpetrator, age of perpetrator, time since last incident of sexual abuse, reported to CPS, referred to FSP, FSP linkage, other counseling recommended, counseling recommended for parent, reported to law enforcement, soliciting, human trafficking, relationship to pimp, history of sexual abuse before trafficking). Some of the statistical results include the following: For pediatric health care use, 95.2% of adolescent participants were admitted into an ED and 63.4% were admitted for well-child care. Furthermore, 39.6% of participants had ever been admitted for mental health services but 93.6% of participants were identified with a mental health disorder, with the majority being characterized with mood (60.3%) or non-suicidal self-injury (58.7%). Other high-risk indicators for CSEC included STI testing (majority who were positive had chlamydia (54%) and were 14 years of age [30.2%]), female reproductive health testing such as STIs, UTIs, PID and pregnancy, and drug and alcohol use (those who tested positive used THC [63.5%]). For familial psychosocial characteristics most had experienced homeless/shelter living (90.5%) and only had lived with their mother (71.4%). A smaller number of adolescents knew of parental concerns but those who did know mostly reported having a parent with a drug or alcohol concern (39.7%), mental health diagnosis, mostly depression/anxiety (17.5%), domestic violence experience (42.9%) and that they had witnessed it (34.9%), law enforcement involvement (20.6%), CPS involvement (93.7%) that was both past and current (68.3%), and did not participate in interventions that addressed psychosocial risk factors (34.9%). Finally, for child sexual abuse case

factors, most participants did not know if their parents supported/believed them (47.6%), lived with their mother during the assessment (44.4%), had a relationship with a perpetrator who was a trafficker (66.7%) and was an adult (53%), were in the chronic stage of last being in a sexual abuse incident (73%), had been reported to CPS (98.4%), had been recommended counseling (54%) but not to the parent (98.4%), their pimp was an adult male stranger (44.4%), had claimed not to have been human trafficked (66.7%), and had a history of sexual abuse prior to trafficking (73%). Some of the key findings from the study include the following p. 257-260):

- African Americans appear to be disproportionately represented in the study
- All adolescents in the study were US citizens
- 34.9 % of adolescents in the study met the diagnostic criteria for obesity
- 96.8% of adolescents in the study had a history of running away or living on the street
- The number of health care encounters ranged from 1 to 95, with a mean of 25.2
- Nearly all CSEC victims received health care at a pediatric hospital within one year of being identified as a CSEC victim
- 93.7% of adolescents in the study had a mental health/behavioral concern before being identified as a CSEC victim
- Intervention for psychosocial risk factors occurred in 1.6% of cases
- 73% of CSEC victims had a history of experiencing sexual abuse before being identified as a CSEC victim
- 42.9% of adolescents in the study reported being involved in solicitation, and 33.3% reported being involved with a trafficker.

Overall, the authors conclude that the first step for prevention of CSEC is for healthcare professionals to familiarize themselves with the general characteristics of CSEC victims, such as increased exposure to violence and lack of mental and physical health resources that can indicate a child is at risk for CSEC, starting as early as newborn well-child visits. The authors suggest that since health care providers are the first group who can detect CSEC exposure in children, they need to educate themselves and parents about signs to look for and what behaviors to avoid.

Hornor, Gail, Jennifer Sherfield, and Jennifer Tscholl. 2020. Teen knowledge of commercial sexual exploitation of children. *Journal of Pediatric Healthcare* 34:239-245.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pedhc.2019.11.006>

The study aims to explore knowledge, attitudes, and awareness of commercial sexual exploitation (CSEC) in a group of high-risk adolescents (12-18 years). The study took place over six months. Participants were a mix of females (84%) and males (15%) and had been admitted at some point to the urban pediatric hospital-based Midwestern Child Advocacy Center (CAC) for sexual abuse concerns. Participants completed a 27-item questionnaire that included demographic questions as well as CSEC-related questions. The paper includes the questions for reference. The survey was administered following completion of a forensic interview and prior to a medical examination. Participants came from a relatively even mix of communities such as urban, rural, and suburban. Participants included 223 adolescents with a mean age of 14.29 years. Descriptive statistics were used to analyze the data. Most of the responses indicated a negative attitude toward CSEC. Overall, 97% of participants reported pimping as wrong. Most had a higher awareness of sex trafficking than other types (87% vs 41% for labor trafficking); 67% had heard about the topic from friends and family, and 74% had heard about it from media; 67% had not talked with a health care provider about the topic. A small minority of participants reported faulty beliefs about CSEC, such as a teen is at fault if s/he gets involved with a pimp (10%) and selling sex is a good way to make money (5%). Six (6) percent reported that they did not believe it was necessary to learn about young people being sex trafficked or sexually exploited. A minority of participants reported knowing about labor trafficking (41%), and only 33% had learned about human trafficking in school. Most participants knew that sex trafficking can happen in America to American teens (91%), that bad things can happen to teens who sell sex (96%), that relatives can be pimps (91%), that pimps may be female (93%), and that boys can be pimped (94%). Fewer knew that a pimp can control a teen by beating her or him (85%), that “pimping someone out” is a form of abuse (84%), and that a teen’s boyfriend or girlfriend may act as a pimp (84%). A smaller proportion knew that a pimp can control a teen through social isolation (79%), and that a pimp is a sex trafficker (77%). However, only 44% knew of any places in Columbus or Ohio where a teen could call to get help if s/he were being sexually exploited. Based on these findings and previous supporting research, the researchers suggest that public health services are in need of staff education and screenings on CSEC, as health services are often one of the first places adolescents seek help and where initial victimization is noted.

Hounmenou, Charles. 2023. Experiences of faith-based organizations as key stakeholders in policy responses to human trafficking. *Societies* 13:193-38. <https://doi.org/10.3390/soc13080193>

The aim of this paper is to explore the “motivations, competencies, experiences, and challenges of FBOs involved in anti-human trafficking work in the American context” (p. 197). A qualitative interview-based method was designed. To be eligible for the study, participants had to have at least five years of experience working in anti-human trafficking services and be designated as a spokesperson for their organization. A purposeful sample of 16 participants representing 14 FBOs was developed, drawn from several religious traditions (most were Christian). A semi-structured interview protocol was used to gather data. The contents of the protocol are described in the paper. Thematic content analysis was used to analyze the data. Demographic characteristics of the participants are included. Key findings from the analysis are as follows (ample supporting quotes are provided in the paper):

Motivations for engaging in anti-human trafficking work

- Faith was the primary motivation, both as a philosophy and a mandate
- Secondary motives included personal experience, addressing the service gap, and the call for social justice

Competencies for engaging in anti-human trafficking work

- Prevention-related competencies included accessing community resources, awareness raising and outreach, policy advocacy, reliance on volunteers and fundraising
- Protection-related competencies included being active in victim services, providing survivor-led services, offering safe spaces to build trust, offering long-term recovery and reintegration services
- Support for investigations and prosecutions was provided

Experiences and contributions

- Experiences that support prevention included training, awareness-raising and outreach campaigns, victim services, safe housing, policy advocacy, research and funding support
- Experiences that support protection included case management and referral services, survivor-centered and trauma-informed services, housing and rehabilitation services
- Experiences that support prosecution include input on investigations and prosecutions

Ethical considerations

- Some of the key ethical dimensions include non-discrimination in service provision, survivor self-determination in service provision, survivor-centered trauma-informed services, diversity in care approaches

Atypical funding patterns

- FBOs generally do not pursue federal funding due to its restrictions and requirements, but pursue private sources of funding

Salient challenges of anti-trafficking work

- Some of the key challenges included financial instability, gaps in victim services and resources, misconceptions about FBOs' engagement in anti-trafficking work, ethical issues around converting survivors to a particular faith (the FBOs in this study did not engage in proselytizing and believed this to be unethical), increasing survivor self-determination

Addressing the research gap on FBOs in anti-trafficking work

- Research gaps included the need to evaluate FBOs' work in anti-trafficking, the need for more data compared with stories to reinforce FBO legitimacy, and the importance of understanding the similarities and differences among FBOs.

Implications for research, policy, and practice are included.

Hounmenou, Charles and Caitlin O'Grady. 2023. Private investigators' experiences in human trafficking investigations. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 9(3):376-397. <https://doi-org.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/10.1080.23322705.2021.1925819>

This study focused on three research questions: 1) what is the scope of private investigators' (PIs) experience in investigating human trafficking cases and recovering victims; 2) what are the strengths of PIs in these areas; 3) what challenges do PIs face in their human trafficking work? The study utilized a survey and interviews to gather data. Participants included individuals who were licensed PIs and the heads of PI agencies. Participants were individuals from the United States, Canada, and Australia. A total of 81 people responded to the email survey. Among those with human trafficking experience (N=39), 28 interviews were conducted – 26 from the US and one each from Canada and Australia. The survey data was analyzed by an SPSS data analysis program and the interview transcripts were analyzed via content analysis. Participants' demographics are included in the paper. Some of the key highlights from the study that address the research questions include the following:

- Of the 39 survey respondents with human trafficking experience, 19 had backgrounds in law enforcement and 9 others in military or intelligence services. The skills acquired in these backgrounds could inform the decision to engage in human trafficking investigations.
- PIs may not always have appropriate training in human trafficking, be successful in collaborating with law enforcement or in accessing appropriate aftercare services.
- Financial sustainability of cases is a challenge. Families often pay for investigations and may have difficulty making payments. Greater sustainability is achieved when the PI is retired from a career and their investigative income is supplemental, or they are organized as non-profits.
- PIs can devote more time to human trafficking investigations compared with law enforcement.
- PIs have advanced skills in surveillance and in-depth interviewing, which are assets.
- A victim-centered approach is central to their work. They are hired to recover, protect, and support victims. They prioritize trauma-informed techniques.
- There has been limited attention paid to the valuable role of PIs in human trafficking investigations, either in the media or in scholarship, and therefore there are opportunities for increasing collaboration with law enforcement.

Implications for human trafficking investigations, policymaking, and research are included.

Hultgren, Marisa, Murray E. Jennex, John Persano and Cezar Ornatowski. 2016. Using Knowledge Management to Assist in Identifying Human Sex Trafficking. IEEE 49th Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences (HICSS): 4344-4353. DOI: 10.1109/HICSS.2016.53.

The purpose of this study is to analyze text-based human trafficking indicators from online classified advertisements from Backpage.com and create an ontology of knowledge management (KMS) or keywords that can be used to identify potential sex trafficking victims. The authors indicate three main goals: “(1) compile a list of terms and/or attributes which may indicate human trafficking in online classified ads, (2) utilize this list to determine high risk postings and further indicators of trafficking, and (3) produce an analysis of California’s commercial sex industry utilizing information gathered from Backpage.com” (p. 4345). The authors provide background information on sex trafficking, specifically online exploitation practices in relation to the website that is the focus of the study. The authors describe the characteristics of sex trafficking advertisements such as having phone numbers and area codes listed, selling unconventional sex, describing ethnicity and national origin, restricting online activity, emphasizing age (minors), and controlling location. The authors first created a literature review of the KMS. They gathered data from Backpage.com under the category of “Female Escort” from February 11 to 16 of 2015 in 15 counties and cities of California. They analyzed the data based on the following attributes: location, age, text in the ad, phone number, title of the ad, URL, and date/time. The compiled data helped create a geographic distribution of commercial sex trafficking in California. The study included 9 text-based indicators of sex trafficking based on 4,836 advertisements. The paper includes figures to demonstrate the pattern of indicators used across advertisements. Key findings of the study include: 1) the most prevalent indicator was duplicate phone/ad (present in over 50% of ads with at least two indicators); and 2) the second most prevalent indicator was the inclusion of ethnicity or national origin. All other indicators had relatively low prevalence.

Human Trafficking Legal Center and WilmerHale. 2018. United States Continuing Failure to Order Mandatory Criminal Restitution for Human Trafficking Victims.

Under the TVPA, restitution for human trafficking victims' losses is mandatory, but it is seldom ordered by a federal judge, and even when it is, it is seldom paid. This report summarizes data from a study of 420 federal prosecutions of human trafficking cases over a seven year period (2009 – 2016), and addresses the gap between the mandate of the law and judicial practice. The study found that only 27% of federal human trafficking cases ended with an order of restitution. This represents a decline from a previous study in which 36% of cases ended with a restitution order. At the same time, more prosecutors requested restitution (63 to 67%), but the percentage of cases with restitution requests that ended in a restitution order declined from 51 to 37% of cases. Judges are more likely to order restitution when a prosecutor aggressively pursues it, but in this situation the percentage of restitution orders dropped over time. Thus, in the majority of cases, federal courts are denying victims the restitution they are entitled to by law. Several recommendations for addressing this issue are provided.

Hurst, T. E. (2021). Prevention of child sexual exploitation: insights from adult survivors. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 36(13-14). NP7350-NP7372. DOI: [10.1177/0886260519825881](https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260519825881)

The purpose of this study is to explore the “prevention of the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) from the perspectives of adult survivors”. The participants were 17 adult female survivors of CSEC who were involved in a larger study (N=40) concerning the influence of childhood emotional maltreatment on vulnerability to CSEC. All were US citizens over the age of 18 who were sexually exploited as children between the ages of 1 year and 17 years while residing in the US. The subsample was selected for their insights into themes related to CSEC prevention. Participants confirmed their participation in a therapeutic program related to experiences with CSEC. The qualitative data for the study was collected from responses to 25 open-ended questions related to participants’ childhood experiences with caregivers, family members, neighborhoods, and communities, including professionals such as medical providers, school personnel, and law enforcement. Suggestions for prevention programs and strategies to prevent entry into CSEC were requested. Face-to-face data collection took place in several cities around the US, as well as via telephone and internet. Demographic data on participants’ race, age, age when first exploited, and relationship to first exploiter are included in the study. Qualitative analysis of data from participants’ responses identified six themes related to CSEC prevention: 1) difficulty trusting medical and mental health professionals (some helping professionals are ineffective at preventing future harm to at-risk youth); 2) difficulty trusting law enforcement officials (some members of law enforcement contributed to their exploitation instead of providing avenues to safety); 3) need to protect family members (from harm or blame); 4) self-destructive behavior (such as substance use for coping); 5) lack of CSEC awareness in school contexts (personnel in a position to help didn’t ask or didn’t provide resources); and 6) lack of CSEC awareness among at-risk youth (their own lack of awareness and training increased their vulnerability to exploitation). Quotes from participants’ narratives are included with the findings. Based on the thematic findings, implications for developing CSEC prevention programs are discussed.

Ide, Mikala and Darin M. Mather. 2019. The structure and practice of residential facilities treating sex trafficking victims. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 5(2):151-164.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2018.1447204>

The goals of this study are to determine the scope of practice for residential facilities and to identify standards used to evaluate success. The sample for the study included the directors and program coordinators for residential facilities that serve sex trafficking victims in the US. A total of 10 facilities participated in the study (out of a larger group of 33), representing a cross-section geographically and in terms of types of victims (e.g., adults, minors, international). The size of facilities ranged from 4 to 120 clients per year. On average they treated 25-50 per year. An interview protocol was used to collect data; the general content of the interview is provided. Results of the study showed the following:

- Facilities tend to specialize in a particular subset of clients (e.g., adults, minors, international)
- All the facilities offered programs across five categories: social support, counseling, education, job skills, and life skills; details about these offerings are provided
 - Most programs offered a combination of peer support and staff and volunteer mentoring
 - All programs used licensed counselors and provided individual therapy, trauma therapy, group therapy, and addiction counseling
 - Most programs had onsite education, including primary and secondary classes, GED, ESL
 - Most programs had means to connect clients with job placement opportunities
 - All programs offered multiple life skills classes related to hobbies or entertainment
- Most of the facilities were sponsored by faith-based organizations, and offered spiritual classes such as Bible study, in which participation was voluntary
- There was no standard design for the facilities; if possible, services were offered onsite but if resources were not available clients were referred to an external resource
- All programs used a combination of internal and external support; almost all programs used volunteers
- There were no standard definitions of success; many were unable to measure self-defined success. Programs' definitions of success are provided. Reported success rates ranged from 10 to 100%. Only 6 in 10 used keeping clients out of sex trafficking for the long term as a definition of success.

Implications for practice are considered.

Jenkins, Melissa R., Spenser R. Radtke, Cynthis F. Rizo, Sarah Dababnah, Karen Hume, and Ishrat Z. Alum. 2025. Sex trafficking prevention for youth with intellectual and developmental disabilities: Service provider perspectives. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 11(1):20-37. <https://doi.org/10.1080/223322705.2024.2426939>

This study was guided by two research questions: 1) what are the challenges in educating youth with intellectual and developmental disabilities (IDD) about sex trafficking prevention and responding to disclosure; and 2) what are the recommendations for sex trafficking prevention for youth with IDD and processes for responding to disclosure? This is a qualitative-descriptive study that uses data-near interpretations (i.e., presenting surface level accounts). The sample was developed using purposive sampling of experts in the fields of IDD service and sex trafficking prevention. Twenty-two service providers participated in the study, and were included in either individual interviews or focus groups. A semi-structured interview protocol was used in these sessions. Inductive and deductive approaches were used to identify themes. Demographic characteristics of participants are described. Major findings from the study address the following subjects:

Acceptability of sex trafficking prevention education

- *Acceptability from caregivers or parents*
 - Challenges: Discomfort with discussing sex and sex trafficking
 - Recommendation: Encourage and validate involvement in programming
- *Acceptability from culture and society*
 - Challenge: Misconceptions about IDD and sex trafficking (e.g., asexuality)
 - Challenge: Values that discourage open discussion about sex or sex trafficking
 - Recommendation: Implement anti-sex trafficking programming early and for everyone

Programming considerations:

- Content and delivery
 - Topics and activities
 - Topics should include basic sex education and basic sex trafficking, boundaries, consent, safety, and context/social rules
- Format and setting
 - In-person vs. virtual education, group vs. individual learning, schools or communities
- Facilitator characteristics and facilitation
 - Professional background, qualities, skills, training

Approaches and accommodations

- Person-centered and empowerment-based approaches

Systems involvement and disclosure related processes

- Factors that influence disclosure and referral: professional training, cross-sectoral collaboration
- Accessible communication and predictability – issues with communication; predictable reporting and referring procedures

Implications for practice, policy, and research are included.

Jimenez, Teresita Rocha, Marissa Salazar, Sabrina C. Boyce, Kimberly C. Brouwer, Hugo Staines Orozco, and Jay G. Silverman. 2019. "We were isolated and we had to do whatever they said": Violence and coercion to keep adolescent girls from leaving the sex trade in two U.S.-Mexican border cities. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 5(4):312-324. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2018.1519753>

The aim of this study was to explore the control tactics used by different types of traffickers to ensure adolescents remain in the sex trade in two U.S.-Mexican border cities, and to explore relationships between traffickers and the adolescent girls. The study was conducted in Tijuana, Baja California and Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. Sex work in Mexico is not illegal but is regulated locally in accordance with customs. The Zona Norte in Tijuana is a tolerance zone, but minors cannot obtain a permit to practice sex work. Sex work in Ciudad Juárez tends to be more clandestine. The study took place between 2013 and 2014. A total of 603 sex workers were recruited across the two cities. Women who reported on a survey that they entered the sex trade as a minor or were forced or coerced into it were recruited to participate in an in-depth interview. Only participants who met these conditions and identified their traffickers were included in this study (N=16). Interviews were conducted in Spanish. Transcripts of interviews were coded using both inductive and deductive strategies. Demographic characteristics of the participants are included. All participants entered the sex trade as minors. Findings from the study include the following:

Control tactics used by traffickers to keep adolescents in the sex trade -- Three main tactics were reported:

- Violence and threats of violence: Romantic partners/traffickers often used this tactic. Fear of violence or even death was used by non-romantic traffickers, including family members, strangers, and acquaintances.
- Use of pregnancy and children: Romantic partners/traffickers used pregnancy as a justification or argument to keep adolescents in the sex trade. They also threatened to take children away. Non-romantic traffickers used contraception and abortion as control tactics.
- Addiction and forced substance use: Non-romantic traffickers more frequently introduced the use of substances to keep adolescents in the sex trade. There were threats of violence if they did not agree to use substances. This made it more difficult for adolescents to engage in condom use.

The study concludes with implications of the research for law and policy, as well as social and health services.

Jones, Tonisha R. and Faith E. Lutze. 2016. Anti-human trafficking interagency collaboration in the State of Michigan: An exploratory study. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 2(2):156-174.

<https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2015.1075342>

The goal of this exploratory study was to examine interagency collaboration focused on anti-trafficking activity in the State of Michigan. Such collaboration is necessary when the scope of a complex problem lies beyond the capacity of a single organization. Six research questions are presented focusing on specific aspects of interagency collaboration, such as types of agencies, agency attributes, characteristics of activities, formalization, types of formalized collaboration, and differences in formalized activity by agency type. Data for the study was gathered through a statewide survey of professionals likely to have knowledge of interagency collaboration. The paper provides a rationale for selecting the State of Michigan as the site for the study. The scope of the survey included law enforcement, prosecuting attorneys, human/social services, victim service providers, and allied professions (including businesses and faith-based organizations). The paper describes the procedure by which participants were selected, and the survey instrument. The data was collected through a Web-based survey and conducted in 2013. Descriptive statistics and logistic regression were used to analyze data. Comments made by survey respondents were analyzed for their capacity to provide depth to responses. Of 1053 surveys distributed, 296 were completed. Demographic characteristics of respondents are included (gender, race, age, type of agency, position level, agency level, number of employees, length of employment, region of employment). If respondents answered “yes” to being involved in interagency collaboration, they were asked a series of questions regarding their agency’s involvement in the activity. The largest number of agencies participating in interagency collaboration were criminal justice-related (41.1%), followed by human/social services (31.7%). The logistic regression model showed that 53.8% of the variation in interagency collaboration was explained by agency attributes (i.e., human trafficking contact, engagement in anti-human trafficking activity, and awareness of other agency activities). Very few organizations implemented the elements of formal collaboration (e.g., funding, mandates, position descriptions, written policies and procedures, formal roles and responsibilities), despite the recognition that funding and some degree of formalization were essential. Most respondents reported that their agency did not collect or report on interagency collaboration. The majority did report that their agency engaged in interagency training. The agencies reporting the most formal collaboration were victim service providers. According to the study, all the organizations were failing to institutionalize anti-trafficking policy, procedure, and professional responsibilities. There remains a high level of uncertainty regarding how agencies respond to human trafficking, and whether their interagency collaboration represents “window dressing”. Policy recommendations are included.

Jouk, Natasha, Ivana Capin, Jordan Greenbaum, and Dana Kaplan. 2023. Recognizing suspected human trafficking in the Pediatric Intensive Care Unit. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 9(2):256-259. <https://doi-org.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/10.1080/23322705.2020.1862684>

This paper presents three case studies that demonstrate the importance of recognizing human trafficking situations in the Pediatric Intensive Care Unit (PICU). In addition to presentation in emergency rooms, human trafficking victims may present in the PICU due to lack of attention to serious medical conditions such as diabetes and asthma. The paper reviews signs and patterns that may suggest a person is being trafficked and encourages PICU staff to recognize and respond. In brief, the cases showed the following overall:

- Medical emergencies prompted by neglect and lack of attention to chronic medical conditions
- Tattoos that carry signifiers related to trafficking or “the life,” or bruising of the skin, that patients were reluctant to discuss (e.g., tattoos with names over crowns, dollar signs)
- Use of terminology that denotes forced prostitution (e.g., calling a boyfriend “Daddy”)
- A minor who has given birth to a child
- Caretakers who refuse to leave the patient’s side
- An absence of any identification or verifiable information
- Eloping from the treatment center.

Many victims are unrecognized as human trafficking victims due to the person’s fear of disclosing information, and/or the provider’s lack of knowledge regarding the signs of human trafficking. A thorough examination should be conducted once the patient is stabilized to determine if they are involved in trafficking. In addition to the above points, providers should look for anogenital trauma, other signs of trauma, intravenous drug use, or malnutrition. Street slang used by the patient, as well as the behavior or caretakers should be carefully considered. Family members also may be victims. Trauma-informed care is recommended as the appropriate approach to patients who may be victims.

Kafafian, Matthew, Ieke de Vries, Amy Farrell, Susan Goldfarb, and Elizabeth Bouchard. 2021. Understanding factors associated with re-referral of youth for commercial sexual exploitation. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. 117. DOI: 105092.

The purpose of this article is to examine factors that lead to youth being referred multiple times for Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) to better evaluate screening and assessment tools. Specifically, the authors address two questions (p. 4): Which factors help explain why some youths are referred to the same CSEC program more than once? Do these factors also signal increased proximal risk to CSEC in a subsequent referral? To answer these questions, the authors use administrative data from 416 youths (average age of 14-15 years) who had been referred at least once (a third had multiple referrals) to a specialized CSEC house program at a children's advocacy center (CAC) in the Northeast area of the United States from 2011 to 2018. The case files included data such as demographics, histories, and presenting information at the time of referral. Measures used to extract data from files included: multiple referrals; confirmed to experience CSEC in subsequent referrals; youths characteristics; family issue items; case characteristics; agency involvement; and days between first and second referral. Analysis took place in three stages: 1) descriptive statistics; 2) logistic regression to determine association with multiple referrals; and 3) logistic regression to determine if factors driving re-referral are associated with subsequent CSEC. Confirmation of CSEC status was determined in four ways: (1) CSEC discovered, (2) youth disclosed information, (3) youth was found participating in survival sex for goods, or (4) youth identified in sexual advertisement. Out of the 120 multiple referral cases there was an average of 144 days between the first and second referral. Overall, most of the youths were female (92.31%), had a history of abuse (66.11%), and had a history of running away (46.88%). Some of the significant findings include the following:

- Youths with multiple referrals had greater agency involvement
- Youths with multiple referrals had a higher number of concerns on past experience of childhood adversity
- The historical count of agency contact was associated with an increase in the odds of multiple referrals
- The interaction between history of substance use and history of agency contact were significant in leading to multiple referrals
- A history of family members experiencing abuse and age (younger) were significantly associated with being confirmed for CSEC in a subsequent referral
- Demographic and background data were more significant than family history in terms of correlation to having multiple referrals
- Identity characteristics such as being a female increased odds of multiple referrals by 7.7 and age (younger) decreased the impact by 24%
- Background data such as substance abuse increased odds of multiple referrals by 100% and running away also had a positive correlation
- One referral did not increase the probability of having another one.

These findings suggest that youths may be re-referred due to historical concerns and not concerns at time of re-referral. Prior CSEC experience was not driving re-referrals. Risk items that dominate assessment and screening, and signal trauma in a youth's past are driving re-referral. Being female, a younger age, with historical concerns related to substance use and running away/missing from care are more likely to have multiple referrals for CSEC concerns. A key insight was that prior abuse and prior experience of CSEC signaled risk for CSEC – a relationship between past and future abuse that suggests a

pattern of revictimization. Overall, the study concludes that the most positive data correlations to multiple referrals was being a female, being a younger age, having a substance abuse concern, and having a history of running away. With these findings, the authors explain the possibly biased screening process that could result in multiple referrals in terms of being more sensitive to certain identities or backgrounds. The authors suggest that agencies need to have a better understanding of the reasons behind multiple referrals and provide curated intervention and service programs that will help to decrease the likelihood of repeat referrals by tackling the problem at its root.

Kahan, Deborah, Denise Lamanna, Thanara Rajakulendran, Amanda Noble, and Vicky Stregiopoulos. 2019. Implementing a trauma-informed intervention for homeless female survivors of gender-based violence: Lessons learned in a large Canadian urban center. *Health and Social Care in the Community*. 28: 823-832. DOI:10.1111/hsc.12913.

This study aims to develop, implement, and evaluate a trauma-informed, peer-supported, psychosocial group intervention for female-identified youth with histories of gender-based violence (GBV) and homelessness (p. 825). This aim is accomplished through analysis of the acceptability of an intervention program called PEACE (Peer Education and Connection through Empowerment) to female survivors of GBV and their service providers. PEACE is a three month-long intervention program that is targeted toward empowering and supporting females who are survivors of gender-based violence and who are homeless. It is a confidential program that allows survivors access to trained service providers. The qualitative study took place in a Covenant House in Toronto, Canada that educates and protects youth (19 to 24 years) through their anti-trafficking program. From January to June of 2017 23 service users of the Covenant House participated in at least one of the five (56% experienced two or more) program-led interventions for the following groups of survivors: honor-based violence (4), forced marriage (4), intimate partner violence (8), sexual violence and exploitation (17), and family violence (18). There were twelve interviews with the service users, four with the frontline service providers including the program manager and direct service provider, and three with the peer mentors. Service users were females, mostly born in Canada, and of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. All interviews lasted between 30 to 60 minutes. After audio was transcribed, the data was analyzed by thematic analysis. The following themes were identified: (1) in reach and outreach, (2) how inviting a space felt, (3) co-production, empowerment, and choice, (4) safety and education, and (5) enhancement of lived experiences. For the first theme, the program staff and peer mentors (ST/stake holders) agreed that creating a positive relationship between staff and users was the most important step for creating a comforting and trusting environment so that the youth would feel safe to talk during interventions. For the second theme, both ST and SU (service users) concluded that maintaining an engaging environment allowed youth to feel safe addressing coordinated allowances such as phone use and public transport tokens, overall reducing barriers with their safe haven to the outside world. With the third theme ST and SU explained that intervention was most effective when it included empowering, productive, and choice-led activities. For the fourth theme, although different SU mentioned positive experiences with sharing trauma-related experiences in group settings, others did not do as well. As a result, ST mentioned that it was crucial to maintain a balanced intervention program between group and individual sessions with respect to sharing trauma-based experience. For the final theme, SU agreed that having healthy and supportive relationships between peer mentors and other group members was crucial for creating social bonds. However, many peer mentors mentioned the taxing role they had and how it cautioned them about sharing too many past-lived details about their lives with SU as they were wanting to move on from their own trauma. Overall, the authors concluded that their study helped to identify strengths in trauma-informed psychosocial interventions for youth gender-based violence survivors—the creation of a flexible and user-centered service that provided participant choice content and activities. Home-like and welcoming features such as food and beverages also improved trust and openness among users. Furthermore, the authors noted some downfalls in the program such as excessive cost to the participants and turnover rates of peer mentors due to re-establishment of trauma disclosures. The authors suggest continuation and expansion of the positive procedures in these interventions and to further address some of the barriers, specifically with selection of peer mentors.

Kara, Siddharth. 2017. *Sex Trafficking: Inside the Business of Modern Slavery*. The United States (Chapter 7), p.s 179-99. New York: Columbia University Press.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/kara18033.12>.

Kara's book provides a global overview of sex trafficking, with detailed investigations of this crime in several nations and regions, including the United States. India, Nepal, Italy and Western Europe, Moldova and the former Soviet Union, Albania and the Balkans, Thailand and the Mekong Subregion also are geographic areas of focus. Kara's detailed analysis emphasizes the local factors and economic forces that support sex trafficking in each of these places. He also includes a recommended framework for abolition of sex trafficking. In his chapter on the United States, Kara searched for trafficking victims to talk with in New York, San Francisco, Las Vegas, and Los Angeles. The sample size of Kara's study for the United States is one person: Sunee, a victim at a Thai massage parlor in Los Angeles. He comes to her parlor and after being offered a "special massage", asks about her work and past. He finds out that she was trafficked and is working in bondage. He offers to connect her with services, but she does not accept out of fear. He concludes with these words: "Slavery was not so simple. Sometimes the scraps tossed at slaves were more valuable than freedom. Sometimes those scraps were what allowed families to survive. I pounded my fist in frustration: Billions of dollars were spent on wars while billions of people eked out existences so squalid that being a slave might be preferable. One mocha latté at the nearby coffee shop cost more than the daily income of almost one-half the planet. As long as the token morsels from the slave owner's hand represented a more filling meal than freedom and democracy could provide, slavery would never end. Never mind the promise of a better life; sometimes slavery was a better life" (p. 199).

Kenny, Maureen C, Claire Helpingstine, Haiying Long, Lorena Perez and Maria Clara Harrington. 2019. Increasing Child Serving Professionals' Awareness and Understanding of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children. *Journal of Sexual Abuse*. 28 (4): 417-434. DOI: 10.1080/10538712. 2018.153264.

This quantitative study focuses on understanding the effectiveness of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) awareness training for professionals who may encounter such victims. Specifically, the study evaluated knowledge before and after training. The study included a sample size of 227 professionals, all of whom participated in a six month-long (2016-2017) training period in Miami, FL. Each training session lasted three days for individuals. Training participants included three grouped job positions: clinical, non-clinical and student interns. The authors provide demographic characteristics of the participants, including age, race, language, position, experience, degree, and prior CSEC training. Follow-up assessments were conducted through e-mail six months after the training. The training included PowerPoint presentations, facilitations, handouts, and resource books/sites. Modules included, "(1) What is CSEC? (2) Pathways and precursors to CSEC, (3) Understanding the impact of CSEC, (4) Victim identification and engagement, (5) Effective service delivery to CSEC victims, (6) Investigating CSEC cases, (7) Working with CSEC cases, and (8) Medical and mental health care of CSEC victims" (9). A questionnaire was given pretest and posttest to assess the knowledge the participants had about CSEC (132 participants completed both). A t-test and one-way ANOVA test were completed as part of data analysis. The main finding of the study was that there was a statistically significant difference between pre- and post-test scores, demonstrating an increase in knowledge of CSEC after training. There were no significant differences between the three groups of participants based on their positions. An average amount of participants rated the experience 3.68/5 for satisfaction with the training and there were four dominant themes from experience comments (What will you be able to do better?): (1) ability to assess CSEC victims, (2) expansion of CSEC knowledge, (3) communication with CSEC victims, and (4) awareness/education of CSEC. The authors conclude that brief CSEC training has a positive impact on a variety of professionals and that the objective of the training was met.

Klimley, Kristin Elizabeth, Alexis Carpinteri, Brandy Benson, Vincent B. Van Hasselt, and Ryan A. Black. 2018. Commercial sexual exploitation of children: victim characteristics. *Journal of Forensic Practice*. 20 (4): 217-228. DOI: 10.1108/JFP-04-2018-0015.

The purpose of this study is to better comprehend the characteristics of victims of commercialized sexual exploitation of children (CSEC). The project is part of a larger study. To obtain information the researchers used investigative and legal records that were specific to CSEC offenses from the FBI Miami Field Office. Included records had to have a crime in Broward County or Dade County of the Southern part of Florida, the FBI had to be involved throughout the duration of the case, it had to be a CSEC related crime, victims would be from infancy to 18 years of age during first CSEC case, and law enforcement had to have identified the victims. A standardized survey was used to extract the data. There was a total of 17 participants. Variables included demographics (gender, race, ethnicity, age range), offenses experienced by victims (child kidnapping, sex trafficking across state lines, sex trafficking within state, child prostitution, enticement, tourism, pornography, hands-on sexual abuse), abuse history, high-risk behaviors, socio-economic status, living situation, and family history. Overall, CSEC victims were on average 12 years of age (58.8% were teens), were mostly females (75.5%), mostly White (52.9%), and most were born in the United States (64.7%). For background history information regarding CSEC risks, there was a high frequency of victims who experienced prostitution as a child (47.1%), pornography (35.3%), physical sexual abuse (52.9%), engaged in risky sexual behaviors (46.2%), engaged in truancy (42.9%), had prior arrests (38.5%), had family members with CSEC victimization (38.5%), were part of a low socioeconomic class (71.4%), and lived in a single-parent home (57.1%). The study included five case examples on child prostitution and enticement; sex trafficking, prostitution, and hands-on sexual abuse; hands-on sexual abuse; pornography; and sex traveling/enticement. Overall, the most common experiences of CSEC victims were hands-on sexual abuse, prostitution, and pornography. The authors point out several groups that are often targeted and seen in cases the most, but they stress the need for attention to the overlooked groups such as youths experiencing family dysfunction, who are runaways, who display sexual and identity confusion, who identify as boys, who are part of minority races, and who had prior sexual abuse. The researchers concluded that their notations on characteristics may help law enforcement and mental health professionals with identification of CSEC victims. Furthermore, they concluded that their study had five implications for field work practice:

1. This study identified and corroborated previous research regarding the most frequent forms of CSEC offense.
2. The study elucidated specific characteristics unique to various CSEC offenses that could be identified by mental health and law enforcement professionals.
3. This study provides a more comprehensive picture with case illustrations of CSEC victims.
4. In the private sector, young victims of sexual abuse often present a wide array of internalized and externalized symptom patterns that may be mistaken for other behavioral or mood disorders and are not attributed to any form of sexual exploitation.
5. Applied treatment for exploited youths needs to account for the nuances of CSEC as compared to non-commercialized, sexual abuse. With additional knowledge about the backgrounds and experiences of CSEC victims, more effective treatment programs can be developed and implemented with this sensitive population.

Knight, Logan, Kaitlin Cassasa, and Njeri Kagotho. 2022. Dignity and worth for all: Identifying shared values between social work and Christian faith-based groups' anti-sex trafficking discourse. *Journal of Religion and Spirituality in Social Work: Social Thought* 41(2):193-212.

The aim of this study is to better understand Christian anti-sex-trafficking efforts through the lens of leaders of the faith community. An important emphasis is the values underpinning Christian anti-sex-trafficking efforts and the compatibility and tensions between these values and those held by social work toward the goal of promoting cooperation between different groups in the field. The sample consisted of 16 faith leaders from 12 churches in a Midwestern city. Interviews were conducted with the faith leaders and transcripts were analyzed deductively and inductively. Twenty values were identified, six of which mirror the core values of social work: service, social justice, dignity and worth of the person, importance of human relationships, integrity, and competence. Fourteen other values were expressed as well: reflexivity, compassion, faith, humility, authenticity, diversity, knowledge, perseverance, hope, forgiveness, identity, courage, freedom, and willingness to be uncomfortable. From the data, three major themes emerged:

Theme 1: Dignity and worth of the individual is paramount. They strongly affirmed that survivors were individuals with dignity and worth – they are loved by God and God models this value.

Theme 2: The church needs to change for the better. Interviewees spontaneously identified practices and norms that conflict with their own faith and affect the ability to serve sex trafficking survivors (e.g., theological, or political stances that conflict with the ability to attend to social justice issues).

Theme 3: Authentic faith is expressed through social justice and service. Faith informs views of social justice and service with respect to sex trafficking. Faith leaders emphasized prayer and Scripture, but also indicated that survivors need professional services.

The paper discusses the substantial overlap between these themes and core social work values which may have developed over time as a result of similarities between social work and Christian approaches to social justice. Nevertheless, not all social work understandings of sex trafficking were represented in the faith leaders' responses. These differences are discussed in the paper. The paper concludes by reviewing implications for ways social work can help churches with anti-sex-trafficking work.

Koegler, Erica, Amanda Mohl, Kathleen Preble, and Michelle Teti. 2019. Reports and Victims of Sex and Labor Trafficking in a Major Midwest Metropolitan Area, 2008-2017. *Public Health Reports*. 134 (4): 432-440. DOI: 10.1177/0033354919854479.

This study aims to “determine the number and demographic composition of human trafficking tips reported, the number of potential victims identified, and any associated risk factors for trafficking” (p. 433). The source of tips reported was a social service agency in a Midwest metropolitan area of the United States, with tips reported from 2008 to 2017. The study identifies “reported tips” as telephone or in-person recorded tips about human trafficking. Tips are marked as a “red flag” if they meet the federal definition for human trafficking and human trafficking was verified. Data for 15 variables was collected from Agency A (the agency used for the tip line): local region within area, country of origin, sex, age, tip source, trafficking type, economic sector of trafficking, time spent in United States, date of tip/identification, anti-trafficking program used, law enforcement involvement, response/action plan, outcome/follow-up, and anecdotal details. Throughout the different years of service, Agency A had different funders: Rescue and Restoration (2005 & 2014-2017), Office for Victims of Crime (2006-2010), and Office for Victims of Crime & Bureau of Justice (2013-2018). From September of 2008 to the end of June in 2017 there were 213 reported tips with 126 (59%) being for labor trafficking and 59 (29%) were for sex trafficking. Over half of the tips were made by or on the behalf of a female (62%), most were by concerned adults (86.9%), and most tips regarded Mexico (32%) and the United States (22%). Males were more often reported for labor trafficking (38) whereas females were reported for labor (19) and sex (16) trafficking. Labor trafficking cases involved almost all foreign-born workers (54) and most sex trafficking cases involved domestic-born persons (10). For labor trafficking sectors, victims were most often reported for agriculture (16) and construction and landscaping (15), but also were found in food services, sales, and domestic sectors, including marriage. The most recorded tips were in 2016 with 46 tips and 33 victims, the least were in 2014 with five tips and one victim. The number of tips tended to fluctuate over the study period, perhaps due to shifts in sponsors’ focus or changes in the larger context, such as immigration policy (e.g., a harsher policy environment could mean that fewer people would be willing to report labor trafficking cases). Overall, there were 82 potential victims identified from the 213 tips. All forms of trafficking were found in the region, which had numerous contributing factors such as international airports, interstate highways, sporting centers, high-violence areas, strip clubs, and weak education systems. The authors concluded that the study aligned with the trends usually mentioned in the media or seen in studies; however, they noted that labor trafficking was more common overall than sex trafficking (a result which differs from that reported by the National Human Trafficking Hotline). As a result, they suggest that more attention needs to be brought forward regarding overlooked trends such as labor trafficking and foreign-born potential victim outreach.

Koegler, Erica, Claire Wood, Lilly Bahlinger and Sharon Johnson. 2022. Traffickers' use of substances to recruit and control victims of domestic trafficking for sexual exploitation in the American Midwest. *Anti-Trafficking Review* 18(2022):103-120. <https://doi.org/10.14197/atr.201222187>

"This paper describes how traffickers use substances to recruit and control victims of domestic trafficking for sexual exploitation" (p. 103). The data was drawn from interviews with 15 service providers in a major metropolitan area of the American Midwest who had experience engaging with survivors of human trafficking. The research was conducted in collaboration with a large non-profit organization that had developed contacts with foreign and domestic survivors of trafficking. The non-profit purposefully selected 15 service providers from 12 agencies for the study who had worked directly with survivors over a period of several years. The agencies served a diverse array of survivors, and the service providers came from a variety of professional fields. All but one of the participants were women; nine were White. Participants' demographics are included in the study. A semi-structured interview guide was used; substance use related questions are shown in an appendix. Participants were asked about survivors' use of substances, but many of the participants described traffickers' behaviors. Content analysis was used to analyze interview transcripts. Themes that describe traffickers' behavior with respect to substances at various stages of trafficking were identified:

Theme 1. Coercing or forcing victim substance use

- The recruitment stage of trafficking was often initiated by the trafficker becoming the source of substances. This worked by recruiting someone who was already addicted, or by getting a non-addicted person addicted. Sex work may become a way for victims to pay for drugs.

Theme 2. Controlling – allowing traffickers to retain as much control as possible

- Traffickers facilitate access to substances; therefore, it might seem like a reciprocal relationship. Some traffickers might insist that a victim use substances. It could be introduced as a fun thing to do.
- Substances were used as a way to control mood or performance (e.g., euphoria)
- Threats of abandonment could be exacerbated by the threat of taking away substances
- Physical force generally was not used, but more subtle means were used
- Victims might be given substances without their knowledge
- Substances could be used as a reward
- Withdrawal effects could be used as a means of control
- Trafficking and addiction were interrelated, making it difficult to exit The Life
- Victims may live with a drug trafficker, who also may be addicted.

Substances were not used when trafficking was for the purpose of labor. Using substances may promote a trauma bond (e.g., a shared sense of danger). Some traffickers may forbid the use of hard drugs, or even help a victim to overcome addiction, thereby providing an element of caring. Implications for practice are included.

Krylova, Yulia and Louise Shelley. 2023. Criminal street gangs and domestic sex trafficking in the United States: evidence from Northern Virginia. *Crime, Law and Social Change*. DOI: 10.1070/s10611-023010088-9.

The purpose of this article is to better understand gang involvement with sex trafficking in Northern Virginia of the United States. The paper also explores law enforcement responses to sex trafficking cases and creation of anti-trafficking laws. The study used the published press release search engine of the U.S. Attorney's Office for the Eastern District of Virginia to search for "human trafficking" and "sex trafficking cases" from 2011 to 2016. The authors found 25 sex trafficking cases related to gang violence. Of the cases, 19 included 19 defendants of Hispanic origin with affiliations to Central American and Mexican street-associated gangs. The other six cases included 37 non-Hispanic defendants with a criminal domestic street violence background. Most of these defendants were of African American origin. The electronic public access service PACER allowed the authors to download U.S. federal court documents. Characteristics in these documents were identified using a two-cycle coding strategy: (1) identification of similar sex trafficking strategies used by different gangs and (2) development of descriptives such as gang membership, drug abuse, technologies used for recruitment, violence used, and victim and trafficker ethnicity. The authors give a comparative analysis of the different types of gangs and how they run sex trafficking based on their business models. One of the main insights in the study is that African-American and Hispanic gangs have different business models (see below). Gangs are compared to organized crime groups (OCGs), looking at hierarchy and autonomy (gangs are less hierarchical and more autonomous). Semi-autonomous MS-13 gangs would "rent" women as prostitutes, whereas domestic gangs would consider them as property. For location, victims would be moved and networked across a large area depending on their clients' interest. Business networks for gangs would vary from domestic based (family-ran) to interstate and transnational based. The authors showed that gangs would commonly use drugs or violence as a way to control their victims, either through fear or direct violence. Reports of trafficking of victims are seldom from the victim themselves because of displaced loyalty to the trafficker. The study also found that online trafficking is very common as the internet is used to advertise sexual services, increasing the breadth of clientele, to exploit individuals based on vulnerabilities found on online domains such as social media, and to sell sexual content of minor victims using encrypted money. Hispanic gangs restrict online use for trafficking more than African American gangs.

Other key findings include the following:

- Gangs direct sex trafficking activities toward locations where there are large numbers of tourists or military installations, with the result that trafficking becomes normalized; more demand means more supply
- Financial flows (movement of money) differs between international and domestic trafficking gangs
- Networks are beneficial because gangs can regroup after law enforcement action, and share KSA
- Gangs use violence based upon their reputation; there may be threats to family, or threats to report the victim to ICE; there is a fear of retaliation by gang members
- Gangs use social media to find persons who may be vulnerable to becoming victims; they may recruit from middle schools
- African-American gangs search for a more diverse clientele with online ads compared to Hispanic gangs
- Online activity brings a risk of law enforcement detection and stings

- Gangs also vary by ethnicity on how the profits are spent, with African-American gangs spending more on personal consumption and Hispanic gangs sending more money home to other countries
- Gangs may be involved in multiple criminal activities, such as drug dealing and money laundering.

The paper gives a table of gangs' major uses of advertisements (online vs. offline). The paper also gives examples from the court cases to emphasize findings throughout the paper. Finally, the authors give suggestions for law enforcement to adapt their practices based on the findings of the study.

Kulig, Teresa C, Erica R. Fissel, Valerie R. Anderson, and Bonnie S. Fisher. 2020. Victim or prostitute? The classification of commercial sex events involving minors in the National Incident-Based Reporting System. *Violence and Victims*. 35(3): 331-353. DOI: 10.1891/VV-D-19-00060.

The purpose of this study is to address three research questions (p. 336): “First, do minors identified as sex trafficking victims differ on demographic characteristics from those identified as prostitution offenders? Second, are there unique patterns across states for minors identified as victims or arrested as prostitutes? Third, to what extent does state legislation matter when considering how a minor involved in commercial sex is classified by law enforcement?” The study used data from the NIBRS (National Incident-Based Reporting System) database, a publicly available incident-report system for law enforced crimes provided by the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation). The authors explain that they will be using data from 2013 to 2016 because cases involving the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act passed in 2008 were not incorporated into the NIBRS by the FBI until 2013. This updated system would allow for a better analysis of the identification process for trafficking victims and youths arrested for prostitution. Cases were classified in the system by prostitution codes such as 40B “assisting or promoting prostitution” and by an arrestee segment (the official arrest code). These codes helped narrow down the database so that only youths who were arrested for prostitution or were identified as a sex trafficking victim were included. The data included 6,362 agencies from 37 states in 2013, 6,561 agencies from 37 states in 2014, 6,637 agencies from 37 states in 2015, and 6,888 agencies from 39 states in 2016. The variables examined were victim type, arrestee, reporting agency type, incident year, sex, race, ethnicity, age, and residency. After complete analysis, there were 315 youths from 21 states who were a prostitution offender (125) or sex trafficking victim (190). Statistical analysis, including logistic regression, was used to describe the sample and identify associations among variables. Of the complete case files, 83.8% were at the city level, most cases occurred from 2015 to 2016, 92.1% identified as female, most identified as White (41.6%) or Black (57.5%), 90.5% were non-Hispanic, 74.6% were local residents during the occurrence, and on average were 16 years old (ranging from 7 to 17 years). Furthermore, for sex trafficking victims, 169 of the youths did not have a visible injury upon containment and over 190 of the youths reported having a significant other/were in a relationship. For the prostitution offenders, 123 did not have a weapon on them during an arrest. The authors then ran a Fisher’s Exact Test to identify significant relationships between the variables. First, there was significant association between the incident year and minor status in NIBRS. From 2013 to 2016 there was an increase in sex trafficking reports and a decrease in prostitution offender arrests. Next, victim/arrestee status and sex of the individual showed a significant association. Both males and females were identified as prostitution offenders, but females were more likely to be identified as sex trafficking victims and arrestees. Third, race and victim/arrestee status had significant association as youths of a race other than White were more frequently identified as victims and arrestees. Finally, there was a significant difference between the mean age of minors who were arrestees or victims—the prostitution arrestees were on average a year older than the victims. For state comparison, the sample size for arrestees and victims was low across all four years -- prostitution arrests were less common but occurred in most states (19 out of 21), sex trafficking victims were even less common (all identifications came from nine out of the 21 states), and minors were identified from a variety of major cities. Across all 21 states, South Carolina had an increase in prostitution arrests from 2013 to 2016 due to a new legislation in 2012 which provided that fraud, force, and coercion did not need to be proved in a sex trafficking case involving a minor. Washington had similar legislation as well but had a more gradual increase in identification of victims and a varying number of arrests. Tennessee also had a larger increase in victim identification and a decrease in arrests for minors in 2014 due to a legislation in 2013 stating that minors could not give consent to commercial sexual acts and therefore, could not be arrested for prostitution. The authors conclude that the treatment of minors who engage in commercial sex as victims or

criminals vary greatly across states. For both groups, sociodemographic information was very similar, and legislation varied greatly among states, which could be a reason for the varying identification across states. Even with state legislation that protects minors, there are variations within the state, suggesting that police discretion makes a difference. The authors suggest that offenses should be based on the individual case, individuals should not be charged for crimes if classified as a victim, the NIBRS database needs to be used across all states, and identification of victims needs to be more consistent across states.

Lanctot, Nadine, Joan A. Reid, and Catherine Laurier. 2020. Nightmares and flashbacks: The impact of commercial sexual exploitation of children among female adolescents placed in residential care. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. 100: 104195. DOI: 10.1016/j.chiabu.2019.104195.

The purpose of this article is to “inspect differences in the level of post-traumatic symptoms reported in emerging adulthood between female adolescents with histories of CSEC and those with no reported history of CSEC” (p. 2). The longitudinal study used data from a previous study The Montreal Longitudinal Study on Adolescent Girls in Residential Youth Centers. The study used participants from rehabilitation centers for child welfare in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. There were 182 French-speaking participants, 12.8% immigrants and 87.2% Canadian, who all identified as female youths between the age of 12 to 18. The study was conducted from January 2008 to October 2009. The participants had to match certain criteria assessed by behavioral and social factors to be included in the final sample, 134 (74%) were included. There were six time intervals for data collection within the 4.5-year period during which the researchers would assess post-traumatic stress levels. Post-traumatic symptoms could either be assessed with related questions and observations at the start of the study (at time interval one/admission) or at the end of the study (at time interval six/post-traumatic symptoms in emerging adulthood). Time intervals two through five were assessed with observations and questions directed toward previous behaviors. There were also questions asked about child sexual abuse at time six and immigration at time one. The study used statistical methods such as one-way ANOVA and hierarchical regression to analyze data. The assessments showed that behavioral problems were the top reason (45.8%) for participants being placed in residential care followed by neglect (22.5%), psychological, physical, or sexual abuse (19.3%), family crisis (8.3%), abandonment (3.3%), and delinquency (0.8%). There were also reports of abuse/maltreatment that were experienced by 46% of participants including emotional neglect (71.8%), emotional abuse (54.8%), physical neglect (54%), physical abuse (35.5%), and sexual abuse (71.8%). On average, participants spent 2.79 years in placement and had first been placed at the age of 13. Overall, participants who had experienced CSEC reported more post-traumatic stress symptoms such as nightmares, flashbacks, and anxiety compared to those who did not experience CSEC. Those who experienced CSEC also had higher levels of these symptoms as an adult. Regardless of CSEC experience, those who were sexually abused as a child and were of a younger age had a higher risk for symptoms. Key findings include the following (p. 6):

- “The effects of CSEC on post-traumatic symptoms are additive over and above the effects of prior adverse experiences, such as child sexual abuse and immigration
- CSEC has a predictive effect on post-traumatic symptoms, controlling for previous post-traumatic symptoms”.

Overall, the authors suggest that the results indicate that interventions are not urgent nor strong enough to meet the needs of this group. More focus needs to be on highly vulnerable groups in order to decrease long-term effects of stress. Analyzing symptoms of post-traumatic stress can also give clues as to how the patient is coping with the incident mentally. The authors end with three direct suggestions as to what the root of the intervention problem is: First, within a living-group context of intervention such as residential care, treating post-traumatic symptoms may be beyond the front-line workers’ mandate and expertise. Second, promising practices in the field of CSEC – which are documented and adapted to the context of residential care – are nearly nonexistent, as reported in a systematic review of interventions that foster healing among sexually exploited youth. Third, interventions must be carefully planned not to induce deleterious effects on youth not involved in CSEC.

Lanctot, Nadine, Mathilde Turcotte, Katherine Pascuzzo, Delphine Collin-Vezina, and Catherine Laurier. 2021. Commercial sexual exploitation, stigma, and trauma: A detrimental trio for an altered sense of self. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*. 30, 6: 703-721. DOI: 10.1080/10538712.2021.1970679.

The purpose of this study is to assess “potential differences between young women with a history of CSEC during adolescence and their vulnerable counterparts with no reported history of CSEC on four main manifestations of an altered sense of self: sense of failure, sense of defensiveness (sic) and shame; lack of self-awareness, and other-directedness” (p. 706). The longitudinal study uses data from a previous study in Montreal. All participants (182) were French-speaking female youths (12 to 17 years of age) who were in a rehabilitation center for a minimum of three months during January of 2008 to October of 2009. The rehabilitation centers were for youths who were part of child welfare and needed psychosocial rehabilitation and social integration. Measure included in a questionnaire administered to the youths were: CSEC experience; child maltreatment; perceived stigmatization; and altered sense of self in adulthood. Participants answered questions at six different time intervals – admission, 3, 6, 12, and 18 months after admission, and the last time interval taking place 4.5 years after rehabilitation. Most (66%) participants were out of rehabilitation by time interval four and answered it at home or in a private setting. Of the 182, 124 (74%) successfully completed all six questionnaires and were included in the study. The one through five questionnaires measured participants’ experience with commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) through trading an act of sex for an item of profit. The sixth questionnaire measured three factors: (1) child maltreatment through sexual abuse, physical abuse, emotional abuse, physical neglect, and emotional neglect, (2) perceived stigmatization through a five-point rating mental illness scale, and (3) an altered sense of self through a self-rating system, including sense of failure, sense of defectiveness and shame, lack of self-awareness and other-directedness (putting other’s needs over one’s own). Descriptive statistics, bivariate analysis, and regression were used to analyze data. A one-way ANOVA test was used to assess the altered sense of self variable with those who had CSEC experience and those who did not. Key findings included the following:

- Young women with CSEC experience presented greater manifestations of an altered sense of self in adulthood compared to those without such experience
- Young women with CSEC experience reported greater sense of failure, defectiveness, and shame compared to those without
- Young women with CSEC experience reported a greater lack of self-awareness and a greater tendency to other-directedness
- Young women with CSEC experience may have been in “survival mode” during childhood and used coping strategies such as dissociation and avoidance, hindering opportunities to develop a sense of purpose and self-knowledge.

Overall, the authors concluded that young women with CSEC experiences had a greater alteration of their self-image into adulthood and that these experiences increase one’s vulnerability toward stigmatization, specifically with a (1) lack of self-worth and (2) lack of self-concept. The authors suggest that creation of interventions and other self-rewarding opportunities are much needed for young women who have a history of CSEC; furthermore, this population needs a place for self-reflection and to value their emotional and physical needs. These developments would help this population with complex trauma and stigmatization in their healing.

Landers, Monica, Kimberly McGrath, Melissa H. Johnson, Mary L. Armstrong, and Norin Dollard. 2017. Baseline characteristics of dependent youth who have been commercially sexually exploited: Findings from a specialized treatment program. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse* 26(6):692-709. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2017.1323814>

The primary purpose of this study is to “provide a comprehensive demographic and clinical profile of youth who have been commercially sexually exploited in the Miami metropolitan area of Florida” (p. 695). The data for the study represent baseline characteristics of youth at intake into a specialized treatment program, including trauma histories, risk behaviors, perceptions of exploitation, physical and mental health needs, and youth strengths. Data were collected between 2013 and 2015 for a total of 87 youth who entered the treatment program. All youth admitted to the treatment program were considered eligible for the study. Eligibility for the program included: 1) youth aged 9 to 18 years; 2) in the child dependency system; 3) confirmed as a survivor of commercial sexual exploitation by professional assessment; 4) living or placed in Miami-Dade County, Florida; and 5) mental or behavioral health issues requiring therapeutic intervention. Data were collected via the Child and Adolescent Needs and Strengths-Commercially Sexually Exploited assessment tool (CANS-CSE). Descriptive statistics were produced by analysis of data. The paper presents data on the following variables: demographic characteristics of youth (gender, race, ethnicity); living situation at program intake (biological parents or relatives, foster home, therapeutic foster home, group home, residential treatment center, emergency center, runaway or homeless); permanency caregiver (biological parents, grandparents, other relatives, foster parents, staff/other, none); youth trauma histories (physical abuse, neglect, emotional abuse, sexual abuse, family violence, community violence, witness criminal acts); experiences and awareness of exploitation (perception of danger, knowledge of exploitation, Stockholm syndrome); assessment of life domain functioning (family, living situation, social, recreation, job, development, legal, sexuality); assessment of educational needs (attainment, achievement, time out of school, behavior, prior achievement, attendance, attitude); physical health assessment (medical, physical, weight, eating, sleeping, STD, pregnancy); mental health needs (substance use, anger, adjustment to trauma, conduct disorder, oppositional, anxiety, impulsivity or hyperactivity, depression, psychosis); assessment of risk behaviors (exploitation of others, intentional misbehavior, judgement, delinquency, runaway, sexual aggression, danger to others, other harm, self-harm, suicide); and youth strengths (optimism, talents or interests, creativity, spiritual or religious, self-expression, involvement in recovery, resiliency, resourcefulness). The paper notes the special characteristics of this population of youth, including greater exposure to complex trauma compared to the child welfare population and a greater number of mental and behavioral health needs compared with other children who have experienced complex trauma. Further, it is noted that youth involved in this study experienced significant difficulties with schooling and were often absent. They also engaged in frequent running away and sometimes planned to not be found. The specialized treatment program that partnered on this study is described in terms of the ways it addresses the needs of commercially sexually exploited youth.

Latzman, Natasha E, Deborah A. Gibbs, Rose Feinberg, Marianne N. Kluckman, and Sue Aboul-Hosn. 2019. Human trafficking victimization among youth who run away from foster care. *Children and Youth Services Review*. 98: 113-124. DOI: 10.1016/j.chilyouth.2018.12.022.

This study aims to better understand the intersection between runaway episodes (a “missing child report” from Florida DCF) and human trafficking (HT) victimization in youth. There also were sub-aims (p. 115): “the characteristics of runaway episodes with and without HT allegations; the characteristics of youth with and without HT allegations while on runaway status; and the experiences of youth with one or more HT allegations while on runaway status”. Descriptive statistics and logistic regression modeling were used to investigate the aims. The study uses data from the Florida Safe Families Network. Participants had to be ten years of age and older when they were in foster care, part of Florida’s child welfare system, and had at least one investigation by the Department of Children and Families’ (DCF) for maltreatment from January 1, 2011, to December 31, 2017. Key variables for the study were child maltreatment allegations, foster care placements, and foster care runaway episodes. Maltreatment cases were separated for the study by neglect, sexual abuse, physical abuse, and psychological or emotional abuse. The child maltreatment population was first analyzed with respect to those in foster care without runaway episodes and those with runaway episodes. It was next examined with respect to those with runaway episodes and a history of HT and those without HT. The population then was investigated with respect to maltreatment characteristics for those with and without an HT history during a runaway episode. Finally, the experiences of the population were examined with respect to those with one or more HT incidents during a runaway episode. For the first analysis, there were 36,997 youths who qualified and 19% of those youths had at least one episode of running away (13-36% having more than one case), 87.9% were 13 years of age and older during their first runaway episode, and 29% ran away from foster care. Youth were also more likely to be female, have a maltreatment history, and be nonwhite. For the second examination, 57,323 youths qualified and 742 (1.3%) had an HT allegation. Furthermore, episodes of running away lasting a week to a month were 1.07 to 1.35 times higher for those with HT allegations. For the third analysis, 524 of the 57,323 youths had an HT allegation while running away. They were also more likely to be female and have reports of physical, emotional, and sexual abuse. Additionally, HT odds increased by 118% for youths with 16 runaway episodes and 70% for those with 17 episodes. For the last examination, the average age for HT was 16 years, 16% experienced HT for the first time while running away, 70% youth with an HT allegation during a runaway episode experienced HT for the first time while on runaway status, 30% of youths with a prior HT allegation had a record of it occurring while not living with their welfare placement, and 67% of youth with HT allegations did not have any subsequent HT allegations. Overall, 19% of the 40,000 youths in foster care ran away at least once with most episodes occurring at 13 years of age and older (88%). Those with a runaway history were more likely to be nonwhite, not Hispanic, and female. For HT allegations, foster care runaway episodes had a higher association (1.3%) and most HT allegations were for sex trafficking from 2013 and beyond (90%). For those with a runaway episode, 7.4% had an HT allegation and 524 of those allegations occurred during a runaway episode while 15% had a first-time occurrence during running away. The authors suggest that to reduce the amount of HT victimization and prevent runaway episodes it would be crucial to address runaway behavior while in DCF care and to focus on building better relationships with the youth and their foster care situation.

Liles, Brandi D., PhD, Dawn M. Blacker, PhD, Jenny L. Landini, PhD, and Anthony J. Urquiza, LCSW. 2016. A California multi-disciplinary juvenile court: Serving sexually exploited and at-risk youth. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law* 34:234-245. DOI: 10.1002/bsl2230

The purpose of this paper is to review recent public policy and community responses to the problem of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC), and to describe a juvenile court in Sacramento, CA that is dedicated to CSEC victims, especially the multidisciplinary aspects of the court's practice. The paper provides a model of multidisciplinary juvenile courts with six dimensions: 1) training and capacity building; 2) use of multisystem approach and cross-system coordination; 3) screening and assessment; 4) trauma-informed programming; 5) meaningful engagement and relationship development; and 6) creation of specialized services and treatment options. The paper describes the implementation of each of these dimensions in the Sacramento specialized court. A strong theme across dimensions is trauma-informed assessment and services. The paper also provides brief qualitative findings from interviews with five professionals who work with/in the Sacramento juvenile court, including the presiding judge, the county assistant public defender, the Children's Law Center director, the probation department, and a social worker/clinician from UC Davis Children's Hospital. Interviews focused on the professionals' roles in the court, what had changed in comparison to traditional roles, what is working at the court, and what are the challenges. The findings describe professionals' roles, and the increased multidisciplinary collaboration that represents a change from traditional roles and an aspect of the court that is working well. With respect to challenges, a majority of respondents mentioned the need for more safe, stable, and positive placement options for CSEC youth, while about half would like to see more funding for a full-time case manager.

Lindenbach, David, Olivia Cullen, Asmita Bhattarai, Rosemary Perry, Ruth L. Diaz, Scott B. Patten, and Gina Dimitropoulos. 2021. Capacity, confidence and training of Canadian educators and school staff to recognize and respond to sexual abuse and internet exploitation of their students. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. 112, 104898. DOI: 10.1016/j.chiabu.104898.

This study aims to evaluate the perceptions of educators and other school staff with respect to their capacity, confidence, and training related to the ability to recognize and respond to online child sexual exploitation. The study drew upon survey responses from two school district teams involving 21 schools (12 schools were included based on a 25% completion rate) in Alberta, Canada. The survey population included 450 (446 successful completions) school district employees (teachers, counselors, social workers, psychologists, administrators, other), with data being gathered from April to December of 2018. The content of the survey instrument is described in the paper. The survey provided brief vignettes of hypothetical situations related to four stages of online child sexual exploitation: grooming, luring, sexual abuse, and child sexual abuse imagery. Statistical analysis was used to develop results from the survey. The participants were mostly female (84%), between 35 to 54 years of age (29-32%), had worked in education for five or less years (22%), had worked in their current position for five or less years (55%), had a college education (43%), worked as a psychologist (42%), and worked in an elementary school (85%). Of the staff, 44% had encountered one or more instances of exploitation or maltreatment within the past year with sexual abuse being the most dealt with; however, most had not encountered any cases (56%). Of the professions, guidance counselors, social workers, and principals encountered these cases the most, they also had the greatest number of colleagues come to them to talk about concerns of child abuse, and they reported having the highest amount of confidence when self-reporting child abuse. Teachers and educational assistants had the lowest scores for all categories of formal training. All professions had training experience in all the four stages of sexual exploitation, but sexual abuse (28%) was reported to have been the focus of most training. Most of the educators did not have formal training on maltreatment, though. Professions with less formal training on sexual exploitation and maltreatment (teachers and assistants) encounter cases less frequently. The most frequent reason respondents gave for being hesitant to speak about a concern of child abuse, grooming, luring, sexual abuse, or child sexual abuse imagery was being worried about misinterpreting a situation or being wrong about a scenario. Overall, the educators had higher levels of confidence with recognizing and responding to sexual abuse than to grooming, luring, and child sexual abuse imagery; however, confidence levels with responding to online sexual abuse were the lowest. The authors suggest that training for educators needs to be more sufficient with improving confidence levels for reporting situations, specifically focusing on cases of maltreatment and online threats. Lastly, education tactics for these trainings need to involve the trainee's input to create better end-user results.

Litam, Stacey Diane Arañez and Eddie T. C. Lam. 2020. Sex trafficking beliefs in counselors: Establishing the need for human trafficking training in counselor education program. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counseling*. Published online July 29, 2020. DOI: [10.1007/s10447-020-09408-8](https://doi.org/10.1007/s10447-020-09408-8)

The purpose of this study was to understand sex trafficking attitudes in professional counselors, and more specifically whether attitudes differ based on training, specialization, and workplace settings. A total of 866 licensed professional counselors, clinical counselors, and school counselors from across the US participated in the study. Demographic information on participants includes age, race/ethnicity, sex, years working as a counselor, education, counseling specialization, and work setting. Participants responded to a survey questionnaire that they received by e-mail. The survey incorporated the Sex Trafficking Attitudes Scale (STAS), which includes a tripartite model assessing cognitive, behavioral, and affective areas which have been identified as distinct components of attitude. The following subscales were included: Knowledge About Sex Trafficking; Attitudes Toward Ability to Leave Sex Trafficking; Awareness of Sex Trafficking; Attitudes Towards Helping Survivors; Empathic Reactions Toward Trafficking; and Efficacy to Reduce Sex Trafficking. Each of these subscales is described in the paper. To address the research questions, a multivariate analysis of data was conducted. The main finding of the analysis was that those who had been trained would be more likely to have higher awareness of sex trafficking and to have higher efficacy. There also was a difference with respect to biological sex. Female counselors were more likely to be more empathic and have higher helping attitudes. The study calls for school administrators to provide training and workshops on sex trafficking for counselors, and for counseling education to include sex trafficking in the curriculum. Topics to include in training for counselors in various specializations are noted.

Love, Hanna, Jeanette Husseman, Lilly Yu, Evelyn McCoy, and Colleen Owens. 2018. Justice in Their Own Words: Perceptions and Experiences of (In)Justice among Human Trafficking Survivors. Justice Policy Center. Urban Institute. March 2018. www.urban.org

This study is part of a larger project entitled Bending Toward Justice: Perceptions of Justice Among Human Trafficking Survivors sponsored by the Urban Institute. The project explores human trafficking survivors' perceptions of justice in their cases, human trafficking stakeholders' perceptions of justice, survivors' experiences with the criminal justice process, and survivors' desires for alternative forms of justice. The purpose of this component of the study is to present findings related to survivors' experiences with the criminal justice process and their perceptions of justice to better understand the challenges they face when interacting with the criminal justice system. Also included are survivors' recommendations for the criminal justice system. The sample population for this study included 80 survivors of sex and labor trafficking from eight diverse metropolitan areas across the US. Survivor recruitment was supported by human trafficking service providers at each site, who screened clients for eligibility. To be included in the sample, clients needed to be at least 18 years old and willing to share their story. Data was obtained through semi-structured interviews conducted between 2016 and 2017. Content analysis methods were used to identify findings for the study. The report includes demographic information for participants, including age, gender, race or ethnicity, birthplace, immigration status, trafficking type, case type, and whether the participant had criminal involvement as a defendant. Fifty-five percent of the sample (n=44) had participated in a criminal case during the investigation or prosecution phase, while a third (n=28) had prior criminal justice involvement as a defendant in their own case. The study found that "domestic sex trafficking survivors (n=22) reported more interactions with the American criminal justice system than foreign-born survivors of labor trafficking (n=45) and mostly lacked faith in justice system actors and in the system's ability to prevent further trafficking" (p. 5) whereas "foreign-born survivors of labor trafficking (n=45) were less critical of the American criminal justice system. As a whole, they were less familiar with criminal justice processes, more likely to see justice as 'out of their hands,' and viewed the US justice system more positively than the justice systems in their countries of origin, which they perceived as more corrupt" (p. 7). Importantly, it also found that "Seventy-two percent of sex trafficking survivors had prior arrest histories, often for charges related to their trafficking experience. They believed law enforcement often treated them as criminals rather than victims" (p. 8). In terms of the concept of justice, survivors distinguished between what justice looked like for them and for their trafficker. They were mostly ambivalent towards incarceration, expressing uncertainty about whether the traditional criminal justice system would accomplish their definition of justice for the trafficker, which was preventing them from inflicting future crime. The most common theme in interviews was the idea of justice as preventing others from experiencing harm, for which they believed that traffickers should be educated to understand the injury of trafficking, and that their visas should be revoked. For survivors, justice was tied to recovery and the feeling of "moving on." Most survivors sought stability and freedom from traffickers first, and then empowerment, such as accomplishing self-defined goals and engaging in survivor support work. Survivors had several recommendations for law enforcement including adopting a more compassionate and trauma-informed approach, not criminalizing survivors, increasing diversity among law enforcement, and improving training.

Macias-Konstantopoulos, Wendy L, Deanne Munroe, Genevieve Purcell, Kristina Tester, Thomas F Burke, and Roy Ahn. 2015. The Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Sex Trafficking of Minors in the Boston Metropolitan Area: Experiences and Challenges Faced by Front-Line Providers and Other Stakeholders. *Journal of Applied Research on Children* 6 (1), 4: 1-24.

This paper aims to examine frontline workers' ideas about commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) such as its scope, social determinants, healthcare barriers, recruitment processes, and service gaps in the Boston, MA metropolitan area. Specifically, the authors wish to answer three questions:

1. "How does the context and process of exploitation affect minors' health?"
2. What is the current state of health care services for exploited minors?
3. What health care-related opportunities exist for improving minors' health?" (p. 2)

The authors used semi structured interviews with 25 key informants (22 total interviews) identified through snowball sampling. Interviews occurred from June to August of 2011 and lasted about 60 minutes. Key informants varied in identity and were social service providers, health care workers, law enforcers, and legal advocates. Questions were guided to understand participants' perceptions of sex trafficking occurrences in Boston and local responses to sex trafficking. Qualitative research software was used to analyze the transcribed interviews and codes were used to identify overlapping themes. The study found that sex trafficking most often occurred to boys and girls at the ages of 13 to 19 and to those identifying as Hispanic or African American. Child sexual abuse, family dysfunction, youth homelessness, substance abuse, and financial insecurity were also a common factor among victims. Manipulation tactics of exploiters were mentioned throughout the interviews, with attraction to material goods, desire to escape home life, longing for affection, and instinct to survive being the main factors involved in enabling such manipulation. Peer recruitment in residential, out-of-home placements, and middle schools was also commonly mentioned. Trafficking tactics would include physical abuse and mental manipulation (sometimes through peers or a "bottom"). Exploiters manipulate children to make them think "this is my choice". Mental health concerns were common, especially among girls and LGBTQ youth. Victims would often not have access to health care, either due to geographic and exploiter restraints, especially undocumented victims. The interviews also concluded that healthcare providers often do not know the proper way to assess trafficking-related trauma and recognize a victim of trafficking. There is also a lack of resources for youth such as mental health services, short-term housing, and connection to different providers or protection agencies. Barriers to trauma-based care are discussed. Long-term care is needed. Re-trafficking may occur if care is sporadic. A lack of resources means it is difficult to identify victims. The paper includes quotes to support findings.

Mapp, Susan, Emily Hornung, Madeleine D’Almeida, and Jessica Juhnke. 2016. Local law enforcement officers’ knowledge of human trafficking: Ability to define, identify, and assist. *Journal of Human Trafficking*. 2 (4): 329-342. DOI: 10.1080/23322705.2016.1143764.

The purpose of this article is to better understand law enforcement officers’ sources of knowledge on human trafficking and how these sources affect their ability to define and identify trafficking. Specifically, the authors aim to answer four questions (p. 331):

1. How do law enforcement officers define trafficking in their own words and how well does that correlate with the TVPA definition?
2. How well are officers able to describe the range of those who may be trafficked and signs of trafficking?
3. How do officers describe handling a case of possible trafficking and are they aware of possible services for survivors?
4. How are the above abilities to define, to identify, and to assist affected by the source of officer knowledge about human trafficking?

The study surveyed seven police departments from the Mid-Atlantic states which included rural, suburban, and city areas. Both quantitative and qualitative data was collected in the survey. Descriptive statistics, bivariate analysis and content analysis was used to analyze data. A total of 175 officers responded (54% response rate). Demographic data showed that, on average, officers were 39-year-old Caucasian males who had served in law enforcement for approximately 13.23 years, law enforcement officers (74%), and had a bachelor’s degree (34%) in the field of criminal justice (45%). Of the respondents, 17% had training on human trafficking. Most of the respondents were front line officers. Law enforcement officers who had more training also most often had more experience in the field (two thirds) of more than ten years. Training sources included federal institutions, higher education, and online resources. Besides explaining their training experience, participants were asked to describe the places they had heard about human trafficking (unofficial and official sources) and their work experience with it. Most officers (62%) said they had heard about the subject only from unofficial sources such as mass media, whereas less than a third of respondents reported hearing about the subject from at least one official source, such as training. For experience with human trafficking in their profession, only 8% said that they had some experience: six with sex trafficking, three with labor trafficking, and one with both. Labor trafficking was described as immigrant workers such as those of Hispanic and Chinese ethnicity and sex trafficking was described as foreign-born prostitutes. Open-ended questions used to describe human trafficking were coded with a 0-3 scale (low-quality definition to high-quality definition). Most participants (71%) had a low-quality definition of human trafficking, had confusion with certain definitions such as human smuggling and human trafficking, described non-existent forms of trafficking, and only described one type of trafficking. High-quality answers were reported from 6% and medium-quality answers from 22%. There was no significant relationship between having received training in human trafficking and the quality of the definition. The study reported a significant relationship between higher-quality definitions and having official sources of knowledge. Participants mostly described trafficking victims as having a low socioeconomic status (27%), being foreign (14%), being a runaway (9%), and not having a support system (11%). Women (34%), youth (41%), and foreign born (27%) were the most common groups to be mentioned. Only 29% of participants correctly identified that anyone can be a potential victim. Most participants said that risk factors were circumstantial (43%) such as being foreign-born, not speaking English, being a minor, running away, experiencing abuse, not

having a strong support system, and having behavioral signs. Most participants (87%) could identify a location for trafficking with some of the most common being warehouses, businesses, industry plants, restaurants, hotels, streets, and clubs. A majority of officers (57%) could identify signs that suggest a person may be a trafficking victim. Almost a quarter of the officers could not answer a question about how to handle a situation with a potential victim. One third of the officers said they would take action, while one third said that they could contact someone. Less than one quarter said they would do both. Most officers (95%) could give at least one reason why a victim may not ask for help with fear of harm to self (37%) and family (28%) being the highest or perhaps there being a social barrier (31%). Furthermore, most participants (53%) reported that victims had access to services, with domestic-born having more medical, mental-health, and legal services. Only 5 officers were able to name the TVPA or refer to the T Visa. Overall, the most common misconceptions about human trafficking are confusing smuggling with trafficking, believing that transportation must occur to count as trafficking, thinking that trafficking is specific to foreign-born people, and that there must be signs of physical bondage. Officers focused more on sex trafficking than labor trafficking especially for adults. However, one assumption that most participants did get right is fear being a main reason for a victim not to ask for help. The authors suggest that lack of formal training and exposure to human trafficking through official source are some of the main reasons for the misconceptions, and this issue needs to be addressed in order to assist trafficking victims properly.

Marti Castaner, Marti, Rachel Fowler, Cassie Landers, Lori Cohen, and Manuela Orjuela. 2021. How trauma related to sex trafficking challenges parenting: Insights from Mexican and Central American survivors in the US. *PLOS ONE* 16(6), p. e0252606, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0252606>.

The purpose of this study was to explore how trauma related to sex trafficking may challenge parenting experiences and how relational and contextual pre- and post-trafficking factors influence survivors' capacity to address these challenges. Participants included 14 survivors of sex trafficking from Mexico and Central America who had been trafficked to the US. The survivors were 20 to 36 years old (mean age 30). Inclusion criteria were as follows: 18 years old or older; having a child under 5 years of age at the time of the interview; and being fluent in Spanish or English. Participants were recruited through a non-profit community organization in a large city on the East Coast of the US that provides a range of direct services to women who have experienced gender-based violence. Both qualitative and quantitative data were gathered during the study, including socio-demographic data, information related to assessments for mental health symptoms, and interview data (semi-structured interviews conducted in Spanish). Interview data was analyzed using thematic network analysis. Socio-demographic data include age, country of birth, age of children after trafficking, years in US, years in sex trafficking, years after sex trafficking, age when trafficked, exploited in home country, education, employment, number of children, children before/after trafficking, children in home country, and living with partner. Mental health assessment information is provided, showing that 5 out of 13 participants met the threshold for depression, 3 out of 13 for generalized anxiety, and 10 out of 13 for post-traumatic stress disorder. Analysis of interview data revealed three organizing themes that characterize the parenting experiences of survivor participants: 1) protecting the child when the world feels unsafe; 2) connecting emotionally with their children – from joy to withdrawal; and 3) regaining control and building confidence. Each of these themes is built from numerous sub-themes and is illustrated with quotations from interviews. The study's findings suggest that it is the accumulation of stressors from the periods of pre-, during, and post-trafficking that results in parenting challenges and the capacity to respond. Implications for policy and practice are discussed.

Matthen, Premala, Tara Lyons, Matthew Taylor, James Jennex, Solanna Anderson, Jody Jollimore, and Kate Shannon. 2018. "I Walked into the Industry for Survival and Came Out of a Closet:" How Gender and Sexual Identities Shape Sex among Men, Two Spirit, and Trans People in Vancouver. *Men and Masculinities*. 21(4): 479-500. DOI: 10.1177/1097184X16664951.

This article aims to examine the sex work experiences of men, two spirit, and trans people to better comprehend how gender and sexual identities effect these experiences. The qualitative study uses forty-five participant interviews from the Community Health Assessment of Men Who Purchase and Sell Sex (CHAPS) project which is an organization for people who identify with a gender or sexual minority. The study is part of a larger project. There were 16 participants who bought sex and 35 who sold sex within the past year (six who had done both) all from Vancouver, Canada. To be eligible for the study, participants had to be 19 years or older in age and self-identify as men. The participants were mostly Indigenous (46.7%), 40% White, and 6.7% mixed race. They were an average age of 37.3 years (20 to 74 years of age). Most of the participants identified as a minority gender or sexuality (gay, bisexual, queer, transgender (11.1%), and two-spirit (17.8%) and 34 of them identified as their gender assigned at birth--cis men (75.6%). The semi-structured interviews were coded using an intersectional feminist lens focusing on diversity of gender and sexual identities, exploration/expression of gender/sexual identity through sex work, and experience with migrating to large urban centers. The study includes quotes from the interviews to support its participants' conclusions. There were three major findings:

1) There was much diversity with respect to sexual and gender identities among men and trans sex workers – some people did not identify as either male or female and cis gender men also had diverse identities with respect to masculinity

2) Sex work for many was the only platform to express their gender and sexual identities as queer antagonism was common – sex work may have been the only way to express behavior that draws harassment in other contexts

3) Migration from rural to urban areas was common to find an environment of safely and freely express themselves – there was a fear of violence in a rural area and believed it was safer to be queer in a city.

There was an indication that both buying and selling sex (same person) was a more common trend than previously believed, and that sex work is a way to express identity, indicating a less oppressive narrative for those involved in the sex industry. The authors suggest that because of the contrasting differences of these findings with published studies, research needs to be conducted in a more inclusive way that goes outside of the constrictive binary gender framework—focusing more on sexual diversity among men who are sex workers and Indigenous LGBTQ+ members.

McCoy, Evelyn, Colleen Owens, Lilly Yu, Hanna Love, and Jeanette Hussemann. 2018. *Delivering Justice for Human Trafficking Survivors: Implications for Practice*. Justice Policy Center. Urban Institute. March 2018. www.urban.org

This study is part of a larger project entitled *Bending Toward Justice: Perceptions of Justice Among Human Trafficking Survivors* sponsored by the Urban Institute. The project explores human trafficking survivors' perceptions of justice in their cases, human trafficking stakeholders' perceptions of justice, survivors' experiences with the criminal justice process, and survivors' desires for alternative forms of justice. The purpose of this component of the study is to provide information from the study to practitioners to support their work with survivors, including practice recommendations from survivors and stakeholders to improve survivors' experiences with services and the criminal justice process. The sample population for this study included 80 survivors of sex and labor trafficking from eight diverse metropolitan areas across the US. Also included in the study were 100 human trafficking stakeholders from social and legal service providers and criminal justice stakeholders. Survivor recruitment was supported by human trafficking service providers at each site, who screened clients for eligibility. To be included in the sample, clients needed to be at least 18 years old and willing to share their story. Data was obtained through semi-structured interviews with survivors and stakeholders conducted between 2016 and 2017. Content analysis methods were used to identify findings for the study. The study includes descriptive statistics regarding ways survivor are referred to service providers, including differences between labor and sex trafficking survivors. The major findings of this study include that most survivors were referred to their service providers by criminal justice officials, particularly survivors of sex trafficking. Some survivors of labor trafficking were likely to self-refer to service providers, whereas sex trafficking survivors were very unlikely to self-refer. The study also found that survivors' primary concerns upon meeting with service providers "was obtaining temporary housing to achieve stability and distance from their traffickers. Foreign-born survivors with expired work visas or pending deportation orders were also concerned with their immigration status and their ability to obtain a visa and relocate family. The services most frequently provided to survivors included housing and immigration assistance" (p. 10). Furthermore, survivors and stakeholders agreed that building trust in the criminal justice system was necessary to connect survivors to help, but that, in order to do this, a relatable and consistent point of contact was necessary. Survivors noted that a non-judgmental attitude, transparency, and empowerment (in terms of refraining from pressuring survivors into certain decisions) were necessary aspects of trust-building. Definitions of justice differed between law enforcement versus survivors and service providers. Law enforcement saw justice as convincing survivors to stop engaging in prostitution, whereas survivors and service providers largely saw justice as an ability to "move on" from trafficking experiences, achieve autonomy, and feel empowered by accomplishing self-defined goals" (p. 11). Included in the study are survivor and stakeholders' recommendations for service providers, law enforcement, immigration, courts, and policy makers. Also included is an inquiry tool for survivor-led justice.

McIntyre, Susan, Dawne Clark, Norm Lewis, and Telia Reynolds. 2015. *The Role of Technology in Human Trafficking*. Microsoft.

The purpose of this study is to understand technology's role in recruiting, buying, and selling sex in the trafficking industry from the viewpoint of the consumer. It surveys 51 men who had been charged with a first-time offense of actively communicating with someone in order to trade sex (prostitution) and had to attend a Prostitution Offender Program as part of a diversion effort. The study takes place June to December of 2012 in three western provinces in Canada: Winnipeg (29), Saskatoon (10), and Edmonton (12). The majority of the participants were 35-49 years of age (33%), born in Canada or the United States (59%), were high school graduates (72%), made \$50,000 or less in income (54%), were married (75%), and were fathers (49%). Most of the men's involvement with the sex trade impacted their health (52%), work (37%), personal life (56%) and relationships (51%); 92% tried to quit purchasing but were unsuccessful, with half of them saying the internet made it harder to quit. All had viewed pornography, with 72% under the age of 19 and 13% under the age of 11 for their first time viewing. Half of the participants had made purchases for less than a year and most (72%) seek for services rarely, with annual searches being most common at 62%. Almost all purchased locally (92%) and 62% searched for sex in private establishments such as bars, clubs, and dating sites. Less than a third (26%) feared they had purchased sex from a minor and knew they had a family member that knew of their habits (28%) or was aware of their searches (36%). All the participants used their personal computer over a public one or even a cell phone or tablet and none of them used sex sites daily. Most view sites by themselves (83%) and most spend less than an hour on sites (84%), 8% had used sex sites for over twelve hours. Less than a third (29%) used the internet to seek sex, 38% thought using the internet made purchases easier as well as it had increased their frequency of purchases, and 50% thought viewing sex online protected them from being caught. For the reason for their use of seeking sex on the internet, half said they were satisfied with only viewing sex while the other half were seeking a physical encounter. Sex sites are also used for stimulation prior a sexual street encounter (38%), are used to look up sex encounters but pay during the physical interaction (62%) and are used prior seeking encounters (67%). Chat rooms are most common to be used for online transactions (64%), whereas sexting through a phone or using Skype for sexual purposes were used by less than 20%. Overall, the authors suggest that from these findings the internet makes it easier for people to access sex more frequently and at a younger age. Sex sites also give the impression that there is a lack of consequences for viewing pornography and engaging in commercial sexual behavior online and in person. The authors suggest that prevention models need to focus more on the consumer's perspective and that technology needs to be designed to address and help resolve the increasing demands of sexual exploitation, specifically for educating men starting in high school.

Mehlman-Orozco, Kimberly. 2017. *Hidden In Plain Sight: America's Slaves of the New Millenium*. Praeger.

In this research-based volume, Mehlman-Orozco portrays the nature and extent of human trafficking in the United States and shows that it is deeply embedded in American society. What many US citizens would prefer to believe is a crime that is far removed from their lives, Mehlman-Orozco shows is all around us – hidden in plain sight. She draws upon an extensive review of the literature, interviews with traffickers, victims, and customers, analysis of legal cases, and her own observations, to show that sex and labor trafficking reach into every aspect of life in the United States, including commerce and consumerism. Reasons why existing legal and law enforcement efforts are not effective are cogently explained. The book begins by discussing various aspects of sex trafficking, including child sex trafficking and sex tourism, drawing upon interviews with traffickers to show how the illegal trade is practiced through psychological manipulation and deceit. Labor trafficking, a less well studied phenomenon, also is spotlighted, including discussion of the trafficking of immigrants, domestic servitude, and consumer products made by enslaved people in other countries. The author critiques some of the notable responses to human trafficking that have not produced results, such as criminalization of victims and the proliferation of campaigns against trafficking, as well as the narratives that accompany them.

Middleton, Jennifer S, Maurice N. Gattis, Laura M. Frey, and Dominique Roe-Sepowitz. 2018. Youth Experiences Survey (YES): Exploring the scope and complexity of sex trafficking in a sample of youth experiencing homelessness. *Journal of Social Service Research*. 44 (2): 141-157. DOI: 10.1080/0148876.2018.1428924.

This study aims to explore the scope and complexity of sex trafficking for youth who experience homelessness in Louisville, KY and southern Indiana (Kentuckiana). Specifically, the study addresses the following research questions (p. 144-145):

1. What are the descriptions of youth experiencing homelessness in Kentuckiana related to place of origin, use of drugs and alcohol, mental and physical health diagnoses, family connectedness, reasons for homelessness, and risk and protective factors?
2. Are sex trafficked homeless youth different from non-sex trafficked homeless youth in regard to demographics, family connectedness, sexual orientation, medical and mental health issues, high risk behaviors, school and social issues, adverse childhood experiences, drug and alcohol use/abuse, and risk and protective factors?
3. What are the most common reasons the sex trafficking victims identify regarding how they were sex trafficked (e.g., for money, food, clothes, drugs, protection, a place to stay)?
4. How prevalent was the use of technology in their sex trafficking experience?
5. What is a profile of a sex trafficked homeless youth in Kentuckiana and how does this relate to their service needs?

The study surveys 132 homeless youths (12 to 25 years of age) during October of 2016 in Louisville, Kentucky and southern Indiana. The study defines homelessness as living on the streets, a hotel, a shelter, a transitional housing program, or couch surfing. The Youth Experience Survey (YES) was used to gather data from homeless youth. YES is a 60-question survey that takes about 15 minutes to complete. It asks questions based on subjects such as demographics, housing, drug use, self-harm behaviors, mental health, medical issues, family connection, economics. The survey also asked questions about the presence of traffickers, types of technology used in sex trafficking, as well as risk factors, adverse childhood experiences, and protective factors. Respondents were nearly half and half females and males, an average age of 19-20 years, mostly heterosexual (71%), mostly Black (42.7%), and were mostly native to Kentucky (64.9%). For housing, 57.3% lived in a shelter while the rest couch surfed, lived in a transitional program, lived on the streets, or lived in a hotel. Most of respondents while being homeless had used drugs (59.5%), had participated in self-harm behaviors (48.1%), had been diagnosed or reported having a mental health issue (73.3%), and had a medical issue (57.3%). About 16% reported no contact with family, 21.4% reported some contact but negative, 11.5% reported contact but not supportive, 29% reported some contact and positive, and 11.5% reported lots of contact and supportive. Reasons for leaving or being kicked out were family conflict/fighting, having their family live too far away, their family being too poor (couldn't provide for them), or did not approve of their gender identity. Having a steady job was the most reported way to receive income (35.9%) and actions like selling drugs, stolen objects, sex, and begging were much lower (below 15%). Self-identified risk factors were most reported as being a runaway (46.6%), experiencing date violence (45%), having emotional abuse from a parent/guardian (41.2%), being bullied (37.9%), being physically abused by a parent/guardian (32.8%), living in foster care (32.1%), experiencing sexual abuse (32.1%), having an academic difficulty (29%), and having a negative experience with law enforcement (28.2%). Protective factors were saying no to substances (50.4%), having safe sex (51.9%), being enrolled in an educational

program (35.9%), saying no when feeling forced into sex (34.4%), and having a safe and permanent living situation (33.6%). For sex trafficking, about 41.2% had experienced it while being homeless. Most of the respondents who had experienced it were females, had sex for the first time at 16 years of age, used an online sex site for trafficking purposes (70.4%), and they had engaged in it because of a pressure by someone else to provide money or some other resource for them. The main findings for youth who experienced sex trafficking were as follows: a) they were sex trafficked for money or a place to stay; b) technology was an integral part of the trafficking experience; c) the sex trafficked group reported more drug use, self-harm and risk-taking behavior compared with the group that was not sex trafficked; d) the sex trafficked group reported more mental health problems, child maltreatment, school expulsions, and negative contacts with law enforcement compared to the group that was not sex trafficked (p. 154). The authors conclude that the majority of youth experiencing homelessness in Kentuckiana in the study sample were originally from Kentuckiana (62.1%); drug and alcohol use and addiction, as well as mental health problems (diagnoses and self-harm behaviors), are issues impacting youth experiencing homelessness in Kentuckiana; the majority of the participants reported some positive contact with their families which indicates that agencies should continue to initiate and support the engagement of the family system of homeless youth to help address their needs when appropriate and feasible; many of the youth who participated in the YES study had received social system-based services during their childhoods in Kentuckiana including residential treatment programs, foster care involvement, school programs, and juvenile justice involvement. The authors suggest that homeless and runaway youths are often isolated from their families and communities. As a result, there needs to be more effort to strengthen and rebuild these bonds by helping to reunite families, rebuild relationships among adult figures and youth, and improve existing programs that assist at-risk youths.

Middleton, Jennifer S., Emily Edwards, Dominique Roe-Sepowitz, Eleanor Inman, Laura M. Frey, and Maurice N. Gattis. 2024. Adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) and homelessness: A critical examination of the association between specific ACEs and sex trafficking among homeless youth in Kentuckiana. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 10(1):121-134.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2021.2020061>

This study aims to determine the prevalence of ACEs among homeless youth victims of sex trafficking in Kentuckiana (Louisville, KY and southern Indiana) and the odds of youth victims of childhood trauma experiencing sex trafficking. Youth aged 12-25 who were experiencing homelessness were recruited from youth service agencies and completed the Youth Experience Survey (N=119). Demographic characteristics for respondents are included in the paper. Male and female respondents were about equally divided. Most were heterosexual (72.8%) and the sample was primarily African American (45.1%). The survey included questions about demographics, living situation, drug and alcohol use, mental and physical health, and treatment, family experiences, and negative life experiences (including sex trafficking). Ten questions were added to the survey focused on a personal history of childhood trauma. ACEs derived from this portion of the survey included: physical, emotional, and sexual abuse; physical and emotional neglect; mental illness in the home; an incarcerated relative; domestic violence; substance abuse in the home; and divorce. Statistical analysis was conducted to determine whether specific ACEs were associated with youth who had been sex trafficked, and which ACEs were identified. Key findings were as follows:

- There was a significant relationship between five ACEs and sex trafficking (physical neglect, emotional abuse, domestic abuse, emotional neglect, and sexual abuse)
- Youth who experienced physical neglect were 2.421 times more likely to have been sex trafficked compared with their counterparts who had not been physically neglected
- Youth who experienced emotional abuse were 2.539 times more likely to have been sex trafficked compared with their counterparts who had not been emotionally abused
- Youth who experienced domestic abuse were 3.383 times more likely to have been sex trafficked compared with their counterparts who had not witnessed domestic abuse
- Youth who experienced emotional neglect were 2.387 times more likely to have been sex trafficked compared with their counterparts who had not been emotionally neglected
- Youth who experienced sexual abuse were more than 4 times more likely to have been sex trafficked compared with their counterparts who had not been sexually abused; this was the most important predictor of sex trafficking.

It is important to recognize that a combination of these risk factors could increase the likelihood of sex trafficking. Implications for practice and future research are included.

Millar, H., O'Doherty, T. & Roots, K. 2017. A formidable task: Reflections on obtaining legal empirical evidence on human trafficking in Canada. *Anti-Trafficking Review*, 8(April), 34-49.

This study examines Canada's legal framework for combatting human trafficking. Two empirical research studies are summarized, with an emphasis on their challenges and findings related to the collection of data on human trafficking court cases and legal proceedings. One study was a collaborative effort with an outreach organization supporting im/migrant indoor sex workers in Vancouver. The second was a doctoral dissertation focused on the courts of Ontario. Three main findings were as follows: 1) Canadian legal definitions of human trafficking rely upon a one-dimensional view that equates trafficking with sex work; 2) there are significant discrepancies between the available empirical data and claims about trafficking made by government and the media; and 3) there are serious limitations and constraints associated with the availability of socio-legal data. The study provides recommendations for improving the collection, reporting, and accessing of human trafficking evidence throughout the criminal justice system.

Moore, Jessica, BA, Priyadarshini Hirway, ScM, Christine Barron, MD, and Amy Goldberg, MD. 2016. Psychiatric characteristics of domestic minor sex trafficking patients: A comparative retrospective analysis of medical presentation. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* 55(10S):S201. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jaac.2016.09.312>

The objective of this study is to examine the demographic, social-environmental, and psychiatric characteristics of patients referred for evaluation of domestic minor sex trafficking (DMST), and to compare them to a matched sample of patients who were diagnosed as victims of child sexual abuse but had not been exploited. Medical records were reviewed retrospectively for patients 11 to 18 years of age who were referred for DMST evaluation to a child protection clinic or a pediatric emergency department from 2013 to 2016. The total number of patient records reviewed was 62. The information in these records was compared to that of an age and gender matched sample of patients who received a diagnosis of acute sexual abuse (ASA) but not DMST. Data was analyzed statistically. Patients in both samples were predominantly female (over 95%). The patients in the DMST sample were significantly older than the ASA patients (15.5 years vs. 11.1 years). More patients in the DMST group were Non-Hispanic Black, while more patients in the ASA group were Hispanic/Other. Patients in the DMST group were significantly more likely to have experienced prior child maltreatment, with prior sexual abuse and exposure to domestic violence showing the largest differences. There were more psychiatric admissions and other conditions (e.g., self-harm, suicide ideation) among the DMST group. These findings suggest that psychiatric screening is needed for patients referred for DMST evaluation and DMST screening is needed for psychiatric patients.

Moore, Jessica, BA, Christopher Houck, PhD, Priyadarshini Hirway, ScM, Christine E. Barron, MD, and Amy P. Goldberg, MD. 2020. Trafficking experiences and psychosocial features of domestic minor sex trafficking victims. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 35(15-16):3148-3163. DOI 10.1177/0886260517703373

The objective of this study is to report on the psychosocial context and trafficking experiences of domestic minor sex trafficking (DMST) victims who disclosed their DMST status. Data were drawn retrospectively from the medical records of patients who were evaluated for child sexual abuse secondary to DMST at a child protective clinic between 2013 and 2015. All persons included in the sample were under the age of 18 and disclosed their DMST status to a health care provider during a medical evaluation on their own, or after having evidence presented by law enforcement or a relative. A total of 25 patients were included in the sample. All children in the sample were accompanied to the medical evaluation by a parent, guardian, or child welfare representative. Data collected as part of the study included: patient demographics (gender, age, race, living situation); trafficking experiences (traffickers' gender, number of traffickers, mechanisms of recruitment such as relationship to trafficker, perceived reasons for recruitment, and recruitment location, solicitation and compensation); and psychosocial variables (alcohol/substance use, group home/CPS custody, runaway, history of child maltreatment). Most of the patients in the sample reported substance use, a history of running away, and/or exposure to child maltreatment, including sexual abuse. A total of 28% had been placed in group homes or CPS custody. Patients commonly reported an established relationship with a trafficker. Most reported financial motives for becoming involved in DMST. Recruitment occurred primarily in locations where there were face-to-face relationships, including the home of the victim or a friend, school, and at social gatherings. Patients who lived in a group home were not recruited at school, nor did any report that the trafficker was a stranger, compared to those who lived at home. Clients for the purchase of sex were mainly solicited online (92%). Economic reasons for becoming involved in DMST were more frequently reported by Black patients compared with White patients, and by those living in a home compared with those living in a group home. Most patients reported having received monetary compensation at some point.

Mostajabian, Salina, Diane Santa Maria, Constance Wiemann, Elizabeth Newman, and Claire Bocchini. 2019. Identifying sexual and labor exploitation among sheltered youth experiencing homelessness: A comparison of screening methods." *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 16(3):363. doi:10.3390/ijerph16030363.

The primary aim of this study was to compare differences in the identification of sexual and labor exploitation and trafficking related risks and experiences using a human-trafficking specific survey instrument versus a routine psychosocial assessment performed by physicians at a shelter for youth experiencing homelessness. Secondary aims were to "identify gaps in knowledge about human trafficking and available resources, as well as barriers to disclosing human trafficking and seeking help" (p. 3). A mixed methods approach was used, including surveys, medical record reviews, and focus groups. The research is part of a larger study to pilot test a structured human trafficking screening tool (HTST). Participants were recruited from a single shelter providing housing and services to youths experiencing homelessness in Houston, Texas. A total of 129 participants were involved in the study, ages 18-21 years. The sample averaged 19 years of age, 45% female, 75% African American or mixed race, with the majority being born in the United States and raised in Texas, and 11% born outside the US. Eligibility criteria included speaking English or Spanish, passing a cognitive test, and giving verbal consent. Data was collected in 2016. Socio-demographic data gathered as part of the survey and reported in the study include race, gender, sexual orientation, educational level, pregnancy or parenthood, history of arrest, history of foster care involvement, being kicked out of the home, and running away. Items related to birthplace, immigration, family relationships, shelter use, history of running away, onset of homelessness, labor exploitation, involvement in the justice system, substance use, and help seeking also were included in the survey. Medical record review included demographic information, education level, home environment, history of child abuse, involvement in foster care system, sexual practices, mental health, substance use, and safety. Focus group topics included definitions of human trafficking, needs of survivors, perceived barriers to seeking services, and knowledge of services available. Statistical analysis was performed to compare incidence of human trafficking risks or experiences reported through the HTST versus medical records. Thematic content analysis was used to analyze focus group data. Findings indicate that data gathered through the HTST cannot be strictly compared with information available in medical records due to gaps and inconsistency of information covered by these two approaches. However, the approaches were sufficiently consistent to allow direct comparisons in some cases. The HTST was more likely to identify youth involvement in the justice and foster care systems, being kicked out of the home, and running away compared with medical record review. The HTST also was more likely to identify youth engagement in survival sex, including trading sex as a minor. Commercial sexual exploitation was significantly more likely to be identified by the HTST, as medical records did not systematically include queries related to forced sex or sex encouraged by an employer. Work related exploitation was significantly more likely to be reported through the HTST, as information on work and labor conditions were not routinely included in medical records. Focus group data showed the following: youth had a range of definitions regarding human trafficking; survival and homelessness were the factors most likely to create vulnerability to trafficking; school and media were the primary sources of information regarding trafficking; and fear and mistrust were principal barriers to seeking help, including mistrust of police and health care providers, and concern regarding perceived stigma. Local resources for trafficking survivors most frequently mentioned were shelters, family and friends, and places of worship. Overall, the findings suggest that HTST is a substantial improvement over standard medical assessment in identifying past and current

sexual and labor exploitation among youth experiencing homelessness who are seeking shelter or services.

Murphy, Laura T. 2016. Labor and Sex Trafficking Among Homeless Youth: A Ten-City Study Full Report. Loyola University New Orleans and Modern Slavery Research Project. 1-48.

This study aims to better understand the prevalence and nature of human trafficking among homeless youth by interviewing homeless and runaway youths who had access to Covenant House shelter programs and drop-in centers. From February of 2014 to June of 2016, 641 semi-structured interviews were conducted in Anchorage, Alaska US (65); Atlanta, Georgia US (64); Detroit, Michigan US (60); Fort Lauderdale, Florida US (47); Los Angeles, California US (72); New Orleans, Louisiana US (99); St. Louis, Missouri US (33); Oakland, CA US (26); Toronto, Ontario CA (90); and Vancouver, British Columbia CA (85). The Human Trafficking Interview and Assessment Measure (HTIAM-14) was used by the researchers to assess whether youth were victims of labor or sex trafficking. Most of the participants were cisgender male (60%), heterosexual (78%), Black/or African descent (53%), were part of an emergency shelter program (71%), did not have foster care history (79%), and were between 19 to 21 years of age. Oakland had the most participants who had experienced any type of trafficking (31%), any commercial sex (42%) and labor trafficking (19%); Vancouver had the highest experience with sex trafficking (21%); and Anchorage had the highest experience with sex and labor trafficking (11%). For identity, youth identifying with being LGBTQ+ had the highest experience with any commercial sex (50%), any trafficking (29%), and sex trafficking (24%) and youth identifying with being Indigenous had the most experience with labor trafficking (18%). Overall, human trafficking was found to be most experienced by those in the LGBTQ+ community and those who were in foster care. The interviews also asked youth about their experience with force and coercion, survival sex, economic drivers, agency, repercussions of the trade, risk factors such as age and sexuality, experience with drugs and substances, coercion with culture and family, initiation processes, experience with gangs and drug dealings, commission-based sales, trauma bonding, and escape experience. The article provides thorough examples of quotes from the participants and definitions. Key findings include the following:

- 19% of youth interviewed had experience with human trafficking
- 14% had been trafficked for sex and 8% for labor
- 91% reported being approached by someone for work that sounded too good to be true
- 58% of those who reported trafficking indicated that they had experienced force, fraud, or coercion
- 42% of those who reported sex trafficking were minors
- 24% of LGBTQ+ youth reported sex trafficking compared with 12% of non-LGBTQ+ youth
- LGBTQ youth represented 19% of respondents but 36% of those who engaged in the sex trade
- Half of LGBTQ youth reported engaging in the sex trade at some point in their lives
- 30% of all youth reported some engagement in the sex trade
- The median age for those who were sex trafficked was 16, and the median age for entering the sex trade was 18
- 81% of labor trafficking cases were for forced drug dealing
- 84% of youth who engaged in the sex trade without an exploiter did so due to economic need

Overall, the authors suggest prevention and outreach methods are the best tactics for helping at-risk youth who experience increased vulnerability due to their lack of economic resources. Programs that are tied to job finding, housing, healthy sexual relationships, inclusivity, and specific need-based interventions would be best suited for assisting these communities on a broad spectrum. The authors

also suggest that policies within these communities need to be altered to fit the specific needs of the youth and the agencies that can best serve them.

Murray, Christian. 2019. Ministering in Illicit Massage Businesses: A Guide. Research Gate. <https://www.researchgate.net/publications/332289841>. April 2019.

In this report of a faith-based organization that ministers to people working in illicit massage businesses (IMBs), Murray reviews the theological foundations of the outreach ministry, describes the organization and management of illicit massage parlors in the United States, and provides an overview of his efforts and those of his colleagues to provide spiritual and material support to massage parlor workers. From a theological perspective, the Scriptural basis of his practice includes several dimensions: Imago Dei (image of God), defining our neighbor, calling to pursue justice, providing dignity, and John 4 (Jesus' example). Murray explains why the ministry requires an understanding of IMB operations, and describes several elements, including the link to sex trafficking from Korea and China to the US, scope and prevalence, trafficking networks, roles in the industry, transportation, and sex workers (victims). A description of the ministry is offered, including its goals (share the Gospel, provide rescue and care, and pursue justice for victims), collaborators (local church, massage therapy boards, law enforcement), and the ministry practice (role of the Gospel, relationships with owners/traffickers, language, and a set of guidelines, including those focused on safety, reciprocity, timing, and contacting law enforcement). Appendices to the report cover diverse topics, including the role of men, conversing with trafficking victims, potentially dangerous IMBs, and other issues.

Musto, Jennifer. 2016. *Control and Protect: Collaboration, Carceral Protection, and Domestic Sex Trafficking in the United States*. Oakland, California: University of California Press.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1cg4n69>.

Throughout this book, Jennifer Musto discusses carceral protectionism, which “relies upon law-enforcement methods to protect at-risk victims” of trafficking. She seeks to demonstrate that “situated alongside a broader U.S. history of punishment, what emerges is that, like jails, prisons, and other punitive systems that perpetuate racial and class inequalities, carceral protectionism is a cure with the capacity to generate additional harms” (p. 23). As part of her research, Musto conducted interviews with and qualitative analysis of interview transcripts for nine victims of domestic minor sex trafficking at Dreams & Destiny, a secure but unlocked shelter in a residential area (which is different from other rural, locked shelters, where residents cannot leave if they wish). Additionally, this shelter does not rely on law enforcement to fill beds or in any other institutional capacity. Victims were from all over the United States – some from multiple states, and they varied in length of time they had been at the shelter. “Four out of nine residents at Dreams & Destiny were on probation when they arrived at the shelter, and all explicitly talked about or implied that they had histories of running away from home, which is consistent with the findings of scholars who have suggested that running away precedes some youths’ entrance into prostitution, and that running away or being ‘thrown away’ itself may set the stage for some girls’ subsequent involvement with the juvenile justice system. The presence of residents at Dreams & Destiny was voluntary, and none were physically confined. However, since four of the victims were on probation when they arrived at the shelter, if they decided to leave, they risked future justice involvement” (p.94). Demographic data on the 9 participants includes age, race/ethnicity, self-reported age at the time of prostitution, and length of time at the shelter. Chapter 4, the Switch Up, is most relevant to this literature review and includes empirical data. At the end of this chapter, Musto concludes that, “Switching up youth’s treatment as victims and offenders and subjecting them to punitive modes of protection in order to fulfill broader anti-trafficking goals is not just a side effect or unintended consequence of mass incarceration. Rather these are the results one would expect when a system expressly designed to punish is realigned in the service of a ‘victim–offender’s’ protection...With the help of moms, friends, and supportive adults, some youth who were not formally arrested, charged, or identified in an anti-trafficking raid advocated on behalf of themselves through referrals to Dreams & Destiny. These referrals took place without the assistance of law enforcement and outside of carceral orchestrated anti-trafficking raids. Yet based on what youth shared with me, most of these voluntary referrals took place only after they had experienced carceral switch-ups...The net effect of their non-carceral strategy of self-advocacy wielded more positive outcomes than in the case of sex workers who were forcibly removed from situations through more coercive law-enforcement tactics”. (p. 69) Unfortunately, these types of harm reduction-oriented interventions now appear to be in short supply, arguably as a result of heightened attention to domestic minor sex trafficking and the carceral and collaborative partnerships engendered, though this is an area where more research is needed.

Nguyen, Phuong T., Joanna Lampkin, John H. Coverdale, Samuel Scott, Karen Li, and Mollie R. Gordon. 2018. Identifying human trafficking victims on a psychiatry inpatient service: A case series. *Psychiatry Quarterly* 89:341-348. DOI 10.1007/s11126-017-9538-3

The purpose of this paper is to provide case examples of the varying ways in which human trafficking victims with psychiatric issues may present to an urban inpatient unit. There is no valid screening tool for this situation, so the objective is to provide physicians with information that will help them to identify victims among their psychiatric patients. A literature review was conducted to identify empirical research that could support the examination of cases. Adult patients in the psychiatric unit meeting the characteristics noted in the literature were systematically identified and case examples were described. Six cases are presented, two of labor trafficking and four of sex trafficking. These cases reflect substantial diversity in demographic and psychiatric characteristics. A male and five female patient cases are described. The cases vary with respect to age, race, ethnicity, gender, finances, education level, immigration status, and exploitation type. The findings from cases show that psychiatric issues intersect with human trafficking, including risk and vulnerability, patient acknowledgement and understanding of their situation, and responses to victimization. Once patients have stabilized with respect to psychiatric symptoms, their understanding of the situation may change and as a result, more victims may be identified. This suggests that patients should be rescreened for human trafficking after they have been stabilized.

Nichols, Andrea and Heil, Erin. 2022. Human Trafficking of People with a Disability: An Analysis of State and Federal Cases. *Dignity: A Journal of Analysis of Exploitation and Violence*. 7, 1 (1). DOI: 10.23860.

The purpose of this study is to analyze federal and state cases of sex and labor trafficking in the United States with a focus on victims with a disability, to increase understanding of such cases. Case studies came from the Human Trafficking Legal Center. The authors examined 18 federal and 17 state cases on human trafficking. Keywords/phrases were used to search for cases that were specific to disabilities. The authors found 22 cases of sex trafficking and 10 cases of labor trafficking, and 3 with both sex and labor. The dates examined were 2000 to 2020. The authors provide a table with each case analyzed and how to find it in the filing system, including year, type of trafficking, and state (if applicable). Data was then organized based on type of disability (developmental, neurological, intellectual, and other), citizenship of trafficker and victim, relationship to trafficker, level of prosecution, recruitment tactic, gender of the trafficker and victim, and case status. Descriptive statistics are provided for demographic data. Each case included a different number of traffickers and survivors. Most cases included a third-party trafficker, as this was the most common, along with an intimate partner. The paper describes the types of traffickers, recruitment strategies, and methods of trafficking. The authors concluded that persons with disabilities are at an increased risk of trafficking. More training on the relationships among child abuse and neglect, disability, and trafficking is needed.

O'Brien, Jennifer, Wen Li, Ashley Givens, and George S. Leibowitz. 2017. Domestic minor sex trafficking among adjudicated male youth: prevalence and links to treatment. *Children and Youth Services Review*. 82: 392-399. DOI: 10.1016/j.chilyouth.2017.09.026.

The purpose of this study is to explore domestic minor sex trafficking (DMST) in adjudicated male youth populations to better understand prevalence rates for DMST victimization, and underlying relationships between victimization and child sexual abuse, substance misuse, and sexual discomfort. The cross-sectional study used survey data from 300 male youths who were adjudicated for sexual (70%) and non-sexual (30%) offenses such as drug use, drug sale, physical assault, and property damage from 2004 to 2009 in two states. Descriptive statistics, bivariate analysis, and binary logistic regression were used to analyze data. Participants were 12 to 20 years of age, average of 16-17 years, and mostly identified as White (45.6%) and Black 37.7%). DMST was evaluated by asking respondents to answer whether they had been paid to have sexual relations before being arrested. Childhood trauma was evaluated through a questionnaire focused on emotional, physical, and sexual abuse or neglect. The survey also asked demographic, sexual discomfort, substance misuse, and emotional stability questions. Among participants who responded to the DMST question, more than 10% reported to have been victimized by DMST prior to arrest. Descriptive statistics for responses to questions on key measures are provided in the paper (type of offense, childhood trauma, substance abuse, sexual discomfort). Most of those who had experienced DMST victimization were nonwhite, and they were also more likely to misuse substances, have more sexual discomfort, and have a history of childhood trauma. The authors suggest more work toward child sexual abuse prevention is needed because this risk factor has a higher association with DMST victimization later in life than the other measures.

O'Brien, Jennifer E., Kevin White, and Cynthia Fraga Riza. 2017. Domestic minor sex trafficking among child welfare-involved youth: An exploratory study of correlates. *Child Maltreatment* 22(3):265-274. DOI: 10.1177/1077559517709995

This study has three research questions: 1) are there any significant relationships between domestic minor sex trafficking (DMST) victimization and demographic factors; 2) are there any significant relationships between DMST victimization and psychosocial factors; 3) after controlling for demographic factors, are there any significant relationships between DMST status and psychosocial factors once considered to be outcomes in the literature? The data for this study was derived from Waves 1 and 2 of the National Survey of Child and Adolescent Well-Being to examine correlates of DMST among a sample of welfare-involved youth. Data were collected over 18 months between 2009 and 2011. The sample included all youth who responded to a question regarding payment for sexual relations within the past six months. Participants also had to be between the ages of 10 and 17 at the time of Wave 1. A total of 814 children and youth were included in the sample population, with 38 reporting a history of DMST, either at Wave 1, Wave 2, or both. The study had seven dependent variable measures, including out-of-home placement at interview, running away from home, substance abuse, Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL) externalizing score, CBCL internalizing score, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), self-perceived life expectancy. The main independent variable was a report of DMST within the past six months. The covariates were demographic – age, gender, and race. A variety of statistical tests were performed to determine relationships among dependent variables and DMST, and to examine these relationships when demographic factors were held constant. Significant findings were as follows:

- Average age of youth with a history of DMST was about 1 year older versus youth without a DMST history.
- Youth with a history of DMST were much more likely to report running away behavior, and to test in the clinical range for a substance abuse problem.
- Externalizing scores for CBCL were about 10 points higher for youth with a history of DMST.
- Older children were 38% more likely to be in the clinical range for a substance abuse problem when other factors were held constant.
- Youth with a history of DMST were 4 ½ times more likely to test in the clinical range for a substance abuse problem when other factors were held constant.
- CBCL externalizing scores were 9 points higher for youth with a history of DMST.

The paper discusses implications of the findings for research and practice.

O'Brien, Jennifer E. 2018. "Sometimes, somebody just needs somebody – anybody – to care:" The power of interpersonal relationships to the lives of domestic minor sex trafficking survivors. *Child Abuse & Neglect* 81:1-11. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2018.04.010>

The purpose of this study is to explore the following research question: "What is the role of interpersonal relationships in the lives of domestic minor sex trafficking (DMST) survivors?" (p. 3). The study applied a risk and resilience framework to understand how relationships created risk, were protective, and/or encouraged resiliency. Participants were recruited with the support of child welfare and human trafficking service organizations, and with DMST survivor peer advocacy networks. A total of 13 survivors participated in the study. To be included in the study, a survivor must self-identify as: 1) an American citizen at the time of sex trafficking; 2) younger than 18 at the time of trafficking; 3) fluent in written and spoken English. To ensure the safety of survivors, participants also had to self-identify as: 1) living in a safe location; 2) free of the trafficking situation; and 3) having no open court/legal cases on trafficking. Participants did not have to self-identify as sex trafficking survivors, but rather had to indicate that they exchanged sex for goods, services, drugs, or money before the age of 18. Two semi-structured interviews were conducted with all study participants. The paper provides examples of interview questions and probes. During the second interview, details of relationships were probed in greater depth, including longevity, transitions, context, age, and time-order. Demographic information on participants also was gathered, including age, gender identity, biological sex, relationship status, employment, and education. The paper does not report on gender identity and biological sex, but other demographic data are reported. Content analysis methods were used to analyze qualitative data, with both deductive and inductive coding schemes. Demographic data was analyzed to produce descriptive statistics. Most participants were White, had been involved with either the child welfare or juvenile justice systems (or both), were highly educated, employed, and carried health insurance. Nearly all participants were recruited through peer networks. Analysis of interview data produced themes related to relationships as factors in risk, protection, and/or resiliency. Views expressed by all or most (>50%) of the survivors are briefly summarized below. Quotes from survivors are provided to illustrate themes.

- All survivors noted negative interpersonal relationships with caregivers as a risk factor, with most characterizing such relationships as involving physical or sexual abuse. Children who have experienced sexual abuse might perceive a trafficker as a caregiver.
- Most survivors noted that neglect, or the lack of an interpersonal relationship with caregivers, could be as harmful as physical or sexual abuse, as it may lead to a person seeking a relationship elsewhere.
- Most survivors indicated that healthy relationships with caregivers were protective against DMST, including even brief exposure to such relationships as a source of hope.
- Most survivors commented that even after leaving an exploitative situation, the pull to return to sex work was strong, especially during times of emotional or financial stress.
- Most survivors noted that religious organizations have an important role to play in resiliency but are not the "whole thing".

Implications for practice and research are included in the paper.

O'Brien, Jennifer and W. Li. 2020. The role of the internet in the grooming, exploitation, and exit of United States domestic minor sex trafficking victims. *Journal of Children and Media* 14(2):187-203. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17482798.2019.1688668>

The purpose of this paper is to consider the role of the internet in domestic minor sex trafficking (DMST) grooming, exploitation, and exit. The primary research question was: "What are service providers' perceptions of the role of the internet in DMST exploitation?" with a focus on risks and prevention (p. 191). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with service providers in North Carolina and Texas. These states were selected because they are semi-rural with access to major population areas via highways, and to military bases. Criteria for selection of providers included: being involved in anti-human trafficking efforts for at least one year; or offering services to at least three survivors of DMST. Included were providers of child welfare services, police officers, human trafficking advocates, medical personnel, and case management workers. Recruitment e-mails were sent via a human trafficking interest list serve. Twenty providers agreed to participate in the individual, in person interviews. Demographic information on participants provided in the paper include age, race/ethnicity, employment, years of employment, areas of anti-trafficking effort, including volunteering. The scope of the interviews included risk factors for DMST involving the internet, perceptions of ways to reduce risk that could be facilitated by internet technology and promoting resiliency over victimization through exit and recovery via internet technology. Thematic content analysis was used to analyze interview data. Two overarching themes emerged from the interviews:

- 1) Initial exploitation, with the following subthemes – risk posed to children in using the internet; exploitation from traffickers due to children's ignorance and parental lack of knowledge and awareness; apps that pose a risk, such as Facebook, Snapchat, Tinder, Kik, Instagram, Whisper, and many multi-player games; sharing sexualized images posed a significant risk, as well as sharing location. Prevention strategies focused on training for children and adults -- for children, need for consent after sharing an image, importance of anonymity, and awareness of internet presence (such as not saying "I want to get out of here"); for parents, being aware of children's internet activity, and maintaining communication with children.

- 2) Exit from exploitation, with internet-based risk factors that prevent exit including: the low cost of using social media and mobile phones for traffickers; the use of the internet to sell children's sexual services, to arrange liaisons, and to locate and track victims' movements online wherever they may be so that escape is very difficult. Prevention strategies focused on technology that could be used to identify and locate potential victims so that they could be removed from the situation, including Orphan (facial recognition) and TrafficCam (hotel identification). The National Human Trafficking Hotline also was mentioned as a way technology can help victims reach out for support.

Overall, participants agreed that the internet is underutilized in counter-trafficking efforts. The paper presents practice and research implications, including the need to rigorously evaluate anti-trafficking training to ensure that it is achieving its objective and not the opposite.

Olson-Pitawanakwat, Brianna and Cyndy Baskin'. 2021. In *Between the Missing and Murdered: The Need for Indigenous-Led Responses to Trafficking*. *Journal of Women and Social Work*. 36 (1): 10-26. DOI: 10.1177/0886109920944526.

The study's objective is to examine Indigenous human trafficking through the lens of survivors and support service providers in Toronto, Canada. The researchers used previous information and oral history interviews with eight participants, all from various tribes: three social services providers who support minority genders of the Indigenous community (trans, two-spirit, and women/girls) and five victims of sex trafficking. The participants live in Toronto, are 18 to 30 years of age, identify as cisgender, two-spirit and trans, and five were survivors of residential schools or children of survivors. There were five themes that were significant across the Indigenous women, two-spirit and trans women: pathways into trafficking; collective/intergenerational trauma caused by colonization systems; uniqueness of two-spirit/queer/trans experiences; healing journeys; and help for victims to get out. The study incorporates quotes from the interviews for each of the five themes. For pathways, common sub-themes were experiencing abuse or neglect from family, especially sexual abuse starting as children, and structural factors such as poverty that led to being trafficked. For collective trauma, the most impactful sub-theme was being connected through family or oneself to the residential school system or child welfare. Gender, sexual orientation, and race were common "uniqueness" factors of two-spirit and queer persons, with respondents saying that they felt isolated and excluded which led to the person becoming a target. Hospitalization, police investigations, family involvement, and in extreme cases incarceration, were the most common pathways to getting out; however, many noted that reporting to the police yourself almost never worked as police did not take the situation seriously. Healing journeys often included religious practices, cultural services, group sessions, and therapy. Many of the practices were centered around shared cultural values of Indigenous people. Overall, the authors suggest a greater need for national awareness to Indigenous struggles caused by exploitation of their cultures, bodies, and minds, as collective trauma is often tied to institutionalized pathways such as colonization, sexism, classism, and racism. Finally, the authors imply that ignorance from the government, institutions, and the public are part of the reasons why the problem has not been stopped, as well as blaming victims for their trauma, stating that nationwide education needs to be implemented.

Owens, M. (2020). Human trafficking victims' need for vacatur: Demolishing roadblocks to freedom: An analysis of the current state laws in the United States, the current federal landscape, and a call for the United Nations to amend an existing protocol to allow victims of human trafficking to vacate their criminal records. *American University Journal of Gender, Social Policy & the Law*, 28(2), Article 3, 203-221. <https://digitalcommons.wcl.american.edu/jgspl/vol28/iss2/3>

Based upon analysis of legal documents, "Victims' Need for Vacatur" uses the case study of a white 16-year-old high school student, Sarah, from San Diego who was trafficked by her "boyfriend's" parents in 2015 (named changed to protect confidentiality). The case analysis relates the circumstances under which Sarah was persuaded to move in with her "boyfriend" and groomed by his parents to become a prostitute, strip-club worker, and person addicted to narcotics, eventually leading to her arrest by police and a guilty plea. It also provides information about Sarah's struggle to gain independence from exploitation, the obstacles presented by her criminal record, and the support she received to vacate this record. In 2017, lawmakers in California decided to help survivors like Sarah through a vacatur law which allowed her to vacate her criminal record. A similar law is currently proposed in the U.S. Senate: the Trafficking Survivors Relief Act. This article encourages the United Nations to recognize a victim's right to petition for vacatur by amending the United Nations treaty regarding the treatment of victims of human trafficking. Further, it analyzes the history, successes, and failures of vacatur laws in the United States on the state level and makes recommendations for successful implementation mechanisms.

Palacios, Simón Pedro Izcara and Mariana Ortega Breña. 2017. Prostitution and migrant smuggling networks operating between Central America, Mexico, and the United States. *Latin American Perspectives* 44(6):31-49.

The objective of this study is to describe the operation of smuggling networks between Central America, Mexico, and the United States for the purpose of prostituting women. The study utilized in-depth interviews with smugglers, procurers (recruiters), and Central American women who had worked in the sex/entertainment industry in the United States. All of the women sex workers had been deported to Mexico. Fieldwork was conducted between 2012 and 2013 in five Mexican states: Tamaulipas, Nuevo León, San Luis Potosí, México D.F., and Estado de México. A total of 12 male and female smugglers, 27 male and female procurers, and 22 women sex workers were interviewed. The women had worked in bars, brothels, and other aspects of the sex/entertainment industry. Seventeen had extensive experience working in prostitution in the US, and only 6 had started doing sex work in their country of origin. The paper notes that women smuggling networks have become more extensive and profitable in recent years due to the lower risk posed by smuggling women versus men, and the higher prices they command from US establishments. Smugglers are paid both by US entertainment establishments, and by women who are smuggled. Young women without documents are especially desirable due to their vulnerability and higher margins. Underage women are more likely to be acceptable as prostitutes in the US than in Mexico, although the age at which a person is considered a minor varies across countries (younger in Mexico). Once women age, they are sent back to Mexico. Three types of migrant smuggling networks are identified: simple bi-national networks, complex binational networks, and complex multinational networks. These types are differentiated by the number of operations per year, the number of women transported per year, number of cells (smuggler plus assistant), number of cells focused on sex smuggling, number of assistants per cell, and the number of lines (two or more cells). Data from the interviews suggests that smugglers blame human trafficking on powerful actors and do not believe that they deceived or forced women to work in prostitution. On the other hand, some women indicate that they did not know they were going to be working in prostitution when they left their countries. Women prefer work in the United States because compensation is higher, but they also indicate there are stricter work regimes, more clients, and longer hours. Women from Central America may be stranded in Mexico by smugglers and find no other option than prostitution to obtain income. The women interviewed had favorable attitudes towards smugglers, but negative views of police and immigration officials who they say had sexually abused them (both in Mexico and in the US).

Pascual-Leone, Antonio, J. Kim, and O.-P. Morrison. 2017. Working with victims of human trafficking. *Journal of Contemporary Psychotherapy* 47:51-59. DOI 10.1007/s10879-016-9338-3

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate the complexity of providing psychological services to victims of human trafficking who have experienced complex trauma. A case study is described focusing on one woman who was trafficked to Canada from an undisclosed location overseas. The case describes labor trafficking complicated by sexual assault. Throughout the case the emphasis is upon the features of the case that would be most relevant to psychotherapy service providers. The case study describes the following features:

- How the woman, called Maria (fictitious name) came to be involved in labor trafficking in Canada
- The risk factors that made Maria vulnerable to trafficking
- Details of the trafficking experience, including labor exploitation and sexual abuse
- Why it was difficult for Maria to escape the situation
- Psychological and physical symptoms that Maria experienced, including alcohol use
- Maria's experience reporting the situation to police and her wariness in seeking treatment
- The treatment that supported Maria's recovery – emotion-focused therapy for complex trauma
- How this trauma-informed treatment helped Maria and aspects of her recovery, including improvement in asserting her boundaries, strengthening her family relationships, and becoming a model for her children
- Why a long period of time was required for to be built and the therapy to be effective
- What supports Maria's therapist needed to sustain the recovery process.

Pashang, Sohelia. 2018. Entrapped bodies: Illegalized trafficked youth in Canada. *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction*. 17: 370-384. DOI: 10.1007/s11469-0118-0027-1.

The purpose of this study is to explore the impact of mental health on illegalized female youths who have been sex trafficked and to provide recommendations for improving mental status. This qualitative study uses 2 focus-group interviews and 13 individual interviews led by service providers and activists in the Greater Toronto area of Canada from 2007 to 2010. The study was designed to answer two questions: (1) to explore the lived conditions of illegalized women and (2) to examine how the activities of service providers and activists address these women's needs. Women (155) in the area completed a questionnaire that asked about household, background, community involvement, relationships (family and intimate), health history, well-being, network connections, impressions, employment history, and experience with living in Canada. From those who had completed the survey, 31 identified themselves as being forced into sex work and trafficked. Of the participants, 80% said that they been trafficked while traveling alone as a youth immigrant while seeking Canada as a haven from war, violence, or conflict. The routes into Canada are described, including sold as children to local traffickers or adoption agencies; received a work visa for a job as a nanny but was exploited subsequently; told they could provide semi-skilled work in Canada; were promised a prosperous future but then were forced into sexual exploitation; arrived with a student visa or were promised an education. When they moved to Canada it was under the deception that going there would bring them financial and physical security. Almost all interviewees expressed fear of their pimps, owners, or traffickers and reported that exploiters had full control over their documentation. The study includes anecdotes from the interviews to explain these findings more in-depth. All the participants had mental health concerns, with the highest impacts from sex trafficking being the following: having low self-esteem (66%), being fearful or afraid (83%), feeling angry or sad (51% and 77%), having frequent mood changes (68%), feeling anxious/fearful of bad things happening (90%), having sleeping problems (88%), have traumatic flashbacks (84%), having depression (80%), having nightmares (88%), and inflicting self-harm (77%). The authors explain that these micro impacts can have long-lasting effects on the victims and can increase their vulnerability to harm. Three themes emerged that exacerbate mental health conditions: sexual and physical health as an indicator of mental health (sexual and physical decreased in 90% of participants after arrival in Canada); illegalization as an indicator of mental health; and deportability as an indicator of mental health. The authors suggest that deportability (the fear and risk of deportation) could be one of the largest indicators for participants staying with their traffickers and for decreasing the status of their mental health. Furthermore, the authors imply a need to examine how immigrants, specifically those who have been trafficked, are viewed by the government and public; migrants will continue to have a difficult time receiving help if they are treated like criminals.

Perkins, Elizabeth B. and Carey Ruiz. 2017. Domestic minor sex trafficking in a rural state: Interviews with adjudicated female juveniles. *Child Adolescent Social Work Journal* 34:171-180. DOI 10.1007/s10560-016-0455-3

The objective of this study was to “gain a more informed understanding of the scope of the problem of DMST for adjudicated female juveniles, to identify factors associated with domestic minor sex trafficking (DMST) for this vulnerable population and enhance our understanding of the pathways in and out of DMST from the victim’s perspective” (pp. 173-74). The methodology for the study was face-to-face interviews with 40 adjudicated female juveniles in a detention center in a southern, rural state. The facility was “staff-secured” (i.e., locked down). The interviewees were between the ages of 12 and 18. All youth at the facility were eligible to participate in the study, regardless of charges (the capacity of the facility was 40 children). Data from interviews was quantified to determine age, race, rural/urban, homelessness, runaway status, living arrangements (foster placement), abuse history, and substance abuse. Data also were tabulated for sexual history (traded sex by choice, traded sex by coercion, sexual extortion such as release of photos, trafficked). These data are presented in the paper. Qualitative data was coded to identify themes. Statistical analysis of quantitative data revealed the following significant relationships: trading sex by choice and self-reported drug use; trading sex by force or coercion and having been a victim of both sex abuse and physical abuse; having been a victim of physical abuse and witnessing physical abuse against others in the home; having been a victim of physical abuse and drug use. Themes that emerged from qualitative analysis included the following: youth discussed experiences with survival sex (some felt empowered due to being able to support themselves, others felt ashamed and regretted it); many of the youth felt a strong need to be loved and engaging in sexual acts was a way to fulfill that need; and rural victims tended to be trafficked or exploited by family members while urban victims were exploited by boyfriends or female associates. Victims of sexual exploitation may frame their experience as a time-limited, unique, or otherwise exceptional experience and not be ready to engage in recovery activities.

Peters, Alicia W. 2015. *Responding to Human Trafficking: Sex, Gender, and Culture in the Law*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt16ptn9d.9>.

Peters' study focuses on differences in understanding and responding to the construct of "trafficking" by social service organizations on the one hand and law enforcement/prosecutors on the other. She conducted ethnographic research at a large NGO providing services to trafficking survivors between 2006 and 2008. Her study included interviews with survivors, government administrators, investigators, attorneys, social workers, and case managers across several agencies in New York City and Washington DC. She found that law enforcement and prosecutors often conceptualize trafficking as commercial sexual exploitation and focus on sting operations against prostitution. They do not prioritize labor trafficking and believe sex trafficking is more harmful to victims. Social service personnel indicate that many of their cases are related to labor trafficking and that the harms of this crime are very serious. Peters traces these divergent views to the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000 that includes two ways to frame trafficking, one "operational" and one "non-operational" – what can be counted and what can be prosecuted. Through this legal mechanism, prostitution can be defined but not serviced as trafficking, and this leads to very different approaches to the crime. Peters includes excerpts from 5 survivors who had received or were receiving services at "Empower", the NGO program she observed. The survivors were all women in their 20s to 30s. From these interviews, several key trends emerged: "First, the term trafficking had little meaning for any of the survivors prior to escaping their situations and receiving assistance. While those working in the field use the term as though its meaning were self-evident, most of the survivors I interviewed had never heard of the term prior their escape. Indeed, trafficking brings with it multiple undertones and connotations (e.g., white slavery, the movement of goods) that are completely irrelevant to these women's experiences" (p. 143); "Also striking is that in several cases, the survivors did not even know that crimes had been committed against them. Very few people self-identify as being trafficked, and as Ella, an immigration attorney, noted, 'A lot of people think something bad happened to them or something wrong went on, but they're not going to say they were trafficked.' She continued, 'I think some people don't like to believe that they were duped. And again still even after you get them a T visa . . . people still . . . don't self-identify as trafficking [victims].' The label simply does not do justice to their experiences...Audra, the immigration attorney...characterized the word essentially as jargon" (p. 144).

Powell, Clydette, Michelle Asbill, Elizabeth Louis, and Hanni Stoklosa. Identifying gaps in human trafficking mental health service provision. 2018. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 4(3):256-269. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2017.1362936>

This study aims to “understand barriers to and potential improvements for human trafficking survivor mental health service delivery” (p. 256). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives of 15 U.S. based NGOs. To be eligible for the study, NGOs had to be randomly selected and currently providing, directly or facilitating delivery of mental health services to survivors of human trafficking. The study was conducted in 2015. Interviews were conducted by phone. A deductive framework was used to analyze data. Inductive analysis also was used to identify themes. Key findings included the following:

Barriers

- Systemic – Survivors had to navigate a disjointed health system. This was made more difficult by substance abuse disorders, difficulty exiting trafficking, and mental health concerns. There were also transportation, cost, and employment issues. For foreign nationals there were delays related to lengthy verification processes. Minors were especially difficult to treat due to being “owned” by several different systems. Services were highly dependent on external funding.
- Service provider features – There is a lack of mental health professionals, as well as few that have training in trauma-informed approaches, and few with specific therapeutic modalities. There also is a need for professionals with foreign language skills.
- Survivor features – Physical health issues and the trauma experienced by survivors often kept them away from services. Survivors turn to sporadic, single-visit care to meet their needs. High attrition rates from mental health services were mentioned as a barrier. Traffickers’ interference and substance abuse were other problems. Foreign nationals faced special challenges (e.g., language, citizenship status).

Improvements

- Provider capacity: General NGO staff – Need for training with other stakeholders and systems
- Provider capacity: Mental health staff – Need to have more full-time trained professionals, especially for working with foreign nationals. Some saw integration of faith as a culturally sensitive approach.
- Managing the system – Suggestions included streamlining services, care coordination, offering on-site services, offering wrap-around services, or a transitional care center.

Overall, there is a mismatch between long-term survivor needs and short-term service delivery opportunities. Delivery models need to build their capacity to meet survivors’ needs. The study observes that the single most successful service delivery option was offering in-house or collocated services. Recommendations for future research and collaboration among stakeholders are included.

Preble, Kathleen M, Sarah Tlapek, and Erica Koegler. 2020. Sex trafficking knowledge and training: Implications from environmental scanning in the American Midwest. *Violence and Victims*. 35 (3): 363-383. DOI: 10.1891/VV-D-19-00042.

This study aims to (a) determine the goodness-of-fit between respondents' agency criteria for victim identification and established trafficking definitions, (b) assess training desired and received, and (c) examine group differences in knowledge and training by professionals. The study is part of a larger project. The sample consisted of 66 service providers (social workers, law enforcement, medical providers) in urban and rural areas of Midwestern states in the United States from August to November of 2017. The study draws from the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000, as well as Weitzer (2011) and Farley (2004) to obtain definitions of human sex trafficking for purposes of the survey. These definitions are not in agreement with one another, and the Weitzer and Farley definitions are opposed to each other. The survey asked questions on the service providers' and their agency's use and knowledge of human trafficking definitions and scenarios in comparison to TVPA. It also asked about desired topics for training; 14 thematic topics were identified, and these are listed in the paper. Descriptive and multivariate statistics were used to analyze data. Most participants were White (75.8%), 43-44 years of age (23-77 age range), were self-reported administrators (66%), worked as social workers (40%), trained as a social service provider (86.1%), and served in an urban area (69.7%). Several types of training providers were identified. Most participants (70%) claimed that all the given definitions, and the two scenarios of sex trafficking drawn from Weitzer and Farley (90%) met the standards of their agency/practice. Almost all (90%) of participants ever had formal training on sex trafficking, with most having received several trainings. Since the three definitions of sex trafficking are not in agreement with one another, and since most agencies agreed with all three of the definitions, then it is likely that they either do not have a clear conception of their agencies' definition or are confused. More training did not appear to improve lack of clarity. Definitional confusion has negative consequences for victim identification and service provision. Participants tended to request future training on topics that they had already received training on, suggesting that the subject matter and its understanding are changing. The authors suggest that the most effective way to address these issues would be to have in-depth formal trainings on sex trafficking and all related topics and that sex trafficking definitions should be standardized on at least a state level.

Rajaram, Shireen S. and Sriyani Tidball. 2018. Survivors' voices -- Complex needs of sex trafficking survivors in the Midwest. *Behavioral Medicine* 44(3):189-198. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08964289.2017.1399101>. PMID: 29095121.

The purpose of this study was to gather information regarding the “lived experience” of sex trafficking survivors in Nebraska. In-depth individual interviews of survivors were conducted in person or over the phone. Purposive and snowball sampling was used to recruit participants, who were identified and contacted by social service agencies and survivor advocates. Eligibility criteria included being a female survivor of sex trafficking who had not experienced trafficking in the past year, being 19 years of age or older, and being able to complete a 60 to 90-minute interview. Trauma-informed care principles guided the research (i.e., participants were not asked about their sex trafficking experiences). The main questions focused on survivors’ perspectives on prevention and provision of support. Content analysis techniques were used to analyze transcripts of interviews. A total of 22 women were interviewed. Most of the women lived in the Lincoln, Nebraska area. Demographic information provided in the study includes participants’ residential area (urban or other), age, children, education, marital status, race/ethnicity, living situation while growing up, and employment status. Key themes emerging from the interviews include the following: lack of public awareness regarding sex trafficking; stigma, blame, and lack of trust among persons who have experienced sex trafficking; lack of a trauma-informed approach among professionals who provide services to survivors; survivors’ experiences during the initial aftermath of trafficking; and getting one’s life back. A set of recommendations for key actors involved in the fight against sex trafficking are included at the end of the paper.

Ravi, Anita, Megan Rose Peiffer, Zachary Rosner, and Judy A. Shea. 2017. Identifying health experiences of domestically sex-trafficked women in the USA: A qualitative study in Rikers Island Jail." *Journal of Urban Health* 94:408-416. DOI 10.1007/s11524-016-0128-8.

This purpose of this study was to "identify experiences of domestically sex-trafficked women regarding healthcare access, reproductive health, and infectious diseases while trafficked" (p. 408). Participants in the study included 21 trafficking survivors ranging in age from 19 to 60 years who were incarcerated in New York City's Rikers Island women's jail. Participation was limited to women aged 18 and older who could complete interviews in English, and who answered yes to the question: "Were you ever forced into prostitution or made to turn tricks by family members, boyfriends, friends, pimps, or other people you met?". Demographic information regarding participants includes age, race, education, and primary trafficker. Interviews with women were conducted in 2015. Researchers used content analysis to identify themes related to the study's purposes. Themes related to each of the study's purposes include the following: health care access (care locations, trafficker-related factors including financial impact and fear of retaliation); non trafficker-related factors (prioritizing substance use; criminal justice-related fears); follow-up care (access to test results); reproductive health (menstruation including efforts to hide blood flow, pregnancy including stresses related to fear of pregnancy, contraception, abortion, and prenatal care); infectious disease (condoms including access, trafficker expectations, financial losses, violence perpetrated by buyers, oral sex, and practices to decrease infection risk) and HIV (including access to testing). Quotations from women's narratives are included in the study. These findings "demonstrate that domestic sex trafficking survivors experienced chronic and acute health issues while trafficked and multiple barriers to care. Substance use and financial vulnerabilities furthered unintended pregnancy and infection risk" (p. 408). The findings also demonstrate the ways in which traffickers' "business model" prioritizing profit-taking over all other considerations is detrimental to the health of victims and the public.

Recknor, Frances, Mollie Gordon, John Coverdale, Mishaal Gardezi, and Phuong T. Nguyen. 2020. A descriptive study of United States-based human trafficking specialty clinics. *Psychiatric Quarterly* 91:1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11126-019-09691-8>.

The objective of this study is to “identify and describe medical and mental health specialty clinics that work exclusively with trafficked adults, with the goal of assisting organizations and health care providers in program development and to improve clinical outcomes” (p. 1). The study was accomplished through telephone interviews with a sample of nine interviewees, composed of physicians, doctoral level nurses, one lawyer, one masters level social worker, and one doctoral level psychologist. The sample was achieved via HEAL² Trafficking administration’s leadership providing a listing of 125 agencies, programs, and individuals considered to be good candidates who may have clinics pertinent to the study. Duplicates, those working with children, and those that did not have clinics specifically dedicated to trafficking were eliminated from the study. Interviews focused on “goals and reasons for establishment, patient characteristics, referral and funding sources and the range of services provided” (p. 2). Four specialty clinics are described as cases: 1) a gynecology clinic in an academic medical center hospital; 2) a gynecology clinic in a federally qualified health center; 3) a residential treatment program; and 4) a psychiatry clinic in a large county health care system. While each clinic was unique, commonalities including a “patient-centered, comprehensive, interdisciplinary, team-oriented, collaborative, and trauma-informed approach to clinical care for trafficked persons” (p. 9).

² A network of over 2,500 professionals advocating a public health approach to human trafficking.

Recknor, Frances H., Gretchen Gemeinhardt, and Beatrice J. Selwyn. 2018. Health-care provider challenges to the identification of human trafficking in health-care settings: A qualitative study. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 4(3):213-230. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2017.1348740>

This study explores health-care professionals' perspectives and experiences on factors that impede recognition of human trafficking victims that are seeking health care. Of special interest was how health-care professionals attempt to address human trafficking victims' needs, and the barriers they encounter in doing so. Houston was selected as the study site because it is the home of the world's largest medical complex and is considered a hub for human trafficking. Purposive sampling, followed by snowball sampling was used to identify a sample of 44 health-care professionals from a wide range of fields. Semi-structured interviews were conducted between 2015 and 2016. Thematic content analysis was used to analyze data. Initial themes were derived from literature. Illustrative quotes are provided. Key findings include the following:

- Prevalence of victims identified in health-care settings

The number of trafficking victims was deemed to be low, but few estimates were available. In some cases, there were suspicions, but they could not be confirmed. Some providers had difficulty distinguishing between a trafficking victim and a prostitute. Victims did not choose to self-identify due to fear of the trafficker, deportation, or police. There was the potential for fear of revictimization. Some providers suggested that victims do not come for treatment. Other providers mentioned constraints on providers' time as a barrier.

- Human trafficking awareness and knowledge

Several providers noted that there is a lack of awareness and knowledge as a reason for low identification. Some were aware of external training opportunities, but others were not. It is difficult to implement training institutionally when the magnitude of a problem is unknown.

- Labor trafficking awareness

The level of labor trafficking awareness was low, and most providers did not know how to recognize it, or screen for it. There was difficulty distinguishing between labor trafficking injuries and those that may be related to difficult or dangerous work environments.

- Stereotypes, stigma, and shame

These can inhibit victim identification and disclosure. Provider beliefs about "opting to work as a prostitute" can impede identification and lead to discriminatory attitudes that inhibit disclosure.

- Lack of adequate community resources and health-setting protocols

A lack of community resources and institutional protocols for referrals to assist victims can create barriers to disclosure and identification. These barriers can lead providers not to screen for human trafficking, and such screening may be deemed unethical if there is no way to respond.

Recommendations for providers' education and institutional protocols are provided.

Reed, Shon M., M. Alexis Kennedy, Michele R. Decker, and Andrea N. Cimino. 2019. Friends, family, and boyfriends: An analysis of relationship pathways into commercial sexual exploitation. *Child Abuse & Neglect* 90:1-12 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chaibu.2019.01.016>

The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of how young women's relationships may lead them to become involved in commercial sexual exploitation (CSE). There are two research questions: 1) what relationships lead young women to CSE? 2) What background characteristics influenced participants' exploitation? Data for this study were drawn from a larger, mixed-method study of survivors' attempts to exit exploitation. Qualitative transcripts were analyzed to identify pathways into exploitation and contextual factors related to these paths. Eligibility criteria were 1) a person of any gender between the ages of 18-24 and 2) who had experienced CSE before the age of 18. Data were collected in 2016 and 2017. Participants were recruited with support of two resource centers for survivors of sex trafficking. A total of 26 survivors in the state of Nevada were included in the study. Semi-structured interviews focused on the following information: a description of participants' life before exploitation; experiences during exploitation; life following exploitation. Additional data collection included information about service providers, histories of running away, Child Protective Services involvement, and juvenile delinquency. Content analysis procedures, with both inductive and deductive coding approaches, were used. The data analysis identified individuals who stated that another person such a friend, family member, or boyfriend had introduced them to CSE. A second stage of coding identified distinctive pathways into CSE for each type of relationship: friends (peer pressure and friends trading sex); family (family members involved in the sex trade); and boyfriends (coercion and violence). A third phase of coding identified shared background characteristics. Pathways into CSE and major contextual factors are displayed in a diagram. Demographic data on participants presented in the paper includes race, age at interview, and age of entry. Findings for the study focus upon each of three pathways identified: friends, family, and boyfriends. Friends who may be short term acquaintances or persons with longer standing relationships act as coaches, teaching young women how to enter CSE. They may do this to help the young people make money to support themselves. Friends were the largest category of influencers. Family members included a mother, sisters, and a cousin. They do not act as coaches but may gain financially (selling a child for drugs) or help the young person make money. Boyfriends, most of whom became pimps, started out by giving the appearance that they cared about the young women, and then turned violent, especially if the women attempted to leave. One introduced the young woman to drugs and then demanded that she find a way to pay for them. Contextual factors included the following: family instability (absent parent, parental abuse, parent incarcerated or died, parental drug addiction); abuse within the home (physical, sexual, and emotional abuse); running away (which often led to trading sex); financial influence (poverty led to trading sex, drive for financial independence led to CSE); substance abuse/addiction (sex was used to pay for drugs); foster care system (abuse led to running away, multiple foster care placements, feeling lesser than the biological children). Some of the participants indicated that they reached out for help to people in schools or law enforcement but received no response. Each contextual factor is illustrated with participants' quotes. The paper includes a discussion of policy implications.

Reid, Joan A. 2016. Entrapment and enmeshment schemes used by sex traffickers. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*. 28(6): 491-511. DOI: 10.1177/1079063214544334.

The purpose of the study was to: a) understand the tactics used by traffickers to recruit or initially entrap U.S. minors into sex trafficking; b) identify tactics of traffickers or circumstances that facilitate prolonged or repeat exploitation and prevent exit; and c) apply crime script approaches to JST. A multi-case study design with purposive sampling was used to gather data from case files of sex trafficked girls provided by social service agencies in two large metropolitan areas in Florida. Data also was collected through interviews with social workers who had a deep relationship and experience with assisting trafficked youth (interview questions are provided). Both datasets were collected during 2012 and 2013. Data was analyzed using template analysis which begins with a deductive framework and then modifies codes based upon evidence. Statistical methods were used to describe the study sample. Case files had information on 79 female sex-trafficked youths. Cases involved instances of 36 family-related and 43 non-family-related trafficking victims. Sociodemographic information that is reported in the study includes age and race of victim, and age and gender of trafficker. The age of the girls ranged from 4 to 17 years of age with 15 being the mean for both types of perpetrators. The median age for victims who were trafficked by family members was younger than that of the full sample (13 versus 15 years). Victims were 43% African American, 32% Hispanic, 13% Caucasian, 9% Haitian, and 4% other races. Sex traffickers were reported to be 67% male and 33% female with ages ranging from 15 to 45 years. Relationships varied as well with traffickers reporting to be 28% stranger, 28% boyfriend, 10% girlfriend, 29% relative, 3% drug dealer, and 2% employer. Entrapment schemes used by traffickers are described and include: romance/flattery and spending money (feelings of love, sweet talk, and romantic gestures); build dependence and/or trust by helping them (provide shelter and protection from previous conditions); normalized/glamorized engagement in prostitution (exposure to pornography and casualness of prostitution), isolation (move to another city, control communications); abduction/drugs (hold hostage or bribe with drugs); use of "bait and switch" (threatening indentured servitude); coercion by financial con/debt bondage (posting pictures on internet and demanding payment, giving money and demanding it be returned); recruited by boyfriend/girlfriend gang member; and preying on intellectually disabled youth (unable to know consequences of actions). Enmeshment schemes included: shame and blackmail (demean and devalue victim); obligation (creating hesitancy to "snitch"); make complicit in crime (force into theft); control by threatening pregnancy/child (threats to make pregnant, sell child, withhold access to children); isolation (change phone numbers, passwords, track victim's movements using technology); financial control (keeping all the money); intimidate (threats against victim and family); and provide hope, connection and faux family (saying we're the only ones who can understand us). Testimony and examples are provided for each category. Overall, the study concluded that trauma bonds are created through a power imbalance and positive/neutral interactions between the victim and trafficker. These bonds can create serious obstacles to exit for victims and help to explain why many victims choose not to cooperate with law enforcement. Safe Harbor laws that require victim cooperation with law enforcement are not consistent with the TVPA, which requires that minors be assisted regardless of cooperation. The study found that the grooming and entrapment techniques of sex traffickers were similar to those used by perpetrators of intimate partner violence, and of child molesters and serial sex offenders. Proposed prevention methods included monitoring youth-frequented public areas, giving risk and prevention training to those who interact with more vulnerable youth, and teaching youth about healthy relationships and how to withstand manipulation. The study concluded that the next steps would be to research sex trafficking tactics/scripts used specifically by

male youth traffickers. Recommendations for amendments to laws such as Safe Harbor laws are provided.

Reid, Joan A., Juliana Huard, and Rachael A. Haskell. 2015. Family-facilitated juvenile sex trafficking. *Journal of Crime and Justice* 38(3):361-376. <http://doi.org/10.1080/0735648X.2014.967965>

The objective of this study is to explore two research questions related to gaining a comprehensive understanding of family-facilitated juvenile sex trafficking (FF JST): 1) the demographics of FF JST victims, their maltreatment histories, how they are being identified, and the consequences of FF JST; and 2) the identity and modus operandi of the traffickers. Cases were considered only if a family member or care giver directly profited or benefited in some way beyond gaining sex with a minor. The study used a multi-case design with purposive sampling. Primary data was drawn from case records of girls who had been sex trafficked by family members or care givers. Case records were obtained from four social services agencies in south and central Florida. Records used in the study included anonymized information from intake interviews, psychosocial assessments, law enforcement reports, and results of psychological testing. In addition, interviews were conducted with mental health therapists and case managers who had knowledge of the individuals whose files were being studied. The psychosocial data and information pertaining to the exploitative situation was reviewed, coded, and synthesized, including demographics, information pertaining to child maltreatment prior to trafficking, youth responses, arrests for prostitution, and involvement of child protective services. These data were compared statistically with similar information for youth who were trafficked by non-relatives. Qualitative data from case files and interviews were analyzed to identify type of perpetrator, motivation of perpetrator, and methods. The coding templates were both inductive and deductive. In addition, themes related to obstructed detection, impeded apprehension, and hindered provision of services were coded. A total of 92 case files were analyzed, with FF JST occurring between 2007 and 2013. Socio-demographic information presented in the paper included: age at JST; race/ethnicity; domestic or foreign born; witnessed domestic violence; child sexual abuse; child physical abuse; child neglect/abandonment; poly-victimization; running away; drug/alcohol use; arrested for prostitution; and received child protective services/sheltered. Minors trafficked by relatives displayed a wider range of ages than the comparison group and were less likely to run away or to experience drug-alcohol use. Minors trafficked by relatives were more likely to have witnessed domestic violence between caregivers, experienced child sexual or physical abuse, or been neglected or abandoned compared with the group trafficked by non-relatives. FF JST victims also were more likely to experience poly-victimization, slightly less likely to have been arrested for prostitution, and slightly more likely to be involved with child protective services compared with non-FF JST victims. Demographic information on traffickers includes biological sex and relationship to victim. The most frequent motivation for JST was financial gain and/or access to drugs. The situation and method of exploitation were described in some cases. Different types of traffickers were described, including mother-daughter dyad (this was the most common type -- mother as madam, mother as addict, and mother as mentor) and other victim-perpetrator dyads (father-daughter, and uncles and cousins as traffickers). Where mothers were not the perpetrators, they often were aware of the situation. Barriers to detection and disclosure included: victims' youth and lack of awareness that the situation was exploitative; authority of the trafficker and victims' dependency on them; intimidation and threats from law enforcement; immigration status used to control victim; 1 against the victim and non-abusing relatives. Most of the JST victims were diagnosed with one or more mental health issues, including post-traumatic stress disorder, bipolar disorder, depression, conduct disorder, and attention deficit and hyperactivity disorder. Many reported suicidal ideation, self-harming behaviors, suicide attempts, and related hospitalizations. Intense anger

against perpetrators also was frequently reported. About half of the JST victims reported alcohol or drug use that interfered with recovery.

Reid, Joan A., PhD, Michael T. Baglivio, PhD, Alex R. Piquero, PhD, Mark A. Greenwald, MPA, and Nathan Epps, MS. 2017. Human trafficking of minors and childhood adversity in Florida. *AJPH Research* 107(2):306-311. doi:10.2015/AJPH.2016.303564

The purpose of this investigation is to understand the “impact of specific types of childhood adversities as well as the effects of cumulative childhood adversity on youths victimized in human trafficking in comparison with a matched subsample of youth” (p. 306). The data for the project was drawn from a sample of 68,218 youths collected by the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice. A subsample of 913 youth was identified who were suspected or verified as human trafficking victims. These youth were exactly matched with a sample of youth who did not have reports of human trafficking. The sample included all youths in Florida who had a history of arrest between 2007 and 2015 and who were assessed using the Full Community Positive Achievement Change Tool (C-PACT) risk and needs assessment panel at intake into the juvenile justice system. The Full C-PACT contains 126 items across 12 domains, including criminal history, education, family or living situation, alcohol or drug use, mental health, attitudes and behavior, aggression, and social skills. The demographic characteristics used as matching variables included gender, race/ethnicity, age at first offense, annual family income, need for special education, and judicial circuit where youth were processed. Human trafficking victimization was determined by abuse reports on 3,698 children made to the Florida Abuse Hotline between 2009 and 2015. Both sex and labor trafficking were included. Human trafficking reports may be coded as verified, not substantiated, or no indicator (meaning no credible evidence). A total of 27% of reports were verified. Statistical tests, including bivariate and multivariate tests, were conducted to investigate relationships between childhood adversity and human trafficking. Bivariate analysis was conducted to compare the prevalence of specific ACE (adverse childhood experience) types and the total number of ACEs experienced by youth who had human trafficking experiences and those who did not. Separate estimates were calculated for girls and boys. Six ACEs and the composite ACE were significantly higher in the sample of youths who had reports of human trafficking. Specifically, ACE indicators of childhood maltreatment – emotional abuse, physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional neglect, physical neglect, and family violence – were more prevalent among youth who had human trafficking reports. The average composite ACE score was higher for youth with trafficking reports than for the matched sample. It was found that the ACEs that influence risks for girls are different than those for boys. All forms of child maltreatment except for physical abuse and emotional abuse were predictive of human trafficking for girls. Once sexual abuse is taken into account through multivariate analysis, physical abuse is shown to reduce the likelihood of human trafficking. Girls who experienced physical abuse alone were not at greater risk. Among boys, only emotional abuse and sexual abuse were significantly associated with human trafficking. The paper presents implications for public health.

Reid, Joan A. 2018. Sex trafficking of girls with intellectual disabilities: An exploratory mixed methods study. *Sexual Abuse* 30(2):107-131. DOI: 10.1177/1079063216630981

The research questions addressed by this study include: 1) “examine demographics and mental health diagnoses of juvenile sex trafficking (JST) victims with intellectual disabilities (ID), their maltreatment histories and environmental risk factors, and consequences of sexual exploitation” (p. 111); and 2) the characteristics and methods of perpetrators of JST with ID girls. The study was drawn from the case records of 54 girls with evidence of sexual exploitation before the age of 18. The records were drawn from four social service agencies in southern and central Florida from 2007 and 2014. The case records included deidentified biographical information, psychological evaluations and/or assessments, and evidence of circumstances related to sex trafficking from self-reports, caregiver reports, law enforcement, and/or child protective services. In addition, interviews were conducted with mental health therapists and case managers with in-depth knowledge of the cases. Descriptive statistics on demographics, background information, psychological assessments, and information pertaining to traffickers, were prepared. This analysis allowed comparison of sex trafficking victims with and without ID. A total of 15 girls (28%) were identified as being intellectually disabled (based on cognitive assessments or researcher analysis of files). Qualitative analysis of data provided details concerning the timing, extent, and context of victimization of girls with ID prior to sex trafficking. Template analysis, which is primarily a deductive coding approach, was used to analyze qualitative data. Demographic information on the JST victims includes age at initial exploitation and race. For traffickers, the information includes gender and type of relationship with victim. Descriptive statistics on the two sub-samples (girls with and without ID) includes the following: age at initial JST; running away; drug/alcohol use; witnessed domestic violence; arrested for prostitution; received child protective services/sheltered; child sexual abuse; child physical abuse; child neglect/abandonment; sexual assault; pregnancy; anger; aggression; depression; anxiety; dissociation; and trauma symptoms. While the only statistically significant difference between the two groups was for trauma symptoms (girls with ID displayed significantly less), many of the other variables showed elevated rates for girls with ID (including running away, drug/alcohol use, received child protective services/sheltered, child neglect/abandonment, sexual assault, pregnancy, and aggression). Circumstances or behaviors linked to sex trafficking in girls with ID include running away, unsupervised use of the Internet, and getting into cars with strangers. Girls with ID are more vulnerable to JST due to the following factors: victim lack of awareness of exploitation and its endangerment; the inability of victims to self-identify; and the ease with which traffickers can manipulate and control the girls.

Reid, Joan A, Michael T. Baglivio, Alex R. Piquero, Mark A. Greenwald, and Nathan Epps. 2019. No youth left behind to human trafficking: Exploring profiles of risk. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. 89(6):704-715. DOI: 1037/ort0000362.

The purpose of this study is to “inform recognition, treatment, and referral of trafficked youth by: determining which types of ACEs and health risk behaviors are associated with juvenile human trafficking (JHT) profiles; identifying JHT risk profiles based on ACEs such as child maltreatment, family violence and foster care, and youth engagement in health risk behaviors such as chronic running away and drug or alcohol use; examining the associations between the analytically identified profiles of risk and demographic characteristics in order to gain a more comprehensive depiction of types of trafficked youth” (p. 705). Participants for the study were assigned to the study if they had a history of arrest from 2007 to 2015, were adolescents, lived in Florida, and were assessed for risks/needs upon arrest and intake to the juvenile justice system. The sample included 913 male and female youths who were juvenile justice involved and had a suspected or verified history of human trafficking. The study used the Full Community Positive Achievement Change Tool (C-PACT) to gather data. This method is administered through a semi-structured interview protocol, and software is used to populate responses into an assessment tool. The Full C-PACT takes 45 minutes for semi structured interviews. Interviews include demographic items (gender, race/ethnicity, age, need for special education, family income, judicial circuit), 10 ACE items (abuse [physical, sexual, and emotional], neglect [physical and emotional], and household dysfunction [parental mental health abuse problems, parental separation/abuse, parental substance abuse, parental jail/prison history, and violent treatment toward mother/domestic abuse]), and 10 health-risk behavior indicators (foster care placement, weapon use, history of violence, misdemeanor adjudication, felony adjudication, alcohol use, drug use, suicidal ideation/attempt, romance with anti-social criminal, chronic running away). JHT was determined by abuse reports to the Florida Abuse Hotline. The sample was matched to a comparison group of juvenile justice involved youth who did not have a history of suspected or verified human trafficking. Most of the participants who had a human trafficking report identified with being female (87.7%), Black and non-Hispanic (49.5%), and 13-14 years of age (47.4%). There were also a significant number of those participants whose family made less than \$15,000 a year (44.1%) and some who needed special education (36.8%). However, there was not a large difference between race/ethnicity and education needs between those who had a human trafficking report and those who did not. The largest identity differences were gender, family income, and some of the age ranges. There were no statistically significant differences between the JHT and comparison groups for demographic characteristics. However, JHT youth had a higher prevalence of numerous types of child maltreatment, while non-JHT youth were more likely to engage in internalizing behavior such as self-harm and health-risk behavior. Significant differences between the two groups were found for 7 of the 10 ACE indicators, with significant numbers of JHT youth reporting emotional abuse, physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional neglect, physical neglect, family violence and foster care placement. The study methodology used latent class analysis to make comparisons across several ACE and health-risk indicators for the JHT youth and determine the number of classes that best fit the observed data. A six-class model showed the best fit. The six classes that the study uses to identify risk profiles are:

1. Multiply abused foster child with extensive health-risk behavior (high on all ACEs and health-risks)

2. Multiply abused foster child with less substance use (high levels of abuse, high probability of foster care and low alcohol and substance abuse)
3. Multiply abused non-foster child with extensive health-risk behavior (high sexual and physical abuse, suicidal thoughts and attempts, substance use, romantic relation with anti-social person, and second highest for running away)
4. Emotionally abused drug user (highest for emotional abuse and family violence, high for alcohol and substance use, and romantic relationship with an anti-social person)
5. Less abused abstainer from health-risk behavior (low for all ACEs and health-risks)
6. Less abused drug user (low for all ACEs and health-risks).

The study found significant associations between demographic characteristics and class placement. Most importantly, the study found that JHT youth represent a diverse population, with substantial differences among the risk profiles. Three of the profiles represent predominant notions of childhood abuse and health-risk behavior (classes 1-3), while three others do not (classes 4-6). The authors note that examining youth characteristics without understanding exploitative experiences can be misleading and can lead to misidentification of human trafficking victimization. It is recommended that suspected cases of human trafficking be assessed by universal screening tools that examine exploitative experience as a gold standard.

Richie-Zavaleta, Arduizur Carli, Augusta Villanueva, Ana Martinez-Donate, Renee M. Turchi, Janna Ataiants and Shea M. Rhodes. 2020. Sex trafficking victims at their junction with the healthcare setting—A mixed-methods inquiry. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 6:1, 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2018.1501257>.

This study was designed to gain insights from survivors regarding a) health care settings visited during trafficking, b) reasons for seeking care, and c) barriers to disclosing their human trafficking situation. A concurrent mixed-methods approach was utilized, including a 48-item questionnaire and semi-structured interviews, following a socio-ecological conceptual framework. Eligibility for participation in the study included a) self-identified survivor of sex trafficking, b) used healthcare services in the US at least once during period of victimization, c) at least 18 years of age, d) identified as female, e) were able to read, write, and speak in English, and f) reside in San Diego, CA or Philadelphia, PA. Recruitment of participants was accomplished with local organizations led by human trafficking survivors. A total of 21 women participated in the study; all were US citizens. Data were collected between 2016–2017 in San Diego, CA and Philadelphia, PA. The questionnaire provided choices for responses related to demographic profile, type of health care setting visited, health conditions that led to health care visit, self-rated health status, ability to interact with health care providers, and barriers to disclosure of human trafficking status. Interviews covered these same basic topics. Content analysis was used to identify themes in the interview data. Socio-demographic information in the report includes age, race or ethnicity, marital and employment status, education, years of victimization, and years since victimization. Key findings of the study include the following: 1) Among healthcare settings, emergency departments (76.2%) and community clinics (71.4%) were the most frequently visited; 2) medical care was sought mainly for reproductive/sexual health concerns (81%), physical injuries (57.1%), mental health/substance use (47.6%), and chronic health conditions (28.6%); 3) the primary barriers to accessing care during victimization were general reasons such as lack of health insurance (42.9%), and trafficker-related such as forced to work long hours (76.2%); 4) the main barriers inhibiting disclosure of victimization included internal barriers such as feeling ashamed (52.4%), lack of privacy at the health care setting (23.8%), victims' fears regarding what the trafficker might do to victim or family (33.3%), traffickers' control at the health care setting (19.0%), and provider-related such as lack of inquiry into trafficking status from healthcare providers (47.6%), lack of privacy at the health care setting (23.8%), appointment too rushed (19%), and did not trust health care provider (14.3%). Overall, the findings suggest that victims of sex trafficking may interact with providers in health care settings more often than what has been established, yet without detecting their victimization. Recommendations are provided for understanding trafficking and identifying red flags, integrating educational curricula for identification of potential victims, and building rapport and victim support in health care settings.

Rietig, Victoria. 2015. Prevent, Protect, and Prosecute Human Trafficking in Mexico: Policy and Practical Recommendations. *International Migration*. 53 (4): 9-24. DOI: 10.1111/imig.12179.

- This article aims to use 2012 field research in Mexico to better understand how anti-trafficking is organized in Mexico, what challenges the main actors of anti-trafficking cases encounter, and how existing policies/efforts can be improved. The study uses previous research from Harvard's Kennedy School of Government which included 17 interviews with key actors from the Mexican government, Mexican-based civil society organizations, and International/United Nations organizations from June to August of 2012. The interview was guided with three questions: "First, who are the main actors working on human trafficking in Mexico, and how do they cooperate? Second, what problems do they encounter, especially regarding corruption and violence? Third, how can these problems be addressed, and who can address them most effectively?" (11). The interviews took place in Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua and Tapachula, Chiapas in Mexico. The study findings revealed the five largest challenges for anti-trafficking workers: corruption, lack of funding, lack of knowledge from Mexican officials, violence, and lack of cooperation among actors. The study also provided qualitative and quantitative data on corruption levels among actors and how it is perceived among sectors, comparisons of violence's impact on sectors, and anti-trafficking needs. The authors provide a table of perception of corruption among actors, by geography, by affiliation and real vs. estimated. The main findings of the study include the following:
 - All interviewees, regardless of sector, perceived the highest level of corruption at the municipal level
 - As an impediment to work, NGOs ranked corruption more highly than government officials
 - Cartel influence by region does not affect perceptions of corruption
 - With respect to violence, NGO staff are hit hardest, but government officials do not experience violence. Violence includes death threats and attempted murder. The authors end with giving eight steps of action to improve the above listed challenges and obstacles actors face:
 1. Collect better data and do statistical analyses for the government, UN, academics, and private sectors
 2. Retain support from government officials and support shelters
 3. Increase cooperation among sectors including public-private partnerships (PPPs)
 4. Employ more evaluation measures and use of multipliers by all actors
 5. Provide technical support to NGOs by academic sectors
 6. Create a coordination platform through the government
 7. Increase rulings of law by the government
 8. Promote high level interest in human trafficking by the government

Robitz, Rqachel, Emilio C. Ulloa, Marissa Salazar, and Monica D. Ulibarri. 2020. Mental health service needs of commercially sexually exploited youth: Voices of survivors and stakeholders. *Violence and Victims*. 35 (3): 354-364. DOI: 10.1891/VV-D-18-00213.

This paper incorporates two studies: a CSE Survivor Study that aims to assess CSE experiences of females aged 16-20 who are receiving mental health services, and a Community Stakeholder Study that provided content expertise on the subject from service providers such as law enforcement and educators who work closely with survivors. Data was obtained through semi-structured interviews during the 2013 to 2015 period in San Diego County. For CSE survivors, participants had to be 13 to 21 years of age (most were 17 years old), live in San Diego County, reported exchanging sexual services for needed goods such as food and shelter, and could speak Spanish or English. For community service providers, participants had to be identified as a CSE service worker, had worked with CSE victims professionally, and had advocated or protested for CSE survivors. Content analysis with a codebook was used to analyze data. Interviews were decoded with “mental health” or “services.” Demographic characteristics for survivors included in the study are age and race/ethnicity. The majority of survivor responses followed the pattern of participants knowing the value of using mental health services such as speaking with a counselor, but they did not know what type of services they wanted/needed. However, some responses stated that trauma is supposed to be disclosed on the participant’s terms, listening and trust are crucial, and judgement-free zones need to be created. Also, survivors wanted to learn coping skills, and believed that counselors who have some understanding of CSE and human trafficking, are not judgmental, and do not force youth to speak about their trauma before they are ready are most helpful for recovery. The community stakeholder participants were more direct with their descriptions about what CSE youth needed, mentioning tactics such as giving youth a sense of control in their treatment, using trauma-informed principles and practices that create a judgment free space, and having some understanding of human trafficking and its effects. Overall, both participant groups had similar responses, but the service members gave more specific treatment goals, including “addressing willingness to change, helping youth recognize the “power of choice”, improving self-worth, learning how to develop and maintain healthy relationships, and identifying and managing emotions” (p. 359). The study includes quotes from the participants to support the findings; the topics for interviews also are provided. The authors suggest that as CSE youth identification tools are developed and used, greater support needs to go to the CSE youth survivors by hearing and addressing their concerns and not only focusing on the service members’ opinions.

Rocha-Jimenez, Teresita, Kimberly C. Browne, Marissa Salazar, Sabrina C. Boyce, Argentina E. Servin, Shira M. Goldenberg, Hugo Staines-Orozco, Ricardo B. Vera-Monroy, Jay G. Silverman. 2017. "He invited me and didn't ask anything in return" Migration and Mobility as Vulnerabilities for Sexual Exploitation among Female Adolescents in Mexico. *International Migration* 56 (2): 5-17. DOI: 10.1111/imig.12333.

The objective of this article is to better comprehend how migration mobility experiences between cities and households for sex workers have increased vulnerability to be sexually exploited. The study takes place in Tijuana, Baja California and Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua Mexico (two cities that border the United States) from August 2013 to October 2014. There were 603 participants, who had a possible HIV risk, were older than 18 years of age, had sexual relations with at least four different people in the past month, were female, and lived in the cities. The participants were retrieved from indoor and outdoor venues, they took a questionnaire and biological test for HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases (STIs). There were 18 who reported selling sex for money prior to the age of 18 years and did an in-depth interview. The interview overviewed experiences of migration and mobility before engaging in sex work. Data was decoded from interviews and a map of participants' geographic origins, current location, and destinations was plotted using ArcMap 10.1. The authors also created lifetime chronologies for the participants to demonstrate the journey of their experiences. The study also includes demographic questions about civil status, age, site of recruitment and level of education. The study found that socio-economic factors and homelife were the most common vulnerabilities that pressured participants into migration and mobility experiences that would lead them to trading sex for material goods or money. There were two main types of vulnerabilities: "1) involuntary migration based on deception by potential romantic partners or friends who introduced participants to sex trade and 2) migration leading to residential instability and consequent exposure to the sex industry" (9). The paper uses quotes from the interviews to support its findings. Social isolation, homelessness, economic hardship, and abuse were among the top vulnerabilities for exploitation into the sex industry at an early age. Other less common ones included structural vulnerabilities such as domestic violence and pregnancy. A policy section of the paper examines police raids conducted at hotels and concludes that such raids make sex workers less safe.

Roe-Sepowitz, Dominique Eve, James Gallagher, Markus Risinger, and Kristine Hickie. 2015. The sexual exploitation of girls in the United States: The role of female pimps. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. 30 (16): 2814-2830. DOI: 10.1177/0886260514554292.

This study aims to identify actions that female pimps use while sex trafficking minors, explore differences between female pimps and their male co-defendants, and develop female pimp role categories. Specifically, the authors aim to answer three main questions (p. 2818):

1. What are the actions of the female pimps toward the minor victims?
2. Are there differences between the case resolutions (sentences and fines) between the female pimps and their male co-defendants?
3. Are there unique role categories of female pimping behaviors that emerge?

The study uses a database to collect information on all adults charged with crimes related to Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) from 2002 to 2009 who were charged in the federal, state, and local court systems. Of 70 females identified in the database, there were 49 complete case files from 21 states. Case study analysis was used to develop the data for the paper, using both inductive and deductive methods. The paper provides victimization descriptions, including number of victims, how many minors, methods used for CSEC, transport across state lines, and pimping activities. Female pimps were categorized as madams/business partners, family, "girilla" (for gorilla), handler, and bottom. Madams/business partners overall had the most structured business practices/homes for victimizing youth (their services are described in the paper). Family would overall be seen with the most authority among victims; they were generally more benevolent than violent. Handlers often dealt with the trafficking process through recruitment, harboring, and transportation of victims. Girilla known as "gorilla pimps" would work for male pimps and be known to use the most forceful/violent action against minors. Bottoms were often categorized as girilla and would work with or for other pimps. Bottoms were always co-defendants. The paper describes how to be a bottom as well as their roles. They often had been victims themselves. Age of arrest for female pimps ranged from 18 to 55 with handlers being the oldest and madams being the youngest. Girilla had the largest average of juvenile victims at 3.1 (1 to 12) and the largest sentence length of 167.7 months. Bottoms had the longest probation length with 139.2 months. Most of the individuals were White (21). Charges varied from conspiracy to transport minors in interstate commerce to engage in prostitution, child exploitation, distribution of child pornography, and conspiracy to commit money laundering. Most of the women (36) filed for the guilty plea and 20 of them received it. Many of the female pimps (38) had a male pimp partner either through being relatives (10), business partners (7), prostituted by them (8), or were in a romantic relationship (8). Over half had a history of prostitution or trafficking experience themselves (27), with 10 of them having experienced it as minors. Eight of the women also had prior arrests or had minor children. Methods of victimization of minors varied from street-level prostitution (6), to being escorts (10), to truck stop trafficking (4), and to internet trafficking (20). Pimping activities included training minor victims on how to perform or advertise for sex (33), providing housing (21), taking sexual photos or videos (12), posting sexual advertisements involving minors (17), recruiting (27), and receiving money (41). Multiple activities were often performed by one individual. Compared to male pimps, female pimps had shorter sentences (zero to 480 months for females and 36 to 444 for males) and less fines (0 to \$250,000 for females and 0 to \$748,243 for males). Females' sentences could be mitigated by being charged for lesser crimes. Overall, the shorter sentences and fines for female pimps indicates the possibility of differences among testimonies for males and females who commit similar crimes.

Reasoning could have to do with being bottoms or having experienced trafficking as a victim, experiencing more violence or abuse, and early victimization experience. Furthermore, the lack of knowledge about females who are also traffickers limits laws from being formed on how to deal with similar offenses committed by females. The authors suggest that more research needs to be conducted on the experiences of female pimps in order to create more sound and consistent anti-trafficking legal procedures.

Roe-Sepowitz, Dominique, James Gallagher, Kimberly Hogan, Tiana Ward, Nicole Denecour, and Kristen Bracy. 2017. A six-year analysis of sex trafficking of minors: Exploring characteristics and sex trafficking patterns. ASU School of Social Work Office of Sex Trafficking Intervention Research. 1-53.

This study aims to produce a picture of arrests in the US for the specific charge of sex trafficking of minors from January of 2010 to December of 2015, to detail characteristics of sex traffickers, details of recruitment and victimization, and case resolution. There were 1,416 people identified under the guidelines of the study using a two-step process: (1) a structured online search for arrests for sex trafficking of minors which resulted in a master list of names and some details of the sex trafficking situation, and (2) a web search of the identified sex trafficker of a minor identified in the arrest report (media, local, state or federal report) to include any follow-up reports, court documents, or police reports. The study defines sex traffickers as any persons who benefited from attempting to or successfully commercially exploiting a minor. The study further explains the exact criteria for each of the terms from the definition. Of the individual traffickers found, 75% were male, 71.7% were African American, and all were from 15 to 70 years of age (average age of 26-27). There were 1,804 juvenile victims and 941 documented cases. Victims were mostly 15 to 16 years of age (4 to 23 years) during the time of trafficker's arrest, 98.9% were females, had been trafficked for an average of 154.4 days, 67.1% were runaways, 54.9% had no prior relationship to their trafficker (47.1% were known as "friendly strangers"), and 78.7% lived at home. Of the 88 traffickers that had prior job experience, most (28) worked in a private service such as drivers, repair people, or in small businesses or (22) worked as rap artists. California was the state with the highest number of arrests for sex traffickers (224) and Alaska, Hawaii, West Virginia, and Wyoming had no known arrests during the time of the study. Florida, Oregon, Colorado, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Minnesota had the highest ratio of arrests per million people. Over half (54.7%) of the cases were prosecuted at a federal level. California had the highest amount of gang associated cases (35.5%) and overall, 19.1% of all cases were related to gangs (gang members would most often use social media or drugs to recruit, use online advertisements like Backpage.com to traffic, have minors and adults as victims, would control victims with violence or drugs, and crossed state borderlines). Furthermore, only 24% of traffickers had prior convictions. Most gang trafficker arrests came from Tennessee. The study gives examples of trafficking map patterns, explaining that 32.6% of traffickers moved victims across an average of 2.76 states (highest was 17 states). The most common methods for trafficking included using a hotel room (56.6%), targeting runaways (23.2%), taking money directly from the buyers (66%), using violence (physical, sexual, or psychological), and using technology (67.1%) such as an online advertisement (63.5%) to exploit victims. Female traffickers were more likely to be charged if the minor victim was addicted to drugs. Group traffickers would be more likely to have a prior relationship with the victim, use social media for recruiting and trafficking, offer drugs, promise love and family, and kidnap their victims compared to solo traffickers. The paper offers two case studies as examples of these trends. The most common arrest method was being reported to the police (38.8%) and most common charges (55.2%) were for sex trafficking and a traffic violation (70%). The study gives comparative maps of the trends from 2010 to 2015. Overall, gang member traffickers decreased, female traffickers increased, average age decreased, recruitment levels increased, providing shelter for victims decreased, providing substances increased, collecting money increased, group traffickers decreased, use of house bases decreased, prostitution street walking decreased, use of technology increased, violence toward victims decreased, FBI involvement decreased, plea bargains decreased, charges increased, sentencing increased, and convictions increased. Key findings include the following:

- ¾ of cases involved only minor victims
- Average age of traffickers was 28.5 years
- 24.4% of traffickers were female and they were younger than males
- 75% of traffickers were African American
- 1.2% of traffickers were non-US citizens
- Nearly 1 in 5 arrests for sex trafficking of a minor were for someone who was gang involved
- 55.5% of females arrested were identified as a bottom
- 24% of arrested traffickers had a prior arrest history
- Majority of sex trafficking activity was in hotel rooms
- 67.3% of cases used technology for sex trafficking activity
- 15.7% of minor victims were provided with drugs and/or alcohol
- 18% of traffickers sexually assaulted and 19.8% physically assaulted their victims
- Victim control tactics included threats of harm, psychological abuse, sexual violence, physical assault with a weapon, drugs, threats with a firearm
- Victims were 98.9% females, 45.1% knew their trafficker, more than half were runaway
- Most cases were reactive, reported to police by the victim or their family, or anonymous caller
- 20.8% of victims were identified in police stings

The authors suggest training for law enforcement, civic leaders, lawmakers, and community members needs to be more targeted toward the impact that buyers have on trafficking trends and what new tactics traffickers may be using to meet those desires.

Roe-Sepowitz, Dominique, Kristen Bracey, and Bandak Lul. 2018. A four-year analysis of labor trafficking cases in the United States: Exploring characteristics and labor trafficking patterns. ASU School of Social Work Office of Sex Trafficking Intervention Research. 1-47.

The purpose of this study is to systematically research arrests for labor trafficking of citizens and migrant workers in the United States from January 1, 2013, to December 31, 2016. Data was obtained using Google searches to identify traffickers through court records and statements at the local, state, and federal levels. There were 125 arrested individuals identified for labor trafficking and 120 victims in 20 states. The authors define labor trafficking as recruiting, harboring, transporting, providing, or obtaining persons into forced labor, bonded labor/debt bondage, domestic servitude, and forced child labor. The study also defines each of the terms in the given definition. Most traffickers were male (63%) and Pacific Islanders/Asian American (53.2%). Most victims were migrant workers (79.2%), had known their trafficker previously (56.8%, mostly as an acquaintance), were female (74.3%), came from Mexico (31.2%), and were adults (83.2%). Of the 78 known occupations of traffickers, 61% worked for a private business such as a driver, in a small business, or as a repair person. Most arrests occurred in Texas (34.4%) and at the Federal level (79.2%). About half of cases were victims transported across states. Methods of trafficking and recruiting for group and solo traffickers included promising wealth (49.6%), offering a place to stay (84%), providing transportation (73.6%), occurred at the trafficker's house (35.2%), used staffing agencies (33.6%), and threatened/used psychological violence and harm (97.6%). Group traffickers were more likely to use bait and switch, supervision, and debt bondage methods; whereas solo traffickers were more likely to promise goods and rewards, use staffing agencies, restrict victims to control them, starve victims, transport victims, provide shelter, and go across national borders. The authors provide two case studies to give examples of the trends. Investigating for other criminal activities was the most common method of arriving at an arrest (36.8%). Most were charged for only labor trafficking (75.4%) and convicted for racketeering (42.9%). The authors offer graphs to compare data from the start to the finish of the study. They found that, over this time, recruitment increased, taking money from the victims increased, providing shelter increased, transportation increased, withholding important documents increased, restrictions on victims increased, international victims increased, US national victims decreased, using a house as the source of trafficking increased, using online job advertisements increased, use of psychological violence increased, victims contacting the police decreased, FBI involvement increased, federal cases increased, charges of labor trafficking increased, and convictions of human trafficking decreased. Key findings of the study are outlined in an executive summary. The authors suggest that more public awareness needs to be implemented to help government and community cooperation efforts. Specifically, the authors suggest six activities to help stop labor trafficking:

1. Targeted training to airport security, and airport and airline personnel on warning signs for labor trafficking, as well as to personnel employed by other forms of public transportation, such as buses, trains, and taxi services.
2. Community-based awareness about labor trafficking recruitment tactics, venues of trafficking, and resources for support.
3. Discussion about how to provide protection for victims being brought into the US, while not adding to the current climate of immigration fear in the US.
4. Proactive policing techniques to identify and provide assistance and support to labor trafficking victims (person-centered, trauma informed).

5. Development of local labor coalitions to increase awareness about labor/human rights, and to provide a space for individuals to discuss labor disputes.
6. Development of an online resource for those seeking services for labor exploitation.

Roe-Sepowitz, Dominique, Stephanie Bontrager Ryon, Kristine Hickle, James M. Gallagher, and E. C. Hedberg. 2016. Invisible offenders: Estimating online sex customers. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 2(4):272-280. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2015.1107711>

The research reported here estimates the number of men who respond to a decoy online ad for sexual services, and uses this information to develop probability estimates for online sex purchasing, with a focus on estimates for 15 selected cities across the U.S. The online venue for the ad was backpage.com. Each of two decoy ads had a unique phone number with a local area code. The ads were placed in 2013. Call and text data were recorded using VOIP. A capture/recapture sampling technique was used (which is described in the paper). The exposed population includes all males over the age of 18 in a metro area. Analysis techniques for estimating the number and percent of online sex ad purchases in each city included the Chapman and Cormack techniques. The ads received a total of 677 responses representing 451 unique phone numbers. Sixty-six percent came from local area codes. Estimates for the number and percent of online sex ad customers were made for each city. Estimates ranged from a high of 1 out of every 5 males in Houston to a low of less than 1 out of every 166 males in San Francisco (21.4 to 0.6%). Thus, the number of males soliciting sex online varies markedly from one city to the next. Nine locations did not have any recapture data (i.e., calls placed to both ads by the same caller), and thus the analysis technique differed; the Cormack algorithm was used which produces larger estimates. For cities with a recapture, the average percent of men buying sex online was 3% compared to 6% for all cities averaged. On average it is estimated that 1 out of every 20 males over the age of 18 in a metro area is soliciting sex ads online. Implications for practice are included.

Roots, K. 2022. *The Domestication of Human Trafficking: Law, Policing, and Prosecution in Canada*. University of Toronto Press.

In this engaging and carefully researched empirical study, Roots examines the conflation of human trafficking and sex work in Canada, bringing to bear an analysis of class, race, gender, and sexuality as influential factors in the construction of this complex arena of the criminal legal system. Drawing on extensive interviews with criminal justice actors, trial transcripts, court documents, as well as governmental and non-governmental reports and media sources, the book focuses on how human trafficking is pursued as a criminal offense, especially the way it is policed and prosecuted, and the role of normative frameworks in the criminal legal process. Research was conducted between 2005 and 2016. Chapters examine legal regimes influencing the law in Canada, the Canadian victim, the way trafficking is policed and prosecuted in Canada, and the perpetrators.

Rothman, Emily F., ScD, Angela R. Bazzi, and Megan Bair-Merritt. 2015. "I'll do whatever as long as you keep telling me I'm important": A case study illustrating the link between adolescent dating violence and sex trafficking victimization. *Journal of Applied Research on Children: Informing Policy for Children at Risk* 6(1) Article 8 <https://digitalcommons.library.tmc.edu/childrenatrisk/vol6/iss1/8>

The purpose of this study is to document the experiences of four women whose unhealthy dating relationships while they were minors led to commercial sexual exploitation. Four adult women were recruited by a community organization in the northeastern region to participate in interviews during 2014. The semi-structured interviews were designed to elicit life history narratives and included topics on dating relationships and initiation into sex work. Interview transcripts were analyzed using grounded theory methods and primary themes were identified. Information on participants' age, race, and age at initiation of sex trafficking are included. Primary themes regarding adolescent victimization include the following: 1) feeling physically unattractive and unimportant; 2) lacking examples of healthy relationships; 3) experiencing sexual abuse and subsequent dissociation and debilitation; 4) being flattered early in an abusive dating relationship; 5) gaining confidence from dating persons of a higher social status; and 6) experiencing satisfaction from earning a higher income than others. Secondary themes identified for future research include: 1) complex relationships with female guardians; 2) engaging in low level crimes such as shoplifting at the request of the perpetrator; and 3) the role of substance use in perpetuating sexual exploitation. Case narratives for each of the four participants are presented.

Rothman, Emily F., Sarah R. Preis, Katherine Bright, Jennifer Paruk, Megan Bair-Merritt, and Amy Farrell. (2020). A longitudinal evaluation of a survivor-mentor program for child survivors of sex trafficking in the United States. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 100, 1 04083. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2019.104083>

The objective of this study is to assess whether youth who participated in a CSE (commercial sexual exploitation) survivor-mentor program demonstrated improvements on five key factors: CSE victimization, dating abuse victimization, health status, delinquent behavior, and social factors (support from others, coping, engaging in risky behaviors). The sample was comprised of 41 youth who were CSE-experienced at baseline or determined to be very high risk for CSE. The participants were 11–18 years old, 95% female, 58% heterosexual, 29% White, 29% Hispanic, and 42% other races/ethnicities. Participants had to be at least 11 years old during eligibility screening (approximately 14 years old at the time of the study), speak English, be a resident in Massachusetts, and be enrolled in mentorship services from My Life My Choice (MLMC), a large non-profit in Boston. MLMC has a designated survivor-led assessment team comprised of survivors of sexual exploitation. The mentor's role is to support the young person's exit from commercial sex and recovery from the trauma of exploitation. MLMC mentees are offered a continuum of supports reflecting an individual's needs. Each young person received regular visits with her mentor and could access support from mentors and the program for as long as she would like. In addition, mentees receive intensive case management services as needed, which may include referrals to mental health services, housing programs, youth support services, educational support, parenting support, health care, substance use treatment, resources from the Department of Transitional Assistance, and child welfare services. Mentees also can participate in various leadership development and skill building opportunities, including paid work activity, and a community building program. The study used a one-group repeated measures design. Data were collected at baseline, six months after baseline and 12 months after baseline. The study developed original questions to assess each of the five key factors, including sexually explicit behavior. Data were collected between 2015 and 2018. Youth received payment (\$15-25) for responses. Findings showed that after 6 months of receiving survivor-mentor services, youth were less likely to have experienced CSE, engaged in sexually explicit behavior, used illicit drugs, engaged in delinquent behavior, been arrested or detained by police, and had improved social support and coping skills. After 12 months, they were less likely to have experienced CSE, engaged in delinquent behavior, been arrested or detained by police, and had improved coping skills. These findings suggest that recovery from CSE, like other forms of trauma, is not a linear process.

Rothman, Emily F, Amy Farrell, Jennifer Paruk, Katherine Bright, Megan Bair-Merritt, and Sarah R. Preis. 2021. Evaluation of a multi-session group designed to prevent commercial sexual exploitation of minors: The “My Life My Choice” Curriculum. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. 36 (19-20): 9143-9166. DOI: 10.1177/0886260519865972.

The purpose of this study is to evaluate changes in youth’s knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors before, during, and after their participation in My Life My Choice (MLMC), a Boston-based nonprofit program (open since 2002) that focuses on CSEC prevention through advocacy, empowerment, and training. The program’s mission is to prevent minors who are at disproportionate risk of CSEC from being exploited. The program involves a two-day training by staff members where participants receive a manual and suggestions for future 60-to-75-minute sessions in a 10-session class (five to nine members per class). The study distributed three surveys (20-30 minutes in length) during the entirety of the program: one before the start of the program, one at the end of the program (after three months), and one three months after the conclusion of the program. Participants had to be 11 years and older of age, had been referred to the program and were active in it, and spoke English. Members were referred if they had experienced commercial sexual exploitation (CSE), sexually explicit behavior, victimized by dating abuse, had distributed information or given help on CSE, had knowledge about CSE, had used substances like alcohol and marijuana, and had a mistrusting relationship with the police. Data were collected using a one-group longitudinal design, with paper-based surveys distributed to participants. Descriptive statistics, analysis of variance, and chi square tests were used to analyze data. There were 354 participants from 11 to 20 years of age (most were 16), 38% were part of the LGBTQ+ community, and 95% were female. Most attended groups in Massachusetts (60%) (others in Florida, New Jersey, and Connecticut). Most participated in MLMC groups in residential homes (42%), and a majority of members attended half or more sessions. Overall, there were significant changes for members who continuously went to sessions. These changes included being more willing to seek help from police, having more personal control over life, distributing more help to others about CSE and related information, having less dating violence victimization and less sexually explicit behavior. The authors suggest that these findings are positive and encouraging as there is a lack of evaluation for CSE prevention programs and an overall mistrusting relationship between participants and facilitators or therapists of psychoeducational groups. Key ingredients of MLMC that probably contributed to positive results included co-facilitation of classes by adult survivors, and diversity of survivor voices in the program. Furthermore, future studies of a similar nature would be beneficial for gaining more knowledge on how to most effectively run these types of programs and decrease participant to facilitator discrepancies.

Rothman, Emily F., Julia Cusano, Amelia Wagner, Sarah Lockwood, Carlos A. Cuevas, and Amy Farrell. 2025. Prevalence of neurodevelopmental, mental, and behavioral disorders in a sample of U.S. commercially sexually exploited youth, and associations with health and healthcare access. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 11(1):4-19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2024.2426943>

This paper focuses on youth 13-24 who experience neurodevelopmental, mental, or behavioral disorders (NMBD). NMBD includes neurodevelopmental disorders, neurological impairment, serious mental illness, mood disorders, and behavioral disorders. The study asks the following questions: what is the prevalence of NMBD in a sample of commercially sexually exploited survivors who were exploited as children (CSEC); is there variation in the use of healthcare among NMBD CSEC survivors; how does the self-reported health of CSEC survivors with NMBD compare with CSEC survivors in general; and are CSEC survivors with NMBD more likely to report discrimination in health care settings compared with CSEC survivors in general? The study represents cross-sectional research with a sample of 269 youth who were survivors of CSEC. Participants completed a self-report survey instrument. Measures included demographics, self-reported CSEC, disorder diagnosis, healthcare utilization, self-reported health, and health care discrimination. Responses were analyzed statistically to determine significance of differences across groups. Results of the statistical analysis are included in the paper. Key findings include the following:

- Most of the respondents (82%) had been diagnosed with a NMBD, and 73% reported more than one diagnosis
- Youth in the sample were more likely to be diagnosed with a NMBD than youth in the general population
- Youth with a serious mental illness or behavioral disorder diagnosis were more likely than other youth experiencing CSEC to seek medical care while they were being exploited, and more than half were prescribed some form of psychiatric medication
- A substantial subset of CSEC survivors reported poor physical or mental health in the past month
- Those with serious mental illness or behavioral disorders were more likely to report negative healthcare experiences.

The paper includes recommendations for healthcare entities and providers.

Sabon, Lauren Copley. 2016. Force, Fraud, and Coercion—What Do They Mean? A Study of Victimization Experiences in a New Destination Latino Sex Trafficking Network. *Feminist Criminology* 13 (5). DOI: 10.1177/1557085116676886.

This study aims to examine why victimization experiences in a legal case did not meet the evidentiary standards of the TVPA, the difficulties involved in investigating and prosecuting sex trafficking of immigrant Latina women, and the role of intersectional vulnerability in trafficking (p. 459). The study examines one case of victimization using court documents. Eight documents recording victimization were used. The documents included material from interviews by law enforcement and social services with victims that showed experiences of victimization. Four of the interviews were with victims of exploitation under investigation, six with victims after recovery, and eight with legal actors. Documents were obtained through Public Access to Electronic Court Records. The legal case overall documents a sex trafficking ring operating out of Tennessee and Kentucky and exploiting Latina immigrants. Thematic analysis of the documents identified three themes:

- Intersectionality: Victims share characteristics such as constrained options, multiple structural problems, and some were fleeing gangs.
- Victim Reluctance: Victims were hesitant to participate in the legal process – there was fear of lying to the FBI; admitting to prostitution was “face threatening”; snitching was not culturally supported; exploiters coach against providing evidence; defendants are more likely to testify than victims due to sentence reduction.
- Victimization Experiences of Force, Fraud, and Coercion: Women end up in prostitution due to having no work, and knowing people connected to prostitution; they are defrauded in pursuing non-sex work goals. Victimization includes restricted movement, being given no money and little food, being locked in a room, having no ID and no contacts, and facing threats against family. They are often sexually assaulted.

Despite all of this, their experience did not meet the requirements of the TVPA and their exploiters had to be charged under the Mann Act which has less stringent requirements of proof. The women were not determined to be sex trafficking victims.

The author details each of the themes with examples from legal cases. The article details a 2011 case that reports a three-year-long victimization of a Latina woman from Latino sex traffickers. The author uses a feminist theoretical and intersectional lens to examine the victim’s experience. The authors give examples of other cases to emphasize points between the theoretical lens and incident details. Overall, the women were all undocumented Latina immigrants, had debt, struggled finding work, and sought to help their family. The authors conclude that many lenses must be considered when examining trafficking cases involving Latinas, including internal and external factors.

Sabon, Lauren, Song Yang, Qingyang Zhang. 2023. Social network analysis of a Latino sex trafficking enterprise. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 9(3):263-279.

<https://doi-org.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/10.1080/23322705.2021.1898830>

This paper aims to explore the types of network structures that make up a Latino sex trafficking network, and the factors that influence collaboration between traffickers and victims in such a network. Of particular interest is the relationship between “co-working ties between sex trafficking victims and their traffickers and the presence of biological relationships or romantic involvement between them”. The data for this study was drawn from federal court records in a case of nine Latino sex traffickers tried in Eastern Tennessee (four women and five men). They traded women between brothels and out-call sexual service businesses in Tennessee and Kentucky. The network data was drawn from a small number of documents: law enforcement affidavits, interview notes, surveillance information, and defense documents. The analysis includes nearly 100 actors in dozens of Latino communities. Coding identified traffickers and victims; all were Latino immigrants. Ten heterosexual couples were identified in the network as well as family members. Data analysis was initiated by converting data into a bipartite binary adjacency matrix. This can depict relationships between traffickers and victims in binary terms. Network graphing can proceed based on this data. A major finding of this study is that actors in this regional network tend to work in cliques or subgroups, which is in line with the literature. The study also found significant variations between sex trafficking victims and sex traffickers in their network connectivity and activities. However, the study did not confirm previous research which showed that biological or romantic relationships influence a person’s inclusion in a criminal network. Instead, “network endogenous processes such as reciprocity...are explanatory factors in the emergence of network ties” between traffickers and victims.

Salisbury, Emily J, Johnathan D. Dabney, and Kelli Russell. 2015. Diverting victims of commercial sexual exploitation from juvenile detention: Development of InterCSECT Screening Protocol. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 20 (7): 1247-1276. DOI: 10.1177/08862605145398946.

This study aims to “(a) determine the efficacy of a DMST/CSEC (domestic minor sex trafficking/commercial sexual exploitation of children) identification procedure and protocol by juvenile detention and probation staff, (b) triage victimized youth from juvenile detention to appropriate social services in the community, (c) gain a snapshot understanding of the prevalence of youth victims of sex trafficking at a local level, and (d) identifying patterns in the social characteristics of confirmed victims” (p. 1254). Participants came from the Clark County Juvenile Detention Center in Vancouver, WA from October 11, 2010, to January 31, 2011, through a court order, arresting agency, or turning oneself in. The study lasted for 3.5 months and screened 535 youth ages 9 to 19 years with a CSEC risk assessment instrument. Most of the participants were male (380), White (390), and 17 years of age (154). The study uses InterCSECT Tier 1-3 screening interviews which are semi-structured questionnaires that assess several risk factors, including living risk situation, youth runaway history, involvement in foster care and/or DSHS, prior contacts with law enforcement, visible brands or tattoos, or evidence of abuse. The screening procedure enabled staff to refer youth from a brief intake interview (Tier 1) to a more in-depth assessment that future explored risk factors if these were identified (Tier 2). Youth who were non-disclosed victims with risk factors were referred to an even more detailed interview (Tier 3). Most participants did not have a risky living situation, had ran away from home, had not been in foster care, are not involved with CPS/DSHS, did not have police contacts outside of Clark County, Washington and Oregon, did not have tattoos/brands, and had no evidence of abuse. There were six identified DMST/CSEC victims. All were female, 14 to 17 years of age, and had a history of running away. Most were White, had more than one court case on file, were currently involved with CPS/DSHS, had been in foster care, were from out of state, had visual tattoos, and did not have reports with outside law enforcement. Furthermore, after juvenile detention all victims were given access to health resources and community advocates. The study furthers its analysis of each of the victims by giving specific details for each case. Overall, detention and probation staff were successful in identifying DMST/CSEC risk factors in juveniles and referring those with risk factors to Tier 2. The different stage interviews allowed for more youth to be assessed as less were required to take additional assessments if they did not have high enough risk factors. Surprisingly, those who were identified with CSEC/DMST had varied risk profiles and did not differ much from the general cohort sample. The authors suggest that screenings in juvenile detention centers should offer an impactful and efficient way to identify at risk youth, allowing them to receive resources to assist them.

Sapiro, Beth, Laura Johnson, Judy L. Postmus, and Cassandra Simmel. 2016. Supporting youth involved in domestic minor sex trafficking: Divergent perspectives on youth agency. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. 58: 99-110. doi: 10.1016/j.chiabu.2016.06.019.

The aim of the study was to explore diverse professional perspectives on best practices for youth involved in domestic minor sex trafficking (DMST). Research questions included the following: 1) how do key stakeholders involved in DMST describe best practices; 2) what practices are sources of disagreement among these stakeholders? Twenty key stakeholders from New Jersey participated in in-person interviews to explore these questions. Stakeholders were primarily female and represented law enforcement, state child welfare, and non-profit and other social services agencies providing services to youth involved in DMST. Questions focused on the capacity in which participants worked with youth, their beliefs about outcome measures for program evaluation, and their perceptions of best practices and challenges. Inductive and deductive approaches were used to code interview data. Findings show that participants mainly agreed on several topics, including the detrimental nature of complex trauma and its influence on DMST involvement, the nature of DMST as a problem that emerges from a history of abuse, neglect, family dysfunction, the need for thorough staff training, and the challenges of measuring outcomes for these youth. However, three topics emerged as divergent perspectives that showed disagreement among the participants. These areas may be described as follows:

- Meaning of running away – while there was agreement that youth running away was a significant challenge, some believed that running away reflected a program’s ineffectiveness, while others viewed it as a symptom of trauma that requires better program management. Divergent views on running away were associated with different notions about measuring program outcomes – some believed that “leaving trafficking” should be a key outcome measure, while others argued that many or most youth will require one or more returns to trafficking before recovery, and therefore outcome measures should be more immediate term
- Ideal model of service provision – stakeholders disagreed on the ideal level of restrictiveness for programs and their location. Some believed that youth should be held in secure or remote facilities that could hamper re-trafficking, while others argued that program facilities should be accessible to service providers and communities and should focus on quality of service versus security
- Use of technology – some stakeholders believed that internet and cell phone access should be restricted to protect youth from traffickers, while others argued that these technologies are needed to maintain social connections and support youth development.

These disagreements reveal the complex realities surrounding DMST and suggest that simplistic narratives about recovery do not reflect existing conditions.

Servin, Argentina E, Kimberly C. Brouwer, Leah Gordon, Teresita Rocha-Jimenez, Hugo Staines, Ricardo B. Vera-Monroy, Steffanie A. Strathdee, and Jay G. Silverman. 2015. Vulnerability Factors and Pathways Leading to Underage Entry into Sex Work in two Mexican-US Border Cities. *J Appl Res Child* 6 (1): 3. NIHMSID: NIHMS682148 Vulnerability Factors and Pathways Leading to Underage Entry into Sex Work in two Mexican-US Border Cities - PMC (nih.gov).

This qualitative study aims to better comprehend how vulnerability factors and pathways can lead to entry into sex work of women as minors by exploring experiences of women working in the sex industry in two urban conurbations -- San Diego/Tijuana and El Paso/Ciudad Juarez. Tijuana has "zonas de tolerancia" (there are sex work permits), but Juarez does not. Twenty interviews lasting about one hour were conducted from August 2013 to October 2014 with women identifying as biological females over 18 years of age who had exchanged sex for money or material goods at least four times with four clients. All participants had to receive testing for sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and had to have entered the sex work business prior to 18 years of age. Questions helped guide information received so that it was more targeted toward participants' experiences with childhood, first month as a sex worker, and continuation of work. The authors created a timeline for individual interviews and keywords to identify themes across interviews. Most women were single, had six years of primary school education, and were born in Mexico. The paper includes a table of demographic, sexual health, and drug/drinking experience information. Most women entered into the sex work industry at the age of 14. Factors involved in vulnerability include the following: family dysfunction (homelessness, substance abuse, abandonment, neglect, and lack of education, meaning that it was difficult to find work); physical and sexual abuse (leading to escapes and encounters with violence), and teen pregnancy (leading to loss of home and economic need of children). These were the most common themes among participants. These themes had the largest impact on early entry into sex work. Twelve of the participants were also forced or felt as if they had no other option than entry into sex work. The paper includes testimony to support findings. Overall, the authors conclude that it is a combination of vulnerabilities that factor into underage entry into the sex industry. However, economic and family security needs had the largest impact on choices for participants.

Shdaimah, Corey S., Nancy D. Franke, Todd D. Becker, and Chrysanthi Leon. 2023. Of house and home: The meanings of housing for women engaged in criminalized street-based sex work. *Anti-Trafficking Review* 20(2023):54-74. <https://doi.org/10.14197/atr.201223204>

This study explores the meaning of housing in the context of prostitution diversion programs (PDPs). The study draws on interviews and focus groups with 31 PDP participants who had been arrested for street-based sex work, and with 32 criminal legal system professionals in a wide range of fields associated with one of two court-affiliated PDPs for street-based sex workers charged with the criminal offense of selling sex. The two PDPs were in Philadelphia and Baltimore. The specifics of each PDP are described in the paper. Most PDP participants begin their journey in drug treatment facilities, which usually are residential and provide housing. From there they move on to transitional housing, looking for more permanent arrangements. Securing housing is a mandate for the PDPs. The study had two phases: one was an ethnographic investigation based in both of the two courts, conducted from 2011 to 2014; the second was interview-based in the Philadelphia court, and occurred in 2020-21. Semi-structured interview and focus group guides were used. The paper describes the contents of these instruments. The paper relies exclusively on interview and focus group data, which were open-coded, with sensitizing concepts drawn from the literature. Nearly all PDP participants were cisgender women (90%), and most were White. All but four of the criminal legal professionals were women. Key findings from the research were organized around three themes:

1. Housing precarity among sex workers in the PDP
 - Housing is the hardest resource to find; many of the PDP participants experience episodes of homelessness
 - Many of the PDP participants rely on temporary housing (e.g., family, friends, drug treatment)
 - Obtaining permanent housing requires long wait times
 - Some professionals see jail as a viable option; it may save lives and is a last resort
 - Transitional housing was viewed as a “band-aid”; there were risks associated with it (exposure to drug sales, solicitations for sex, surveillance and reporting)
2. Housing as a foundation
 - Quality housing is a necessity for success, but affordable quality housing is scarce
 - Getting permanent housing is not something the PDP can arrange
 - The Philadelphia court prioritized drug treatment over housing
 - The PDP staff expressed concerns over some housing arrangements that could lead to further engagement in the sex trade or back to drugs, which could lead PDP participants to deceive staff
3. Housing as an idea(l)
 - PDP participants described their ideal housing as a home that is comfortable with several parameters, including location, family relationships, and a place to care for others
 - Getting away from previous locations where sex was sold could be a benefit for some
 - Living with family may or may not be ideal
 - PDP participants with children found home as a place to care for them.

Swaner, Rachel, Melissa Labriola, Michael Rempel, Allyson Walker and Joseph Spadafore. 2016. Youth Involvement in the Sex Trade: A National Study. Center for Court Innovation. March 2016. New York, New York. www.courtinnovation.org

The purpose of this study was to gain a representative portrait of the lives and needs of youth who exchange sex for money, food, housing, drugs, or other goods. The study was conducted at six sites across the US, selected on the basis of FBI prostitution arrest records, call volume at the national human trafficking hotline maintained by Polaris, and interviews with experts concerning areas that are considered hubs for human trafficking of minors. The six sites were: Atlantic City, NJ; the Bay Area, CA; Chicago, IL; Dallas, TX; Miami, FL; and Las Vegas, NV. Separate reports with ethnographic data for each site are available at <http://www.courtinnovation.org/youthstudy>. This national report provides a “quantitative, multi-site analysis of findings from nearly 1,000 youth interviewed across all six sites; a population estimate; findings from official criminal justice data sources; and findings from interviews with service providers” (p. v). The study engaged respondent driven sampling (RDS) to obtain interview with respondents, beginning with “seed interviews” obtained through street ethnography on “tracks” or “strolls” used by sex workers to identify clients. Each respondent was asked to invite others in their networks to interview, and financial incentives were offered for interviews. To adjust for potential problems with the quality of interview data that may attend RDS, project staff eliminated interviews that contained discrepant data or where contents were otherwise questionable. Interviews were completed with 949 youth aged 13-24 across six sites. This report contains the quantitative portion of the interview data only. In addition to interviews, the study sought prostitution arrest data for minors under the age of 18 from all 50 states from the FBI, and case level data on demographics, criminal history, prosecution outcomes, and re-arrests of youth ages 24 and under who were arrested on prostitution charges. A national population estimate for minors engaged in the sex trade was conducted. In addition, in four of the six sites, interviews were conducted with staff in 18 social service and law enforcement agencies that engage with youth in the sex trade. These interviews covered organizational background, interactions between agency staff and youth, client characteristics, service delivery, and challenges to working with the population. The report includes the following quantitative data: demographic characteristics of youth (gender, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, age, place of birth, living situation, parent status); market involvement (background to market entry – leaving home and first sex experience, work hours, weekly income, obtaining customers, working conditions); pimps and market facilitators (definition, prevalence of pimps, imposition and nature of rules, prevalence of market facilitators, legal definition of trafficking); interactions with law enforcement and other illegal activities (history of arrest, arrest charges, experience of transgender youth, drug use); and interactions with social services and major service needs (physical health, experiences with services, major service needs, exiting the life). Themes and patterns were largely consistent across sites, with some exceptions related to age of sample, percentage working with a pimp, availability of social services and having been approached by a social service agency. The report also contains the criminal justice response, including: underage prostitution arrests nationwide; arrest history and recidivism; prostitution case outcomes; characteristics of defendants arrested on exploitation charges; case outcomes and recidivism in exploitation cases, and problematic data collection on underage arrests). The population estimate is for a lower limit of 4,457 youth and an upper limit of 20,994 youth -- conservative estimates that acknowledge numerous difficulties with data collection and reporting. The report on social service agency perspectives includes the following: varying perceptions of the population; contested nature of language used; constraints on policy and practice related to funding; available services; additional

service agency needs. Some of the key findings of the report include: the relatively large proportion of youth who are arrested for minor offenses other than prostitution; the large proportion who have never accessed any services; the lack of services to meet basic needs (i.e., safe housing, employment, food, and money); and the difficulty many of the youth face in attempting to exit the sex trade.

Tidball, Sriyani, Mingying Zheng, and John W. Creswell. 2016. Buying sex on-line from girls: NGO representatives, law enforcement officials, and public officials speak out about human trafficking – a qualitative analysis. *Gender Issues* 33:53-68. DOI: 10.1007/s12147-015-9146-1

This study focuses on two research questions: 1) how do men buy girls for sex; and 2) what words do they use for the sex transaction? The study is part of a larger project funded by Microsoft Corporation and its Digital Crimes Unit (entitled the Role of the Internet when Men Buy Girls). A total of 40 respondents participated in face-to-face and telephone interviews, including NGO representatives (30), law enforcement officials (4), and other public officials (6). Criteria for inclusion in the study were 1) familiarity with human trafficking from direct or indirect experience, 2) at least 18 years old, and 3) able to complete the interview. The interview protocol is displayed in an appendix. The interviews were conducted at four sites: Kansas City, MO; Lincoln and Omaha, NE; Orange Co., CA; and Washington, DC. Data was coded with a focus on significant statements that were made by participants. Codes and illustrative quotes for each code are presented. The codes resolved into six key themes:

- 1) Participant familiarity with and research on human trafficking – a total of 38 participants had familiarity with human trafficking, either through research, involvement in trafficking-related services, or having experienced trafficking personally (level of experience varies).
- 2) Law enforcement anti-trafficking practices – differences between state and federal laws for human trafficking were noted (state laws are viewed as weaker), collaboration takes place between different agencies focused on trafficking, services for trafficking victims exist but many homes are not licensed.
- 3) The buying side of human trafficking – the demand side is strong, the internet shields perpetrators and reduces the stigma of trafficking, the demand for ever younger girls keeps increasing (age as young as 11), reasons for desiring younger girls are discussed, words for purchasing sex include “addict, college girl, flowers, fresh, girlfriend, ho, Lolita, hot lizard, new, new here, new in town, roses, slut, student, young meat...fillies, bunnies” (p. 61). Other words for sex transactions and for advertising sex also are presented. Some sites for locating sex on the internet are noted.
- 4) Victims treated as criminals – many trafficked girls are treated as criminals (arrested) rather than victims and receive a police record that affects them for the rest of their lives. Perpetrators are allowed to remain anonymous and there is little prosecution. Most participants believed that trafficked girls are treated unfairly and should be treated as victims. Perpetrators (pimps and buyers) should be treated as criminals and prosecuted.
- 5) Safe places for girls to stay – The most difficult aspect of providing services to trafficked girls is finding them a safe place to stay. There are few or no services available for safe housing and victims often are left in detention. Shelters are magnets for traffickers.
- 6) Prevention, intervention, and assessment for human trafficking programs – Family counseling services (to get kids off the street) and assessment programs are available, some recovery programs are identified.

Tillyer, Marie Skubak, Michael R. Smith, and Rob Tillyer. 2023. Findings from the U.S. National Human Trafficking Hotline. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 9(3):398-407.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2021.1925493>

The purpose of this study is to examine human trafficking cases identified by the U.S. National Human Trafficking Hotline (NHTH). Six years (2012-2018) of data were examined to identify temporal, case, and geographic patterns in help-seeking activity related to human trafficking in the U.S. The hotline is funded by the U.S. HHS and operated by Polaris, a non-profit NGO. The operation of the hotline and its victim-centered approach is described. The hotline receives “signals” from phone, text, web chat, email and an online form. The data is classified using more than 120 standardized fields. All signals are connected to a particular case. During the study period there were 240,624 signals related to 147,819 cases, of which 45,523 were categorized as human trafficking. It is these human trafficking cases that are described in this paper. Main findings from the study were as follows:

- The number of human trafficking cases increased 165.5% over the study period
- 71.94% of cases involved sex trafficking; 14.89% involved labor trafficking; the remainder included both sex and labor trafficking or were indeterminate
- Hotline calls represent most origin signals (80.8%)
- Direct contact with a victim was the most prominent proximity situation (40.9%), followed by observation of suspicious activity (25.4%) and victim self-reporting (24.2%)
- 69.1% of cases involved a single victim
- 7% of cases were crises in which the victim needed assistance
- Labor trafficking cases had the highest number of potential victims (5.27), followed by cases with labor and sex trafficking (3.31), and sex trafficking (1.9)
- 29.6% of cases involved minors; 80.2% involved females
- 87% of sex trafficking cases involved females, 48.5% of labor trafficking cases involved males
- The paper reports the number of human trafficking cases by county for each year; Los Angeles County, CA was ranked first, followed by Harris County, TX.

The paper indicates that the growth of trafficking cases over the study period likely reflects an increase in public awareness of human trafficking and services that are available.

Titchen, Kanani E., MD, Dyani Loo, MD, Elizabeth Berdan, MD, Mary Becker Rysavy, MD, Jessica J. Ng, BA, and Iman Sharif, MD, MPH, MS. 2017. Domestic sex trafficking of minors: Medical student and physician awareness. *Journal of Pediatric and Adolescent Gynecology* 30:102-108
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jpag.2015.05.006>

The objective of this study was to “assess medical trainee and practicing physician knowledge of child sex trafficking and whether physicians at all levels of training regarded awareness about child sex trafficking as important to their practice” (pp. 102-103). A 20-item survey was administered to a convenience sample of practicing physicians, fellows, residents, and medical students. The survey was distributed in 2013 via e-mail to lists of personnel in various medical specialties. A total of 1,694 completed surveys were returned. Demographic information on respondents that was gathered in the survey and reported in the paper includes: gender, practice years, profession, sexual orientation, race, practice setting, and practice type. The paper reports on the number of respondents who had ever “suspected that a patient of mine was a victim of human trafficking” (13.7% of physicians and 6.9% of residents). The survey also asked questions (and reports responses) pertaining to the importance of knowing about human trafficking, knowing whom to call if a potential victim is identified, the number of children living on the street who exchange sex for drugs or money, the number of children living in shelters who exchange sex for drugs or money, and the number of children trafficked for sex each year. Statistical analysis was used to determine relationships between respondent characteristics and questionnaire responses. More physicians than trainees agreed or strongly agreed that knowledge about human trafficking was important, correctly estimated the number of children who are trafficked each year and reported an appropriate response to identification of a potential victim. Practicing physicians of all types who reported knowing a victim of sexual harassment were significantly more likely to report suspicion that a patient of theirs had been trafficked. Physicians in western and southern states were more confident in knowing whom to call if they encountered a potential victim. However, while most physicians and trainees agreed that it was important to know about human trafficking, most also did not believe that they had even encountered a trafficking victim, did not know whom to call if they did encounter one, and were not well informed about the scope of the problem. These results are considered problematic because most human trafficking victims report coming into contact with health care providers.

Tripp, Tara M and Jennifer McMahon-Howard. 2016. Perception vs. reality: The relationship between organized crime and human trafficking in metropolitan Atlanta. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*. 41: 732-764. doi: 10.1007/s12103-015-9315-5.

This exploratory study investigates the link between human trafficking and organized crime in metropolitan Atlanta, Georgia, a US trafficking hub. Research questions include: 1) what proportion of human trafficking cases were perpetrated by or with the assistance of an organized crime group; 2) what are the differences between sex and labor trafficking with respect to their links with organized crime; and 3) what are the differences between international and domestic trafficking with respect to their relationship with organized crime? The study uses the UNODC definition of organized crime: “a structured group of three or more persons existing for a period of time and having the aim of committing a serious crime in order to, directly or indirectly, obtain a financial or other material benefit” (p. 737). Organized crime syndicates and networks are differentiated in that a syndicate is a traditional form of organized crime with a kingpin, hierarchy with decreasing levels of authority, and internal rules, while a network is smaller, has an informal understanding of rules, and uses a horizontal authority structure. The study examined data on all TVPA-related cases in metropolitan Atlanta that were indicted between 2000 and 2013 (i.e., federal indictments). A total of 24 cases were examined, with a wide range of court and other publicly available documents being included in the study. Key characteristics of cases that are reported in the paper include: case name and year; type of trafficking; geographical scope of trafficking; number of defendants; defendant nationality; number of victims; victim nationality; and relationship to organized crime. A content analysis of court documents for each human trafficking case was conducted. This analysis classified the relationship between organized crime and human trafficking into three categories: organized criminal network, organized criminal syndicate, or non-existent. Descriptive statistics and bivariate analysis reveal the relationships between organized crime and type/scope of trafficking case. The main findings were that there was no relationship between organized crime and human trafficking in 16 of the 24 cases. In 8 of the 24 cases, a relationship was found between an organized crime network and human trafficking. Evidence for a link to an organized criminal syndicate was found in only one case. The bivariate analysis showed that none of the labor trafficking cases were linked to an organized crime group, but 38.1% of the sex trafficking cases had links to organized crime. The analysis also showed that less than 20% of the domestic trafficking cases had connections to organized crime, but over 50% of the international cases had such links. The paper provides more detailed discussion of the 24 individual cases, and has an appendix that lists each case.

Trudeau, Elizabeth, Scott Noble, Sill Davis, Sherman Bryant, and Anthony Queen. 2024. Identifying trafficking experience and health needs among African American male survival sex workers. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 10(1):153-167. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2021.1994271>

This research seeks to identify how many men among a population of men engaging in survival sex work had experienced sex trafficking as defined by the TVPA, and what were their challenges and needs. The study employed a community-based participatory research approach to identify and survey men involved in survival sex work. A total of 194 men were recruited and participated in completing a survey. Of this total, 8 participated in a follow-up focus group. The men were recruited at non-profits and public locations in a Midwestern city. The survey asked about people's experience with sex work, and their mental and physical health care. Survey results were analyzed with descriptive statistics. Open ended responses were coded for health ailments and barriers to care. These responses were also analyzed statistically to examine differences between those who were trafficked and those who were not. Demographic characteristics of participants are described; all but 22 were African American, and 188 identified as cisgender men. No significant differences were found based on race or gender. Most respondents were middle-aged (40-64; 65%). Specific survey questions were designed to determine whether the men had been trafficked. About one-third (37%) reported that they had experienced sex trafficking, one-third had not, and one-third declined to answer. Ninety-five percent reported having a mental health diagnosis and many had more than one. Participants who had been trafficked reported 1.7 diagnoses while those who had not reported 1.4. The most common diagnoses were depression, addiction, and bipolar disorder. There was only one condition that showed a substantive difference between those who had been trafficked and those who had not – trauma (14 vs. 3%). Majorities of respondents reported a physical or chronic injury in the past year. Participants reported individual, systemic, and social barriers related to health challenges. They reported a lack of self-worth and despair. The majority reported receiving treatment for mental and physical health issues. Forty percent reported a negative experience with a healthcare facility (e.g., not being taken seriously. Some were on Medicaid and thought this was an issue in how they were treated. Many reported missed appointments (56%). Transportation was a factor, as many were homeless. Social barriers were another issue; a quarter believed their friends had a negative opinion about seeking health care for physical ailments, 36% for mental health concerns. Men were concerned about being "outed" as a sex worker or HIV positive; in these cases, they were treated more aggressively. Some reported a lack of support for seeking treatment from their community. Implications for future research, for allocating and directing services, and for addressing specific health needs are included.

Twigg, Naomi M. Ph.D., PHCNS-BC, RN. 2017. Comprehensive care model for sex trafficking survivors. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship* 49(3):259-266. Doi: 10.1111/jnu.12285

The purpose of this study is to “identify aftercare services for domestic minor sex trafficking (DMST) survivors provided by U.S. residential treatment centers” (p. 259). The study used Macy and Johns’ (2011) research on core services for international sex trafficking survivors as a framework for comparison with services provided by U.S. treatment centers. Five residential treatment programs (out of a total population of 24) met inclusion criteria and agreed to participate in the study. The inclusion criteria included: 1) provided services only for DMST survivors; 2) actively housed DMST survivors; and 3) provided services to males, females, and transgender survivors who were at least 11 years old. Respondents were either the manager, director, or founder of a U.S. program, at least 21 years of age, and spoke English. Respondents were interviewed via telephone using a 39-item semi-structured questionnaire. Questions included demographics of survivors served, origin of referrals, general information about the program (e.g., mission, vision, philosophy, organizational structure), information about employees and staff development (e.g., orientation, turnover, counseling services, satisfaction), the immediate, ongoing, and long-term needs of survivors, and level of engagement with DMST survivors following their departure from the treatment center. Transcripts of interviews were analyzed using the grounded theory method. Results from the interviews included immediate needs, ongoing needs, and long-term needs of survivors. All participants reported immediate needs that included crisis safety services, crisis shelter services, and emergency medical care. Most participants also reported basic needs as an immediate concern. All participants reported case management in the form of biopsychosocial assessment and a person-centered care plan based on survivors’ needs. Most respondents also reported that survivors need emergency substance abuse services, emergency mental health care, and family reunification. All participants reported providing physical health care, mental health care, and safety services as ongoing needs. Most respondents also reported the need for legal advocacy. All participants provided life skills training and long-term housing at their residential program, and most reported job skills training as long-term needs. Life skills training included building healthy relationships with peers, grocery shopping, navigating public transportation, cooking, and building a support network among health care providers. Job skills training included creating a resume, looking for employment, role-playing for job interviews, and participating in a vocational training program. All participants reported providing ongoing case management to meet long-term needs, including assistance in finding jobs, housing, or applying to colleges. All participants also reported family reconciliation (visitations, counseling, re-establishing connections if appropriate) and education (involvement in GED or alternative high school, enrollment in higher education, assistance in applying for scholarships) as additional long-term needs. Illustrative quotes from interviews are provided. Overall findings expanded and refined upon the Macy and Johns’ (2011) framework. Implications for nursing research, policy, and practice are discussed.

Unger, Leslie D., Kendra Doychak, and Citra Raghavan. 2023. Isolation and support dynamics among women in a pimp-based commercial sex ring. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 9(3):328-347. <https://doi-org.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/10.1080/23322705.2021.1918966>

By analyzing conversations between women and a pimp, and amongst the women in a commercial sex ring, this study aimed to answer four research questions: 1) do women use coercive control amongst themselves; 2) what social dynamics characterize women's interactions among themselves; 3) are these dynamics expressed differently when women talk with each other versus talking with a pimp; and 4) will network analysis show that pimps and a Bottom act centrally? The overall intent is to determine whether women in a sex trafficking ring display dynamics that show mutual support for one another. The data for this study was drawn from wire-tapped conversations among two male perpetrators and four female victims derived from an unrelated police investigation between 2011 and 2012. The wire taps took place in an urban area in the Northeastern region of the US. The participants were not contacted directly, and little is known about their demographics. The pimps' rules were not stated explicitly but were inferred from the conversations. Two types of conversations were coded: between two women; and between a woman and a pimp when another woman was a topic of conversation. A grounded theory approach was used to analyze data in which iterative waves of coding proceeded until no new data emerges. A deductive code for coercive control was integrated into the coding scheme (meaning surveillance, micro regulation, manipulation/exploitation, isolation, intimidation, deprivation, and degradation). Gephi software was used to analyze and visualize social networks. Network density and actors' weighted degree were determined to understand the interconnections of actors and their roles. Results from the analysis showed the following:

- Women rarely used coercive control in conversations with each other, but more frequently it emerged in conversations between a pimp and a woman involving another woman (14.29%); usually the pimp directed the woman to use coercive control on his behalf or under his instruction.
- Woman to woman calls frequently included coordination on activities related to commercial sex, such as conversations related to police, traffic, drugs, food.
- Nearly half of the conversations between women gave evidence of guardedness, suspicion, caution, or fishing for information; a smaller number of calls involved alliances, passive competition, third party competition, direct competition, and reporting.
- Unlike woman to woman calls, calls with a pimp were evenly split between those in which another woman was discussed in a coordination context, and no coordination context; in these calls the women expressed passive competition and reported on each other.
- The pimps were not central parts of the network; it was usually the women who brought up the topic of other women in the conversation with the pimps rather than the other way around, supporting the idea that women live in an unsafe and unreliable network without social support.
- Not all the women had communication with each other, or had communication initiated from both sides, indicating social isolation.

The most important finding is that coercive control can be enacted without direct involvement of a pimp but takes place through other women. Coercive control tactics were used manipulatively and erode trust and diminish social support. This helps to explain why women in a commercial sex ring are reluctant to trust outsiders, when people they know apparently cannot be trusted.

Valdovinos, Miriam G., Rebecca L. Thomas, Lorin N. Tredinnick, and Maritza Vasquez Reyes. 2020. Human trafficking efforts to protect Connecticut's vulnerable children and youth: Incorporating the voices of community practitioners. *Violence and Victims*. 35 (3): 382–99. <http://dx.doi.org/10.189/VV-D-19-00075>.

The aim of this study is to understand how Connecticut is providing services and programs to children and youth victims of human trafficking. The study included four focus group sessions with 28 practitioners from disciplines such as social work, healthcare, and legal. The focus groups were held in Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport, and Willimantic, CT during 2018. The focus group questions included descriptions of the issue of human trafficking, types of cases in the community, how cases are handled, and factors that contribute to trafficking. The questions are provided in an Appendix to the paper. Thematic analysis was used to analyze focus group data. Themes emerging from data analysis included the following:

- Vulnerability of children and youth (children involved in state systems; living in marginalized communities; unsupervised social media use; intergenerational trauma)
- Structural issues intersecting with vulnerabilities (poverty; survival, basic needs not met; limited services for addictions and mental health)
- Strengths of current responses (interdisciplinary collaborations are needed to address a complex need; state funds are critical to maintain these efforts; ongoing awareness training is essential for all social service providers)
- Ongoing challenges to current responses (state collaborations may be difficult to maintain; trafficking definition limits assistance so state actors respond differently to vulnerable youth).

Policy and clinical implications for future work are discussed.

Vanessa, Juliana and Maldonado Macedo. 2019. Being a Sex Worker and Migrant in Times of Trafficking: Experiences from the Mexico (Chiapas)–Guatemala Border. *Victims & Offenders* 15 (3): 313-329. DOI: 10.80/15564886.2019.1697979.

The purpose of this study is to examine the perspectives of sex workers and the armed division of the state (police) about human trafficking on the Mexico-Guatemala border (Chiapas). The authors included a map of the area of Soconusco, Mexico where the study takes place. Data on anti-trafficking narratives, women's relations with sex work, and unregularized migration was collected through ethnographic fieldwork from September 2014 to February 2015. Observations at sex work sites and semi-structured interviews with sex workers and police combatting trafficking were included in the ethnography. The authors give demographic data on the sex workers to describe age, gender, and nationality. The police interviews divulged information about their knowledge and perception of sex workers including names they are given and where they work. The interviews with the sex workers (five) came from observation with workers of the "Crossing Borders" project that helped create trust among researchers and sex workers. Key findings from the study include:

- Prostitution is equated with trafficking, even when it is not
- Police raids of sex work venues can lead to demands for migration documents
- Sex workers are criminalized in the name of security
- Women often protest that they are not victims
- Police endeavor to end street prostitution by imprisoning sex workers and making them pay a fee
- A sex worker can receive a visa in exchange for reporting trafficking, and receive a place in a shelter for three months
- Women who are trafficked may not be seen by police
- Interviews with the police force showed that there is not a set standard for how to do raids/rescues for sexually exploited victims.

Mexican migration policy incorporates a stigma regarding migrants crossing the southern border which is considered a "hot spot" for human trafficking, and an anti-prostitution narrative. The article gives examples of how the legal system is focused on race, gender, and class, and how it impacts legal views of sex workers. Overall, the author concludes that stereotypes about sex work strongly influences anti-trafficking initiatives and prohibits proper deliverance of resources and silences voices of sex workers.

Varma, Selina, Scott Gillespie, Courtney McCracken, and V. Jordan Greenbaum. 2015. Characteristics of child commercial sexual exploitation and sex trafficking victims presenting for medical care in the United States. *Child Abuse and Neglect* 44:98-105.

The aim of this study was “to identify characteristics of CSEC (commercial sexual exploitation of children) patients that distinguished them from victims of child sexual abuse and sexual assault (CSA) not related to CSEC when seeking medical care at a large metropolitan pediatric facility” (p. 100). Four facilities participated in the study, including three emergency departments and one child protective clinic in a large metropolitan children’s hospital in the southern US. To be eligible for the study, patients had to be 12 to 18 years of age and present to the facility from January 2011 to December 2013. A medical record review of “suspected CSEC victims” extracted the following information: demographics (gender, race, age), demeanor of child, medical history (mental health disorder, health visit within the last two months, history of CSEC or acute sexual assault), current anogenital symptoms (vaginal discharge, genital pain, itching, abnormal bleeding, pelvic pain, rectal pain), sexual history (how long sexually active, condom use, history of STI, pregnancy, birth control use, menstrual problems), other history (violence with caregivers, fractures, loss of consciousness or wounds, violence with sex, drug use or multiple drug use, running away, child protective services, police). These data are presented within the study. A control group was created by searching the hospitals’ databases for children 12-18 years old with a diagnosis of child sexual abuse/assault who presented at one of the facilities within the 2011-13 timeframe. CSEC patients were matched with controls based on age at first exam, date of first CSEC exam, race/ethnicity, and gender. The overall sample was comprised of 84 patients, of whom 27 were CSEC victims and 57 were controls. Statistical analysis of data was conducted to compare CSEC patients with controls. There were no statistically significant demographic differences between the CSEC patients and controls. Considering only variables for which at least 50 patients had data, the following characteristics were significantly more common in the CSEC group than in the controls: high rates of prior STIs (53%); physical abuse (44%); history of violence with sex (31%); drug/alcohol use (70%); multiple drug use (50%); history of running away from home (81%); prior involvement with child protective services (47%); and with law enforcement (75%). A total of 46% of CSEC patients had visited a medical provider with the past two months. These data may be helpful in identifying CSEC risk factors and/or enabling development of screening tools or medical guidance for CSEC victimization.

Wallace, Carmelle, Ilana Lavina, and Cynthia Mollen. 2021. Share our stories: an exploration of the healthcare experiences of child sex trafficking survivors. *Child Abuse and Neglect* 112 (February). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2020.104896>.

The three objectives of this study were to 1) explore the types of injuries and illnesses that lead trafficked youth to present to medical providers, 2) explore perceived and actual barriers to healthcare access from the perspective of the person who has been trafficked, and 3) gain insights into the healthcare encounter from the point of view of the trafficking survivor. The authors intend the study to be used to inform pediatric practitioners and equip them to recognize signs that a child may have experienced or be experiencing sex trafficking. The study also serves to demonstrate the harm that can arise from healthcare practitioners not identifying, denying, or inadequately responding when a child has been sex trafficked. The sample population was comprised of homeless youth aged 18-21 who were sex trafficked before age 18. A total of 17 youth participated in the study. The US Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) was used to define persons who had been trafficked. The youth in the sample population were residents of a local urban youth homeless shelter. Semi-structured interviews using an interview guide were conducted with seventeen youth who met the study criteria. Trauma-informed methods were used in the study. Demographic information on study participants includes age, gender, and race. The sample population was compared to the general residents of the homeless shelter. Interview transcripts were coded and analyzed using constant comparative methods. Themes were inductively extracted by consensus with the study team, and thematic saturation was determined when no new themes emerged. Themes included: reasons for presentation (i.e., victims delayed presentation to care, injuries and illnesses were treated at home), barriers to healthcare (i.e., traffickers limited victims' access to care due to fear of being discovered, logistical barriers like insurance and identification limited access), trafficked youth's experiences (i.e., traffickers who did not permit access directed victims to lie to providers, medical providers rarely asked about trafficking and did not separate victims from traffickers to interview them about their situation resulting in missed opportunities, and trafficking victims were sensitive to providers' demeanor and disposition). Study findings are illustrated using survivors' quotes from the interviews. The interview guide is included as an appendix to the paper.

Wallace, Carmelle, MD, MPH, Yvette Schein, BA, Gina Carabelli, CRNP, Heta Patel, Needhi Mehta, BA, Nadia Dowshen, MD, Nancy Kassam-Adams, PhD, Kenneth Ginsburg, MD, MEd, and Cynthia Mollen, MD, MSCE. 2021. A survivor-derived approach to addressing trafficking in the pediatric ED. *Pediatrics* 147(1). <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2020-0772>

The purpose of this study was to “elicit the perspectives of survivors of child trafficking on addressing trafficking in the pediatric emergency department (ED) and, secondarily, to provide a survivor-derived framework to help pediatric emergency medicine (PEM) providers discuss trafficking with their patients” (p. 1). Two research questions were the focus: “(1) should PEM providers ask patients about trafficking; (2) what barriers exist to disclosure and how can PEM clinicians mitigate them?” (p. 2). The methodology for the study was in-depth, semi-structured, open-ended interviews with a purposive sample of young adults residing in a urban youth homeless shelter who experienced trafficking as children and/or as adolescents. Participants previously had been screened for trafficking experiences by staff at the shelter. The inclusion criteria included being 18-21 years of age, a survivor of trafficking as defined by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA), and having been trafficked prior to the age of 18. Demographic information provided by the study includes age, gender, and race. A novel video-elicitation technique was used to gain detailed participant feedback and recommendations on pediatric visits to the emergency department. Participants were shown a video of a ED visit narrated by an interviewer and then invited to comment and provide responses to open-ended questions. Content analysis was used to derive themes from transcripts of interviews. Seventeen interviews revealed the following themes: “(1) fear is a significant barrier; (2) participants want PEM providers to ask about trafficking, and it is not harmful to do so; (3) PEM providers should address fear through emphasizing confidentiality and privacy and encouraging agency; (4) PEM providers should approach the patient in a direct, sensitive, and nonjudgmental manner; and (5) changes to the ED environment may facilitate the conversation (p. 1). Quotes from women’s interviews were included in the study. Recommendations from trafficking survivors for pediatric emergency medicine providers also is included. PEM providers should be “direct, sensitive, and nonjudgmental” in their approach to discussing trafficking, and this approach should not be re-traumatizing (p. 6).

West, Amanda. 2017. Child trafficking and child welfare. *Journal of Human Trafficking* 3(2):125-135. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2016.1175046>

The purpose of this research is to explore the experiences of social service providers as they work with the child welfare system and victims of child trafficking. Personal contacts and snowball sampling were used to recruit 15 respondents, including service providers in a range of professions (e.g., legal assistance, advocacy, and psychological treatment). Characteristics of respondents are provided (i.e., education, yearly contacts, time in field, ethnicity). All data were collected in 2013. Methodology included semi-structured interviews and inductive coding of transcripts using data management software. Three primary themes emerged from the data analysis:

- Lack of awareness and victim identification

A barrier to care is caseworkers not recognizing children as human trafficking victims. Child welfare caseworkers need education on child human trafficking. The lack of involvement of the child welfare system is a key obstacle to service provision. Without identification, proper resources for children are not available.

- Program funding

There is competition for funding and the level of support is not adequate to meet needs. Agencies are hesitant to take on the cost of treatment. Welfare agencies sometimes refused to cooperate on funding. The funds for treatment may not be available.

- Lack of collaboration

There was a perceived lack of collaboration between the child welfare system and service providers. For example, a child may not be a resident of a catchment area, so welfare agencies may not be able to respond. Also, families of origin are the priority for placement, not residential facilities, even though the latter might be needed (e.g., to break a trauma bond). There is also a problem when the family of origin is abusive, and this is a factor in the trafficking situation.

As a result of these barriers, service providers viewed child welfare agencies as sitting on the opposite side of the table. At times, adversarial relationships developed. Service providers expressed doubt in being able to work with child welfare agencies in a collaborative manner. Implications for practice, policy, and research are included.

Williams, Linda. 2015. Police and domestic sex trafficking of youth: What teens tell us that can aid prevention and interdiction. *Journal of Crime and Justice* 38(3):297-314
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0735648X.2015.1034970>

The purpose of this study was to examine police interactions with at risk and prostituted youth in a community context and the links between policing of domestic sex trafficking and those on the pathway into this life and police responses to domestic violence, youth status offenses and street crime. Interviews were conducted with youth at drop-in centers or service agencies focused on street outreach or work with at risk youth. Eligibility criteria included living away from home for at least one week, being outside of parental control, mostly with no fixed abode. The interviews took place in metropolitan Boston and Washington DC. A total of 61 teens participated in the interviews, including those who had experienced sexual violence as prostituted teens or were at risk for such victimization. Demographic information on participants includes gender, age, race/ethnicity, and national origin. Through the interviews, 28 domestic minor sex trafficking (DMST) victims were identified. Interview topics included leaving home and running away, trading sex for something of value, risk/protective/resiliency factors, health, medical, or other self-described needs, service access and impediments to service, juvenile/criminal justice history and perceptions of interactions with criminal justice system, and recommendations for changes in systems. Transcripts of interviews were content analyzed using principles of grounded theory. Key themes to emerge from analysis included:

- Teen experiences on the street and careful avoidance of police contact.

Police encounter youth when they panhandle, camp in a park, sleep in doorways, gather under bridges. Some teens who ran away due to abuse or neglect may never have had a missing person's report filed on them. The teens hide, use wit to avoid detection, and try to pass as homeless adults of whom few questions will be asked and for whom services are available. Many of them learned to survive on the streets while homeless with their mothers. Or the parents may be absent. The teens are reluctant to go back home so they hide. Domestic violence often is what pushes them out of the house. It is after running away that they meet a pimp.

- Police interactions in the context of interventions in response to domestic violence, with the finding that entry into DMST may be exacerbated by police responses to domestic violence.

Following a call for domestic violence, a teen often is removed from the home by police, and this is followed by homelessness and risk for DMST. A teen who punches a parent or tries to protect younger siblings may be asked to leave by the police. Police may ask if the youth has somewhere else to live but the transitional situation often is unstable. No other protection was offered. This may lead to "couch surfing" and then to the street. Violence between caregivers was one of the themes youths noted that made them who they are.

- Police interactions while youth are being trafficked or when found in areas where prostitution occurs, or when associating with known pimps, with the finding that such interactions may facilitate entry into DMST and miss opportunities for interdiction.

Police in many jurisdictions made little or no effort to determine if a young person was at risk if she did not look like a waif lost on the street. Law enforcement may believe youth have made a choice to sell sex. Victims of DMST may be viewed as offenders or be blamed. Youth are more likely to be arrested if

they are not pimp-involved, which may drive young people to pimps for protection. There often are no alternative pathways other than arrest. Opportunities to remove youth from DMST often are missed. Little effort is made to determine if a person is underage. Teens may be more afraid of the police than they are of a pimp.

Quotes from interviews are provided.

Winterdyk, John. 2017. Combating human trafficking at the local level: Better informing (inter)national action plans. *International Annals of Criminology* 55(2):220-236. DOI: 10.1017/cri.2017.14.

The study's purpose is to "explore trends and patterns in human trafficking in a major city in Western Canada (Alberta) and specifically examines how front-line workers perceive human trafficking and the existing counter-trafficking response" (p. 221). The study used a mixed-method approach, including a survey and focus group discussions. The main groups for recruitment of participants were front-line workers and agencies that normally worked with human trafficking survivors. Of the 94 online surveys sent out (28 questions each), 53 were completed (56.4% response rate). The focus groups used the same participants and were designed for respondents to elaborate on the survey questions. There was a total of 18 participants that were divided into five focus groups. Based on both the survey and focus group responses, 44.4% of respondents believed they had encountered a trafficking case, either individually or through their organization. It is notable, however, that despite this response, there have been no criminal convictions for human trafficking in the city. Of the cases that they encountered, majority of responses concluded that Indigenous populations represented a large portion of the trafficking cases, specifically in First Nation areas. Participants were concerned that there was limited training and awareness of trafficking among First Nations communities. For the survey responses, 18 respondents had only encountered domestic or internal cases of trafficking and 11 respondents reported experiences dealing with international cases (these responses came from participants that had encountered multiple trafficking cases). Researchers found that responses on the type of people being trafficked, where they came from and what type of trafficking they experienced varied; however, the more experience respondents had dealing with trafficking cases the less they would describe the experience using stereotypes about victims. Participants generally agreed that labor exploitation involved males, whereas sexual exploitation involved females. Some focus group participants believed that labor trafficking was more prevalent among international trafficking cases. Temporary Foreign Worker programs were noted as being a channel for labor trafficking of low skilled workers. People are brought to Canada legally, but then are introduced to exploitative labor practices. Sensationalized images of sex trafficked women that are familiar to the public may mean that people with other experiences or circumstances are overlooked. Foreign workers in particular are excluded and lack access to services. The study found that there had been a proliferation of definitions of human trafficking that has impeded responses, as well as confusion surrounding the relationship between the legal definition of human trafficking and other forms of exploitation and abuse. Human trafficking involves many potential elements from a definitional perspective, and a case may have some of the elements but not others, and not be prosecuted. Cases do not always follow a standardized law enforcement definition of trafficking. If services are tied to prosecution, people may not get services. In addition, it may be difficult to meet the standard of the law in a prosecution. In some cases, the legal code is clear, but it is implemented in a manner that does not conform to the code. Law enforcement and government are tasked with providing support to victims, but this tends to limit support to those who are supporting law enforcement. Collaboration between law enforcement and social services is needed to meet victim needs.

Yu, Lilly, Jeanette Hussemann, Hanna Love, Evelyn McCoy, and Colleen Owens. 2018. Alternative Forms of Justice for Human Trafficking Survivors: Considering Procedural, Restorative, and Transitional Justice. Justice Policy Center. Urban Institute. March 2018. www.urban.org

This study is part of a larger project entitled *Bending Toward Justice: Perceptions of Justice Among Human Trafficking Survivors* sponsored by the Urban Institute. The project explores human trafficking survivors' perceptions of justice in their cases, human trafficking stakeholders' perceptions of justice, survivors' experiences with the criminal justice process, and survivors' desires for alternative forms of justice. The purpose of this component of the study aims to gain survivor's perspectives on alternative forms of justice, including procedural, restorative, and transitional justice. The sample population for this study included 80 survivors of sex and labor trafficking from eight diverse metropolitan areas across the US. Survivor recruitment was supported by human trafficking service providers at each site, who screened clients for eligibility. To be included in the sample, clients needed to be at least 18 years old and willing to share their story. Data was obtained through semi-structured interviews conducted between 2016 and 2017. Content analysis methods were used to identify findings for the study. The report includes demographic information for participants, including age, gender, race or ethnicity, birthplace, immigration status, trafficking type, case type, and whether the participant had criminal involvement as a defendant. Fifty-five percent of the sample (n=44) had participated in a criminal case during the investigation or prosecution phase, while a third (n=28) had prior criminal justice involvement as a defendant in their own case. Key findings from the study include the following: 1) survivor perceptions of justice are dependent upon their trust in the American system of criminal justice; 2) both labor and sex trafficking survivors did not believe that justice would be served by traditional forms of retributive justice for their traffickers and preferred measures aimed at prevention; 3) survivor views on justice for themselves differed from justice for traffickers, focusing on their ability to "move on" and gain empowerment and autonomy; and 4) survivors offered views on how criminal justice actors can improve their handling of human trafficking cases (more compassionate approaches, ending criminalization of survivors, hiring more diverse law enforcement personnel, and improving training for everyone involved).