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**Beyond narratives of victim and villain: Characteristics and service needs
of domestic minor victims of sex trafficking, and the challenges of service
delivery**

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

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in the

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of the

University of California, Berkeley

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Abstract

Beyond narratives of victim and villain: Characteristics and service needs of domestic minor victims of sex trafficking, and the challenges of service delivery

by

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Young people involved in the sex trade have existed throughout history. Following passage of the 2000 Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) by the U.S. Congress, 22 U.S.C. 7102(8), U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents who are under the age of 18 and trading sex in any capacity are now considered domestic minor victims of human trafficking. With the TVPA's passage, public awareness and services for victims of human trafficking increased. However, strategies to meet the needs of these young people are in the early stages of development. Knowledge gaps exist about the characteristics of young people who trade sex, what services these young people would like to receive, and the challenges of service provision. This study focused on three agencies that received funding to work with domestic minor victims of sex trafficking: the SAGE Project, Inc. in San Francisco, the Streetwork Project at Safe Horizon in New York, and the STOP-IT Program at Salvation Army in Chicago. This study addressed the following questions through a secondary analysis of quantitative and qualitative data: (1) What are the characteristics of young people who trade sex?; (2) What services do the young people request and what do they receive?; and (3) What are the challenges case managers experience in their work with this population?

For Carl Lutnick (1938 – 2010)

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Introduction

In 2000, the United States Congress authorized the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act, more commonly referred to by its reauthorization name, the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA). The TVPA defines any United States citizen or lawful permanent resident under the age of 18 who is involved in commercial sex acts as a victim of human trafficking. Under the TVPA's definition of sex trafficking of domestic minors, there is no need to establish force, fraud or coercion, as a minor cannot consent to being sold into commercial sex. Whether or not a young person has a third party facilitating their sex trades, or are moved from one location to another, if the young person is selling sex they are considered domestic minor victims of human trafficking. Although the authorization of this Act makes it appear as if this is a new social issue, the only thing new about domestic minor victims of human trafficking is the term. For this paper, the term young people or youth will be used to refer to individuals who are under the age of 18. The term sex trade will be used to refer to the act of trading sex for some type of payment. I am choosing to use this term as opposed to say sex work, prostituted juvenile, commercially sexually exploited child, or domestic minor victim of sex trafficking as it brings with it minimal assumptions about the young people in this population and their experiences.

Young people's involvement in sex trades is a complex issue that has existed throughout history (Schwartz, 2009). Dating back to the late 19th century, charitable organizations fought to bring attention to the trafficking of women and girls for sexual purposes and tried to create mechanisms for tackling the problem at a variety of levels (Cree, 2008). Over the past 100 years, in the United States this issue has been referred to as white slavery, juvenile prostitution, survival sex, sex trades, sex work, commercial sexual exploitation, modern day slavery, and sex trafficking. Complicating discussions is the fact that these terms, save for white slavery which is used for a specific historical context, are oftentimes used interchangeably to talk about this issue. Depending on the term used, the young people involved are viewed as victims, fully formed agents, or both. Efforts to rename this population as "trafficked youth" further confuses our understanding as it implies that the young person has been moved from one location to another, and conjures up images of youth being forced against their will to sell sex. Although some young people are forced into the sex industry, that is not the case for all young people. These binaries of good vs. evil and victim vs. villain prevent a more nuanced understanding of the conditions that facilitate young people's entry into and involvement in sex trades. An urgent need exists to move beyond dichotomies and examine the heterogeneity of this population.

Moving past homogenous representations of this group of young people eliminates the possibility of maintaining a cohesive and linear story because many different routes and

motivations lead them to trade sex. To develop and implement effective policies and programs, we must be willing to acknowledge the diversity of youth who trade sex, explore the ways in which our constructions of childhood and victimhood may contribute to the social marginalization of young people, and assess what we as a community can do to offer alternatives so that youth do not feel that sex trades are the only way they can meet their needs and wants.

During a hearing before Congress in 2005 to address the trafficking of humans for sexual and labor exploitation, an assistant director for the Criminal Investigation Division of the FBI stated that the FBI knew of no known “studies to date that specifically and primarily address juvenile prostitution” (“Exploiting Americans”, 2005, p. 53). The reality is that a plethora of studies focus on young people’s involvement in sex trades. To better understand this population a review of the preexisting research on youth involvement in sex trades is needed, paying particular attention to the scope of their involvement, the demographics of the population, and factors that facilitate their initiation into trading sex. An exploration of the legal responses at both the federal and state level is also called for, coupled with a critical discussion of the limitations of these policies and approaches.

Demographics: The Young People and their Clients

Young people who become engaged in sex trades are not a homogenous group; all classes, races, genders, and sexualities are represented. Some say that more boys than girls are involved (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2004; Greene, Ennett, & Ringwalt, 1999; Schaffner, 2006; Kaestle, 2012), others more girls than boys, and some assert that it is equal (Estes & Weiner, 2005). When transgender young people are included in mixed gender samples, they comprise about 8% (Curtis, Terry, Dank, Dombrowski, & Khan, 2008). However, research that focuses specifically on young transgender females finds that approximately 60% will report having ever traded sex for some type of payment (Garofalo, Deleon, Osmer, Doll, & Harper, 2006; E. Wilson et al., 2009). Literature about young transgender males engaged in sex trades is noticeably absent. Among the very few studies that look at transgender males who trade sex, the samples are comprised solely of adults (Sevelius, 2009; Clements-Nolle, Marx, Guzman & Katz, 2001).

A diversity of behaviors and settings are involved in sex trades conducted by young people. These range from survival sex (where the person trades sex to have basic needs of food, clothing and shelter fulfilled), to street-based sex trades, performing in pornographic films, stripping, and, among girls, servicing gang members and their affiliates. However, caution needs to be employed when interpreting these various terms. For example, street-based does not necessarily mean that the sex act itself occurs on the street. Frequently it is in reference to where the young person and client connect, with the encounter typically conducted at the client’s apartment, a hotel, or in a car. Similarly, when the word stripping is used, it conjures up images of young people working in a strip club. The one article that clarified what it meant by the term stripping

stated that it was when a young person gave a private performance in someone's home or hotel room (Curtis, et al., 2008). These are important clarifications as they provide a more nuanced understanding of the diversity of locations in which youth trade sex, as well as insight into those places that young people typically conduct their trades. This clarifying information is pivotal for developing outreach strategies, as well as educational information to share with young people that may facilitate safer sex trade experiences.

Just as there is a diversity of young people who trade sex, the same holds true for clients. Although all genders, ages, races, classes and sexualities are represented among individuals who purchase sexual services from youth, most clients are men (Cates, 1989; Estes & Weiner, 2005). However, women, couples, and other young people are also clients (Adler, 2003; Estes & Weiner, 2005). Some clients specifically seek out young people. Others are opportunistic and will purchase sex from anyone who is available, even if that happens to be a youth (Estes & Weiner, 2005). The frequency of interactions with clients varies significantly from one time trades to ongoing trades with regular clients. In some cases, young people develop long term relationships with their clients (Adler, 2003; Cates, 1989). Although it is common for youth to find their clients on the street, increased access to technology has resulted in young people coupling working the streets with advertising on the internet, using chat rooms, and relying on cell phones to facilitate connections with their clients. Payment forms can vary, yet most of the time young people receive money, drugs and/or shelter (Curtis, et al., 2008). Vaginal, anal and oral sex are the primary types of sexual services offered (Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2010).

The Numbers Game

Scientifically credible estimates of the number of young people who trade sex do not exist. A "woozle effect" (Gelles, 1980) has taken place whereby the methodologically flawed guesstimate of Estes and Weiner (2005), that between 100,000 to 300,000 young people are at-risk for involvement in sex trades, has been subsequently cited by politicians, journalists, academics and activists as the number of youth in the United States who are involved in sex trades (Stransky & Finkelhor, 2008). Along the way, the "at-risk" descriptor fell off, and for some this number has become understood as the true prevalence of youth involved in sex trades in the United States. Further complications with the number provided by Estes and Weiner is that it is based on 14 speculative and non-exclusive categories of at-risk young people (i.e., gang involved, runaways, those living along the U.S.-Canadian or U.S.- Mexico border).

Other numbers have been put forth to describe the scope of this issue. In a nationally representative study of 13,294 8th-12th graders (Edwards, Iritani, & Hallfors, 2006), 3.5% (n=465) reported ever exchanging sex for drugs or money. Limitations of this finding include that someone who paid for sex could endorse this item, and that the findings are limited to those who were in school when the survey was administered. In a subsequent wave of this study, the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, this limitation was addressed and the question about sex trade involvement was

separated into one question about selling and another about buying sex. Of the 12,240 young people ages 18-26, 2% began buying and 2% began selling sex between Wave I and Wave III of the study (Kaestle, 2012). A study of 815 Quebec students in the 11th and 12th grades found that 4% (n=33) had ever sold sex, and 3% (n=24) had purchased sex (Lavoie, Thibodeau, Gagne, & Hebert, 2010). These percentages are comparable to those of the United States study, yet still are limited in that they only represent those who attend school and were present for the survey. If those youth who are not connected with school were accounted for, we may expect that the percentages would be higher.

Arrest data is another source that can be used to assess the scope of young people's involvement in the sex trade. This data is limited in that the numbers clearly do not reflect all youth involved in sex trades as not all will be arrested and/or charged for prostitution offenses. The data also do not indicate how many of the total arrests are of unique individuals and how many represent multiple arrests of the same individual. With those limitations acknowledged, 791 arrests were made of young people in 2009 for prostitution related offenses (Federal Bureau of Investigations [FBI], 2010a).

It is clear that it is not possible to know the exact number of young people who are involved in sex trades. To rely on unsupported estimates is a disservice to knowledge building. Furthermore, putting forth any number to represent the extent of youth involvement in sex trades ignores the transient nature of involvement in the sex industry.

Just as the numbers vary about how many young people in the United States are involved in sex trades, so do estimates about the age of first entry. Arriving at a consistent estimate of the age of first entry is complicated in that studies use different eligibility criteria for age. Some studies use the Center for Disease Control definition that places youth between the ages of 14-24 (Shannon et al., 2010), others start at 14 and continue until 23 (Haley, Roy, Leclerc, Boudreau, & Boivin, 2004), and some extend it to either 25 or 26 (Chettiar, Shannon, Wood, Zhang, & Kerr, 2010; Marshall, Shannon, Kerr, Zhang, & Wood, 2010; Weber, Boivin, Blais, Haley, & Roy, 2002/2004). Research about youth in the juvenile justice system primarily focuses on 12 to 17-year olds (E. Brown, Rodriguez, & Smith, 2010; Halter, 2010; Mitchell, et al., 2010). Some studies will focus on a particular period such as 15-17 (Nadon, Koverola, & Schludermann, 1998), and then there are those that rely on the federal definition of a child as anyone under the age of 18 (Curtis, et al., 2008). Among these studies the average age of entry typically falls between 13 and 17. However because the average age of entry ultimately depends on the age of the sample, studies that include older individuals have found the average age of entry into sex trades to be around 20 to 22 (Lutnick & Cohan, 2008; L. Martin, Hearst, & Widome, 2010; McClanahan, McClelland, Abram, & Teplin, 1999). One study among adult women calculated the average age of entry for those who started before they were 18 and those after. In this sample the average age of entry for those who started before they were 18 was 15, and for those who started after it was 20 (L. Martin, et al., 2010). If studies only sample young people, the average age will reflect that. By including both sets of numbers, those gathered from samples of young people

and those from their older counterparts, it is clear that not all people who trade sex start when they are young and that not all youth continue to trade sex past the age of 18 (Edwards, et al., 2006; L. Martin, et al., 2010).

Despite these limitations, some work has suggested that age at entry does in fact matter. In a study of 222 adult women in Chicago, Raphael and Shapiro (2002) created clusters among the sample based on the age of first sex trade. They found that early starters, those who reported that they were younger than 15 when they first traded sex, had worse outcomes than those who were at least 15. The early starters were more likely to have run away from home, used drugs or alcohol as teens, have greater health problems as adults, and were less likely to graduate from high school. A Minneapolis study looked at the experiences of 117 adult women who had traded sex within the past 5 years and also found that age matters (L. Martin, et al., 2010). Among this sample, those women who reported trading sex as juveniles were more likely to have ever run away from home, and had used drugs at an earlier age (although their first drug use typically happened after initiation into trading sex). This study also found that women who started before they were 18, and who were still trading sex as adults, traded sex more frequently and reported higher rates of street-based prostitution than those who started after age 18.

The findings from these two studies highlight the need to better understand the age of first entry. If Raphael and Shapiro's (2002) findings can be replicated, it indicates that to approach young people under the age of 18 as a unified category ignores the ways in which different age groups experience their involvement in sex trades. In Martin, Hearst and Widome's work (2010), highlighting the ways in which young starters (< 18) differed from those who started as adults (\geq 18) suggests the need to target programs, policies and prevention efforts to those experiences that precede an individual's entry into sex trades.

Routes and Reasons

When looking at the contributing factors associated with young people's involvement in sex trades, it is clear that no one factor in and of itself facilitates their initiation. It is a rarity for anti-trafficking campaigns to acknowledge the different routes and reasons that lead youth to trade sex (O'Connell Davidson, 2005). Instead, the dominant narrative is that of a young girl forced to sell sex by a pimp. Some youth service providers' accounts support this picture with estimates that 50% of girls engaged in sex trades are pimp controlled. They explain that although the young person's relationship with the pimp may start off as an emotional one, over time it becomes more contractual (Mukasey, Daley, & Hagy, 2007). Mitchell, Finkelhor, and Wolak (2010) surveyed approximately 2600 law enforcement agencies in 2005, and for that year calculated 1450 arrests and detentions of minors for crimes related to prostitution. In a random sample of 138 cases from agencies that reported arrests of minors, most of the cases (57%) were characterized as involving a third-party exploiter, 31% involved no third-party exploiter, and the remaining 12% were involved in familial exploitation where a family member or guardian provided the minor with money to engage in or continue their involvement in

acts of sexual abuse. However, it is a rarity for involvement in sex trades to occur instantaneously and rarely result from the use of overt force by a third party (Harris, Scott, & Skidmore, 2006).

The most thorough exploration of pimps and facilitators is found in Curtis, et al.'s (2008) study with 249 young people in New York City. Eight percent of the sample reported that a pimp facilitated their entry into sex trades, with females reporting the most pimp involvement (16%). Only 1% of males reported this and none of the transgender respondents. This study offered a more longitudinal assessment of the presence of pimps as they queried whether the young person was still pimp involved. They found that the number of females who reported this dropped to 14%, the number of males increased to 3%, and there was no change among the transgender participants. This highlights the gendered nature of pimp involvement with females reporting the most involvement and suggests the need for future work that examines the factors that are associated with young people coupling with and leaving pimps. For example, in a review of 132 juvenile prostitution cases, those young people with pimps were more likely to have a history of running away and prior arrests and detentions (Mitchell, et al., 2010). Among the New York City sample, the main reason young people provided for leaving their pimp was that they tired of not being allowed to spend the money they earned (Curtis, et al., 2008).

In many ways, using the term pimp limits our understanding of the dynamics involved among young people who have others facilitate their sex trades. As a gendered and racial term, when it is evoked many will picture an African-American adult male. Legally though, a pimp is anyone who arranges clients for someone trading sex and/or benefits financially from someone else's sexual services. What this means is that anyone can be a pimp regardless of gender, race or age, and that not all relationships with someone who facilitates an individual's sex trades are inherently negative. In fact, when we look at self-reports from young people of all genders, it is more common to find that it is their peers and friends who facilitate both their entry into the sex industry and connections to clients (Curtis, et al., 2008; Weisberg, 1984). Friends provide mentorship and guidance, and there is seemingly a strong ethos among certain groups of young people, especially those who are street-based, where they look out for one another. At times this means connecting a friend with a client, and other times this means giving a friend some of the money made for facilitating the sex trade (Curtis, et al., 2008), all of which fit the definition of a pimp.

Relying on the one discourse of pimp-controlled girls leads to overly simplistic ideas about young people's involvement in sex trades. As we move beyond the dichotomy of villain and victim we find that a variety of reasons are cited for why youth become involved in sex trades. Some use sex trades to fulfill emotional needs that are not being filled elsewhere (Schwartz, 2009). For example, some young people mention the love and attention they receive from their facilitators and clients as a contributing reason to their initiation into sex trades (Gragg, Petta, Bernstein, Eisen, & Quinn, 2007). Others still live at home and trade sex for luxury items like jewelry or video games (Adler, 2003; Cates, 1989; Estes & Weiner, 2005). In these instances, it is their desires as opposed to

needs that motivate young people to trade sex. Young people also report involvement in trading sex because they are drawn to what they perceive as an exciting lifestyle (Cates, 1989; Weisberg, 1984). For some young people, they are fleeing an abusive situation at home, and once out of that situation find they need a way to meet their necessities (Brittle, 2008; Harris, et al., 2006; Schwartz, 2009). Then there are those whose peer networks are comprised of other young people trading sex. Engaging in trading sex is an activity that creates a bond with their peer group (Sausa, Keatley, & Operario, 2007; E. Wilson, et al., 2009). Although we know that these ranges in reasons exist, no parameter estimates exist about how many youth are in each group or how many of the reasons overlap.

Research that includes comparison groups offers key insights into unique factors among young people who trade sex. Although a significant body of literature has positioned sexual abuse as a key contributing factor associated with youth involvement in sex trades (Brawn & Roe, 2008; CdeBaca, 2010; Cree, 2008; Estes & Weiner, 2005; Kotrla, 2010; Schwartz, 2009), other reports have not found this association. In a large prospective cohort study that matched abused and neglected children with non-abused and neglected children, it was childhood physical abuse and neglect, not sexual abuse, which was associated with an increased risk for involvement in sex trades. Furthermore, it was only when this pathway was coupled with an early sexual initiation that the association remained (H. W. Wilson & Widom, 2010). Similarly, a comparison of 15- to 17-year olds who were and were not trading sex found that those involved in sex trades were no more likely to have been sexually abused than those with no involvement (Nadon, Koverola & Schludermann, 1998). It is important to address the abuse that all people may experience, to confine the issue of young people's involvement to discussions of sexual abuse oftentimes results in ignoring the other inequalities they may face.

The findings from other comparison studies reveal two key factors that are associated with young people's involvement in sex trades: homelessness and sexuality. Studies of street-based young people find that those who have ever traded sex are more likely to report histories of homelessness (Haley, et al., 2004; Weber, et al., 2004; Yates, MacKenzie, Pennbridge, & Swofford, 1991). Several studies have found that youth who identify as lesbian, gay or bisexual, who report a romantic attraction to someone of the same sex, or who have engaged in sexual activity with someone of the same sex are more likely to have exchanged sex for some type of payment (Chettiar, et al., 2010; Edwards, et al., 2006; Marshall, et al., 2010; Weber, et al., 2004). Homophobic living situations at home can effectively push lesbian, gay, and bisexual young people out of their homes and into the street economy. Once homeless, youth have limited to no employment options. Additionally, for a variety of reasons, some young people prefer to not be in shelters, group homes, or foster homes. Because the law prevents youth from entering into contracts such as rental agreements their options for housing are severely restricted. Likewise, the inability of most young people to obtain employment without the consent of their parents or guardians is a key barrier to meeting their financial needs and may result in trading sex becoming their least-worst option. Thus poverty, homelessness, laws that govern a young person's ability to work, homophobia, and the

laws that place restrictions on the age at which a person can enter into a contract, are all structural conditions that can result in trading sex becoming an economic strategy.

Among transgender young people, trading sex may be a response to the ways in which transphobia limits or eliminates employment options. Young transgender females who trade sex are more likely to have dropped out of school because of their gender identity, and also more likely to have been homeless than their peers who do not trade sex (E. Wilson, et al., 2009). In one study, over half of the transgender females who trade sex reported that the inability to find gainful employment resulted in their turning to sex trades (Garofalo, et al., 2006). This issue of limited economic opportunities was raised in focus groups with young people in New York City, where the transgender participants shared that the economic barriers that result because of their gender identity contributes to their entry into sex trades (Gragg, et al., 2007).

Involvement in sex trades is often a strategy employed to address some of the economic necessities of these young people's lives. Trading sex is also used by some to "live" their gender and sexuality (O'Connell Davidson, 2005). Among young transgender women, trading sex validates their female gender identity (Garofalo, et al., 2006; E. Wilson, et al., 2009). Additionally, for those in the beginning stages of their transitions, it provides them access to the larger transgender community (Sausa, et al., 2007). Some of these young people explore their sexuality through their sexual encounters with clients. Although there is an absence of literature about sexual pleasure young females may experience through sex trades, it is not uncommon for research focusing on young males and young transgender individuals to cite that they experience sexual pleasure with some of their clients (Estes & Weiner, 2005).

Regardless of the pathways into sex trades, violence can be an all too common experience for young people who trade sex. Some youth seem to accept the idea that violent clients are a hazard innate to the sex industry. Violence is not just perpetrated by clients; it may also come from facilitators, other youth, and law enforcement officials. The experiences of young person perpetrated violence seem to center around issues of turf, with young people aiming to protect what they view as their geographic area and client base (Curtis, et al., 2008). When asked about their experiences with police, young people sometimes report that they try to avoid them as they have been sexually assaulted by them in exchange for not being arrested (Curtis, et al., 2008; Gragg, et al., 2007).

Some anti-trafficking campaigns structure their narratives around the victimization of young girls forced into the sex industry by their pimps. These campaigns fail to acknowledge the complex factors that contribute to young people's involvement in trading sex and the diversity of their experiences. Instead of questioning the structural factors that are the antecedents to involvement, outrage and indignation is focused on the individuals who are thought to be the facilitators and clients. In their characterization, young people become one-dimensional characters who are all victims. When we listen to youth involved in sex trades, it is rare that they think of themselves as victims (Cates, 1989; Curtis, et al., 2008; Schwartz, 2009; Tiapula & Turkel, 2008;

Walker, 2002). Instead, they view their involvement in sex trades as a solution to issues of employment and accessing material needs. As one 17-year-old girl who was in juvenile detention for possession with the intent to sell marijuana reflected:

How'd I support myself comin' up? Sellin' my ass – that's how! How else you 'spect me to put myself together? Not like a man is gonna help me! My mama always high – my daddy is in jail somewhere. Nobody really payin' much mind anyway...But, shit, I ain't doing' nothin' wrong. 'Least I'm not clubbing people over they head. (Schaffner, 2006, p.102)

This quote illustrates the ways in which some youth view sex trades as preferable to other options such as violent crime. These young people are creating sexual solutions to nonsexual problems. In order to get their needs met, they are relying on their sexual capital which they may view as their greatest asset (Schaffner, 2006).

Federal and Local Responses

Just as nothing is new about young people's involvement in sex trades, nothing is new about their construction as victims. The discourse of young people's victimhood dates back to the Mann Act of 1910. Also known as the White Slave Act, the Mann Act marks the first instance when a federal law was aimed at domestic prostitution involving young women and rendered females' consent as immaterial. Introduced by Representative James R. Mann of Illinois, the Act prohibits the transportation across state lines of women and girls for the purposes of sexual activity or prostitution. At this historical moment, a larger boundary crisis about women, sexuality and the family appeared in response to industrialization and the move from rural to urban communities. The Mann Act sought to control women and girls' movement across state lines and prohibited women from engaging in non-marital sexual relations (Brown, 2008). In his book Panders and their White Slaves (1910), Clifford Roe defined white slavery as the:

procuring, with or without their consent, girls and women for immoral houses and for lives of shame and detaining them against their wills until they have become so accustomed and hardened to lives of vice that they do not care to leave, become diseased, or too ashamed to face decent people again. (Grittner, 1990, p. 67)

The removal of criteria of consent was critical to maintain the idea of white slavery, as it would have been illogical to claim that someone who was a white slave had the capacity to give consent to her enslavement. In 1918, the Texas District Court offered the opinion that the purpose of the Mann Act was to "protect women who were weak from men who were bad" (Grittner, 1990).

The Mann Act was not without its critics. In the 1915 case *U.S. v. Holte*, Justice Holmes raised the need to abandon the illusion that the woman is always the victim (Grittner, 1990). The Immigration Commission found the Mann Act problematic because it excluded men and boys as potential victims. Assessing the impact of the Mann Act, many have pointed out that it was used to prosecute individuals beyond the scope of its original intent of commercial vice. In essence, the Mann Act became a mandate for prosecuting sexually promiscuous women (Brown, 2008).

The 1970s saw the introduction and adoption of several key pieces of legislation related to young people involved in sex trades. In 1977, the Protection of Children against Sexual Exploitation Act amended the Mann Act to also apply to boys, and to clarify that the transportation of a minor for prohibited sexual conduct is illegal only if the person knows or has reason to know that the young person will be sexually exploited (Loken, 1986). A hoped for outcome of this Act was that it would eradicate the national production and traffic in child pornography (Schwartz, 2009). In 1984, the Act was rewritten as the Child Protection Act and raised the age limit of minors from 16 to 18, and the sexual exploitation of minors was added to the list of offenses subject to federal investigation through court-approved wiretapping. The Child Protection Act also expanded the efforts to eradicate child pornography by criminalizing the reproduction of child pornography for distribution in interstate and foreign commerce (Loken, 1986).

In 1974, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (JJ&DPA) was adopted. This act offers incentives for diverting status offenders, including runaways, from juvenile delinquency proceedings and placements (Schwartz, 2009). It also prohibits states from institutionalizing status offenders in juvenile detention centers, recommending that these young people be placed in group homes or medium security facilities (Brittle, 2008). Title III of the JJ&DPA, the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act (which was amended in 2004 as the Runaway, Homeless, and Missing Children Protection Act), established runaway houses throughout the country to shelter youth and provide crisis interventions (Loken, 1986). With homeless and runaway youth overrepresented among young people involved in sex trades, this Act was an important contribution to their service needs.

Even with the establishment of shelters for homeless and runaway youth, the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act is limited in its impact. It is estimated that no more than 6% of homeless and runaway youth receive shelter in federally funded programs (Loken, 1986). Two provisions of this Act are attributed to the small number of homeless and runaway young people housed in shelters. First, to create a family environment, a 20 bed limit capacity on houses exists. A limited capacity translates to a limited number of youth served. Secondly, shelters that receive federal funding are required to report the young person's whereabouts to their parent or guardian within 72 hours of their arrival at the shelter (Loken, 1986). For young people that do not want their whereabouts to be known, these shelters are not a resource.

The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA), also introduced in 1974, established a coordinated federal effort to address child abuse and neglect. CAPTA expanded the federal definition of child abuse to include sexual exploitation, with prostitution as one of the types of sexual exploitation specifically addressed. The caveat with this Act is that the sexual exploitation needs to be perpetrated by a person who is legally responsible for the young person's welfare (Weisberg, 1984). Although cases of familial prostitution of youth exist (Kotrla, 2010; Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2010), largely legal guardians are not the ones exploiting their child through sex trades (Weisberg, 1984). This places many situations of young people trading sex outside the scope of child protection laws.

The Missing Children Act, passed in 1982, seeks to facilitate the identification and location of missing children. To this aim, the FBI maintains a national database of cases of missing or kidnapped youth, and parents or guardians are able to verify that their missing child has been entered into the database (Schwartz, 2009). The hope is that by facilitating the identification and location of young people who are missing, those who have recently runaway or gone missing will be found before they become involved in sex trades. For those young people who are missing and already involved in sex trades, this Act has the potential to serve as an intervention, as law enforcement officials may encounter them and through running their information realize that they are reported as missing (Weisberg, 1984). If the Missing Children Act is to be effective, the people responsible for the welfare of a young person must report him or her as missing. It has been questioned whether the parents of youth who are involved in sex trades would file

a missing persons report because the parents are largely uninvolved in their children's lives (Weisberg, 1984). It is also questionable whether young people will provide their legal name and age when approached by law enforcement (Brittle, 2008).

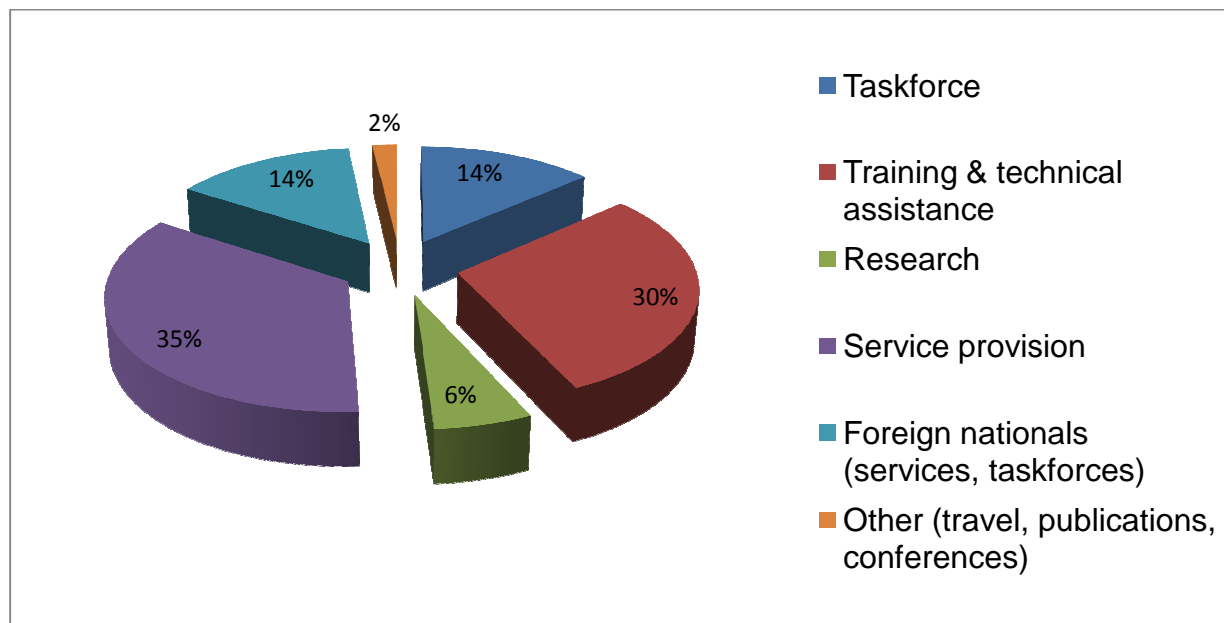
The most recent federal policy that pertains to young people involved in sex trades is the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000. The TVPA represents the re-emergence of a victim-centered approach to young people involved in sex trades, and establishes federal regulations for dealing with youth who are detained for prostitution related offenses. Individuals found guilty of trafficking minors for sex face at least a 10 year sentence. In cases where a youth under the age of 14 is trafficked through force, fraud or coercion, the minimum sentence is 15 years (U.S. Department of State, 2010a). The TVPA forbids detaining young people in facilities that are not appropriate to their status as crime victims. Instead of processing them through juvenile justice detention systems or holding them with other minor detainees, they are supposed to be placed in facilities deemed appropriate for crime victims (i.e. domestic violence shelters).

The 2008 reauthorization of the TVPA, the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act, made some important changes to its predecessor. Unlike previous versions of the TVPA, this reauthorization removed the provision that young people must provide reasonable assistance in investigating and prosecuting their traffickers to receive assistance and services. The reauthorization also mandated that funding be provided for the direct provision of services to this population, and maintained the provision set forth in the 2005 reauthorization to support shelters. This provision never received funding (Kotrla, 2010).

As a result of the TVPA, substantial amounts of funding have been dedicated to addressing the issue of young people involved in sex trades. The 2008 reauthorization approved up to \$5 million in funding for 2009, \$7 million for 2010, and \$7 million in 2011. Accompanying this funding is the mandate that it be used for direct service provision (Kotrla, 2010). Reports for fiscal years (U.S. Department of State, 2009/2010b) reveal that \$42,656,754 of funding was provided to address, combat, and further understand domestic trafficking. Of this funding, 35% was dedicated to direct service provision, 14% to anti-trafficking task forces, and 30% to training community service providers and identifying victims (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Funding for fiscal years 2009 and 2010

Total amount of funding: \$42,656,754 to address, combat, and further understand domestic trafficking.



* Foreign nationals are people residing in the United States who are not citizens.

The most recent federal response to be developed since the inception of the TVPA is the Innocence Lost National Initiative. Formed in 2003 by the FBI's Criminal Investigation Division, the Department of Justice's Child Exploitation-Obscenity Section, and the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, the Initiative is comprised of 46 task forces and groups working throughout the country. Its mission is to rescue and recover domestic victims of child prostitution (FBI, 2010b). During its most recent national sweep in November 2010, the Initiative recovered 69 young people, bringing the total number of young people recovered to 1250 (Martinez, 2010). The literature about the Innocence Lost Initiative does not detail what happens when a young person is recovered. Based solely on the \$26.1 million dedicated to the Initiative for fiscal year 2011 (W. T. Martin, 2010), the minimum cost to recover one young person amounts to \$20,880. This is the most conservative estimate as it is only based on one year of funding.

Because prostitution is regulated by the States and not the federal government, the TVPA is limited in its applicability. Since it is rare that local prostitution cases fall under federal jurisdiction, the TVPA is read as largely inapplicable for young people detained for prostitution offenses (Barton Child Law and Policy Clinic, 2008). For the TVPA to apply to domestic minors (U.S. citizens or lawful permanent residents), interstate or foreign commerce would need to be involved, or the sex trade would need to occur on federal land such as military bases. All states except two, Michigan and Illinois, include those under the age of 18 in their state definitions of prostitution. Michigan limits the

definition of prostitution to those who are 16 or older. As will be explored later, Illinois has decriminalized the involvement of minors in prostitution. Therefore, in the majority of states, young people involved in sex trades are still being arrested and charged.

Both the TVPA and the work of the Innocence Lost Initiative are clear in their view that young people involved in sex trades are victims who need to be rescued, treated like victims of crimes and connected with services. However, arrest rates since the TVPA's enactment in 2000 reveal a peculiar trend. Despite the federal classification of young people involved in sex trades as domestic minor victims of human trafficking, prostitution related arrests have increased since the implementation of the TVPA (see Tables 1 and 2). While the overall arrests of minors decreased by 20% between 2000 and 2009, those for prostitution and commercialized vice increased 8.5% (FBI, 2010a). However, it is the arrest of girls that has resulted in this increase.

Table 1: Ten-Year Prostitution Arrest Trends for Minors: 2000-2009

Offenses Charged	2000	2009	% Change
Total Arrests	1,455,216	1,161,830	-20.20%
Prostitution and Commercialized Vice	729	791	8.50%

Table 2: Ten-Year Prostitution Arrest Trends for Minors: 2000-2009, by Sex

Offense Charged	Male			Female		
	2000	2009	% Change	2000	2009	% Change
Total Arrests	1,047,690	807,818	-22.90%	407,526	354,012	-13.10%
Prostitution and Commercialized Vice	332	167	-49.70%	397	624	57.20%

Between 2000 to 2009, arrest rates for prostitution decreased nearly 50% for boys, yet those for girls increased by 57% (FBI, 2010c). Differences are also apparent in the rates of referral to probation for prostitution offenses. For all offenses in 2008, 57% of boys' referrals resulted in a petition compared with 44% of those for girls. That same year though, referrals for prostitution offenses that resulted in a court petition were noticeably higher for girls than boys (70% vs. 44%). The difference in arrest rates and probation referrals suggests a sexual double standard that penalizes girls through prosecution.

The victim approach established in the TVPA has been slow to permeate the child protection and juvenile justice systems (Brittle, 2008; Kotrla, 2010). Case in point is the recent media attention paid to the cross-country sweep conducted by the Innocence

Lost National Initiative. Since its inception in 2003, it has rescued 1250 children (FBI, 2010b). Data reported by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention for the years 2003-2007 shows that 2684 young people were arrested for prostitution nationwide (Puzzanchera, Adams, & Kang, 2009). The number clearly will be much higher once data from 2008-2010 is released. This begs the question of why some of these young people are considered victims, yet at least two times more are considered criminals.

Recent work has examined factors associated with law enforcement officials viewing young people who trade sex as victims. Two studies that reviewed juvenile prostitution case files found that those youth whose involvement in sex trades came to the attention of the police through a report rather than police action, and those who had a facilitator were more likely to be considered victims (Halter, 2010; Mitchell, et al., 2010). Other factors associated with being viewed as a victim included being female, having a history of running away from home, being younger than 16, and appearing frightened (Mitchell, et al., 2010). Furthermore, those who cooperated with law enforcement, or who had no prior arrest record were also more likely to be considered victims (Halter, 2010).

Young people who do not provide police with a third party exploiter to blame, or who in other ways seem complicit in their involvement in sex trades are more likely to be considered culpable. It is clear from the arrest rates and the findings from the case file review studies that victimhood is gendered. Since juvenile justice case files do not indicate whether a young person identifies as transgender, we cannot be sure to what extent young transgender individuals would be viewed by law enforcement as victims. However, with the findings from studies that 90 to 100% of all transgender young people in their samples have histories of arrest (Curtis, et al., 2008; Garofalo, et al., 2006), and that young transgender females are frequently arrested for prostitution related offenses even when they are not working (Curtis, et al., 2008), there is considerable support for the idea that they would not be viewed as victims. In the eyes of the law, it appears that only non-transgender females involved in sex trades are considered victims.

This gendered approach to victimhood is reminiscent of the stereotypical images of “helpless young women and girls, forced into prostitution” (Chang & Kim, 2007) that arose with the historical concept of white slavery of the Mann Act. It may also reflect the juvenile justice system’s response to girls’ sexual activity. To understand the current legal responses to young people involved in sex trades, it is first important to examine the underlying philosophical goals of the juvenile justice system. The first juvenile justice court was founded in Cook County, Illinois in 1899. The justices’ of the court felt that youth were not criminals. Instead they viewed society as the criminal because it allowed the social conditions to exist in which these young people found themselves in trouble with the law (Schwartz, 2009). The earliest form of the juvenile justice system was guided by two philosophies. On one hand, it was interventionist in that it sought to create programs that would rescue young people from crime and truancy. Simultaneously, it was also diversionary, and wanted to prevent young people from entering the criminal courts. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, however, it was young women who were most often charged with immorality or incorrigibility. Guiding

these charges was the belief that if girls were not incarcerated for this type of behavior, they would continue their promiscuity to the detriment of their morality (Schwartz, 2009).

This tension around sex remains and is still found in the response to young people, particularly girls, involved in sex trades. Currently, law enforcement officials claim that it is for a young woman's own good that they are arresting her; that without arresting her, they would not be able to link her to services she desperately needs (Mitchell, et al., 2010). This gendered notion of victimhood relies on the conception of female weakness, and brings with it judgments about female sexuality and sexual agency. Thus the contemporary juvenile justice system shares with its historical predecessor the desire to save girls. This goal pervades the consciousness of not just juvenile judges, prosecutors and advocates, but also the larger community (Schwartz, 2009).

Even though in most states these young people have not reached the legal age of consent for sex, they are still arrested for a sexual encounter that under other laws would be classified as rape or statutory rape. This contradictory system of regulations places them in the troubling position of being viewed as both an exploited youth and as an individual granted total agency and held to adult standards. Although young people of various ages are arrested for prostitution offenses, the finding that those who appear frightened, and those who are younger than 16 are more likely to be considered delinquent, suggests that a victim status is based in concepts about childhood.

All individuals under the age of 18 are legally defined as children in need of special protection. This wide range encompasses those who are entirely dependent on others for their care to those who are entirely independent. It comes as no surprise then that it is those who fit stereotypical notions of childhood such as helplessness, innocence and dependence who have an increased likelihood of being considered victims. When young people seem complicit in their involvement, when they do not cooperate with law enforcement, they assume an agentic position that runs counter to ideas about the relative powerlessness of children making it difficult for them to be viewed as victims.

In the past decade, some states have developed their own approach to addressing young people's involvement in sex trades. What follows is a brief discussion of the approaches used in the three states that host the programs involved in this study.

California: Criminalization

Starting at the age of 18, a person can legally consent to sex in California. However, any person, regardless of age, can be charged for violating section 647(b) of the California Penal Code. This subsection classifies prostitution as disorderly conduct and anyone who agrees to engage in or engages in any act of prostitution is guilty of disorderly conduct, a misdemeanor. Clearly, 647(b) cannot be reconciled with the statutory rape law that defines the age of consent. Even though involvement in sex trades is a criminal offense for youth, California has passed a significant amount of legislation focused on domestic minor sex trafficking. In 2005, Assembly Bill 22 established human trafficking as a felony crime, and in cases where minors are involved, the penalty is four, six or eight years in state prison. This Bill also permits

victims to bring civil action against their traffickers, and established an interagency statewide task force.

The majority of subsequent California legislation targets facilitators and clients, with proceeds earmarked for service provision. In 2009, Assembly Bill 17 was enacted and classified any cases involving the trafficking of minors for prostitution or fraudulently inducing a minor into prostitution as criminal profiteering. Additional fines for the procurement of a child under the age of 16 can be up to \$20,000. Any proceeds made from forfeiting property and fines are to be deposited into the Victim-Witness Assistance fund. The money from the fund is allocated for counseling programs that serve sexually abused or exploited youth. AB 17 requires that 50% of the funds be given to community-based organizations that work with minor victims of trafficking.

Two bills enacted at the beginning of 2012 are also illustrative of legislation that targets facilitators and clients. Assembly Bill 12, the Abolition of Child Commerce, Exploitation, and Sexual Slavery Act, allows courts to impose an additional fine for individuals convicted of soliciting or acquiring the sexual services of person under the age of 18. The fine can be up to \$25,000 and is to fund programs and services for commercially sexually exploited minors. Assembly Bill 90 adds the offense of inducing a minor to engage in commercial sex by use of force, coercion, threat, fear or injury to the minor or to another person to the definition of criminal profiteering activity set forth in the California Control of Profits of Organized Crime Act. Any proceeds from the property forfeited in these cases are deposited in the Victim-Witness Assistance Fund.

In the November 2012 election, California residents overwhelmingly voted in favor of Proposition 35, the Californians Against Sexual Exploitation (CASE) Act. Pending amendments that may be made prior to its being enacted in March 2013, the CASE Act increases the penalties associated with facilitating a young person's involvement in sex trades. It raises the penalties set by AB 22 from four to eight years in state prison, to five to twelve years. Monetary fines associated with the crime of facilitating youth involvement in sex trades can be up to \$500, 000 with an optional additional penalty of up to one million dollars. These fines are placed in the Victim-Witness Assistance Fund. Lastly, anyone convicted as a facilitator is mandated to register as a sex offender for the rest of their lives and, even if their crime did not involve the internet, they have to inform law enforcement anytime they register with an Internet service provider or change an Internet identifier. The ACLU and Electronic Freedom Foundation have already filed a challenge to the internet provisions of this ACT for being overly broad and violating citizens' rights.

Illinois: Decriminalization

The Illinois Safe Children Act, signed into law in 2010, is the first enacted legislation in conformity with the TVPA, providing new protections to young people in the sex trade. The Act decriminalized minors' involvement in the sex trade by transferring their jurisdiction from the criminal justice system to the child protection system. Because children cannot consent to commercial sex, references to "juvenile prostitutes" have been removed from the criminal code. These young people are to be viewed as victims

of human trafficking, not juvenile offenders. The Act also limits facilitators' defense that they thought the individual was 18 to those instances where the defendants had no reasonable opportunity to see the young person (Alvarez, 2010). Furthermore, the Act created new categories in the definition of "abused child" within the Abused and Neglected Child Reporting Act and in the definition of "abused minor" within the Juvenile Court Act. Finally, the Act charges the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services (DCFS) with responsibility for identifying and serving young people in the sex trade (Walts, 2011).

The Act overcomes two legal barriers that have limited identification of young people involved in the sex trade. First, because prostitution is regulated by states and not the federal government, the TVPA is read as largely inapplicable for young people detained for prostitution offenses (Barton Child Law and Policy Clinic, 2008). Second, most child protection laws are directed at child maltreatment (i.e., child abuse or child neglect) perpetrated by a parent, caretaker, or guardian, thus excluding cases that involve a third-party perpetrator or minors acting on their own agency.

The child welfare system has been suggested as the public agency best equipped to respond to young people in the sex trade (Brittle, 2008), because it is already mandated to work with vulnerable and marginalized children (Goldman, Salus, Woldott, & Kennedy, 2003). The overrepresentation of minors at high risk for sex trade involvement in the child welfare system (Kotrla, 2010) also suggests opportunities for identifying those previously unreported as involved in the sex trade. However, the child welfare system requires substantial support to meet this challenge, including training, development of screening protocols, and resources for response.

DCFS has engaged in extensive capacity building in response to its mandate within the Act. To meet the needs of young people referred by law enforcement, and current wards of the agency who are at high risk of sex trade involvement, DCFS has promised that all staff will have the necessary tools to understand, identify, and respond to young people involved in the sex trade. These protocols are described in the Operational Framework for Response to Child Trafficking Victims (known as the Blueprint), developed by DCFS and the International Organization for Adolescents. At the time of this writing, the Blueprint is new and no validity checks have been performed.

The Blueprint is both a training manual and a set of practice resources for child welfare workers who are either responding to referrals for those young people who are suspected of being involved in the sex trade or conducting reviews for youth in DCFS custody. It delineates the DCFS approach to integrating these young people into its agency mandate. It also recognizes the importance of systematic screening and assessment in the success of identification of this population. Included in the Blueprint are screening and assessment tools, including indicator checklists, guidance for how to interview young people, and rapid and comprehensive screening forms. The Blueprint also delineates best practices for case management with young people involved in the sex trade.

New York: The Partial Decriminalization Model

The Safe Harbour for Exploited Children Act (SHA) allows young people arrested for prostitution to defer criminal prosecution by petitioning for consideration as a person in need of supervision (PINS) (Meisner, 2009; Schwartz, 2009). This proactive attempt in New York to protect rather than prosecute young people involved in sex trades, was passed in 2008 and enacted in April 2010. Briefly, a PINS classification provides an opportunity for child welfare services to achieve jurisdiction over the young person and mandate that person to services that will hopefully facilitate his or her transition away from sex trades. The SHA amends the New York Social Services Law to enhance the role of child protection services in providing support and services to these youth. Every local social services district is mandated to address the child welfare needs of this population, and, if funds are available, they are to ensure that preventative services such as safe housing and community-based programs are available. To ensure law enforcement participation, the Local Commissioner provides trainings to help law enforcement officials identify these young people and help connect them with services. Additionally, the Office of Children and Family Services must contract with a non-profit organization that has experience working with youth involved in sex trades, to operate at least one safe-house. The staff of the safe-house must receive training about how to best work with these young people, and must directly or indirectly provide the continuum of services that this population needs (Meisner, 2009). The idea is that a system that allows these youth to have access to emergency housing, medical care, therapeutic and educational services, will better facilitate their transitions back into the community.

The SHA reflects the TVPA presumption that all domestic minors involved in the sex trade are victims of human trafficking. As a result of the SHA, prostitution is decriminalized for some young people. An examination of the PINS provisions reveals which youth are still subject to criminal prosecution. The first group of young people not covered by the PINS comprises those who are 16 or 17 years old. The PINS petition is only available to youth under the age of 16. Although those who are 16 or 17 are eligible to receive services for sexually exploited youth, they are not considered victims of sex trafficking. Also excluded from a PINS classification are young people who have previously committed prostitution. Youth previously classified as a PINS, as well as those who express an unwillingness to cooperate with the mandated specialized services for sexually exploited youth, are also excluded from a PINS classification. Finally, if a young person orders a PINS petition and then does not comply with the conditions imposed, the court may reestablish the delinquency procedures.

Review of the responses

None of the federal or local responses explored address the root factors that contribute to young people either deciding that sex trades are their best option or finding themselves in a situation where they are forced or coerced to engage in these behaviors. California's approach of maintaining the criminalization of youth's involvement in the sex trade, while increasing the penalties associated with solicitation offenses of minors, is questionable. The issue of young people involved in sex trades

will not be solved by arresting and prosecuting them. For some young people court intervention can lead to positive changes, for others it can exacerbate conditions such as poverty and trauma (E. Brown, et al., 2010). Nonetheless, arresting and prosecuting young people sends the dual message that they are victims and criminals. Because prostitution laws cannot be reconciled with statutory rape laws that define the age of consent, it is inappropriate to charge young people with prostitution related offenses. Furthermore, the legislation that increases penalties for solicitation of minors does not grant youth social and economic power, and does not acknowledge their needs and desires. Without this power, young people are still at risk for becoming involved in sex trades regardless of the increased penalties for facilitators and clients.

The problem, some would argue, is that the only way to mandate these young people to services is to arrest them; that even if they are viewed as victims, they need to be funneled through the juvenile justice system to link them to care. Acknowledging this problem of how to connect youth to needed services, some have suggested that the child welfare system is better equipped to deal with these young people (Brittle, 2008) because it is already mandated to work with marginalized and vulnerable youth. Illinois is the first state to test this theory by decriminalizing minors' involvement in trading sex by transferring their jurisdiction from the juvenile justice system to child welfare. The child welfare system may be preferable to juvenile justice, and it is not without its flaws. A large proportion of these young people are already involved in the child welfare system. Those who age out of the foster care system are doing so without the fundamental skills required to succeed in life, and one in four foster youth will be incarcerated within the first two years of exiting the system (Brittle, 2008). Although it is preferable that these youth not be arrested for prostitution related offenses, it is not clear that the child welfare system will produce significantly different results for these young people.

Although the Safe Harbour Act adopts the TVPA notion that these young people are victims of a severe form of human trafficking, it is problematic that it does not adopt the TVPA's age provision and instead limits it to youth under the age of 16. The provision in the Safe Harbour Act that prevents young people who are 16 or 17 from being eligible for a PINS provision indicates the ways in which age and notions about individuals' ability to consent factor into determinations of victimhood. Thus some young people are victims who are eligible for PINS proceedings, while others are treated as criminals. Similarly, the exclusion of youth who have prior arrests for prostitution crimes is shortsighted in that it fails to recognize the cyclical nature of this type of activity and that some young people see trading sex as a solution, maybe their only solution, to real problems. Those who are eligible for a PINS provision are still classified as status offenders (a juvenile who is charged with, or adjudicated for, conduct that legally would not be an offense if committed by an adult) which is stigmatizing and conveys the message that he or she did something wrong.

Many problems are inherent with the detention of young people. Detention can be a traumatic experience and expose youth to the stigmatization of being placed in secure conditions. If young people are going to be incarcerated for prostitution related crimes,

the importance of connecting them to services such as physical, mental and sexual health care, housing, education and employment opportunities cannot be understated. Under the Safe Harbour Act, one of the intents of moving the adjudication of juvenile prostitution from delinquency proceedings to PINS proceedings, is to link young people to a continuum of services. However, the PINS provision of the Safe Harbour Act is an unfunded mandate (Schwartz, 2009), so the Act does not guarantee the availability of needed services. The absence of funding coupled with the lack of secure housing for these young people, calls into question the Act's potential for success. Similarly, as this Act, as well as the other local responses to this issue, rely on experts' opinions, such as service providers, law enforcement officials and activists, about the service needs of these young people, it is questionable whether services are being offered that youth want to receive. When asked to identify their needs, young people most often cite employment and housing (Curtis, et al., 2008), yet these seem to be the two services missing from the local response efforts. This suggests that to ensure relevancy and buy-in, rather than relying solely on experts to identify this population's needs, young people need to be included in all aspects of services, from planning to implementation.

Considering the amount of resources devoted to this issue, victim identification is low. Suggestions have been made that to increase victim identification, training efforts and anti-trafficking task forces need to be expanded (U.S. Department of State, 2010a). In fiscal years 2009 and 2010, approximately 42.5 million dollars was devoted by the U.S. government to address, combat, and further understand domestic trafficking. With 44%, 18.7 million dollars, of that total dedicated to training and task forces, it is not apparent how their expansion will result in more young people being identified. Before more money is devoted to expanding task forces, a systematic evaluation of the task forces' effectiveness needs to be conducted.

It is not within the scope of this paper to review the task forces. Currently the Department of Justice funds 38 anti-trafficking task forces nationwide. Each task force is comprised of federal, state, and local law enforcement investigators and prosecutors, labor enforcement, and one victim service non-governmental organization (U.S. Department of State, 2010a). An article in the SF Public Press highlighted some of the more troubling aspects of these task forces (Winshell, 2012). In 2007 a state task force made recommendations for how the state could better respond to and prevent human trafficking. No mechanisms were put in place to monitor progress on the recommendations, and shortly thereafter the task force disbanded. Since then, nine regional task forces have formed throughout California. They receive no clear guidance from the state; their efforts are largely supported by federal grants. The grant language indicates that the goals of the task forces are to decrease the demand for human trafficking and increase the number of individuals arrested for trafficking. The grants, however, do not indicate deadlines for meeting the goals. The San Francisco Police Department received permission to use some of their federal task force money to arrest adults who trade sex. Similarly, the Vice Unit of the San Francisco Police Department reported the arrest of sex trade clients as human trafficking offenders. Neither of these actions violated the guidelines of the federal grants. The Bureau of Justice has since applied more stringent standards to these task force grants. It remains to be seen the

effect of these new guidelines. However, if the past experiences of the task forces in California are representative of other task forces, dedicating more money to them is not the solution.

METHODS

This study was a secondary analysis of data collected as part of a process evaluation conducted by RTI International with three U.S. Department of Justice, Office for Victims of Crimes (OVC) funded programs. The goals of the larger process evaluation were to document components of program implementation in three programs serving domestic minor victims of human trafficking and identify promising practices for service delivery for this population. This study evaluated data from all three sites: The SAGE Project, Inc. in San Francisco, the Streetwork Project at Safe Horizon in New York, and the STOP-IT Program at Salvation Army in Chicago. This study addressed the following questions:

- What are the characteristics of young people who trade sex?
- What services do the young people request and what do they receive?
- What are the challenges case managers experience in their work with this population?

The exploratory nature of this work lent itself well to a mixed methods approach. Quantitative methods were used to analyze the programs' monthly client data. These data provided information about those young people who received services through the programs. During semi-annual visits with each program, qualitative case history narratives were conducted with case managers at each of the sites to learn from them about the young people being served by their programs.

Quantitative Data Sources

Program staff provided the RTI International evaluation team with de-identified client information. All forms were developed in collaboration with the program sites. Data forms included: Intake Status; Client Service Needs and Service Provisions; and, Closing Status.

The Intake Status form (See Appendix A) included demographic information, social service system involvement, sex trade characteristics, living situation, health information, trauma history, and service needs. This form was completed for every new or re-entering client (previously served but case closed) within 45 days after intake. The data was collected at intake and/or during the first 30 days after intake. If significant new information regarding the client status at intake was disclosed after the first 30 days, a second form was completed with revised information only.

The Client Service Needs and Service Provision form (See Appendix B) described the services needed and provided to the young person. It was completed monthly for each active client by the 15th of the following month and depicted activity during the prior calendar month. If no activity with the client occurred during the month, only the first page of the form was completed.

The Closing Status form (See Appendix C) addressed individuals who had explicitly left the program or whose cases were considered closed due to lack of contact. The date on which the case was closed and the reason for closing the case was recorded. This form was filled out for all clients who had been classified as closed during the reporting month, and was completed by the 15th of the following month.

Each program sent copies of all forms to the RTI International evaluation team by scanning and e-mailing them. Forms included program-created client ID numbers, but no identifying information. The evaluation team entered the data, conducted quality control checks, and consulted with program staff to resolve any questions. In collaboration with the programs, the evaluation team conducted periodic reviews of data submitted by programs against staff knowledge of cases. Copies of program data were made available to each program in the format they request.

This study conducted a secondary data analysis of the monthly forms provided from January 1, 2011 through October 31, 2012. Clients of the programs were U.S. citizens or legal permanent residents under the age of 18 who had traded sex for some type of payment at least once in their lifetime.

Quantitative Measures

In the secondary data analysis, the following data elements were examined: Demographic characteristics; Current living situation and legal guardianship; Sex trade characteristics; Initial status; Service needs and provisions; Quantity of services delivered; and, Length of program engagement.

Demographic characteristics were assessed using descriptive items such as age and citizenship status (both required for program eligibility), as well as race/ethnicity and gender identification. A four-item gender variable (including both male-to-female and female-to-male transgender) was used.

Current living situation and legal guardianship data provided information on young people's living situations. Dependency status with respect to child welfare was noted. Sex trade characteristics items included age at first sex trade experience, the type of resources (e.g., shelter, drugs, cash) exchanged for sex, and whether someone acted as a facilitator for the young person by arranging clients or taking some of the money acquired through the sex exchange.

Initial status items described young people's living situation, system involvement, and status with respect to health, mental health, employment, substance abuse and other dimensions of well-being.

Service needs and provision items identified specific services and supports needed and received by program participants. The case managers reported on the young people's services needs, and to the extent known, on whether services were received, if services were provided in-house or by a referral source, and reasons why identified services were not received. Data about quantity of services delivered included services provided in-house and referrals made to other agencies.

Length of program engagement was calculated from the intake date and the date of the last involvement with the program. When cases were closed (either explicitly or after a loss of contact with the program), staff documented the reason for closing.

Qualitative Data Source

The evaluation team from RTI International collected case history narratives from case managers who worked at the OVC-funded programs about the young people being served by the programs. The case narratives were collected during semi-annual site visits to each of the three programs between March 2011 and December 2012. Over the project period, four site visits took place. During each of the first three visits, five case history narratives were collected from each program for a total of 15 unique case history narratives per site (N=45). After the first site visit, updates were collected at subsequent site visits about individuals for whom a case history narrative already existed and who had contact with the program since the last site visit. Over the project period a total of 63 updates were collected for 43 clients (13 from SAGE, 14 from STOP-IT, and 15 from Streetwork). This study conducted a secondary data analysis of the case history narratives.

Case managers at the programs selected 5 young people per each site visit to profile in case history narratives. Recognizing the limited literature about boys and transgender youth involved in the sex trade, and that these programs did not anticipate seeing a substantial number of boy or transgender youth, program staff provided narratives for all male and transgender program participants. To gather information about promising practices, case managers were also asked to select a successful case, a case that posed challenges, and a case where the young person turned 18 and aged-out of services. A semi-structured interview guide was used for the case history narrative interviews (See Appendix D). Case history interviews did not include identifying information or any information that could reasonably be linked to a specific person. Program staff used pseudonyms when describing youth. The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim.

Table 3 summarizes the types of data that this researcher used to address each of the research questions.

Table 3: Research Questions, Domains and Measures

Research Question	Domain	Examples of Measures
What are the characteristics of young people who trade sex?	Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age • Citizen or LPR • Gender • Race-ethnicity
	Youth situation at intake	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Living situation • Dependency status
	Sex trade characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Type of sex trades • Age at first experience • Resources traded for sex • Facilitator involvement • Relationship to facilitator • Type of force, fraud or coercion
What services do young people request and what do they receive?	Service needs and provision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Service needs • Services provided through referrals or case management • Reason why needed service is not provided
What are the challenges case managers experience in their work with young people who trade sex?	Program engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Length of engagement • Reason for closing file • Barriers to engagement
	Service needs and provision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Service needs • Reason why needed service is not provided • Barriers to receiving services

Data analysis

Quantitative Data

The modest numbers of young people served (N=78) and straightforward nature of the data suggested that simple descriptive methods for quantitative data were sufficient. For data on client characteristics and services delivery, this study focused on measures of central tendency, description of trends over time, and comparisons between key subpopulations, such as male versus female versus transgender young people and age differences (younger than 13 versus 13 -18).

Qualitative: Conceptual Framework

As a conceptual framework, this study utilized Life Course Theory (LCT) which examines people's lives within structural, social and cultural contexts (Elder, 1998). People's behaviors and outcomes are the result of a dynamic process that involves the person, environment, and time (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Elder, 1994), with choices contingent upon the opportunities and constraints of the social structure and culture (Elder, 1998). Elder (1994) offers four central themes that comprise this theory: 1) the link between human lives and their historical times; 2) timing, 3) linked lives, and 4) human agency. All are critical factors that influence the pathways of human life. Although people's decisions are informed by the opportunities and constraints of history and social circumstance, they still construct their own path throughout life based on the decisions and actions they take (Elder, 1998). "Life course theory and research alert us to this real world, a world in which lives are lived and where people work out paths of development as best they can," (Elder, 1998, p. 9).

Few studies have been published that directly use LCT to examine young people who trade sex, but there have been studies that use LCT with overlapping populations such as runaway adolescents (Yoder, Hoyt, and Whitbeck, 1998). A benefit of using LCT is that it does not rely on a "one-size fits all approach" to addressing issues (Godette et al., 2006). Rather, it offers a framework that is broad enough to represent the heterogeneity of experiences of young people who trade sex. LCT allowed this analysis to account for those times when youth are truly forced against their will to trade sex, as well as the structural, social and cultural contexts that precede young people's decisions to become involved sex trades.

Key constructs in LCT include time and timing, trajectories and transitions, critical periods and accumulated risks/cumulative disadvantage (Godette et al., 2006; Lynch and Smith, 2005). Godette et al. (2006) provide an explanation of these constructs. Time allows outcomes and the factors that influence them to be dynamic while timing is the lifespan of the experience to be understood. What this means for young people who trade sex is that the structural factors that are antecedents to involvement in commercial sex need to be examined and that the larger lifespan needs also to be explored when attempting to understand experiences. Initiation into commercial sex cannot be understood in isolation. Trajectories explain the development of an outcome over time and transitions represent those periods of time that are characterized by change (ie

leaving home). Critical periods involve those stages in an individual's life where exposures are more likely to have a deleterious impact than if they occurred at another point in time. Initiation to sex trades at certain ages may be more harmful than others, and particular risk for initiation or re-entry into commercial sex may occur after specific life experiences such as incarceration or running away. Accumulated risk/cumulative disadvantage encompasses exposure to long-term adversity that furthers the likelihood that the person experiences difficulties. Involvement in sex trades may be just one risk factor. Young people's experiences with juvenile justice, familial abuse, limited employment opportunities, and dropping out of school may put them at future risk for negative life outcomes.

Qualitative Data

Both life course theory (LCT) and grounded theory guided the qualitative inquiry (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1988). The first step of the grounded theory approach was to ask sensitizing questions such as: "What is going on here?", "Who are the actors involved?", "How do they define the situation?", "What is the meaning to them?", and "What are the various actors doing?". These questions assisted in understanding the data. Second, conceptual questions were asked: "What is the relationship of one concept to another?", "How do events or actions change over time?", and "What are the larger structural issues here and how do these issues play into or effect what I am seeing?". Such questions helped to make connections between and among concepts. As interview transcripts and summary statements were read, questions posed, and events observed, the coding categories were developed (Strauss and Corbin, 1988).

The initial code list was informed by the five constructs of LCT (time, timing, trajectories, transitions, critical periods, and accumulated risks), as well as the interview questions. Codes were then derived directly from the interview data and consisted of subject areas that, by virtue of the time the respondent spent discussing them and/or their recurrent nature, seemed important. The codes were revised as the data were analyzed. Codes were modified, collapsed, expanded, or dropped as new codes were added to the code list (See Appendix E for the final code list). All transcripts were coded and entered into the qualitative analysis program NVIVO version 9 (QSR International, 2010).

Theoretical and methodological memos, hallmarks of grounded theory methods, were written throughout the qualitative analysis process (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). These memos pertained to factors that influenced young people's involvement in sex trades, critical periods and traumatic events that precipitated transitions in sex trade involvement, the youth's service needs, and the ways in which youth interacted with case managers and other service providers. The memos varied in length, often contained direct quotes from the interview, and were filed according to the code to which they corresponded.

Summary statements were written for each case history narrative (N=45) and update (N=63). All the interviews were coded by this author. An initial code list was generated, and as new codes emerged or established codes required revisions, the list was

revised. A colleague checked 20% of the transcripts (n=22) to explore the reliability of the coding, with discrepancies or inconsistencies resolved through consensus discussions. The final analysis was reviewed by a colleague to ensure its accuracy. No issues were raised about the completed analysis.

STUDY SITES

This study was conducted in partnership with three programs competitively funded by the Office for Victims of Crime (OVC) to provide comprehensive services to domestic minor victims of human trafficking. The programs were awarded three years of funding. This study focused specifically on those young people who were involved in trading sex (aka domestic minor victims of sex trafficking). This section provides a brief description of each program.

California: Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE) Project, Inc.

The SAGE Project, Inc. in San Francisco, CA was founded in 1992 by the late Norma Hotaling. As a self-described survivor of commercial sexual exploitation and heroin addiction, Ms. Hotaling sought to end the commercial sex industry and founded SAGE so that other women could live their lives free of sexual exploitation, addiction and trauma. Although SAGE identifies as a harm reduction agency, stipulations exist about who can access services. If a client shows up under the influence of drugs or alcohol they cannot participate in services during that time. Likewise, any client who is currently using drugs needs to have a treatment plan in place with SAGE. SAGE self-identifies as the experts in exploitation and feels that they are the only organization in the San Francisco Bay Area that is willing to talk about young people's involvement in the sex trade. They feel strongly about only referring to this as trafficking, not prostitution or sex work, and strive to be consistent in this messaging so that the community and other service providers learn that this is human trafficking. Many of the young people SAGE works with are mandated to the program, and are juvenile justice or child welfare involved.

The funding from OVC allowed SAGE to expand its services to a wider array of young people. Prior to this project, their work with youth was restricted by other funding sources to serving only girls from San Francisco County. With the OVC funding boys and transgender young people, and those living out of county were eligible for services at SAGE. Although the OVC funding allowed SAGE to work with boys and transgender youth, all but one of the clients they served for this project were girls. Individual case management is available to all young people at SAGE. During the project period the number of case managers at SAGE who worked with youth ranged from 1 to 3. As part of their funding, SAGE also provides outreach and training to law enforcement, service providers, and the community about sex trafficking of domestic minors.

SAGE operates two youth programs for girls with involvement in the sex trade or who are considered to be at-risk for involvement. The Life Skills program, hosted at SAGE, works with youth to help them meet their fundamental needs, build their self-esteem, and guide them towards building healthier relationships with peers and adults. This program meets weekly and its curriculum focuses on sexual exploitation, domestic violence, trauma, sexual abuse, and job skills. The group is envisioned as a space where the girls can talk about what is going on in the community and receive help from the program's counselors. Most girls are involved in the Life Skills Program for six to

twelve months. Once a girl graduates from the Life Skills Program, it is her decision whether she wants to continue to receive services from SAGE and enroll in their adult program. Most do not stay connected once they have graduated. SAGE's In-Custody Peer Counseling provides a life skills program, and individual and group counseling to youth who are in custody in the juvenile justice system. Girls are not required to go to the group, but some choose to as it is better than the alternative which is to sit in their cells. The group size has ranged from two to eighteen. Topics of focus include health, teen dating and prostitution. With a limited number of topics, sometimes a girl will encounter the same topic more than once.

Illinois: The STOP-IT Program at the Salvation Army

The Salvation Army STOP-IT Program in Chicago, Illinois was founded in 2006. STOP-IT was initially focused on foreign victims of trafficking, but expanded its scope to provide outreach and services to domestic youth of all genders who have been, or are currently, involved in the sex trade. Although the program does not have a physical space that young people can access, the staff are able to provide intensive case management to their clients by meeting them in locations such as their homes, at school, or while sharing a meal at a fast food restaurant. STOP-IT also offers 24/7 response to client emergencies and emergency calls from law enforcement. The majority of clients are referred through law enforcement agencies and hospital emergency rooms. Even though STOP-IT has built a strong relationship with the Chicago Police Department, they do not work with mandated clients.

The Salvation Army started in 1865, and in its earliest work organized homes for "fallen women" who were involved in prostitution or at risk for becoming involved. The guiding philosophy of Salvation Army can be seen in much of STOP-IT's work with youth. Although STOP-IT does not assume that their clients are ready to exit the sex industry, they are explicit with their clients that this is what their hoped for outcome is. Case managers start their work with what looks like a mentoring relationship. They meet their clients and work with them on their most pressing needs such as housing, food and clothing. Once the person's basic needs are addressed, case managers strive to work with them on the next steps that will create ways for the young person to survive that does not include engagement in trading sex. Because they are a Salvation Army program, STOP-IT will not financially assist with certain services the young person may request such as abortions. However, if youth are looking for such a resource, the case managers will not withhold the information. In those instances they will refer to agencies that provide a wide array of services and the young person can go there to learn more about their options. Over the project period, the number of case managers at STOP-IT ranged from 3 to 5.

In addition to case management, STOP-IT also runs an in-custody program and conducts outreach and training to raise awareness about the sexual exploitation of minors. The in-custody program is comprised of eight weeks of curriculum that focuses on topics such as sex trafficking and prostitution, internet safety, and healthy

relationships. STOP-IT works to raise awareness about trafficking through trainings targeted at social service providers, law enforcement and medical providers. In trainings and events, STOP-IT goes over the definitions of trafficking and then focuses specifically on domestic issues and the involvement of domestic minors. They speak about how youth become involved, warning signs to look for, and the goals of their program.

New York: The Streetwork Project at Safe Horizon

Safe Horizon in New York was established in 1978 to prevent violence and promote justice for victims of crimes and abuse. Founded in 1984, the Streetwork Project provides services to homeless and street-involved young people of all genders up to 24 years of age. Young people served by the OVC-funded program are a part of the larger Streetwork program. In other words, Streetwork does not have a separate program for youth involved in sex trades. Streetwork provides an array of services at two Drop-In Centers, one in Harlem and the other in the Lower East Side, and one residential program that offers short-term, emergency housing for up to 24 young people. Within the drop-in centers and residential programs, services are provided both by Streetwork staff (e.g., case management, counseling, meals) and by outside agencies who provide on-site services (e.g., medical, psychiatry, legal). Streetwork maintains a strong commitment to a low threshold, harm reduction philosophy. This philosophy translates to a non-judgmental, client-centered approach. Young people are not judged on their behavior, nor are they pressured to work on any particular area. Youth are assumed to be competent to make the best choices for their lives, with self determination as a guiding principle. Streetwork does not work with mandated clients.

Both drop-in centers serve as a space where youth can “hang-out” and access services. Clients choose which drop-in center they will use, and are subsequently assigned a case manager who will work with them to assess their needs and facilitate access to services. Over the project period, the number of case managers at Streetwork who worked directly with this group of young people ranged from four to nine. Most services are provided onsite, and include individual and group counseling, advocacy, help in obtaining identification, emergency and crisis housing, GED preparation and support, and help in obtaining Medicaid and other benefits. Legal, medical and psychiatric services are also provided on-site by outside agencies. At the drop-in centers, young people can also obtain hot meals, showers, laundry, and clothing. The drop-in center located in the Lower East Side of Manhattan differs from its Uptown counterpart in some ways. The facility is much smaller and offers reduced hours of service. One important difference between the two centers is the young people being served. Youth at the Lower East side center have higher rates of drug use and injection drug use. Services provided only at this center include syringe exchange and overdose prevention training.

In addition to the drop-in centers, Streetwork also operates an outreach program at night from 9pm to 5am. Teams of staff go to different locations throughout the city where homeless youth are known to hang out. The outreach staff let young people know about Streetwork and provide the youth with safe sex supplies, food, and clothing. The

majority of young people who access services at Streetwork are referred either by their peers or through street outreach.

Results

Quantitative Sample Characteristics

Over the twenty-two month project period, 78 young people were enrolled across the three programs (see Table 4). Each of the OVC-funded programs served clients up to the age of 18 (range 13-18). The median age of all clients was 16. Nearly 86% of all clients identified as females (range 60% - 96%). Although the programs were required to serve youth of all genders, only Streetwork served a sizeable proportion of males (35%), and all of the programs struggled to reach transgender youth. Seventy-one percent of all clients identified as African-American. Nearly one quarter of the clients served were legal wards of the court or child welfare. The percentage of young people reported as being in school overstates the actual role of education in their lives. Instead of attendance, this number more accurately reflects enrollment. At the time of intake into the program, only 1 youth reported being employed. Forty percent were child welfare involved. Across the three programs the median number of client contacts was 10.5 (range 1 -221), and the median length of service delivery was 113 days (approximately 3 ¾ months).

Table 4: Sample Characteristics

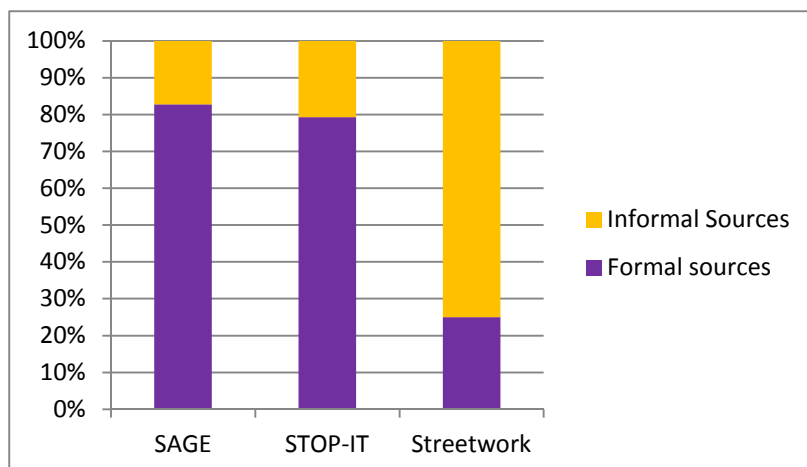
	SAGE		STOP-IT		Streetwork		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Clients	29		29		20		78	
Total number of client contacts								
Range		4 – 85		1 - 182		1 - 221		1 - 221
Median		10		21		4.5		10.5
Length of service (in days)								
Range		4 - 502		7 - 405		10 - 531		4 - 531
Median		85		119		122		113
Age								
Range		13-18		13-17		13-17		13-18
Median		17		16		16		16
Sex								
Male			1	3.4%	7	35.0%	8	10.3%
Female	28	96.6%	27	93.1%	12	60.0%	67	85.9%
Transgendered (FTM)	1	3.4%	1	3.4%	1	5.0%	3	3.8%
Race/Ethnicity*								
American Indian or Alaska Native	4	13.8%			1	5.0%	5	6.4%
Asian	1	3.4%			1	5.0%	2	2.6%
African American	18	62.1%	25	86.2%	12	60.0%	55	70.5%
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	1	3.4%					1	1.3%
White	6	20.7%	2	6.9%	8	40.0%	16	20.5%
Hispanic/Latino(a)	3	10.3%	5	17.2%	9	45.0%	17	21.8%
Other	5	17.2%					5	6.4%
Citizenship status								
Citizen	29	100%	28	96.6%	20	100%	77	98.7%
LPR			1	3.4%			1	1.3%
Legal ward	9	31.0%	6	20.7%	4	20.0%	19	24.4%
Don't know	2	6.9%			3	15.0%	5	6.4%
Education and Employment								
School only	22	75.9%	15	51.7%	9	45.0%	46	59.0%
Employed only	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Both school and employed	0	0%	1	3.4%	0	0%	1	1.3%
Neither	7	24.1%	13	44.8%	11	55.0%	31	39.7%
Current Systems Involvement								
Child welfare	14	48.3%	10	34.5%	7	35.0%	31	39.7%
Juvenile justice	18	62.1%	7	24.1%	3	15.0%	28	35.9%

*Multiple choices were allowed

Referral Sources

Each of the three programs had multiple strategies for accessing young people involved in sex trades (See Figure 2). Seventeen percent of SAGE’s clients were court mandated to the program. Although STOP-IT reported not working with mandated clients, one of their clients was mandated to the program; no clients from Streetwork were mandated to their program.

Figure 2: Referral Sources

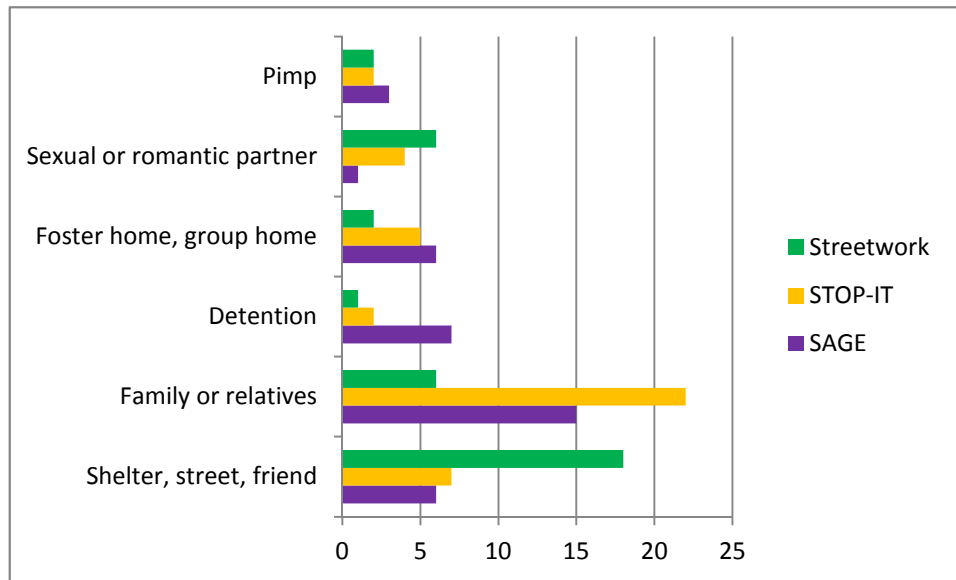


The two main referral sources for SAGE were juvenile justice/probation (24%) and child protective services (17%). For STOP-IT the majority of referrals came from law enforcement officials (38%) and hospital staff (17%). Referrals into Streetwork were primarily through informal sources such as word of mouth/peer referral (45%) and self-referral following street outreach encounters (20%).

Living Situation

At the time of their intake into the OVC-funded program, few youth reported living in child welfare group homes or foster homes (See Figure 3). Many young people, especially those being served by STOP-IT and SAGE, were either living in family or system settings. On the other hand, the majority of Streetwork clients were marginally housed or homeless. Overall, the data for the three programs largely understates the transient nature of living situations. Half of all clients reported multiple types of living situations and others may have experienced multiple settings of the same type – bouncing among family members, for example.

Figure 3: Past 30 days living situation(s) reported by number of clients at time of intake*



*Multiple choices were allowed

Sex trade characteristics

Based on the intake data, the median age at which young people first traded sex was 15 (see Table 5). Although 40% of all clients were still engaged in sex trades at the time of their intake, current sex trade involvement was primarily among clients of Streetwork. As will be shown later in the qualitative findings, the finding that 40% were still trading sex at time of intake needs to be considered in conjunction with the reality that young people transition in to and out of sex trade involvement with some regularity. Over half (53%) reported connecting with clients on the street (range 25% - 76%), 39% through the internet (range 20% - 59%), and 28% through informal mechanisms such as a peer connection or an unplanned encounter (range 24% - 30%).

Table 5: Sex trade characteristics

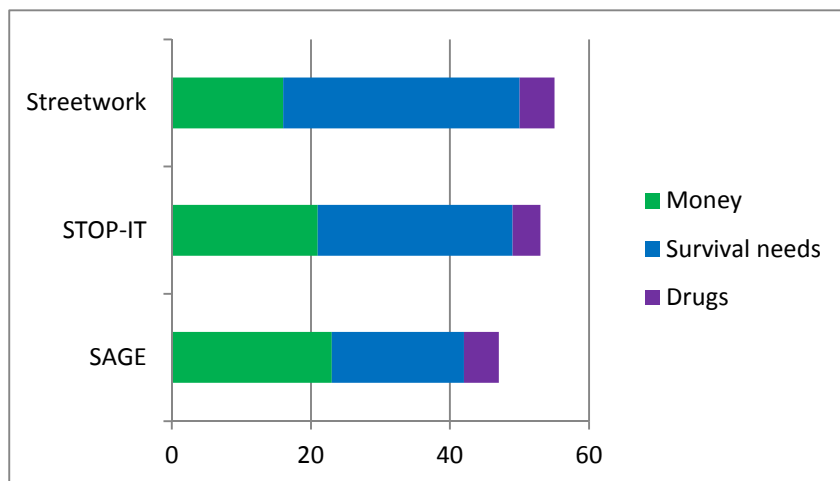
	SAGE		STOP-IT		Streetwork		Total	
	N	value	N	value	N	value	N	value
Total clients	29		29		20		78	
Currently trading sex	7	24.1%	7	24.1%	17	85.0%	31	39.7%
Age at first sex trade								
Range		10 - 17		10 - 17		10 - 17		10 - 17
Median		14		15		15.5		15
Sex trade facilitator relationship*								
None; client arranged for self	9	31.0%	2	6.9%	16	80.0%	27	34.6%
Sexual or romantic partner	5	17.2%	3	10.3%	0	0%	8	10.3%
Friend/Acquaintance/Peer	5	17.2%	6	20.7%	2	10.0%	13	16.7%
Family/household member	1	3.4%	3	10.3%	0	0%	4	5.1%
Gang	0	0%	2	6.9%	0	0%	2	2.6%
Pimp	16	55.2%	14	48.3%	3	15.0%	33	42.3%
Someone else	0	0%	1	3.4%	0	0%	1	1.3%
Don't know	5	17.2%	4	13.8%	6	30.0%	15	19.2%

*Multiple choices were allowed

The majority of Streetwork clients did not have someone facilitate their involvement in sex trade. This is markedly different than the experiences of youth connected with STOP-IT and SAGE. Young people had a variety of people who facilitated their involvement in sex trades. Across the three programs 42% of clients reported having a pimp. Again, the qualitative data revealed the infrequency in which young people considered their facilitators pimps. Therefore the quantitative finding may reflect the case managers' perspectives about who was facilitating sex trade involvement for their clients as opposed to the how the youth would define the relationship. As one case manager said, *"everything about it is pimp except what she calls him."*

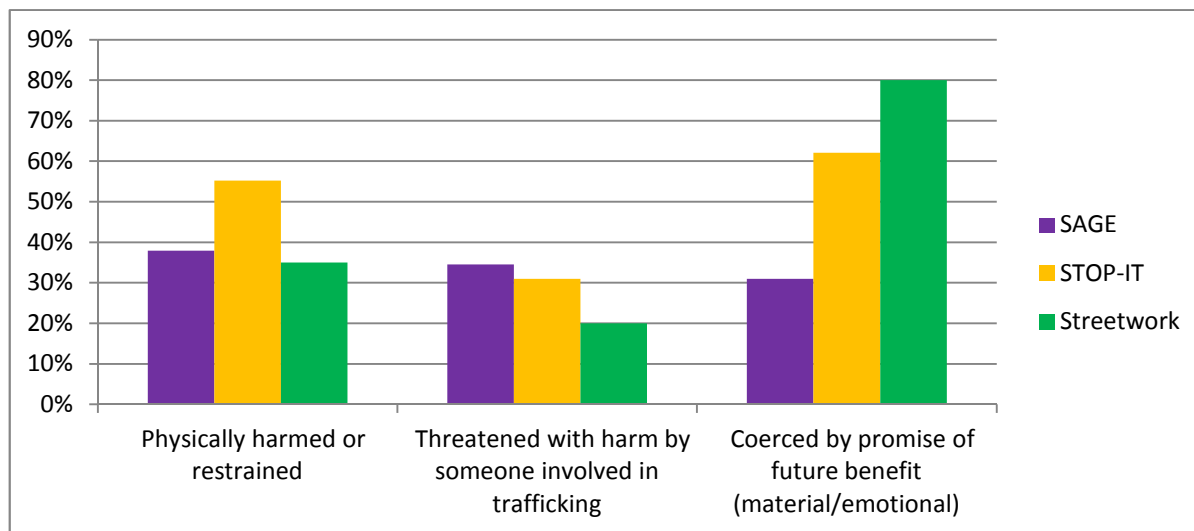
Resources exchanged for sex

Clients could report more than one response to what they received in exchange for sex (See Figure 4). The overwhelming majority cited money (77%). In combination, items that are best classified as survival needs (food, clothing, shelter, protection) were the next most cited resources. A small portion of youth also received drugs in exchange for sex.

Figure 4: Resources exchanged for sex

Types of force, fraud or coercion within sex trade involvement

In various ways, this group of young people experienced force, fraud or coercion in connection with their sex trade involvement (Figure 5). Overall, 44% reported ever being physically harmed or restrained, 30% were threatened with harm, and 55% were coerced by promise of future benefit.

Figure 5: Types of force, fraud or coercion

Qualitative Findings

Over the twenty-two month project period, 15 unique case history narratives were collected from each program for a total of 45 individual case narratives. A total of 63 updates were collected for 43 clients. The median age at intake for the case narrative sample was 16 (see Table 6). Because the case managers were asked to include all males and transgender youth for the case history narratives, their percentages are

noticeably higher than those of the overall sample. For the clients included in the qualitative data, across the three programs the median number of client contacts was 24 (range 1 -181), and the median length of service delivery was 189 days (approximately 6 1/3 months). As a reminder, the case history narratives were collected from case managers who worked with the youth. No youth, parents or guardians were interviewed. In the following presentation of results all quotes are from case managers. In those instances where it seems as if the young person is speaking, or a parent, it is case managers sharing what these people said to them.

Table 6: Case narrative sample characteristics

	SAGE		STOP-IT		Streetwork		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Clients	15		15		15		45	
Total number of client contacts								
Range		3 - 156		1 - 181		3 - 90		1 - 181
Median		28		32		10		24
Length of service (in days)								
Range		4 - 502		51 – 405		10 - 531		4 – 531
Median		216		177		182		189
Age								
Range		13-18		13-17		13-17		13-18
Median		17		16		17		16
Sex								
Male			2	13.3%	7	46.7%	9	20.0%
Female	15	100.0%	12	80.0%	7	46.7%	34	75.6%
Transgender (MTF)			1	6.7%	1	6.7%	2	4.4%
Race/Ethnicity*								
American Indian or Alaska Native	1	6.7%					1	2.2%
Asian								
African American	7	46.7%	14	93.3%	4	26.7%	25	55.6%
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander					1	6.7%	1	2.2%
White	5	33.3%	1	6.7%	7	46.7%	13	28.9%
Hispanic/Latino(a)/Spanish	2	13.3%	1	6.7%	9	60.0%	12	26.7%
Other	5	33.3%			2	13.3%	7	15.6%
Citizenship status								
Citizen	15	100.0%	15	100.0%	15	100.0%	45	100.0%
LPR								

*Multiple choices were allowed

Timing of sex trade initiation

No single narrative can adequately explain young people's involvement in sex trades. However, contextual factors common across the case history narratives included poverty, inadequate or abusive parenting, early sexual abuse by a male family member, leaving home, and for some, a combination of all the above. Youth traded sex for money, a place to stay, food or clothes. This is particularly true for homeless and runaway youth. One case manager described the experience of a young transgender woman who had run away from home. *"She obviously needed food and clothing and shelter...She had to, you know, prostitute herself in order to obtain those things."*

Young people left home or were kicked out for a variety of reasons. In some cases they chose to leave because of contentious relationships with family members. At the time of one young woman's intake she described her relationship with her mother as:

being good as long as they're not living together, but they drive each other crazy when they're under the same roof. She wanted some distance from her mother, she described that she cares about her mother and she knows her mother cares about her but they just can't be under the same roof.

Sometimes it was a mutual agreement between parents and their children that the youth would no longer live at home. One young man described to his case manager that he did not have any problems, he just was not that close to his mom and he had her permission to not live at home.

In other situations young people ran away because of abuse. Youth of all genders described to their case managers physical, verbal and sexual abuse from different family members. A young woman who was living with her grandmother and aunt told her case manager that:

part of the reason why she doesn't stay there is because she says her aunt is mainly verbally and emotionally abusive and she can't, she doesn't want to be around her and she's always treating her terribly, so she tries to go out and find other places to live.

In another situation, a young woman who received unwanted sexual advances from her aunt's boyfriend shared with her case manager that, *"I don't have to put up with this...[I]f I'm going to deal with this I might as well get money for it."* In the rare occasion where the young person reported the abuse to someone in the family, they were *"teased and blamed for the abuse,"* making them feel even more unsafe in the home. Many of these youth reached a point where they no longer wanted to experience the abuse and decided that their best option was to leave home.

The case history narratives also revealed the ways in which homophobia and transphobia effectively pushed young people out of the home and onto the streets. When one young woman disclosed to her family that she was gay, she told her case manager that her adopted mother's response was, *"You better say you're not or you can't live here anymore."* For a young transgender woman, the fact that her family was

not accepting of her gender identity resulted in her leaving home. Her case manager explained:

The biggest thing with her was that...her family was not, you know, accepting of it [being transgender]. Her family was very religious, her adopted mother was a minister and so was her adopted father so they were really, really against it and she lived in a community where transgenders were not welcome. So therefore...if her family didn't accept her then she was still going to do it but away from home.

Trading sex became a viable option once these young people left home and they needed a way to support themselves.

Among the few gay and transgender youth served by these programs, in addition to sex trade involvement providing them with a means to support themselves, it also offered validation of their sexual or gender identity. Through trading sex they felt sexually desirable and seen. Young men received the sexual attention of other men and had the opportunity to explore their sexuality. Transgender women were able to present themselves in a way that reflected who they are and receive validation through being accepted as women. A case manager described the experience of one the transgender youth she worked with, *"For the most part she said she loved what she did, she loved the fact"* that clients considered her to be a woman.

Turning to sex trades for survival was also a reality for youth who were housed, but whose basic needs of food and clothing were not provided. A case manager described the way one client's adoptive mother did not provide for him. *"She's not going to lock the door on him, but she's not doing much else besides leaving the door unlocked."* The case narratives revealed situations where parents did not provide food for their child, bought clothing multiple sizes too small for them, or moved away and did not leave their child with the necessary means of support. In one such case a young woman had been living with her father after her mother had abandoned them. Her father eventually entered a relationship with another woman and over time moved out of state to live with her. *"He left [his daughter and her boyfriend] in the apartment with no money, no food or anything. He just stopped being in contact with her."* Consequently, youth who were housed but not provided for decided that trading sex was their *"only option for survival."*

Whether or not they were housed, the narratives revealed how some youth became involved in trading sex in an attempt to fill emotional voids in their lives. Young people shared with their case managers that they felt no one was there for them, that nobody loved them. One young woman expressed to her case managers how she wished her mother had time to *"comfort her, but her mother is always too busy and too stressed out."* Another young woman told her case manager that she *"wasn't sure if anyone in her family loved her or not."* In one case, losing an important relative left a young woman feeling emotionally neglected:

[She was] right around 12 years old, I think her uncle had gotten shot, and he was like the one that actually cared about her, and so here she lost somebody that really loved her... and she then recognized how she started needing to be

loved and she would walk down the street and people would call out certain things to her and it felt like she was being recognized and loved and then she started to go into that world [sex trades].

In situations such as these, young people coupled with someone who gave them the attention they were desperately seeking; they “*were desperate for someone to love [them].*” For some this meant coupling with men who paid them for sex. For others it meant forming an intimate relationship with somebody who over time also became their facilitator who asked or coerced them to trade sex. The role of facilitators will be explored in more detail later.

For a smaller portion of the clients served by these programs, their initiation into trading sex is best characterized as sensation seeking. These young people were housed and had all of their basic needs provided for them. A case manager described the background of one such young person, “*Her living situation, it’s very good. They live in a very nice area, she’s very provided for, has all the necessities and then some.*” For this group of young people, they initiated trading sex because they were drawn to its perceived excitement. One young man shared with his case manager that what he found exciting about it was, “*the drug use and meeting new people and sex.*”

In addition to sensation seeking, some young people whose needs were taken care of initiated trading sex to get things that they wanted but did not necessarily need. Young women reported trading sex because “*someone’s going to buy [them] some really expensive jewelry or something [they] don’t need.*” In other situations the things that youth wanted, and arguably did not need, were items their parents would not provide for them. One young woman’s first time trading sex occurred when:

she was walking to school one day and she really wanted some Flaming Hots and her mom didn’t give her the candy because it was morning time and she didn’t need the junk food. But this person offered her money for a blowjob and she was like, “Hey, I can use that money.”

Drugs were another item that some young people wanted and that most parents were not going to provide for them. Of all the case narratives, only two were about young people who started trading sex to support their drug use. One young woman told her case manager that the reason she was trading sex was “*because I wanted my drugs...My mom can give me all the money I want.*”

Noticeably absent from the majority of case narratives was the story most represented in the media, youth forced into trading sex. One young woman initially told her mom, the media, and her case manager that she had been kidnapped, held in a hotel, and forced to have sex with men. Over time she revealed that she made the story up. Instead she had been physically assaulted by some of her brother’s gang affiliations and stayed away from home for a few days. The experiences of four youth however did fit the narrative of a young person forced by someone. In one case, a young woman was sexually assaulted by her boyfriend and his brother and later that same night they:

took her out to the track and they let her out of the car and they said, "Don't come back until you make us money." And so that was her first...engagement in prostitution.

The other three cases shared a similar theme. Young women would meet someone, typically a male close to their age, felt as if they were building some type of relationship with that person, and then were forced to trade sex. A case manager explained:

So she told me that she met her trafficker a year before...[S]he was 16 at the time, and she was walking home from somewhere and a car approached her and a guy was driving, the trafficker, and there was another girl who was in the car and she was saying, "Oh, you're so cute," you know, "I want to get to know you, get in the car," you know, "Let's talk some." And then she is kind of hesitant in the beginning but she got in and then they told her, you know, "We're going to be your new family now," and then they eventually forced her to trade sex.

Although only four young people were initially forced to trade sex, this does not mean that force was not present in the experiences of other young people. As presented in the quantitative findings, and will be presented in the qualitative findings, it was. However, it was not overt force that was behind most youth's sex trade initiation.

Facilitator relationships and roles

It is worth taking a moment to revisit who is considered a pimp or facilitator. Legally a pimp is anyone who arranges clients for someone trading sex, or who benefits financially from someone else's sexual services. In the case of youth who are U.S. citizens or lawful permanent residents, another term used to describe a person who facilitates youth's involvement in sex trades is trafficker. Not all relationships with someone who by law is considered a pimp are inherently negative. Among this group of young people, some worked independently and others had facilitators. The one thing that was largely consistent was the rarity with which youth described a facilitator as a "pimp". Because young people did not use the term pimp, throughout this section anyone who fits the legal definition of a pimp will be referred to as a facilitator. When case managers described someone as a pimp or trafficker, the term facilitator will not be used.

Those working independently primarily did so on the street and by advertising on the internet. Establishing a few regular clients increased youth's ability to work independently because they did not need someone to connect them to clients. A case manager described the experience of one young woman who worked independently:

this was really her doing her own thing, she's very self sufficient, she kind of feels like, you know, "Handle your business, do your business"... And so she was just trying to do it on her own and... take care of herself, because her family wasn't taking care of her.

The types of people who were facilitators and their relationship with the youth were extremely varied. Facilitators were friends, intimate partners, surrogate family members, or someone who was “*taking a cut*” for assisting the young person with their trade.

Friends as facilitators played different roles in young people’s sex trade experiences. In one situation, a friend of a young woman asked her if she wanted to “*work for [him]*” and she said yes. In another situation, a friend of a young man took him to a house where her mom, an aunt and other adult women would give him “*a lot of weed and he has group sex with all of them.*” Among street-based youth, friends connected each other with specific clients and received a “*finder’s fee.*” Other friends played a more involved role in the young person’s sex trade experiences. One young man worked out of a gay bar and paid a friend of his who worked there to “*look the other way.*” A case manager shared one young woman’s description of her friend and what he did for her:

[S]he never, ever described him as her pimp. Like that, that wasn’t how she viewed him. But I do know that he was helping her arrange, you know, “dates” and getting a cut and then he would like take her and be security outside while the sex acts were being exchanged...[B]ut she never would have ever described him as a pimp...He was a friend that was helping her out...Not a boyfriend...Just a friend. She had a girlfriend.

In other situations friends’ facilitated each other’s involvement in trading sex by teaching each other “*tricks of the trade*” such as how to find clients, avoid law enforcement, and work safely. One example is found in the story of a young woman and a friend she met at a group home who ran away and left the state. The young woman’s case manager explained what happened after they ran out of money:

[Th]e other young woman who was 20 years old had... sex work experience, internet-based, and she told her how to do this...[T]hey both engaged in internet-based and street-based, and made some money and were able to stay in like motels while they were doing this. And she reported that nobody ever forced her and there was no violence.

In none of the above examples did the young person view their facilitators as pimps or exploiters.

Some young people viewed their facilitators as surrogate family members. One young woman viewed her facilitator as “*more of like a big brother, or...maybe a little bit of father.*” In that particular situation, the young woman was living with her facilitator, other young women who were working for him, and his mother. She described the mom to her case manager as “*a good church lady. She would keep people’s babies if they needed to, she made hot meals and she would be kind to us.*” Because the mom also benefited from this young woman’s involvement in sex trades, she would also be considered a facilitator. In another situation, a young transgender woman spoke about the important role her facilitator played in her life. Her case manager shared that the young woman viewed her:

as more of a mother figure, as someone who really cared for her, as somebody who really understood her for who she was and praised her for wanting to live for who she wanted to be. So the trafficker pretty much gave her that attention she was not getting at home, or that attention that she really wanted. She felt someone finally understood her.

Some of the relationships with facilitators were formal arrangements. Some youth spoke about giving a percentage of their money to someone who helped them get clients. Other young people paid someone so that they could work out of that person's home. In one case, a young woman worked out of a house where there was "an actual madam." In that situation the young person described giving the woman:

a cut of the money and she was talking about... the financial workings of it all and...the relationships that she built with the other girls there and how they treated her...[T]he other girls would expect her to buy stuff for them because she made a lot of money, or she made more money than they were.

In the above case, clearly the madam would be considered a facilitator. The other women working there would also be considered facilitators because the money the young woman used to buy them things came from the proceeds of prostitution.

Boyfriends were one of the most common types of facilitators. In these situations, youth did not consider their intimate partners pimps. A case manager explained that, "whenever I use the term 'trafficker' or 'pimp' she, you know, kind of cringes... She sees her trafficker as a partner, her lover." These were people who youth were in a relationship, and who for some were the father of their children. Some of them were directly coordinating the young women's sex trade experiences, behaviors more commonly associated with being a facilitator. Others however, were simply benefitting from the money the young women made from trading sex. A case manager explained the relationship dynamic of one of the young women she worked with:

And she was living with [her boyfriend] sometimes as well, providing for him, so a lot of the money that she would make went to him. But she totally didn't identify him as a pimp, and I didn't get the sense that he was a pimp as well.

However, because this man benefitted financially from her involvement in sex trades, by law he would be considered a facilitator.

Somewhat unique to young women who were street-based and homeless was the theme of strategically coupling with someone who could provide for their basic needs of shelter and protection. Some young women ensured that they were always in a relationship with someone who had "more survival skills" than they did. In one such case a young woman:

had broken up with [her] boyfriend and you could see that, she came in here one day and you could see that she was worried...But then she hooked up with another guy who could offer the same things and she was with this guy for a while and then eventually got back with the old guy. But there's never been a

moment where she didn't have, and the guy is characteristically older, bigger... and more homelessness history...and survival skills than her.

The prospect of being alone on the street compelled these young women to form relationships with men for protection. In other situations, to avoid having to sleep outside, young women formed sexual relationships so they could have a place to stay. One case narrative highlighted how even though the young woman was not attracted to the older man she was staying with, *"he did expect her to have sex in order to stay there."* For this group of young women, survival is what facilitated their involvement into sex trades.

Experiences trading sex

Regardless of how someone initially started trading sex and whether they had a facilitator, their subsequent experiences varied. Young people *"never used the term trafficking"* when describing their experiences. Instead they would say things like they were *"doing what they had to"*, trading sex, doing sex work, or prostituting. Others did not have a term they used, and many *"didn't really want to talk about it."* Case narratives revealed how not all youth had negative experiences trading sex. As mentioned previously, some young people enjoyed the excitement of it. Others liked that it enabled them to take care of themselves, and still some felt it provided them with the opportunity to take control over their lives. For example, one young woman did not particularly like trading sex, *"but that was the way she felt like she can take control of her life."* A young man told his case manager that:

it was something, he kind of liked doing it and it gave him a sense of being in charge...So this is not someone who is talking about sex work as oppressive work or work he's forced to do.

Other youth's experiences trading sex were fraught with physical, emotional and sexual violence perpetrated by sex trade clients, facilitators, and police. In one situation a young woman was kidnapped by a client and taken to a house where she was held against her will while *"many men paid to have sex with her."* In other situations facilitators detained young women and forced them to have sex. In most of those cases, the young women were still working for the facilitator. Other situations existed where youth had left their facilitator and were still assaulted by them. A case manager described how when a young woman had gone to visit her (abusive) boyfriend who lived in the same neighborhood as her former (abusive) facilitator:

her pimp saw her and took her and threatened to kill her...and she was actually held hostage by her former pimp, who actually attempted to pimp her out, for a little more than twelve hours, maybe fourteen hours or sixteen hours or something like that.

In some situations when facilitators were upset with a young person, they would remind them how much the youth's survival depended on their facilitator. One facilitator who was upset with a young woman because she did not bring in enough money, *"shaved*

her head and took her shoes in the middle of winter and threw her out on the street. A place to sleep was very based on her ability to bring money in.” At other times, facilitators were more emotionally and verbally abusive than physically. A case manager’s description of one facilitator captures this dynamic:

She said he wasn’t that bad all the time... There were, you know, slaps and hits every now and then but he was more so mentally abusive. He told her that she was fat and ugly a lot. [A]nd it comes across in her attitude towards herself. [S]he’s like, “Oh, I’m so ugly,” and this and that and she’s like, “He always told me that I was ugly and he’s right.” He was more so mentally abusive to her and the other girls.

Even when young people were not coupled with a facilitator, some were still targeted by them. One young man who worked independently was told by “*one of the main pimps on that... section of the neighborhood, ‘You need to get out of my turf or I’m going to cut your dick off and feed it to you.’*”

For young transwomen, whether they were working or not, just being out on the street increased their vulnerability. Case managers described how these young women would be “*harassed and propositioned by men all of the time.*” In one young transwoman’s experience:

when she rejects them [men] and sometimes, you know, comes out as trans and rejecting them then she’s been like violently attacked a few times, like repeatedly, and including like once with like a razor blade and she had to get stitches. And so it’s just something that’s kind of constant and just about, in her like going about her daily life.

Young people on the street were also easy targets for police. The approach used by some police officers was described as, “*it’s a bad area, we can treat the people any way we want to.*” Case managers shared how in the process of undercover operations, male police officers were sexually inappropriate with youth. The reality was that most of the clients at the three programs “*have been [physically and/or sexually] victimized by at least one police officer.*”

Transitions in sex trade involvement

Transitioning out of and back into trading sex was the norm for this group of young people. Young people stopped trading sex when their needs were provided for in other ways. In some cases this was a direct result of the resources they received from the programs. A case manager explained one such situation:

[Trading sex is] more about like meeting his needs. So when he needs something he knows he can do that, and since he’s had other ways to meet his needs, you know, through this program we’ve bought him some clothes and shoes when he needed it and he can come here and get food, and we got him an unlimited [public transportation] card one time... And so because of those kind of things and kind of meeting like just basic survival needs... he doesn’t need to

[trade sex] anymore.

Young people also stopped trading sex when family members became more involved in their lives and provided for their basic needs and desires. For one young woman she started to live with her grandmother who her case manager describes as:

able to spend more one-on-one time with her, give her the attention that she needs and grandma has told her if she does well in school, don't run away, she will get her hair done, things that she wants...And so [she] is starting to realize like, "I don't need to go out to get the things that I want."

In other situations, even though family members were not physically present to attend to their children's needs, they would leave them with enough money that they were taken care of.

Some young people stopped trading sex when they decided it was not "*healthy for them*" or "*not fun anymore*." A young woman explained to her case manager that she wanted to "*improve herself*" and that trading sex was "*just a time in my life, [and] I'm going to get past it*." Another young woman began to realize that she was not getting any of the money she was making, the friends she was hanging out with on the street and doing things for "*weren't really benefitting her*", and decided that "*the streets weren't the way to go*." Among this group of young people, they disconnect from peers they had been involved with, and for some, they leave town to "*get away from temptation*."

Other youth transitioned away from trading sex when they experienced some type of crisis. The experience of one young woman after being arrested and put on probation was that she realized that if she started trading sex again she would jeopardize her chance to get off of probation and become self-sufficient once she turned 18. For others they realized that the amount of violence they experienced and witnessed being out on the streets was increasing, so they stopped. Sometimes youth would have "*a couple of bad experiences out there*" and decide to stop. One young woman decided she wanted to stop after her "*pimp and his friends gang raped her*" for being away and not coming back with money. And for some, it took periods of incarceration or hospitalizations for them to stop trading sex. A case manager explained how one young woman momentarily stopped trading sex when:

She ended up hospitalized again. She'd been dragged down the street by a john,...got a staph infection,...was hospitalized,...[and] actually unable to go back out onto the streets, which was a really good thing.

After periods of not trading sex, young people typically re-engaged when they had no other way to meet their basic needs. As one case manager explained, when young people stopped trading sex "*it's hard to describe it as like transitioning away from because [they were doing it] as needed*." Some of these youth "*had no interest in continuing to engage in sex work, but the reality of not having a lot of resources and needing money*" was enough for them to trade sex again. Case managers talked about the ways in which parental neglect often resulted in youth needing to trade sex. One

young woman:

was forced to prostitute because she didn't have diapers for her son. [H]er mom wasn't buying her food and her mom wasn't buying her clothes and so she felt like that was her only option for survival.

For other young people, their families were struggling financially and the possibility of “fast cash” that trading sex can offer “*is very tempting.*” In some situations, people the young person relied on to provide for them (i.e. parents, guardians, or intimate partners) either left or were incarcerated. For these young people going back to trading sex became “*inevitable*” because they had no other means by which they could support themselves.

The emotional attachment some young people had with their facilitators and other youth also pulled them back into trading sex. After being back at home for a while, some youth left to reunite with their intimate partners who were also their facilitators. A case manager described how for one young woman it was the support of other youth who were working for her facilitator that pulled her back:

She also has a lot of friends who are connected to the life and so when you have a support system, when, when you develop those, that support system, it's a lot easier to be engaged in it if that's where all your friends are. So she had cut that off for a... while when we were working together. But when things get hard you go to people you can trust and things got hard.

Among young people who were initially drawn to the excitement of trading sex, it was difficult for them to completely stop their involvement. A case manager said that for one young woman, “*it's exciting for her...and she gets pulled in.*” After periods of not trading sex, some young people got bored and decided, “*I'm going to go back out there and have fun.*” For others, it was the combination of excitement plus a situation where they needed money. In the case of one young woman, “*on a whim*” she decided to go away for the weekend with her boyfriend. When they ran out of money and had no way to get home, she “*posted an ad on the internet.*” The reality, regardless of the reason why they re-engaged in trading sex, many of these youth knew that trading sex was “*something [they] could always go back to.*”

Services Requested and Received

Clients of the three programs requested an array of services (See Table 7). The client intake forms included a section about needed services, and case managers indicated whether the client requested the service or if it was the case manager who thought the client needed the service. In subsequent monthly service forms, case managers reported whether or not the needed service was received.

TABLE 7: Client identified service needs

	Number of times requested*	Received (%)
Support/crisis intervention	298	97%
Education	263	63%
Mental Health	250	68%
Food/clothing	231	94%
Safety Planning	214	90%
Employment	165	46%
Family reunification/counseling	154	57%
Sexual Health	154	78%
Assistance with benefits	118	55%
Victim Assistance/Legal advocacy	117	83%
Long term housing	112	27%
Medical	105	90%
Emergency Housing	102	46%
Transportation	98	99%
Substance/Alcohol abuse	81	58%
Transitional Housing	62	29%
Hygiene services and supplies	47	100%
Dental	26	42%
Social services advocate	16	100%
Identification	13	54%
Lifeskills	12	100%
Safer injection equipment	12	100%
Child care	7	57%

*A service could be requested multiple times.

Limitations of this data need to be noted. It is possible that at times case managers reported that the client identified a needed service when in fact it was the case manager who felt the service was needed. One such example is illustrated by the percentage requesting mental health services. Based on the quantitative data in Table 6, it appeared that a number of youth requested this service. As will be reported later, in the qualitative data case managers routinely stated that the youth they worked with were largely disinterested in receiving mental health services. The quantitative forms did not provide data about the quality of the service provided, or the number of times a client received it. It also does not indicate whether the need was resolved. For example, it may be that when employment was needed and case managers indicated on the form that it was received, that the client did not acquire a job but instead received job counseling or training.

The services most likely to be provided included some of the commonly identified needs such as crisis intervention, food and clothing, and safety planning. Not surprisingly, programs were most able to meet needs when they could provide them in-house or with widely available resources. Of the needed services that were received at least 90% of the time, all were services that the programs offered in-house. Needed services that were received between sixty and eighty-nine percent of the time were those primarily provided elsewhere but widely available. The service needs least likely to be met, housing, employment, and dental services, reflect gaps in available services and the challenges of connecting young people to services that require planning. The following section describes in detail the challenges case managers experienced working with this group of young people in general, and connecting them with their requested services in particular.

CHALLENGES OF WORK

Microsystem: Interactions between clients and case managers

Multiple challenges were specific to the direct interactions between case managers and the young people with whom they worked. Some of these challenges can be attributable to common teenage attributes such as being impatient and expecting things to happen immediately. When they wanted to meet with a specific person or receive a certain service and it was not immediately available, youth would leave. Many of these young people moved through life with a sense of immediacy, which proved challenging with services that required advanced arrangements. For many clients, planning ahead proved difficult. In one such situation a case manager reflected:

[S]he tends to wait until the last minute to tell me what she needs....She just says, "There's no food in our refrigerator," she has like nothing to eat, then in my mind, "She should have told me like a week ago or something," so I could request cash and then meet with her and maybe even go shopping with her.

Even in instances when ample time existed to plan ahead and go through the necessary steps, some of the clients were disenchanted with the process and hoped for some type of quick solution.

[T]here were a few times where he seemed like really interested in getting his own benefits...he has no identification and we could try to work on getting ID...So oftentimes he'd be like, "Well, can I just get a letter that says I come here so I can take this to the public assistance office?"

In the above case, the person decided he did not want to have to go through all the necessary steps to obtain his own benefits and instead would wait until he turned 18 when the paperwork would hopefully be less burdensome.

This theme of "waiting to be 18" was pervasive in the case history narratives. These young people desperately wanted to be independent; they did not want service providers telling them what to do. A case manager described the perspective of one young woman who was child welfare involved:

She was really struggling with like being involved in the system and not being able to decide what she wants to do for herself, feeling like because she's involved in [child welfare], like they're dictating every move that she makes and in her mind she's had to fend for herself since she was really young and so, "Why do I have to listen to you when I've, I can do this on my own," type of attitude.

Other young people were reticent to receive support from the programs because they felt they should be able to take care of themselves. Because of their age, their options for independence were limited. What comes through in the narratives was their belief that once they turned 18, better and more housing and employment options would be available. For example, one young man was looking for housing. His case manager talked to him about his options and what type of advocacy she could do on his behalf. He did not want any of the options and decided, "Well, I'm just going to wait until I turn 18." Some of these youth felt nothing in their lives could change until they were 18 and thus were ambivalent about the (limited) options available to them.

Sporadic program engagement was also a challenge cited by the case managers. Clients' inconsistent program involvement inhibited case managers' ability to communicate important next steps towards accessing the services and resources they requested. Likewise, it was not uncommon for appointments to be scheduled only for the youth to not show up, or to decide that they did not want the service after all. Clients' ambivalence and lack of follow through about achieving their identified needs or goals prevented certain needs from being met.

Some of clients' sporadic engagement reflected competing priorities. With different responsibilities in their lives, they did not always prioritize making it to specific appointments or taking the next step towards an identified goal. Particularly for youth who were homeless, taking care of their survival needs sometimes resulted in sporadic engagement. For a smaller portion of this group of young people, their drug use was prioritized over other needs. Other responsibilities such as providing child care for their own children or siblings prevented them from being able to access services. Similarly, school attendance could make scheduling certain services more challenging:

So we had discussed a shopping trip but he didn't want to have to miss school to do it and so we were trying to work out doing a shopping trip during drop-in hours, but of course that, I really need to plan in advance because then I'm not here for all the other clients.

Case managers also spent a lot of time talking about the guarded nature of this group of young people. It was not uncommon to hear that a young person did not want to talk about any of the specifics related to their sex trade involvement, or that it took months before the person was willing to share information about their experiences. By the nature of their referral sources, SAGE and STOP-IT typically knew a client's history of sex trade involvement without that person having to disclose the information. However, the seeming unwillingness or disinterest in talking about sex trade involvement was particularly challenging for Streetwork. Because Streetwork's referrals are primarily word of mouth from other youth involved in the program, it was rare for case managers know ahead of time whether a young person traded sex. As a result, they had young people who they thought might be eligible for the program who never disclosed involvement in sex trades, making them ineligible for Streetwork's Office for Victims of Crimes (OVC) funded program. Other youth at Streetwork would share just enough information so they could be enrolled in the OVC program. A case manager describes one such situation:

So she talked about that without getting into any specifics of who did what and was pretty guarded about that, but was interested in like the added resources she could get so disclosed like, you know, that much to like be eligible.

But not all clients were initially closed off. Case managers also talked about the challenge of working with someone who at the onset over shared information and subsequently shut down communication.

I think when she came in she thought, she told me so much about, about her mother and her father and her life, and a lot of times I see that after the kids talk so much they feel maybe like they shouldn't have and then they kind of hide. And I feel like that's what she did.

In this particular case the case manager reflected that had she known that the young person was not always going to be so forthcoming with information, she would have tried a different approach to prevent the client from feeling overexposed.

In addition to being guarded and not sharing certain information about their experiences, the clients served by these programs were frequently slow to trust the service providers. This group of young people could be particularly savvy and would avoid talking about certain issues or answer questions in a way that did not offer any information about their circumstances. Similarly, they could be good at telling case managers what they thought they wanted to hear. For example, it was the rare occasion that mental health services were requested by a client. Largely this was because clients did not think they were "crazy." When a case manager would explore the idea of seeing a therapist, some clients would "say yes, because that's supposedly what we want to

hear but when we're ready to initiate that process" the clients were not interested in receiving the service. A number of case managers highlighted the ways in which these young people have had, *"a lot of experience...of other people telling [them] about [their] lives and telling [them] what's going on and defining [their] relationships and being in [their] business."* These youth had concrete reasons why they did not trust people and were guarded with their information. They might also have learned that it was preferable to initially say they were interested in a specific service even though they did not want it. Ultimately it became the role of the programs to try to undo any damage created by past involvement with social services.

Once a young person had connected with a case manager, challenges still existed. Staff turnover in community based organizations is the norm rather than the exception. In situations where a client connected with a case manager, and that case manager left the organization or transferred to a different role, some young people disengaged with services. One such situation is described in the following passage:

She for a while avoided [the program] and when I was checking in with her she said that she, I mean, she didn't want to meet a new case manager, she wasn't interested in that. You know, she seemed to have some resentment about [her case manager] changing positions and being assigned to someone else.

In this particular situation, the case manager shared that this young person had experienced a lot of rejection in her life, feeling as if people leave her, that nobody cares about her. The experience of her case manager changing positions played into this narrative and she interpreted it as another experience where someone she cared about left. Another example of when young people's connection with their case manager resulted in their disconnecting from the program was when they felt their actions were in conflict with what they thought the case manager wanted for them. This is particularly true for the two organizations, SAGE and STOP-IT, that were explicit with their clients that they want to see them exit the sex industry. One of the case managers described how a client had not been in contact and what she thought the reason was behind the client's disconnect.

I think that the reason she hasn't talked to me lately is, it's kind of like when I was a teenager, you know, I knew what standard my mom had for me and if I knew that I wasn't living up to that standard I didn't really want to face her about it, right? I think that that's where we are right now, is she respects me and values our relationship enough that she doesn't want to disappoint me in her eyes, and so I think that's where her pullback has happened, is she knows that she's kind of reverting back to something that, for lack of a better phrase, I don't approve of.

Mesosystem: Interactions between case managers and other systems

In addition to the micro level challenges experienced working with this group of young people, case managers spoke extensively about the challenges of working with other systems and service providers. One of the systems that proved most challenging to

work with was the child welfare system. The case narratives revealed how child welfare officials would not follow up and investigate a report. Sometimes this was unique to older youth. One case manager shared that, “[Child welfare] doesn’t really go out of their way to investigate older teenager situations.” Another shared:

In 2010 she turned 18, which is why [child welfare], you know, wasn’t interested in actually taking her into custody. Especially with having such a short time just before she’s about to turn 18, “Why would we take her into care now when we can just wait these couple of months and not have to be responsible for this young person at all?”

Other times case managers did not know the status of a report because child welfare workers were not in communication with them:

And her social worker, her assigned social worker at [child welfare], was not returning calls. There are documented notes, note after note after note, ‘Ms. So-n-so does not return call’, ‘Ms. So-n-so does not return call’, for like weeks.

The inaccessible nature of some child welfare workers proved particularly troubling for those young people who were wards of the state. In one particular instance, a young person wanted to be linked to mental health services. As previously discussed, linking young people to mental health services was a challenge in itself. In the situation described below, an added layer of complication exists when a youth needs their child welfare worker to sign consent forms allowing them to access therapy.

[B]ecause she is a ward of the state I can’t put her into therapy, her [child welfare] caseworker has to sign her into therapy... because they’re her guardian...[She has to] come over here physically and sign all the paperwork... Because [child welfare] caseworkers usually have a load of like 60-100 kids and they’re not all in [the city],... she can’t get here on a day that’s appropriate for the counselor and that’s good for the client.

Because the child welfare caseworker was challenged by both a large case load, and one that was geographically dispersed, and because the youth required that caseworker’s signature to commence therapy, the young person has not been able to receive the service she requested.

Case managers also described working with their clients to undo things done by child welfare workers. Situations where young people were “tricked into signing themselves out of care and signing themselves out of benefits” required specific advocacy by the case managers. This advocacy often focused on helping the young person navigate the child welfare system to sign him or herself back into care. As one case manager reflected, “The level of fraud that [child welfare] commits against clients and just outright lying, it’s ludicrous.”

In their work with child welfare involved clients, case managers were often in a difficult position. Caseworkers were overextended and unavailable, and yet case managers were reprimanded by other service providers for being too involved in a young person’s

life. Case managers at group homes wanted the case managers from the OVC-funded programs to “*completely pull out*” of their client’s cases and lives. One case manager felt this was a result of the child welfare case managers feeling threatened that their clients “*were opening up to me about things that [they] would never tell [their] case manager.*” It was not just child welfare case managers who were uncomfortable with the presence of the OVC-funded program case managers. In another situation, a director of a group home “*yelled at*” a program case manager for being “*too involved.*” Again, the case manager felt this had to do with how much the young person trusted her.

And so it was just kind of things like that where I think they were uncomfortable with how much she was trusting me, because she would come to me when she needed support because she knew that I was there and she knew that I understood her circumstances, and did not feel at all supported by the staff at the home. And so it was a very difficult situation.

Across the three programs case managers spoke about how their clients, whether or not they were already child welfare involved, wanted to avoid being connected with child welfare at all costs. For some it was that they already had a child welfare case and “*knew what they had to offer*”, “*didn’t have a good experience last time*”, and “*didn’t have any reason to think it would be a better experience this time.*” Among those who had no prior child welfare involvement, the following sentiment was common:

A lot of kids don’t want anything to do with [child welfare]. He certainly did not want to have anything to do with [child welfare]. He didn’t really have any [child welfare] experiences, he just wasn’t open to it. I discussed the possibilities and what it would mean and he just felt like there were too many possibilities to end up in a bad situation.

It was evident that whether or not a young person had prior experiences with child welfare, they largely did not think of it as a system that would change their experiences for the better.

With youth wanting to remain outside the purview of child welfare, they often forsook the opportunity to receive other services. Homeless youth preferred to stay on the streets or in less than ideal living situations with parents, guardians and intimate partners than take the risk of entering a shelter and being brought to the attention of child welfare.

She is a runaway from a group home right now and she initially came here wanting to stay in our shelter. And the reason why she ultimately didn’t... was because she wasn’t 100% convinced that [child welfare] wouldn’t find out that she was at the shelter and that if there was any chance of that at all she would figure something else out rather than go there.

In that particular case, the young woman coupled with an older man she was having sex with in order to have a place to stay. Another example of youth not receiving certain services for fear of child welfare involvement was related to food stamps. Although it is possible for youth to get their own food stamps, it requires them to prove that the person

who is supposed to be providing for them is not. To prove that their guardian was not providing for them would inevitably draw child welfare's attention. In one such example, a young woman who just had a baby wanted to get her own food stamps. However, she opted not to pursue it because "*it's a bigger priority to avoid [child welfare]*" and she was certain that if she made a case to get her own food stamps child welfare would question how she was able to take care of her baby and would ultimately remove her child.

Case managers reported feeling as if other providers, those in child welfare and in other systems, did not feel as if they had the appropriate level of expertise to be of help. Trying to collaborate with attorneys evoked a pecking order where case managers were not considered strategic partners.

She sort of...had this approach, "Oh, you're a case manager...Let me handle the case. This is my client, I'm an attorney." [S]he wasn't receptive to sitting down and really, you know, working, collaborating on this case.

In other situations case managers would advise attorneys and judges that they thought a specific course of action would not result in the hoped for outcome. In one such case an attorney wanted to place a youth back in a home where she had been abused by her mom's boyfriend. Both the judge and attorney were confident that by issuing a restraining order against the boyfriend that the youth would be safe. Despite case managers' attempts to highlight the problems with this approach ("*restraining orders don't mean much*", and it was unlikely that the mother would abide by it because the man was the father of her two youngest children), the youth was placed back in the home. Very shortly after being back in the home, the young person ran away.

Probation officers also disagreed with case managers about the types of services they felt would best serve their clients. The case narratives revealed cases where young people wanted to go to a specific school and probation officers prevented that because they were not the schools typically used by probation. Another example was that of a young woman who wanted to go out of county for a residential program, a move that after speaking with the residential program director her case manager supported. However, "*her probation officer opposed her going and said she wanted to take care of it, 'in her own backyard.'*"

Although it is largely preferable to link young people to services in their geographic area, the reality is that certain areas are lacking in services. The program at SAGE worked with clients who lived outside of San Francisco County. This at times proved challenging when those counties did not have specific services available, or when case managers and the clients felt that the available services were not appropriate. One young woman traveled approximately 90 minutes by bus to access counseling at SAGE because "*she felt there were no appropriate services in the mental health realm*" where she lived. In both Chicago and New York City, the geographic distance within the city at times prevented case managers from successfully linking a client to a requested service.

We were not able to successfully connect her to a community of young LGBT.

[T]here are a couple really great organizations in Chicago, they're all in the North side that I know of...[She] wasn't able to get to the North side where the other great organizations are.

Likewise, when a client moved out of state, the challenges of linking them to services included case managers' lack of familiarity with the resources, or an absence of services in the new location.

Even when services were available and accessible, they were not always the best fit for this group of young people. In some instances this was because the young person differed significantly from the other programs' typical clients. In response to one young woman's request for tutoring for math, her case manager referred her to a tutoring program, but it didn't work out.

I don't know if it was the most appropriate program for her...I was speaking to their director and people who work there and I think that the young people they work with tend to come from a more privileged background and not the same culture as her in a lot of different ways, and they didn't seem really open to working with her.

Case managers explained how service providers have "well-meaning and well-intentioned efforts," yet they were not equipped to work this population.

For the two programs, SAGE and STOP-IT, that work closely with juvenile justice and law enforcement, probation was another system that offered unique collaborative challenges. As discussed previously, it was not uncommon for this group of young people to disengage from services. When a client went AWOL and were juvenile justice involved, probation officers could be a point of contact for the case managers to assess the situation. However, alerting a probation officer to the fact that a client had gone AWOL was "a very slippery slope because then if they're violating and [the probation officer] is like, 'Oh, you don't know where they are?' then that might put them on the radar." Depending on the situation, case managers were reticent to contact probation officers out of concern it might make matters worse for their client.

At times the ways probation officers felt it was best to respond to a situation was markedly different than how case managers would approach the same situation. When clients were going to be taken into custody, case managers could transport them when they arranged to have them willingly go into custody. In one case even though the client was willing to do this:

The probation officer showed up at her house at 6:30 in the morning on a school day, asked the mom where my client was. [H]er mom said that she's in bed and asked if she should wake her up. [The probation officer], she said, "No, I want to wake her up from her bed," and went into the house. Actually my, you know, my client's mother was very upset and said that, you know, she's her mother, that she's going to get her up. [M]y client went to open the door, the gate, to let the probation officer in. [She was] in her socks and wasn't even

dressed, hadn't had breakfast, and the probation officer arrested her in front of another student and a former boyfriend of hers who was coming down to go to school and took her into custody.

Such actions make for strained relationships between probation officers and case managers. The case manager felt that this approach was “*completely unnecessary. This client would have willingly gone into custody, she's a child, she hadn't had her breakfast, she should have been able to brush her teeth and go in with some dignity.*”

Even though two of the programs work closely with law enforcement officials, case managers from all of the programs spoke about the unique challenges police officers pose. It was rare that these young people “*consider the police to be like a safety option or something that would increase [their] safety.*” In the limited cases where young people went to the police for help when they had been victims of crimes, “*the police didn't believe [them]...they didn't do anything about it.*” The same was true when guardians tried to file reports with the police. In one case some facilitators came to a mother's house and got her daughter to leave with them. Even though the mother called the police and provided them with a description of the men and their license plate number, the police responded that her daughter probably just ran away from home and they couldn't help her. An additional challenge in working with police was when they seemingly disregarded the specific safety needs of young people. Police would go to interview a youth at school even though a strong culture exists about not “*snitching.*” One case manager explained, “*When my client saw police coming into the school she refused to talk to them because it doesn't really reflect well for kids to be talking to police at school.*” In the rare cases when a young person had agreed to testify against a perpetrator, case managers expressed that they did not feel like the police offered adequate protection for the youth.

You know, she was actually testifying against a serial rapist, rapist that was going around...and raping girls and they caught him...But the thing about it is they wanted her confession but they didn't want to protect her in any type of way.

When police officers operated in this manner, when they did not take young people's stories seriously, when they disregard parents' requests for help, and when they did not provide adequate protection for youth who were willing to assist in criminal cases, it made it challenging for case managers to encourage their clients to work with law enforcement.

Because all of these young people are minors, case managers described the ways in which having to work with their parents proved particularly challenging. Similar to the issue described previously about getting a child welfare worker to sign consent forms, the same issue was present with guardians. Statements like, “*Her mom wouldn't sign the paperwork*” and “*her mom would not cooperate and so we couldn't get her connected with resources*” illustrate this reality. Guardians questioned certain services their child and case managers wanted and would not allow their child to receive those services. In other situations, guardians suggested that their child go elsewhere for a service even when their child voiced not feeling comfortable with the alternative. Just as

other service providers seemingly felt threatened by the case managers, so too did some of the guardians. In some situations this was because they were concerned about the case managers being mandated reporters.

[S]he knew that I was a mandated reporter, that's something we'd go over, and so I think that that had a lot to do with her mom not wanting to talk to me, was not wanting me to call [child welfare] on her.

In other situations, guardians viewed case managers as a direct threat to their expertise.

[S]he has had experiences with social services and she saw us coming in as an insult to her and to her career and to her as a person because she thought that we were outsmarting her on her experience in social services.

Many of the same challenges raised in the microsystem section also pertain to guardians. Case managers made referrals that required a guardian to follow through, yet when guardians did not take the required next steps, youth did not receive the services they requested. A case manager explained one such situation:

I've made referrals for various schools, like if she wanted to transfer. Because at one point in time she said she wanted to get out of that school and so tried to get her involved with different schools..[I] made the phone call, it was just left up to her and mom to finish it because I'm not her guardian...I set that up for them and nothing happened.

In other situations guardians would request certain services for their family. Once a case manager made the necessary arrangements the guardian was no longer interested in the service.

Not unlike the competing priorities that young people have, guardians had many things going on in their lives. For some, these took precedent over assisting their child. Taking care of other children, dealing with their own mental health and substance use issues, and for some, simply not being interested in helping their child or wanting to sabotage their child, were just some of the struggles case managers experienced in their work. It was apparent in some of the cases that guardians were trying to build cases that would result in their child being involuntarily confined, even though the case managers did not witness the supposed problematic behaviors or mental health issues. In other cases guardians were simply burnt out. Some felt that they could do nothing to help their child, while others looked to the case manager to play a disciplinarian role. One mother called her daughter's case manager and communicated that:

She's been bad, she's been running away and she asked me not to tell you because she wanted to get my trust again. But I'm telling you now because she's just, she's crossed the line. You need to do something with her." And it was like, "Why do you tell me now a month later that she actually hasn't been cooperating with you? And now you want me to fix it?" So that's why I was like,

“They’re kind of looking at me as a disciplinarian.”

These young people did not exist in isolation. For those who were still connected to their families the challenge for case workers became how best to help the young person when their families needed so much support. It was the perspective of many case managers that unless they were able to affect some type of change within the family system, things would not improve for their clients. As one case manager said, *“I do take on the family role because I realize I can’t just, the client is not an island, I can’t just help her and expect things to change for her if things don’t change with the family.”*

Macrosystem: Policies and social culture

Several key macrosystem issues impacted case managers’ ability to work with this group of young people. Even though the TVPA classifies all domestic youth who trade sex as victims of sex trafficking, in New York and San Francisco young people are still being arrested for prostitution related offenses. In the case of Illinois, where juvenile prostitution has been decriminalized, young people are still being arrested, they are just charged with other offenses. In one situation a young woman was arrested for prostitution and during the arrest lied and said she was 18. Once it came to the authorities’ attention that she was a minor, she no longer faced a prostitution charge; rather, she was charged with lying to a police officer. Her case manager explained the situation:

The probation officer’s response was, and this is a policy issue that we’re working on, was that, “Well, in our eyes she’s not a victim, in our eyes she’s a criminal because she lied to the police.” And that’s her charge. The charge that stuck was lying to a police officer about her name, about her identity when she was rescued, which is how the pimps, you know, that’s exactly what they’re coached to do, it’s exactly what she was told to do... There she was held in custody for over two months, over two and a half months... supposedly for her own safety.

Case managers in Chicago reported that many law enforcement officials were unaware of the new law that prevents young people from being charged for involvement in prostitution and some youth were still being charged with prostitution offenses. The new law in Illinois also states that young people involved in sex trades are no longer to be funneled into the juvenile justice system, but adjudicated to child welfare. Child welfare workers are supposed to link these young people to a continuum of care. However, case managers shared that thus far, child welfare workers have not become any more willing to work with them. *“Just because the law is passed doesn’t mean it’s trickled down to all of the individual workers.”*

Beyond the issue of police arresting young people when they are supposed to be viewed as victims of crimes, across the three programs case managers spoke to how some police officers were just *“another exploiter”* in these young people’s lives. As mentioned earlier, many of the young people served by these programs *“have been [physically and sexually] victimized by at least one police officer.”* Police *“use derogatory*

language [and] are very demeaning, even if they know it's a minor." One case manager relayed the story of how during a prostitution bust a police officer sexually abused her client:

[S]he got in his car and he said that he didn't have money and that they were going to drive to the gas station for him to be able to use an ATM, get some gas and get some money. And one of the things that she said was that she, he let her fondle him on the entire drive. You know, she said it was at least a solid, you know, five minutes and she, one of the things she asked me, she said, "I don't understand, if he's an undercover cop and I'm a minor, isn't he not supposed to," you know, "Let me do that?"...[T]hat's something that I do hear commonly, is that the officers seem to take definite advantage, you know, and become yet another exploiter.

Another way in which police took advantage of young people was through profiling. Youth on the street "get policed a lot because they're so publically available for meeting people's needs of quotas and tickets." Those with previous prostitution arrests became targets for subsequent arrests. One young woman described to her case manager that:

she wasn't engaging in prostitution but that the same police [officer] who arrested her the first time saw her on the street just walking and immediately arrested her for prostitution again and she went through the revolving door again, and then the same police officer saw her a third time so she said she was arrested three times in three days by the same police officer even though she wasn't doing anything the second two times.

Young transgender women also experienced significant harassment from police officers. Even when they were not trading sex they were arrested because they are transgender and in a certain area, what case managers referred to as "walking while trans."

At times, case managers faced the seemingly insurmountable barriers of poverty, homelessness, and limited options. Laws that place restrictions on the age at which a person can enter into a contract, diminishes case managers' ability to address their clients' identified needs. One of the most difficult needs to fulfill for these young people was housing. In part this is explained by the limited housing options available and requirements to obtain certain types of housing. In New York City, for example, "The problem is that of the like 3,800 homeless youth in the city on any given night that are on the street, there are only 207 available beds." To be eligible for supportive housing, someone needs a documented history of years of homelessness. It is helpful if the person also has a mental health or substance use diagnosis. What this means is that for many of the young people these programs work with, their lives "would have to get a lot worse...to have a chance" of securing supportive housing. The fact that all of these young people are under 18, and the majority wanted to avoid child welfare involvement, severely inhibited case managers' ability to successfully link them to housing.

Describing the situation of a 17-year-old woman with a baby:

So we've been working with her to try to find a long term housing, more stable kind of situation. It's hard because almost every single mother/child program, the youngest they go is 18 years old...If she was closer to her 18th birthday she would have a lot more options and resources. [N]ot that there's enough resources for 18-year-olds, young mothers, but that there's almost nothing available to a 17-year-old outside of [child welfare], which she wants to avoid because of, she's had a history with them before, she is not a fan of their services and she's pretty sure that, she feels confident that they would just take her child away from her if they put her into care, and she doesn't want that.

An additional challenge in securing housing for young people was that their intimate relationships were not legally recognized. One young woman wanted help securing housing so she would no longer be street homeless. Because it was important for her to stay with her boyfriend, her options became nonexistent. Her case manager explained:

None of the options in the city are really going to give them that. And part of that is ageism, like, you know, people don't recognize that young people can have significant and important relationships, and part of that is just limited options. And then part of it also is that she's under 18 and so all of these barriers are in her path.

In other cases, young people were in legal domestic partnerships. Even still, the housing options available to them frequently only allowed visitations, not cohabitation. In one situation, a young woman was in a domestic partnership and case managers worked to help her get an independent living situation through the city system. However, they were not sure if she would ultimately take the housing because:

her domestic partner can't be in the space with her except for visiting. Like overnight visitations are fine but essentially the city system hasn't designed ways for poor people with mental health conditions and/or former foster care history to have families at any juncture. Somehow it's assumed that, you know, if you are in need of any support you couldn't possibly also have a family.

Because they were under 18, wanting to avoid child welfare, and wanting to live with their intimate partners, youth had limited to no housing options available to them.

One of the other most challenging needs of young people was employment opportunities. Largely this is because these youth had minimal to no previous legal work experience, and had not graduated high school or obtained a GED. A case manager described the difficulties of trying to help someone find work when they will be competing with people who have more qualifications:

He's like, "Can you help me find," and it's like we would love to do that, there are people with Masters Degrees that can't find entry level work right now, you know, and he doesn't even have a high school diploma yet. He's in school and wants to get it but how is he going to compete? He has no work experience, no legal work experience.

The issue of obtaining employment was compounded by the reality that many of these young people have the experience of making a seemingly large amount of money in a short amount of time through trading sex. Consequently, some of the entry-level jobs that might be available did not offer what they consider to be a living wage. Some young people told their case managers, *“I’ve worked for this amount and I don’t want to go down.”* In her work with a young woman, the case manager explained that:

she wants a job that she could live off of. She doesn’t want to go work at McDonald’s...I mean, nobody wants to work at McDonald’s, but you can’t live off of that anyway so there’s not much motivation.

With limited to no options for legal employment, young people found themselves considering reengaging in sex trades. In the case of one young woman, her boyfriend who had been her sole provider was incarcerated. Without his support she had no way to financially take care of herself and tried to find a job. Without previous work experience, and without a diploma:

She was not successful in finding other ways to support herself and was very stressed out about the fact that she saw this as an inevitability that she would have to go back and do things she didn’t want to do because she didn’t feel like she had any other options.

In another case, a young woman had transitioned away from trading sex and was living with her mother. Even though her mother was receiving financial benefits, she was not financially supporting her daughter. The young woman’s case manager was working with her to find a job, and when that did not materialize, she had no other option but to *“fall back into the lifestyle.”*

Case managers also spoke about the challenges associated with young people impacted by neighborhoods characterized by violence, drug use, and street economies. One case manager asked, *“So if you’re constantly in that environment with no one who’s thriving, how are you supposed to thrive in that?”* When young people were trying to not engage in sex trades, men in their neighborhoods who knew that they used to be involved in *“the life”* would approach them and *“try to negotiate a price”* for sex. *“When we drop these kids back off in the same environment it kind of defeats the purpose of what we are saying,”* explained one case manager. For youth struggling with their own sobriety, living in their neighborhoods posed significant challenges. Case managers described how in some of these neighborhoods nearly everyone has a history of incarceration and substance use, and that it was just a matter of time before their clients would revert back to behaviors they were trying to leave behind. As one case manager put it, *“You can’t have a person trying to overcome crack surrounded by current crack users.”*

Case managers described the challenges associated with homophobia and transphobia. Both of these effectively pushed some of their clients out of their homes and onto the streets where they turned to sex trades to support themselves. The

perspective of an adoptive mother who was not accepting of her transgender daughter was that:

“You are just one person and my family is this big enormous family and I’d rather lose just one person than lose my entire family over you.” So that was, the bottom line at the end of the day, that’s what it was, “I’m not going to lose my entire family over you, it’s not worth it. I love you so much but I just cannot lose everyone over you.” So that’s what it was.

Gay and transgender youth also faced harassment in their schools and on the street. A young transwoman who was attending a cosmetology school described to her case manager how hostile the school environment was because of the students, staff and administration.

She even described one incident where like the principal of the school, under his breath called her a faggot and like they don’t, the school does not approve of how she dresses. [He] has totally had the conversation with her around like, “You’re kind of bringing this on yourself,” you know, like, “We can’t help you because you’re obviously instigating these things by dressing in female clothing.”

Unfortunately, a paucity of resources and services exist for transgender youth. In the above situation the young woman was committed to becoming a cosmetologist, and because no other cosmetology schools were in her city she decided to stay at the school despite the harassment. In addition to the challenge of finding supportive school environments for transgender youth, no appropriate group home options existed in some of the cities for young transgender women. Instead they were put in homes with boys because they are legally classified as males. These placements left transwomen vulnerable to verbal, physical, and sexual assaults. The same is true with incarceration. When young transwomen are arrested they are placed in the boys’ units. The juvenile justice system is not equipped to handle the needs and protect the rights of transgender youth. Even when appropriate services existed for transgender youth, their safety was sometimes compromised when travelling to get to them. A case manager described the experiences of one young transwoman when she was coming to their program for an intake:

[U]nfortunately, on her way in the door somebody outside the program started like harassing her, calling her like homophobic and transphobic slurs and even like making like gun noises at her. And so her entry into the program, like on her way there, you know, she had, I mean, she was bashed, verbally bashed, and then, so I was meeting with her to do her intake and she was just so shaken up by that, she didn’t feel safe to come back to that neighborhood.

In some ways, the dominant trafficking narrative, a young girl forced to trade sex, also posed a challenge for case managers. In a case mentioned previously, a young woman created a story about being kidnapped and forced to have sex with men for days. Because this trafficking story was covered in the local news, people were aware of her reported experience. Much to her detriment, people changed the ways in which they

held her accountable for her actions. Her case manager explained the issues the young woman faced with her pending high school applications:

She's realizing that it's not going to be that easy... and she may not be able to get into the high school she wants to get into because she's been absent for almost a whole school year. But the school will still graduate her because they feel sorry for her because she had this news story, and now the school is like trying to make exceptions for her because they don't want to re-traumatize her.

This predominant narrative about trafficking victims also resulted in service providers approaching their work with this group of young people in a romanticized way. In the following narrative a young woman was referred to a group home and the providers there were surprised by her demeanor.

No one really understands what human trafficking is, domestically, and so they were just expecting something different. They expected to have this huge, grand rescue story where it's like, "Yea! Thank you for helping me! You rescued me!" just romanticize it. But instead they got someone who was like, "No, I don't want to do that." I mean, she was very good and, but there was times, she was also pregnant, and so there was times when she was like, "I don't feel like doing that," and it just took them off guard and it's like, "Why is she saying she doesn't want to do this? Why is she not happy?" So they just was expecting the whole romantic story, I guess.

The above quote illustrates how the dominant narrative about domestic minor victims of human trafficking can result in idealized expectations among service providers. Narratives that construct youth as passive and trapped obscure the more complicated reality of these young people. They position youth as needing rescuing and fail to recognize their agency and self-determination (Gibbons, Lichtenberg & van Beusekom, 1994; Barry, 1979). This is best described as "victimism", a framework where the person is viewed as a victim, not a "living, changing, growing" person (Barry, 1979). This framing positions those in the helping profession as saviors and renders youth as "passive receptacles and mute sufferers who must be saved" (Agustin, 2007, p.39). When service providers interacted with youth whose lived experience contradicted this prioritized narrative, the complexity of the situations seemingly confounded the simplistic attempts to "rescue" them.

Discussion

Certain limitations were inherent to this study. The youth served by these three programs were neither a random nor a representative sample of young people involved in the sex trade. These youth either self-selected or were mandated to participate in the programs. Gathering case history narratives from the case managers, as opposed to interviewing the youth directly about their experiences trading sex, was another limitation. Because the program sites indicated that they did not feel comfortable having their clients interviewed about their involvement in the sex trade, the case managers' more frequent interactions with their clients offered a narrative that would otherwise not be accessible to outsiders. Even with these limitations, because of the hidden nature of this population, the methods used to acquire this data allowed for the building of a knowledge base on the characteristics of young people involved in the sex trade, their service needs, and the challenges of working with them.

Client demographics

The characteristics of this sample of young people involved in sex trades were largely similar to those found in other studies, with the exception of gender. All of these programs served very few transgender youth, and only Streetwork had success providing services for young men. Several factors may have resulted in this gendered disparity. Historically, none of these programs have served a large proportion of transgender youth. Prior to receiving funding for this grant, SAGE and STOP-IT had not worked with young men. Program service models that were designed for young women are not quickly adaptable for young men or transgender youth. For the two programs that have physical spaces where clients access services, SAGE and Streetwork, it may be that the staff and client composition was not welcoming for certain youth. The majority of people who work at SAGE are women, the majority of people who receive services there are women, and this may be a barrier for young men and transgender youth. Streetwork's staff is comprised of people of all genders, yet their clients are primarily cisgender men and women, people for whom their gender identity matches their biological sex. For transgender youth, this may not feel like a safe or welcoming environment.

Referral sources may also have played a part in this gender imbalance. In general, law enforcement officials, other service providers, and the larger community do not think of young men and transgender youth as being involved in sex trades, or in need of "*rescuing*." We see this in prostitution arrest rates and the dominant narrative in the media of young girls being trafficked for sex. Because both SAGE and STOP-IT receive their referrals from formal sources, if those sources are not "*seeing*" these young people, they are not referring them. Streetwork primarily relies on word-of-mouth referrals, and because their main focus is serving street-based youth someone might be referred to their organization without it being known that they trade sex.

Heterogeneity of sex trade experiences

A discrepancy existed “between lurid journalistic accounts and the reality” (Rubin, 1984) of sex trade involvement for most of these youth. In only about 10% of the cases was forced engagement cited as a youth’s first experience of trading sex. Different routes and reasons led this group of young people to trade sex. Instead of trying to understand their initiation in isolation, the narratives revealed the importance of examining the structural and social contexts in which their initiation occurred. The most common scenarios involved survival sex trades, fulfilling emotional needs, and adult role and sensation-seeking. Trading sex offered young transgender women the opportunity to receive gender affirmation and be sexually desirable. Young people who were homeless were particularly likely to trade sex as a way to meet their basic needs. Youth who were housed also turned to sex trades to meet their needs. In these situations sex trades became a solution to families who could not or would not provide their basic needs due to extreme poverty or as a form of child neglect.

Overall, the majority of these young people had someone facilitating their sex trade involvement, or benefitting from it. These two aspects, facilitating or benefitting, legally makes someone a pimp. Regardless, it was rare for these young people to think of their facilitator as a pimp. Youth coupled with facilitators for a variety of reasons. Facilitators were intimate partners who provided emotional support. Some were directly involved in arranging young people’s sex trade experiences. Others had no involvement but benefitted financially. For youth who were not accepted by their biological or adopted families because of their gender or sexual identity, or for those who felt they were not loved within their family, facilitators were viewed as surrogate family members. Some facilitators were simply people who let the young person use their house to work out of, or connected youth with clients, and in return they received a portion of their earnings. For many youth, it was their friends and peers who taught them how to trade sex and connect with clients. In general, young people identified their relationships with their facilitators as important. This was true whether the person was their intimate partner, a surrogate family member, or a friend. The arrangements they had with facilitators provided them with a sense of belonging and a sense of being loved and accepted.

The lives of these young people were lived interdependently. It was their social ties to others that channeled their actions and decisions. When friends were involved in sex trades, trading sex became an option for some of these young people. As mentioned above, youth connected each other with clients and shared information about how to trade sex. Some youth also recruited each other for facilitators. One young woman who was living in a group home was introduced by another “*girl in the group home*” to the guy “*who allowed her to use his apartment and arranged for all the johns to come in.*” When youth would transition away from trading sex, their relationships with their peers and family members would sometimes draw them back in. Youth whose support system is comprised of people who trade sex turn to that support system when times are challenging. For one young woman, “*her sister was actively engaged and she always maintained contact with her sister. And so when that’s always an option, that’s going to be her fallback.*”

Youth's connections with their family members and neighborhood also shaped their involvement in sex trades. In addition to parental neglect and the inability to provide for children's needs in the face of poverty, family members served as links in other ways to their children's involvement in sex trades. Some family members introduced their child to the person who ultimately became their facilitator. A case manager described how when one young woman went to live with her dad because her mom was going through some issues:

the dad was the one that introduced her to trading sex because he linked her up with one of his friends so that's how she got introduced to the pimp. So that's how she got, you know, put out on the streets. [I]t was all because of the dad, the dad was the one that introduced this to her.

In another situation, a young woman's sister introduced her to the person who became her facilitator, the same person who also was her mom's "pimp." For another young woman, it was people her older brother brought home to stay with them that ended up "pimping [her] out." Connections to people in their neighborhoods also linked young people to trading sex. A case manager explained how a client of hers started trading sex when:

men on her block who had known her basically her whole life and were older than her would, you know, basically proposition her and give her gifts and money and things like that. And so she kind of decided, "This is kind of lucrative," or "This kind of works."

The same was true for a young man who "initially got involved just because there were some older guys on his block who just were kind of cruising him and initially were just like, 'Well, we can give you nice stuff, nice things.'"

Both before and after they started trading sex, violence was an all too common experience for this group of young people. They had histories of emotional, verbal, physical and sexual abuse within their families. Once engaged in trading sex, violence was perpetrated by clients, facilitators and law enforcement officials. But, it was rare that these young people thought of themselves as victims. Youth are constructing their own life course to the best of their ability, with their choices shaped by the opportunities and constraints of their circumstances (Elder, 1998). For many, trading sex gave them a "sense of control and power." It afforded them the opportunity to leave abusive homes and provide for themselves. In situations where their family was not providing for them it became a way to assert their independence and get their needs met. In response to the ways in which their access to power has been limited, through laws that influence their ability to work and enter into contracts, and negligent or abusive parents and guardians, these youth were trying to regain power and control. Referring to them as domestic minor victims of sex trafficking ignores the resiliency and resourcefulness so many of them demonstrated. These young people were largely doing the best that they could with limited options and limited support. Because they were using sex to gain access to transportation, places to stay, food, clothing and money, their involvement may actually help them make it through their adolescence alive (Schaffner, 2006).

Service needs and challenges

These young people present with a complex array of service needs, similar to those seen in other high-risk young people (e.g., runaways/throwaways, and sexually exploited children). They present with very basic needs, such as food, clothing and transportation. Their needs sometimes included mental, physical and sexual health services. This group of young people also requested educational services and employment opportunities. Some of the challenges in providing services for this group of young people paralleled those seen among other high-risk youth. Because many crossed multiple service sectors, including child welfare and juvenile justice, coordination of care was often disjointed and fragmented. Some agencies were reluctant (or even unwilling) to share information, which led to service delays and potentially a duplication of services. Additionally, because many of these young people wanted to avoid child welfare involvement, they were adamant about not accessing certain services such as education, housing, and food stamps for fear of being reported.

Several ways exist to resolve some of the meso-level challenges that prevented youth's needs from being met. Youth who requested mental health services were sometimes unable to receive them because their guardians or child welfare workers never signed the necessary consent forms. This is avoidable. Policies need to be amended so that guardians can provide verbal as opposed to written consent. Situations where young people wanted to get their own food stamps but did not pursue it because they wanted to avoid child welfare may also be preventable. An assessment is needed to determine the best way in which youth can access emergency food stamps that does not require them to prove parental or guardian negligence. A case manager from one of the programs spoke to this need:

So if there was a way to have some kind of emergency food stamp thing for kids, no questions asked, that would be amazing. Something like that, like [an] emergency benefits kind of card, Medicaid and food stamps if you're under 18, no matter what, "Here you go." Because it seems like that's a barrier, too, for minors, is to access benefits.

For situations similar to those explored above it may be that a macro-level change will be the best solution. To treat all minors, regardless of whether they are 1 or 17, as needing the same types of protection ignores the ways in which most youth become significantly more independent as they age. Young people are granted certain rights as they turn 15 and 16 (i.e. employment, driving). At that time they should also have the legal right to access social, housing, medical and legal services without the consent of a guardian and guardian notification.

Perceived competition strained collaborations and the ability for case managers to help meet their clients' needs. Parents felt threatened by case managers and stalled efforts to connect their children with requested services. Child welfare workers reprimanded case managers for being too involved in their clients' lives. Probation officers and attorneys questioned case managers' expertise to the detriment of youth. Some social service providers viewed these programs as infringing on their turf and would either not

refer clients to them or would become upset if they felt a client was choosing another program over theirs. In one case a young woman was receiving services from one of the OVC-funded programs and another program, *“started calling us and kind of implying that we were keeping her away from them.”* Over time the youth decided that she did want to access services at this other organization. Feeling slighted by her initial disinterest in their services, someone at the other program *“implied that she had her chance and she chose [your program].”* Whereas this young woman was initially prioritized for housing with this other organization, she was then told that she would have to get on the waitlist.

Current policies emphasize the importance of connecting these young people to a continuum of services. However, the lack of funding to assure the minimal amount of social welfare services (Jullien, 2003), coupled with the lack of coordination among service providers is troubling. Seeing how homelessness created a need to engage in sex trades, housing options are desperately needed for young people. Although this is a widely acknowledged need, there is a chronic shortage of beds available for youth (Schwartz, 2009), and the housing and shelter provisions of policies are routinely go unfunded. Even though housing is widely recognized as a need for this group of youth, money is not ear marked for its provision in policies. Some of the funding that is dedicated to the needs of domestic minor victims of sex trafficking must be earmarked for housing.

Many of the young people involved in sex trades are runaways and homeless and often do not utilize more traditional programs (Greene, et al., 1999). To reach more youth, drop-in centers and outreach programs need to be increased. Similarly, because many eschew housing options to avoid child welfare, innovative ideas such as having drop-in programs that operate 24 hours a day may offer young people an alternative to trading sex for a place to sleep. As one case manager explained, *“if they have a safe, age-appropriate place to sleep they don’t trade sex for a place to sleep.”*

The case history narratives highlight how employment options for these youth are desperately needed. The modernization of work has delayed young people’s entry into the labor force (Moffitt, 1993), and most youth are not legally allowed to work until they are 16. Even once they reach the legal age, many lack the skills and qualifications necessary. The difficulty of finding employment, coupled with the low wages available, was often identified as a deterrent for leaving sex trades. Innovative approaches to helping young people fulfill their economic needs are required. In New York City, Streetwise & Safe (SAS), a peer-run internship program for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender youth of color is an example of one such approach. SAS conducts “know your rights” workshops that focus on ways that youth can increase their safety and reduce the harms of interactions with police officers. The program also creates opportunities for youth to identify a policy issue that is relevant to their lived experiences and acquire the necessary skills to speak out on their own behalf and work collectively to address their rights. Several of Streetwork’s clients were part of this internship program. A case manager explained the positive role this internship played for one of her clients:

[She is] getting paid to do work and so it's a really nice model because not only are they showing up because they're getting paid,...but the fact that they're getting paid speaks directly to her worthlessness, her unintelligence, how she can't do anything but sex work. [The internship is] the exact opposite of all those things, where someone is valuing her, they are depending on her being there and doing these other things like building up a community that would speak to other young people in her situation. [S]he does get a lot out of it and I don't think she's just going for the money, but I think that paying her for her time is part of what speaks to her worth in being there.

In addition to increasing the number of internship programs available to youth, developing microenterprise projects that target young people who are engaged in sex trades may provide them with other employment opportunities (Hodge, 2008).

Legal responses

Domestic minor sex trafficking laws that increase the severity of punishment for facilitators have limited validity and are unlikely to improve the lived experiences of youth who trade sex. The root causes of young people's involvement in sex trades are not easily changed, and they will not be changed if the only efforts to stop youth from becoming involved in sex trades focuses on people who are facilitators or clients. Instead, attention needs to be directed at the social system, at those societal factors that influenced youth to trade sex in the first place. Laws alone are not sufficient to prevent youth from trading sex. Young people also need social and economic power, and the ability to have their choices about living situations, service needs, and sexuality respected.

Increased penalties may also prevent youth from receiving restitution when they have been forced to trade sex. Looking to Proposition 35 in California, the increased penalties for criminal cases of \$500,000, with an optional additional fine of up to one million dollars, do not go directly to the victim. Instead, monies from criminal cases are placed in the Victim-Witness Assistance Fund which is distributed to law enforcement agencies and anti-trafficking social service organizations. What this means is that if youth pursued a civil case, where any monetary fines go directly to them, it is unlikely that the defendants would have any financial resources left.

The negative effects of criminalizing young people's involvement in trading sex are far worse than any positive gains it may create. The legal approach used in San Francisco and New York are forms of secondary victimization. In both locations, the very system that is supposed to protect these young people is victimizing them by arresting them. No work to date has shown that arresting people for their own good is helpful the majority of the time (E. Brown, et al., 2010), or that pressing charges against a young person facilitates their cooperation in building cases against third parties. Criminalization results in discriminatory enforcement patterns as witnessed by the disproportionate number of girls arrested for prostitution related offenses as compared to boys since the implementation of the TVPA. It also encourages social control agents to abuse their power (Pfhol, 1994). Police physically and sexually abuse young people involved in sex

trades. Likewise, defining their involvement in trading sex as criminal is “an extreme form of stigma and may alter a person’s identification” (Schur, 1965). Young people in this study, especially those with histories of prostitution arrests reported feeling as if they were different from “*normal*” people. The internalized stigma some of these young people experience is represented in the following statement a young woman said to her case manager, “*I’m a ho and I’m going to always be a ho and I’m going to die a ho.*”

The federal definition put forth through the TVPA classifies this group of young people as victims. Therefore, young people’s involvement in prostitution needs to be decriminalized. It is logically inconsistent to say that young people are not able to consent to sex yet they are criminalized for trading sex. To address the tension that currently exists between viewing them as victims yet treating them as criminals, a minimum age needs to be incorporated into state laws whereby no one under the age of 18 can be charged for prostitution related offenses. Future work needs to examine the role that decriminalizing or legalizing adult prostitution would play in young people’s involvement. It is possible that by creating a formalized system for adults through decriminalization or legalization, that opportunistic clients would no longer have a need to purchase sex from young people. Similarly, removing criminal statutes against all individuals who sell and purchase sex may create an environment where they could report to law enforcement officials, without fear of legal consequences, situations where people’s rights are being violated.

Illinois is the first State to decriminalize youth involvement in sex trades. Adjudicating young people to child welfare instead of arresting them may be a step in the right direction. However, a large portion of these young people were already involved in the child welfare system. For example, 35% of the clients at STOP-IT in Chicago were child welfare involved. Because it is not clear whether the child welfare system will produce significantly different results for these young people, an evaluation of the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services’ ability to identify and serve young people who trade sex is needed.

Moving beyond narratives of victim and villain

Expanding beyond the narrative of victim and villain makes the issue of young people’s involvement in sex trades more complex, and potentially more unsettling for people. When a more holistic and nuanced picture of youth who trade sex is presented, it is clear that campaigns that focus on ending the demand for young people who trade sex will not in and of themselves result in young people leaving the sex industry. The solution to this issue is not as simple as focusing efforts on “*rescuing*” these young people and punishing “*bad*” people. Instead, attention needs to be focused on the causes of involvement. It is safe to assume that for many young people, if their basic needs can be met by legitimate means, they will not need to engage in sex trades. As demonstrated in the case narratives, helping youth transition away from trading sex is sometimes as basic as providing them with clothes, food, and transportation. If youth’s basic human rights are met, if they have stable and safe housing, employment or other

sources of income, health care, access to education, those who really do not want to be trading sex will have other options. In the words of one of the case managers:

[Y]es, they're forced but they're forced by the fact that there are no other options....And there's some adults that take advantage of the situation but...if we took those situations away it would impact the amount of young people who are vulnerable to those type of predatory adults...[I]t's so frustrating that people are trying to find this complicated answer.

Until attention is shifted to the circumstances people experience prior to entering the sex industry, policies and programs will fail to meet the needs of this population. This is not an issue that warrants a one-sized fits all strategy. Rather, responses need to be tailored to the different experiences of these young people. Focusing on the points of overlap these young people share with other marginalized groups (i.e. homeless, those in poverty, child welfare involved, LGBT) might facilitate a more effective use of resources. To assume that this is a new group of young people that warrant new services fails to acknowledge the long history of young people involved in sex trades and may overemphasize the dissimilarities between these young people and those for whom services already exist.

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Appendix A: Youth Status at Intake and Assessment

Client ID _____

- Complete this form for every new client or client who’s case has reopened (previously served but case closed).
- Information should reflect the client’s status at assessment and be collected at intake and/or during the first 30 days after intake.
- If significant new information regarding client status at intake is disclosed after first 30 days, complete a new form with revised information only (amended intake).

Type of Intake (Check one and fill in corresponding dates(s))

- New Intake** → **Intake date** ___/___/___ (Date started working with or on behalf of client)
- Reopened** → **Date reopened** ___/___/___ **Original intake date** ___/___/___
- Amended Intake** → **Date amended form completed** ___/___/___

Referral Date ___/___/___ (Date you first were contacted on behalf of or by the client)

Referral Source (Check one)

Service delivery system

- Child protective services (CPS)
- Hospital/ER/medical
- Law enforcement (i.e., police)
- Juvenile justice/Probation officer
- Shelter
- School
- Other agency, specify type:

Informal referral

- Parent/relative/guardian
- Self (following outreach)
- Friend/Self/word of mouth
- Other, specify type/relationship:

Was client court mandated to participate? Yes No

Date of Birth	__/__/____
Age at intake	____
Sex/Gender	<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/> Transgender FTM/Transman <input type="checkbox"/> Transgender MTF/Transwoman <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Client declined to identify
Race/Ethnicity <i>(Check all that apply)</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> American Indian or Alaska Native <input type="checkbox"/> Asian <input type="checkbox"/> Black or African American <input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander <input type="checkbox"/> White <input type="checkbox"/> Hispanic or Latino/a or Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Client declined to identify
Citizenship status	<input type="checkbox"/> Citizen <input type="checkbox"/> LPR
	Country of origin: <input type="checkbox"/> US <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know

<p>Child welfare dependency</p> <p><i>Is client a legal ward of court or child welfare agency?</i></p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Don't know</p>
<p>Is the client legally emancipated?</p> <p><i>Has client been freed of parental control by court action?</i></p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Don't know</p>

Intake assessment still in progress *(If so, check box & send this page only. Send completed form next month.)*

Sex Trafficking Characteristics			
Has client <u>ever</u> been sex trafficked ¹	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, confirmed by client <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, suspected (<i>Skip to labor section</i>) <input type="checkbox"/> No (<i>Skip to labor section</i>) <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know (<i>Skip to labor section</i>)		
Age at first sex trafficking	___ Years		
Currently sex trafficked	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No: how long since last trafficked? ___years ___months <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know		
Facilitator (<i>Check all that apply</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/> None; client arranged for self <input type="checkbox"/> Sexual/romantic partner <input type="checkbox"/> Friend <input type="checkbox"/> Family/household member (includes parents, adoptive family members, or foster family) <input type="checkbox"/> Gang <input type="checkbox"/> Pimp <input type="checkbox"/> Someone else, specify: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know		
Location of trafficking— <i>jurisdiction in which exploitation took/takes place</i> (<i>Check all that apply</i>)	<p style="text-align: center;">SAGE</p> <p>San Francisco County:</p> <input type="checkbox"/> Tenderloin/SOMA <input type="checkbox"/> Bayview Hunters Pt. <input type="checkbox"/> Mission <input type="checkbox"/> Other - within SF Co., specify: _____ <p>Surrounding county:</p> <input type="checkbox"/> Alameda County <input type="checkbox"/> Contra Costa County <input type="checkbox"/> Solano County <input type="checkbox"/> San Mateo County <input type="checkbox"/> Sonoma County	<p style="text-align: center;">STOP-IT</p> <input type="checkbox"/> City of Chicago <i>Specify neighborhood:</i> _____	<p style="text-align: center;">Safe Horizon</p> <input type="checkbox"/> Bronx <input type="checkbox"/> Brooklyn <input type="checkbox"/> Manhattan <input type="checkbox"/> Queens <input type="checkbox"/> Staten Island <input type="checkbox"/> Other - within NY state <input type="checkbox"/> Other U.S. state, specify: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Outside U.S.
	<input type="checkbox"/> Surrounding Cook County <input type="checkbox"/> DuPage County <input type="checkbox"/> Will County <input type="checkbox"/> Kendall County <input type="checkbox"/> Kane County <input type="checkbox"/> Lake County, IL <input type="checkbox"/> McHenry County <input type="checkbox"/> Boone County		

1

Trafficking definitions provided by the Department of Justice (DOJ) Office for Victims of Crime (OVC)

Sex Trafficking Characteristics			
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other CA county, specify: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Other U.S. state, specify: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Outside U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> Winnebago County <input type="checkbox"/> Other IL county <input type="checkbox"/> Lake County, IN <i>Specify town:</i> _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Other U.S. state, specify: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Outside U.S. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know
Venue of solicitation— <i>location in which trafficking is arranged</i> (Check all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> Internet / Online <input type="checkbox"/> Street track <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know		
What was exchanged for sex? (Check all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> Food <input type="checkbox"/> Money <input type="checkbox"/> Drugs/alcohol <input type="checkbox"/> Shelter/place to stay <input type="checkbox"/> Clothes/jewelry <input type="checkbox"/> Protection <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know		

Sex Trafficking Characteristics	
<p>Sex trafficking force, fraud or coercion conditions²</p> <p><i>(Check all that apply)</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Physically harmed or restrained <input type="checkbox"/> Threatened with harm by someone involved in trafficking <input type="checkbox"/> Coerced by promise of future benefit (material or emotional) <input type="checkbox"/> Coerced because of money owed to someone involved in trafficking <input type="checkbox"/> Threatened with revocation of LPR or promised assistance with citizenship <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know

²Note that force, fraud or coercion are not necessary within the definition of sex trafficking for minor victims

Current Status

Language	Primary language <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify _____ If primary language is not English: <input type="checkbox"/> Needs assistance with spoken English <input type="checkbox"/> Needs assistance with written English <input type="checkbox"/> No assistance needed			
Children	Client has children <input type="checkbox"/> Yes; Number or children: _____ Ages of children _____ Custody/living arrangement _____ <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know			
Current systems involvement <i>Does client have a case manager or case worker in any of these systems?</i>	Agency	Yes	No	Don't know
	Child welfare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Juvenile justice	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Mental health	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Current Status	
<p>Living situation—usual situation during past 30 days (Check all that apply)</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Foster home / Group home</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Detention center</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Friend</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Sexual or romantic partner</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Parent / Relative / Guardian / Adoptive family</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Pimp</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Shelter</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Street</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Couch surfing</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify _____</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Don't know</p>
<p>Current criminal justice system involvement (Check all that apply)</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Crime victim in open case</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Crime witness in open case</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Pending juvenile justice or criminal charges</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Don't know</p>
<p>Public benefits (Check all that apply)</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Food stamps</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> General assistance</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> TANF</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> WIC for client's children</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Child care subsidy for client's children</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Social security disability</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Other _____</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> None</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Don't know</p>

Current Status	
Education	<p>Currently attending</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> School</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> GED program</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Neither</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Don't know</p> <p>Special education needs: _____</p> <p>Last grade completed: _____</p>
Employment / Vocational	<p>Currently employed</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes; Type of work _____ Usual hours per week _____</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Don't know</p>
	<p>Enrolled in job training/vocational program</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Don't know</p>
Medical Health <i>(If applicable, indicate and describe both urgent and non-urgent issues.)</i>	<p>Current medical issues</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes—urgent³ Describe: _____</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes—not urgent Describe: _____</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Don't know</p>

³ Urgent health or dental care needs are defined as those requiring prompt attention to prevent serious pain or risk of harm.

Current Status	
Sexual Health <i>(Check all that apply)</i>	Contraception Use <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Uses always <input type="checkbox"/> Uses sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Uses never <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Not applicable (no opposite-sex partners) Contraception type(s) used: _____
	Pregnancy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Currently pregnant <input type="checkbox"/> Had a baby, miscarriage or abortion in the last 3 months <input type="checkbox"/> Any <u>other</u> previous pregnancy <input type="checkbox"/> Never been pregnant / Not applicable (male client) <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
	Risky sexual behavior <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Multiple sex partners <input type="checkbox"/> Unprotected sex <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
Dental Health <i>(If applicable, indicate and describe both urgent and non-urgent issues.)</i>	Current dental issues <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Yes—urgent⁴ Describe: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Yes—not urgent Describe: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know

Current Status	
Mental Health <i>(If applicable, indicate and describe both urgent and non-urgent issues.)</i>	Current mental health issues <input type="checkbox"/> Yes—urgent ⁴ Describe: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Yes—not urgent Describe: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
Trauma History <i>(If applicable, indicate trauma that happened within last 6 months and/or more than 6 months ago.)</i>	Physical abuse/assault <input type="checkbox"/> Within last 6 months— <i>Circle one:</i> Victim Perpetrator Both <input type="checkbox"/> More than 6 months ago— <i>Circle one:</i> Victim Perpetrator Both <input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
	Sexual abuse/assault (other than sex trafficking) <input type="checkbox"/> Within last 6 months— <i>Circle one:</i> Victim Perpetrator Both <input type="checkbox"/> More than 6 months ago— <i>Circle one:</i> Victim Perpetrator Both <input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
	Child neglect <input type="checkbox"/> Within last 6 months— <i>Circle one:</i> Victim Perpetrator Both <input type="checkbox"/> More than 6 months ago— <i>Circle one:</i> Victim Perpetrator Both <input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
	Emotional abuse <input type="checkbox"/> Within last 6 months— <i>Circle one:</i> Victim Perpetrator Both <input type="checkbox"/> More than 6 months ago— <i>Circle one:</i> Victim Perpetrator Both

⁴ Urgent mental health care needs are defined as those requiring prompt attention to avoid serious distress or risk of harm to self or others.

Current Status	
	<input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
	Partner violence <input type="checkbox"/> Within last 6 months— <i>Circle one:</i> Victim Perpetrator Both <input type="checkbox"/> More than 6 months ago— <i>Circle one:</i> Victim Perpetrator Both <input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
	Witnessed family violence <input type="checkbox"/> Within last 6 months— <i>Circle one:</i> Victim Perpetrator Both <input type="checkbox"/> More than 6 months ago— <i>Circle one:</i> Victim Perpetrator Both <input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
	Witnessed community violence <input type="checkbox"/> Within last 6 months— <i>Circle one:</i> Victim Perpetrator Both <input type="checkbox"/> More than 6 months ago— <i>Circle one:</i> Victim Perpetrator Both <input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
Substance / Alcohol Abuse	Do you suspect or has client revealed substance and/or alcohol abuse? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes—Alcohol <input type="checkbox"/> Yes—Other substances, specify: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know

Summary of Presenting Needs at Intake and Assessment

Note: It is acceptable to indicate that a need was identified by both the client and program.

Need	Client Identified as a Need	Program Identified as a Need	Not Identified as a Need	Notes: Provide clarifying detail if necessary
Assistance with Benefits	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Interpreter / Translator	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Food / Clothing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Housing—Emergency	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Housing—Transitional	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Housing—Long-term	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Employment / Vocational	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Medical	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Sexual Health	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Dental	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Mental Health	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Substance / Alcohol Abuse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Victim Assistance / Legal Advocacy Services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Support/Crisis Intervention	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Safety planning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Family reunification or family counseling	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

Other, specify: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Other, specify: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Other, specify: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

Client ID _____

Appendix B: Client Service Needs and Service Provision

- *This form should be completed monthly for each client by the 10th of the following month.*
- *Information should reflect activity during the prior calendar month.*
 - *If program neither saw nor acted on behalf of client during the past month, complete first page only.*
 - *If program either saw or acted on behalf of client during the past month, summarize needs and activities on next pages.*

Reporting month _____ year _____

_____ Number of contacts (in person or by telephone) with this client during this month

Has the program interacted with other service providers on client's behalf during this month?

- Yes
- No

Is this client's case considered closed or inactive as of the end of the reporting month?

- Yes, case closed → *complete closing status form.*
- Yes, inactive
- No

Client ID _____

Service	Identified as a Need During Past Month ⁵	Needed Services Received During Past Month		
		<i>If service was needed during past month indicate whether it was received.</i>		
<i>If multiple needs in a service category, check all that apply.</i>				
Assistance with benefits	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown
Interpreter or translator	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown
Food or clothing	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown

⁵ Service needs are based on program knowledge from client interaction and do not assume a formal needs assessment.

Service	Identified as a Need During Past Month ³	Needed Services Received During Past Month		
		<i>If service was needed during past month indicate whether it was received.</i>		
<i>If multiple needs in a service category, check all that apply.</i>				
Housing— Emergency	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown
Housing— Transitional	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown
Housing— Long-term	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown

Service	Identified as a Need During Past Month ⁶	Needed Services Received During Past Month		
		<i>If service was needed during past month indicate whether it was received.</i>		
		<i>If multiple needs in a service category, check all that apply.</i>		
Education	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown
Employment or vocational assistance	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown
Medical care	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown

⁶ Service needs are based on program knowledge from client interaction and do not assume a formal needs assessment.

Service	Identified as a Need During Past Month ⁷	Needed Services Received During Past Month		
		<i>If service was needed during past month indicate whether it was received.</i>		
<i>If multiple needs in a service category, check all that apply.</i>				
Sexual health care	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown
Dental care	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown
Mental health care	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown

⁷ Service needs are based on program knowledge from client interaction and do not assume a formal needs assessment.

Service	Identified as a Need During Past Month	Needed Services Received During Past Month		
		<i>If service was needed during past month indicate whether it was received.</i>		
<i>If multiple needs in a service category, check all that apply.</i>				
Substance or alcohol abuse treatment	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown
Victim assistance or legal advocacy services	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown
Support or crisis intervention	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown

Service	Identified as a Need During Past Month	Needed Services Received During Past Month		
		<i>If service was needed during past month indicate whether it was received.</i>		
<i>If multiple needs in a service category, check all that apply.</i>				
Safety planning	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown
Family reunification or family counseling	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown
Other service, specify: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown
Other service, specify: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown

Service	Identified as a Need During Past Month	Needed Services Received During Past Month		
		<i>If service was needed during past month indicate whether it was received.</i> <i>If multiple needs in a service category, check all that apply.</i>		
Other service, specify: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown
Other service, specify: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → <input type="checkbox"/> No/DK	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Provided in-house <input type="checkbox"/> Provided elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate service not available <input type="checkbox"/> Referral in process <input type="checkbox"/> Client not interested, willing or ready for service	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> Referred, outcome unknown <input type="checkbox"/> Status unknown

Client ID _____

Appendix C: Closing Status

Complete this form for all clients who have been classified as closed during the reporting month, by the 10th of the following month.

Date on which case closed	___/___/____
Last contact date	___/___/____
Reason for closing <i>(Check all that apply)</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> No longer in need of services <input type="checkbox"/> Lost contact <input type="checkbox"/> Incarcerated and out of contact with program <input type="checkbox"/> Client relocated <input type="checkbox"/> Youth discontinued <input type="checkbox"/> Determined not eligible <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not victim of trafficking • 18 or older at first visit • Neither citizen or LPR <input type="checkbox"/> Aged out of program <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify: _____

Appendix D: Case History Narrative Interview Guide

Introduction

Review key points from study information sheet (Case managers will receive info sheet via email prior to interview):

This interview is to find out more about youth who have received services who are domestic minor victims of sex trafficking. I will be asking you questions about specific types of cases. Specifically (will rotate among these 5 types):

- All male program participants
- All transgender program participants
- Female program participants:
 - Highly successful in last year
 - A lot of barriers and challenges
 - 'Ages out'/transition to adult services
- It is really important that I do not learn the identity of this young person. What is a fake name that you will use throughout this interview? [NAME].
- I'll be taking notes, but if you don't mind I'd also like to record the conversation as a backup for our own use. Is that okay?

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Start recorder.

Demographics

1. First I'll be asking some basic demographic information about [NAME].
 - Age (both initially and if any updated age; learned that a different age)
 - Gender (including transgender)
 - Ethnicity
 - US citizen/LPR
 - Guardianship/dependency status
 - Living situation
 - Teen pregnancy/parenting

Initial Presentation/Characteristics/Services

2. Next are some questions about [NAME]. Initial presentation when you first met him/her.
 - When and how did [NAME] come into contact with [PROGRAM]?
 - What was [NAME's] motivation for making contact with [PROGRAM]?
 - Describe what you initially learned about [NAME] and his/her circumstances.
 - What was [NAME's] initial demeanor: emotionally and interpersonally? How did s/he come across?
 - What did you learn initially about what other service sectors [NAME] was involved with? (specific probes for child welfare, juvenile justice, law enforcement, mental health, health/medical).
 - What did you learn initially about [NAME's] family history?
 - maltreatment history
 - parental/caregiver substance abuse, mental health problems, criminal behavior, prostitution, teen parent
3. What did you initially learn about [NAME's] sex trafficking experiences?
 - Type of trafficking
 - Age at first experience

- Location where trafficking occurs (city/county)
 - Resources traded for sex
 - Relationship to facilitator (if there is a facilitator)
 - Type of force, fraud or coercion
4. What referrals did you initially make for [NAME]?
- To the best of your knowledge – did [NAME] go to the referral source? If yes – perceptions of service quality; If no – barriers to receiving services.

Presentation/Characteristics/Services after Getting to Know Youth

5. As you began to better know [NAME]:
- Did his/her demeanor emotionally/interpersonally change? If so, describe in what ways it changed.
 - What did you additionally learn about previous service sector involvement?
 - What, if anything, did you learn about [NAME's] family history?
 - What, if anything, did you learn about [NAME's] trafficking experiences?
 - After your initial work, what additional referrals did you make for [NAME]?
 - To the best of your knowledge – did [NAME] go to the referral source? If yes – perceptions of service quality; If no – barriers to receiving services.
6. What aspects of [NAME's] case presented as barriers to engaging in services?
- For each of these barriers, what might you have done differently, now looking back?
7. What aspects of your program's interactions with [NAME] would you describe as successful?
8. Do you consider [NAME] to be an ongoing or closed case?
- (If ongoing) What are your goals for ongoing work with [NAME]?
 - When was the most recent time that you had contact with [NAME]?
 - To the best of your knowledge, why is [NAME] no longer in contact with the program?

Appendix E: Qualitative Code List

AGENCY: when young people are described as having agency, choosing certain behaviors/actions. Includes discussions about the person's resiliency and/or resourcefulness.

DEMEANOR: descriptions about a young person's emotional, interpersonal and physical presentation. Includes changes in demeanor over time.

DEMOGRAPHICS: descriptions of young person's gender, race, age, education status, citizenship, sexual identity, and kids.

DRUGS: drug use or involvement in drug sales. Includes alcohol

EMPLOYMENT: descriptions of young person's legal sector job(s)

FAMILY: biological or guardians. Maltreatment by family. Family issues (substance use, mental health, poverty). Includes familial history of sex trades

FORCED LABOR: non-sexual labor.

FRIENDS: descriptions of young person's friends

GRANTEE: descriptions of the OVC-funded program and their philosophy.

AGE OUT: narratives about when a young person turns 18 and not eligible for OVC-funded services

CASE MANAGEMENT: descriptions of case management

CASE MANAGER NEEDS: services the case managers think the young person needs

CLIENT NEEDS: services the young person identified as wanting

OUTCOMES: what case managers consider to be successful/troubling outcomes

REFERRALS: services the young person was referred to. Includes both internal and external services

CHALLENGES: difficulties of working with this population

MACRO: Describes the culture in which individuals live. ex. policies, homo- and transphobia, sex trade stigma

MESO: Refers to relations between microsystems or connections between contexts.

MICRO: Refers to the institutions and groups that most immediately and directly impact the young person including: OVC-funded program, family, school, religious institutions, neighborhood, and peers.

PROGRAM SPECIFIC: problems that are unique to the structure or functioning of the OVC-funded program.

ENGAGEMENT: ways in which the young person interacts with overall program; includes other services the person receives beyond case management. includes when no longer accessing services

ENTRY: how young person 1st came in contact with the grantee

HEALTH: pregnancy, physical health issues (includes disabilities), sexual health (STIs/HIV), mental health

INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS: description of intimate relationships with others. Can include relationship with facilitator.

LIVING SITUATION: places where the young person lives

RUNAWAY: descriptions about running away from home or a system (ie JJ or foster home)

SELF-ESTEEM: descriptions about the young person's confidence in self. Includes discussions of shame/stigma

SEX TRADE INVOLVEMENT:

CLIENTS: descriptions about the people purchasing sexual services.

FACILITATORS: anyone who connects young people to clients. Includes, but is not limited to, pimps, friends, family, gorilla pimps, etc.

INITIATION: details about 1st experience trading sex, includes life events associated with involvement in sex trades (life course theory: timing)

TRANSITIONS: experiences moving in and out of sex trade involvement after initiation. Changes in involvement over time.

STAR: star quotes

SYSTEM INVOLVEMENT: other services the young person is connected to (by choice or mandated). Involvement in community.

CBOs: Community based organizations

CHILD WELFARE

EDUCATION

HEALTH

HOUSING

JUVENILE JUSTICE

POLICE

RELIGIOUS

VIOLENCE: young person's experiences with violence. Not limited to sex trade related violence