

Shedding Light on Sex Trafficking

RESEARCH, DATA, AND TECHNOLOGIES WITH THE GREATEST IMPACT

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The manifestations of human trafficking are multifaceted and vary across geographic locations, ethnic and cultural groups, and socioeconomic statuses. The United States is considered a host, transit, and destination country in which domestic-born and foreign nationals, transported both legally and illegally, are exploited in the United States by domestic and foreign traffickers. It is estimated that hundreds of thousands of domestic-born children are at risk of being sex trafficked within the United States each year. There has been particular focus on antecedents to sex trafficking such as poverty, involvement with the child welfare system, histories of child sexual abuse, access to technology, among others. This report uses primary and secondary source data to: 1.) explore the nuances of human trafficking in both a global and national context; 2.) analyze the role of technology in facilitating and combating human trafficking; and 3.) make technology-based recommendations to enhance the anti-human trafficking movement. The report also explores the limitations of existing knowledge and makes recommendations for further resources and research.

In the context of this report, “human trafficking” and “trafficking in persons” will be used interchangeably as umbrella terms that encompass both forced labor and commercial sexual exploitation. Human trafficking can be defined as the commercial sexual exploitation and/or forced labor of individuals where force, fraud, or coercive measures (with important caveats for minors) induce a victim’s participation in sexual or nonsexual work in exchange for something of value such as money, amenities, or basic needs (e.g. food and shelter). The terms “commercial sexual exploitation” and “sex trafficking” will be used interchangeably when discussing the women, men, girls, boys, and transgender individuals whose bodies have been sexually exploited in a commercial exchange. The term commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) will encompass all minors under the age of 18 who have been sexually exploited regardless of the presence of a trafficker, the use of force, fraud, or coercion, or transportation across physical boundaries. The term “victim” is employed when discussing an adult or minor during their exploitation; subsequently, the term “survivor” denotes any individual who has exited the exploitation. Exploiter and trafficker will refer to the person, different than the victim, which benefits from the exploitation whether they are facilitating the commercial activity or sexually benefiting from the sex acts.

A database of sources leveraged for the production of this report can be found at humantraffickingdatabase.com.

2. HUMAN TRAFFICKING OVERVIEW

Human trafficking is contemporary slavery that echoes histories of oppression and child abuse (IOM & NRC, 2013). It is a local, national, and international issue rooted in the illicit sub-cultures and economies of virtually every nation in the world as they are affected as source, transit, and/or destination countries (Hope for Children, 2014). Many misconceive sex trafficking as an international issue of developing and poverty-stricken nations, however, it is typically the sex-driven demand of wealthier nations that drive the illicit market both in the United States and abroad (Hughes, 2005). Between 2010 and 2012, international data identified victims from 152 countries of origin trafficked into 124 different countries around the world (UNODC, 2014). Although trafficking across international borders is highly prevalent, and worthy of attention, worldwide nearly one third of all human trafficking cases occur within the victim's and trafficker's country of origin (UNODC, 2014). The anguish of human trafficking causes physical, emotional, and mental degradation to the victims' livelihoods in exchange for the social, political, economic, and/or sexual benefit(s) of others.

As governments, law enforcement, policymakers, and service providers increasingly come to recognize the collaborative nature of trafficking rings—and the means traffickers use to exploit their victims—there is greater emphasis on cross-sector collaboration to counter trafficking. The public, private, and nonprofit sectors have each made strides to improve collaboration between stakeholders, often through multi-disciplinary teams, to best meet the needs of victims and survivors.

2.1 Trafficking Victims Protection Act 2000

The highly publicized human trafficking cases of the 1990s raised the public consciousness of exploitation within the United States borders (Joshi, 2002). In 1995, the “El Monte case” uncovered 72 foreign-born Thai women held captive and forced to work in a boarded apartment-turned sweatshop in California (Bertone, 2008). The “Deaf Mexican case” of 1997 exposed 62 deaf mutes, smuggled from Mexico to New York, forced to work as street peddlers with a minimum one hundred dollar quota per day (Bertone, 2008). In 1997, the Global Survival Network (GSN) produced *Bought and Sold* a documentary of undercover footage conveying the ways a disintegrated economy, organized crime, and political corruption fueled sex trafficking of Russian women and girls into Western nations (Bertone, 2008). These cases offer significant insight into the global landscape that reinforces the importation of victims into the United States for exploitative purposes. However, the media's portrayal of foreign-nationals as the most common type of victim has perpetuated the misconception that U.S. citizens are exempt from victimization (Farrell et al., 2012). When discourse is not focused on the hundreds of thousands of domestic-born victims within the United States this myth is reinforced. These series of events demonstrated the need for comprehensive federal legislation to address the global issue in a domestic context.

In 1998, President Clinton issued an executive memorandum that established the first government-wide strategy to combat human trafficking in the United States (Administration of William H. Clinton, 1998). Clinton's administration instituted the widely accepted three-pronged approach, known as

the “3P” paradigm: prevention, protection, and prosecution (Miko, 2006). The paradigm was amended in 2009 to include a “fourth P” partnership; though at times forgotten, partnership serves the essential purpose of including all sectors (McSween, 2011). In 1999, Congressional hearings showcased survivor testimony from service providers of international anti-human trafficking non-governmental organizations (Sensenbrenner & Hyde, 2006). As a result, between 1999 and 2000 Congress was introduced to three pertinent bills; the Trafficking Victims Protection Act 2000 (TVPA 2000) superseded the others, setting the tone for anti-human trafficking policy and discourse in the United States (Hyland, 2001).

In 2000, Congress passed the cornerstone of anti-human trafficking federal legislation, the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act (Pub. L. 106–386) Division A: Trafficking Victims Protection Act 2000. TVPA 2000 defines the ‘severe forms of trafficking in persons,’ as:

- (A) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or
- (B) the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subsection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery.

TVPA, as amended and in compliance with the United Nations Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (Palermo Protocol), acknowledges that “individuals may be trafficking victims regardless of whether they once consented, participated in a crime as a direct result of being trafficked, were transported into the exploitative situation, or were simply born into a state of servitude” (U.S. Department of State, 2014). The protection of victims, assistance to survivors, and prosecution of exploiters has since been enhanced and expanded through TVPA reauthorizations in 2003, 2005, 2008, and 2013.

The federal policy necessitates the presence of three core elements: action, means, and purpose, with important caveats for sex trafficked minors less than 18 years of age. The action of trafficking refers to the physicality of recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining a person. Although the term trafficking connotes travel, which is a common function, U.S. policy does not require proof of transportation (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015). Human trafficking can occur in close proximity to a victim’s place of origin or residence as evidenced by children born into servitude and exploitation perpetrated by legal guardians, relatives, and friends. There is an important distinction between human trafficking and human smuggling in that the former is centered on exploitation while the latter focuses on the transportation of individuals evading country-specific immigration laws (U.S. Department of State, 2006). Although distinct from each other, trafficking and smuggling are not mutually exclusive. The two can, and do, overlap when individuals who are initially smuggled by their own will lose their autonomy in a captive state (e.g. debt bondage) (Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center, 2006).

The means of trafficking is through the use of force, fraud, or coercion with exceptions for commercially sexually exploited children (CSEC). Sex and labor trafficked adults and labor trafficked minors must provide evidence of force, fraud, and coercion (Freedom Network USA, 2012) in order to be legally considered a trafficking victim and receive related services. Because minors are below the legal age of sexual consent, all minors who engage in commercial sexual activity are victims of sex trafficking and child sexual abuse, not voluntary sex workers or prostitutes, whether or not force, coercion or fraud are present (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2004; Saar, Epstein, Rosenthal, & Vafa, 2013; Walker, 2013). Still, force, fraud and coercion are typically involved in the exploitation of minors. Force is a regular occurrence

in all types of human trafficking. Sex trafficked victims are often brutalized with high instances of physical, emotional, and sexual violence like rape, torture, and imprisonment (Richard, 2000). Coercion and fraud are often conveyed through psychological manipulation, which may include continuous threats to harm the victim and their family, false deceptions of love and familial-like relationships, and promises to fair wages in legitimate work settings (Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2012). The purpose of trafficking is the exploitation of an individual in exchange for something of value (e.g. money, food, clothing, shelter). TVPA 2000 set a legal framework for local, state, and federal government agencies, law enforcement, prosecutors, and stakeholders to conceptualize and combat trafficking in persons.

Understanding the legal definition of human trafficking affects the way we identify victims, how we police particular communities, and those we give access to services. Human trafficking's manifestations cannot be contained within the federal definition; the nuances are complex and multilayered, affecting those involved in a myriad of ways. Though victims and survivors may share trauma, exploitation is experienced and internalized differently for each person, this warrants a survivor-centered approach that meets the survivor where they are. Local and national, public and private sector efforts have successfully raised the public consciousness; however, many communities that are home to these exploitations remain unaware of sex trafficking and the implications that victimize domestic-born children and adults in the United States. This literature review specifically attempts to provide better insight into the ways in which sex trafficking manifests among domestic-born CSEC in a national context.

3. DOMESTIC SEX TRAFFICKING IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT

Human trafficking is marked as the fast-growing criminal enterprise in the world (Harris, 2014). It is estimated that there are 21 million women, men, girls, boys, and transgender individuals trafficked worldwide this is roughly equivalent to 3 out of every 1,000 people (International Labour Organization, 2015). Each year labor trafficking entraps 14.2 million people and sex trafficking victimizes about 4.5 million people; on a global scale these estimations make forced labor about 3.5 times more prevalent than commercial sexual exploitation (International Labour Organization, 2015). In both capacities women and girls are identified as the most trafficked populations, comprising 11.4 million of the labor and sex trafficked victims (International Labour Organization, 2015). Adults account for 74 percent—15.4 million—of victims and children younger than 18 years old are 26 percent—5.5 million—of victims (International Labour Organization, 2015). According to data collected by the International Labour Organization (ILO), exploitation occurs in a myriad of settings but the most notable and widespread industries are domestic servitude, agriculture, construction, manufacturing, and entertainment (2015). Although ILO is often cited by anti-human trafficking activists worldwide, there are critics to these and a majority of other available statistics. Unfortunately, much of the circulated quantitative data cannot act as an accurate representative sample of human trafficking victims in the United States or abroad. Estimates are typically followed by caveats and qualifying statements with researchers urging readers to refrain from republishing estimates without acknowledging limitations (IOM & NRC, 2013).

In the United States, the commercial sexual exploitation of women and girls has been the most recorded type of human trafficking. Domestically, the most at-risk populations tend to be society's most marginalized and vulnerable groups: women, children, and adolescents. Well-known antecedents and characteristics of victimized minors include: missing, runaway, throwaway (i.e. asked or forced to leave home), homeless; lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, or questioning (LGBTQ); gender non-conforming (GNC); minorities and girls of color especially African-American; migrant workers; Native Americans especially girls; cognitive and developmental delays; child welfare involvement; juvenile justice system involvement; history of neglect and abuse, especially child sexual abuse; exposure to domestic violence; history of exploitation in community or family; lack of care or basic needs (e.g. food, clothing); youth or caregivers with alcohol or substance dependency; truancy; disconnection from the education system; and poverty (Human Rights Project for Girls, 2015; IOM & NRC, 2013; U.S. Department of State, 2014; Walker, 2013; Walker & Quraishi, 2014). Additionally, the advent of relatively anonymous and accessible technology like Internet-based chat rooms, social media platforms, and apps with built-in GPS have made it easier than ever for predators to locate, communicate with, and entrap unsuspecting victims (Webb, "What the Tech?," 2016).

3.1 Insufficient Data Collection

Currently, there is a dearth in statistical data that accurately quantifies the number of domestic-born human trafficked victims within the United States. Data collection is typically fragmented and many empirical studies have weak methodologies (Sensenbrenner & Hyde, 2006). There are six principal offices responsible for monitoring and combating human trafficking: Department of Homeland Security; Department of Justice; Department of Labor; Department of State; Health and Human Services; and USAID (Sensenbrenner & Hyde, 2006). As of January 2013, in compliance with the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) reauthorization of 2008, human trafficking has been classified as a "Part 1 crime" in the FBI's Uniform Crime Report (UCR) (U.S. Department of State, 2008). This

developed a voluntary-based systematic method for local, county, state, and tribal law enforcement agencies (LEA) participating in the UCR Program's Summary Reporting System (SRS) and National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) to account for arrests associated with human trafficking (Federal Bureau of Investigations, 2013). Although this does offer a repository for LEA to input human trafficking data there are shortcomings in the methodology and implementation. For example, some states like Indiana, Mississippi, and parts of Ohio report directly to the FBI due to the lack of UCR data collection oversight; while other states have adopted the program even when local LEA lack the infrastructure to input data (Criminal Justice Information Services Division, 2014). According to the Department of Justice & Federal Bureau of Investigations (2013), UCR data collection is expected to increase as agencies devote more time and resources to human trafficking cases, assisting in a more holistic picture of the crime. Though relevant information is continuously entered into the database, to date, there have been no quantitative reports published offering little to no insight into the collected data. Nationwide, there is still no uniform mechanism or formal system for reporting prosecution at the local or state level (Department of State, 2015). This poses a challenge when attempting to quantify human trafficking investigations and prosecutions at a local or national level.

In an effort to measure the performance of 42 federally-funded task forces between 2008 and 2010 the Human Trafficking Reporting System (HTRS) collected human trafficking investigation data from local and state LEA (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011). According to HTRS data, from January 2010 to June 2012 about 8 out of every 10 human trafficking initiated investigation was sex trafficking-related and approximately 1 in 10 was labor trafficking-related (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011). In terms of citizenship, 83 percent of sex trafficked victims were U.S. citizens and about 95 percent of labor trafficked victims were either undocumented (67 percent) or documented (28 percent) foreign-born individuals (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011). Although this data is useful it is also a reflection of law enforcement's selection biases rather than a true depiction of human trafficking on a national level (Harris, 2012). Labor trafficking, especially forced child labor, is underreported and under-investigated making it difficult to accurately quantify the crime (Freedom Network USA, 2012). While sex trafficking cases are more likely to be investigated and prosecuted it is important to note that investigations are more likely to be initiated if the trafficked person fits the law enforcement officer's ideal "victim" which is often characterized by unconscious biases, preconceived notions, and inadequate training. The Department of Justice (DOJ) Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) has since downsized the number of human trafficking task forces federally funded. In the 2015 Fiscal Year, the Attorney General awarded more than \$22.7 million to assist in the development or enhancement of 16 task forces around the nation (Department of Justice, 2015), eight fewer task forces than the originally funded twenty-four.

3.2 CSEC Statistics and Proxy Sources

Sex trafficking of domestic-born female minors has been at the forefront of anti-human trafficking discourse as research suggests that domestic youth are the most vulnerable to victimization in the United States (Kotrla, 2010). The most documented type of child trafficking is commercial sex; other types of prominent commercial sexual exploitation often intersect like the production of child pornography, exotic and nude dancing, and live sex shows though they tend to receive less attention and remain underreported (Cole, Sprang, Lee, & Cohen, 2014; Hughes, 2005; Reid, 2011).

In the United States, sex trafficking of domestic-born minors is noted as the most common form of human trafficking that victimizes citizens (National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2011). Although CSEC data is more readily available than information on sex trafficked adults and labor trafficked minors and adults, there are still shortcomings in existing literature that do not capture the full scope or scale. Reputable sources like Polaris Project (Polaris) have encouraged comprehensive and methodical research that more accurately quantifies the number of trafficked

victims. Polaris explains, "...the trafficking field has to rely on incomplete and imperfect data drawn from small data sets" (2015a). Many stakeholders continue to reference and republish outdated and incomplete statistics at times knowing the credibility and generalizability is questionable because of the statistical dearth that exists. Other sources like the Institute of Medicine (IOM) and National Research Council (NRC) recognize the extreme difficulty of collecting prevalence data with this type of crime and encourage specialized research that focuses on specific vulnerable populations (e.g. LGBTQ, systems-involved, etc.) (2013).

Two of the most commonly cited CSEC statistics are largely outdated and lack a strong basis in empirical research methodology. In 2001, a study focused on North America estimated that in the United States between 100,000 and 300,000 youth are at-risk for sexual exploitation each year (Estes & Weiner). This estimate relies on data from various organizations, law enforcement agencies, and human service professionals who serve and track runaway youth statistics. Well-known and highly credible organizations like the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) have encouraged the use of the conservative estimate of 100,000 domestic born-children recognizing it as "empirically sound and defensible" (Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking, 2010). The average age youth enter into sex trafficking is another commonly cited statistic from the Estes and Weiner publication (2001). The report found that girls typically enter sex trafficking between 12 and 14 years old while boys enter slightly younger between 11 and 13 years old (Estes & Weiner, 2001). Multiple reports and anecdotal evidence confirms that youth are trafficked at very young ages. During the 2015 Operation Cross Country, an annual human trafficking raid, the FBI recovered 149 victims, the youngest was 12 years old (FBI, 2015). Between 2012 and 2015, the youngest client served at Saving Innocence, a Los Angeles-based anti-sex trafficking nonprofit organization, was 11 years old though two of their clients entered sex trafficking at 10 years old.

Estes and Weiner provide insight into the potential impacts that commercial sexual exploitation has on vulnerable youth and the ways in which multiple systems can assist in tracking data. The study, however, was conducted over 15 years ago and published only one year after the legal definition of human trafficking was established. During this timeframe it was estimated that at least 90 percent of law enforcement lacked critical awareness of the true manifestations and implications of sex trafficking (Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking, 2010). To date, no study of its magnitude has attempted to provide a more current or accurate estimate.

Due to incomplete data on the CSEC population most estimates rely on proxy sources like information on missing, runaway, and homeless youth. Runaway and homeless youth have been highly targeted by traffickers due in large part to the pronounced vulnerabilities of age, inconsistent adult supervision, and lack of protection (National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2011; Walker, 2013). According to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, it is estimated that in the United States about 1.6 million youth run away from home every year (National Runaway Safeline). Forty-eight percent of children accessing the National Runaway Safeline (NRS) hotline reported abuse and family dynamics (e.g. divorce, problems with siblings or family rules, etc.) as the most common reason. The average NRS caller demographic is female age 16 years old (National Runaway Safeline), though children of all backgrounds, sexes, and socio-economic status are at-risk for running away. Some research estimates that between 30 percent and 50 percent of homeless youth are sex trafficked with no gender bias (Curtis, Terry, Dank, Dombrowski, & Khan, 2008). Youth who are more frequently homeless for longer periods of time are more at-risk for commercial sexual exploitation (National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2011).

The National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) is a clearinghouse for information on missing and exploited youth; the organization is a trusted source for data on the overlap of missing children and commercial sexual exploitation (2016). NCMEC data shows a steady increase in the sex trafficking of missing and runaway youth. In 2015, 1 in 5 of the reported 11,800 runaway youth were likely sex trafficked and 74 percent were in foster care or the

custody of social services at the time of exploitation. In previous years the organization reported that 1 in 6 runaway youth (2014) an increase from 1 in 7 runaway youth (2013) were likely sex trafficked with about 70 percent of the population in foster care or social service custody when running away (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2016). Statistical information provided by NCMEC shows the value of data from multiple systems (e.g. child welfare and homeless and runaway), in addition to underscoring the need to assess systemic issues that allow children to fall through the cracks at such alarming rates.

Across the nation, there is a pervasive correlation between the child welfare system and CSEC, especially for children of color who are disproportionately represented in the system. In Fiscal Year (FY) 2013 there was an estimated 402,378 children in foster care; FY 2013 and FY 2014, 24 percent identified as African-American or Black and 22 percent identified as Hispanic (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2015b; United States, 2015). African-American girls disproportionately experience compounding and interplaying risk factors like poverty, community and family instability, history in foster care and/or child protective services that undergird their vulnerability to sex trafficking (Human Rights Project for Girls, 2015). Hispanic girls appear to share a similar experience to their African-American counterparts.

It is estimated that anywhere between 50 percent and 98 percent of identified CSEC across the nation have a history in the child welfare system (Walker & Quraishi, 2014). During the 2013 Operation Cross Country, the FBI recovered sex trafficked youth from over 70 cities of which 60 percent were placed in foster care or group homes during the exploitation (Human Rights Project for Girls, 2015). In 2012, 98 percent (86 of 88 youth) of Connecticut's CSEC population was not only system-involved but had the highest instances of reported abuse while in residential treatment or foster care (Human Rights Project for Girls, 2015).

Traffickers recruit the most vulnerable youth with histories of abuse and neglect as they commonly prey on insecurities and capitalize on gaps in supervision (Walker, 2013; Walker & Quraishi, 2014). Placing youth in multiple foster care settings like group homes exacerbates their risk for further abuse (Bounds, Julion, & Delaney, 2015) due to the lack of consistent oversight and familial attachments, interactions with a multitude of people including traffickers, and an overall instability in care (Saar, Epstein, Rosenthal, & Vafa, 2013; Walker, 2013). System-involved youth who are dissatisfied or unsafe in their placement, wrongly placed in detention centers or homes they once ran from, or frequently run from foster care are at heightened risk for victimization (Bounds, Julion, & Delaney, 2015; Kotrla, 2010). This data conveys the profoundly detrimental factors that inadvertently put youth in the child welfare system significantly more at-risk for commercial sexual exploitation than non-system involved youth.

Due to the criminalization of sex trafficked victims from the child welfare system there, is frequent crossover into a dual-system (i.e. both child welfare and juvenile justice) status. Girls comprise one-third to one-half of dual-system youth (Saar, Epstein, Rosenthal, & Vafa, 2013). Gender non-conforming (GNC) girls involved in the child welfare system are at heightened vulnerability for entering the juvenile justice system. Some of the most vulnerable youth have involvement in three systems: child welfare, juvenile justice, and mental health. One study showed that youth involved in all three systems had more unmet needs than their counterparts involved in any single system (Bounds, Julion, & Delaney, 2015).

Throughout the country CSEC victims, especially girls of color and LGBTQ/GNC youth, intersect with the juvenile justice system at alarming rates on non-violent offenses like prostitution and related charges. Nationally, girls represent one-fifth to one-quarter of the juvenile justice population with an overrepresentation of girls of color (Saar, Epstein, Rosenthal, & Vafa, 2013). The overrepresentation of girls of color is evidenced by their rates in residential treatment placements per capita, especially in comparison to Caucasian girls: Native American girls (about 1 percent of the general population) are in placements at a rate of 179 per 100,000; African-American girls (about 14 percent

of the general population) at 123 per 100,000; Hispanic at 47 per 100,000; while non-Hispanic Caucasian girls are detained at the rate of 37 per 100,000 (Saar, Epstein, Rosenthal, & Vafa, 2013). The LGBTQ population continues to be overrepresented in the juvenile justice system. In a study of 1,400 system-involved girls across seven jurisdictions 40 percent of the sample identified as LGBTQ/GNC in comparison to 14 percent of boys who identified as LGBTQ (Saar, Epstein, Rosenthal, & Vafa, 2013). Each year more than 1,000 CSEC victims are detained and charged with prostitution and related offenses (Human Rights Project for Girls, 2015). Though it is likely that a significant number of CSEC victims go unidentified in the juvenile justice system across the nation. The prevalence of CSEC girls of color detained on non-violent crimes like prostitution charges reinforces the stigma that this population is worthy of criminalization (Houston, 2015) rather than rehabilitative services or addressing systemic issues that lead to the victimization of this population.

An overwhelming amount of sex trafficked and criminal or juvenile justice system involved women and girls have experienced multiple forms of exploitation on the sexual abuse continuum. In 2006, an Oregon-based juvenile justice system study reported that 93 percent of the girls sampled had a history of sexual or physical abuse (Saar, Epstein, Rosenthal, & Vafa, 2013). Prior to reaching 13 years old, 75 percent of the sample experienced at least one incident of sexual abuse and 63 percent experienced both sexual and physical abuse (Saar, Epstein, Rosenthal, & Vafa, 2013).

Childhood sexual abuse is the most commonly identified antecedent to commercial sexual exploitation and sexual victimization (Bounds, Julion, & Delaney, 2015; Friedman & Willis, 2013; Walker, 2013). This risk factor interplays with multiple domains including the child welfare, mental health, and juvenile justice systems (Bounds, Julion, & Delaney, 2015). Sexual abuse contributes to sexual desensitization and an inability to determine healthy boundaries and relationships (Bounds, Julion, & Delaney, 2015). According to Administration for Children, Youth and Families (ACYF), between 70 percent and 90 percent of CSEC have a history of child sexual abuse, physical abuse, neglect, and/or trauma (2013). In one Oregon-based study of CSEC survivors, 85 percent had a history of incest (Walker, 2013). Child sexual abuse can result in anxiety, depression, low self-esteem, wide-ranging emotional and physical issues, and problems developing healthy interpersonal relationships (Kramer & Berg, 2003). Children with a history of sexual abuse are more likely to be involved in dating violence, experience rape, and are at a higher risk for sex trafficking (ACYF, 2013). Furthermore, in their lifetime these children are 28 times more likely to be detained on “prostitution charges” than their non-sexually abused counterparts (ACYF, 2013). These statistics do not represent the full breadth of trafficked victims but they provide insight into risk factors that put target populations at greater risk for multi-layered complex trauma and ongoing abuse from childhood into adulthood.

Enacted in 2014, the Preventing Sex Trafficking and Strengthening Families Act directly addresses prevention and intervention of CSEC involved in the foster care system, enhances adoption incentives, and aims to improve international child support recovery. By law, states are now required to identify, report, and determine appropriate services for youth who are at-risk for or confirmed victims of sex trafficking. The policy requires the child welfare system to input CSEC data in the Adoption and Foster Care Analysis and Reporting System (AFCARS). AFCARS will then quantify CSEC in their annual reports. The child welfare system is also required to locate and respond to youth who run away from foster care placement within 24 hours; the protocol requires the child welfare system to notify local law enforcement and NCMEC to ensure appropriate measures are taken to identify and recover the children. This will assist in addressing and accounting for the pervasive problem of children running away from placement, an issue CSEC survivors and service providers continuously struggle with during the reintegration process.

Operated by Polaris, the National Human Trafficking Resource Center (NHTRC) provides 24-hour confidential support in over 200 languages to survivors, community members, and stakeholders who contact the hotline. All incoming human trafficking tips are synthesized into annual reports specific to geographic regions; this fulfills the

organization's objective of identifying trends across the United States (Polaris Project, 2013). The annual reports provide information related to geographic regions, victim demographics, types of venues-involved, and types of callers; in addition to detailing the impact of human trafficking on those who are exploited (NHTRC, 2014; Polaris, 2015). From January 2007 through June 2015, the hotline received a total of 103,026 signals: 91,405 phone calls; 5,307 online tips; and 6,674 emails (NHTRC, 2015). This data underscores the hotlines significance in providing services to callers, directing information to local authorities, and collecting human trafficking data. In 2014, the hotline received 24,062 signals nationwide: 21,431 phone calls; 1,482 online tips; and 1,149 emails (NHTRC, 2014). Community members tend to be the most common type of caller, undergirding the importance of community awareness, adequate education, and involvement. In 2015, trafficking victims were the second highest callers at 16 percent; the majority of callers, about 24 percent, found the hotline through an Internet-based search. The collected data relies on awareness of how to first identify human trafficking and then report the incidents. NHTRC reports serve an important function of highlighting high-intensity areas but cannot be taken as a true depiction of national statistics.

3.3 Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Boys

Service providers have identified commercially sexually exploited boys and young men as vastly unidentified and under-reported with a shortage of available services (Friedman & Willis, 2013). In 2008, The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in New York City report estimated that as many as 50 percent of the CSEC population is male (Dennis, 2008; Friedman & Willis, 2013) which warrants more equal identification and services in anti-human trafficking discourse. Boys and young men enter into commercial sexual exploitation for many reasons that are both similar and different than those of girls. Literature indicates that common risk factors like high instances of childhood sexual and physical abuse as well as the lack of familial support influences the vulnerabilities of boys (Friedman & Willis, 2013). For youth who have run away or been forced from their homes for various reasons, most notably due to their sexual orientation as gay and transgender, commercial sex fills otherwise unobtainable basic needs like food, shelter, money, and clothing (Friedman & Willis, 2013). Boys are typically sold for sex in the same venues as girls, mostly commonly the street, classified ads on the Internet, sex-oriented websites, and escort services, in addition to male-dominated spaces like clubs, bars, truck stops, and conventions (Friedman & Willis, 2013). Anecdotally, stakeholders have noted race and ethnicity of trafficked boys and young men to be consistent with geographic region: African American on the East Coast, Caucasian in the Midwest, and Hispanic on the West Coast (Friedman & Willis, 2013) but this is not to overshadow that boys of all races and ethnicities are sex trafficked throughout the country.

Generally boys and young men do not work under the control of a trafficker (Friedman & Willis, 2013). In a New York-based CSEC study, only one percent of boys and no transgender youth were recruited through a "pimp" or "boyfriend" type exploiter (Marcus, Horning, Curtis, Sanson, & Thompson, 2014). These findings are consistent with other studies of sex trafficked boys and transgender youth. One particular study found that only one of 111 boys and not one of 19 transgender youth were recruited by traffickers; instead 44 percent of boys and 68 percent of transgender youth were recruited by "friends" (Curtis et al., 2008). Boys and young men are particularly vulnerable to homelessness and isolation. According to the same study, 32 percent of participants identified as homeless "living on the street" of which 44 percent were males, 24 percent were females, and 11 percent were transgender (2008). Furthermore, boys appeared far more disconnected from family and other types of interpersonal relationships than their female and transgender counterparts with just over 50 percent living in solidarity (Curtis et al., 2008).

The push and pull factors that affect how boys and young men enter sex trafficking tend to be less explicit than their female counterparts because there is no visible trafficker. Many are exploited because of a lack of other

options but there tends to be an oversimplification and misconception that the exploitation is a personal choice, free from coercive measures. Though it may appear an individual is making a conscious choice to sell their body for sexual purposes there are interplaying layers of social, cultural, and economic issues that undergird the decision. For an overwhelming majority it is a reflection of the sexual desensitization that often develops due to childhood sexual abuse coupled with the absence of safer and more long-term options to fulfill basic needs. Understanding the complex and often convoluted “choice” to sell sex requires service providers and the general public to look at the systemic, cultural, economic, and familial factors that encourage and sustain the exploitation. Perpetuating misconceptions about commercially sexually exploited boys and young men can misinform adequate identification and service needs.

Boys and men in the sex industry are frequently assigned significantly more agency than their female counterparts (Dennis, 2008). Boys and young men continue to face the dangers of physical, mental, and sexual violence, however, these discussions are typically overshadowed by discussions on the prevalence of HIV/AIDS and substance use (Dennis, 2008). Safety issues are often pushed to the margins as evidenced by literature ignoring the issue or suggesting that sex trafficked boys and young men are less likely to experience violence (Dennis, 2008). Known violence from verbal, psychological, physical, and sexual assaults to the deaths of boys and men can be perpetrated by romantic partners, sex workers, other sex trafficked youth and adults, law enforcement, homophobic community members via hate crimes, purchasers of sex in an attempt to prove they are not “queer” following the transaction, and exploiters who initially believed they bought sexual services from a woman (Dennis, 2008). Multiple forms of violence occurs at high rates for all sex trafficked victims.

Sex trafficked boys and men’s sexual orientation are almost always assumed to be gay, bisexual, and questioning while women are almost always assumed to be heterosexual (Dennis, 2008). Compared to national statistics, gay, bisexual, questioning and transgender youth are overrepresented in CSEC, however, competing research indicates that a majority of youth are heterosexual (Friedman & Willis, 2013). It is important that we do not categorize all boys who engage in commercial sex as gay, queer, or questioning while simultaneously not stigmatizing those who do identify as anything other than heterosexual. The perception and subsequent appropriation of sexuality can have unintended consequences like augmenting the male reluctance to self-identify as a trafficking victim, re-victimizing these populations, and skewing data (Friedman & Willis, 2013). Additionally, mislabeling individuals does not address the interplaying factors that put different populations of boys at risk for commercial sexual exploitation. Language used in prevention, intervention, and after-care strategies should not only be inclusive (WIRED, 2014) but also culturally competent so that people of different genders and sexual orientations are not alienated in research or services.

Boys continue to be overlooked in the rhetoric surrounding the CSEC community; a comprehensive study that focuses on their unique victimization is still needed. The John Jay Research team recommended policymakers fund more inclusive studies that document the increasing number of boys who are lured into commercial sexual exploitation (Curtis et al., 2008).

4. U.S. TRENDS

Profoundly impacting the commercial sexual exploitation of young women and children is the normalization of hypersexualized youth in mainstream American culture. Cultural expectations, norms, and values coupled with interpersonal relationships that support the objectification of women and youth have both shaped and reinforced the sexualization of children at younger ages while simultaneously contributing to youth's own internalization as sexual objects (American Psychological Association, 2007; Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking, 2010). Concurrently, the media has both contributed to and reflected society's demand (American Psychological Association, 2007) in a cycle that fosters the inundation of hypersexualized youth in every facet of our culture. Equating youth to beauty and sexual desire has dramatically affected traffickers (i.e. exploiters and purchasers of sex) eagerness to commodify children. Human trafficking does not exist in a vacuum, it is the culmination of cultural, social, political, and economic factors that both influences and sustains the many forms of exploitation.

The countless manifestations of labor and commercial sexual exploitation continue to evolve, constantly changing the human trafficking landscape. The intersection of labor and sex trafficking occurs often (ACYF, 2013; U.S. Department of State, 2006); however, the two exploitations manifest very differently both from each other and themselves. Traffickers continue to profitably exploit others due to their highly adaptable and transient nature especially in response to policy, policing (e.g. evasion of detection), recruitment, and demand (e.g. higher profitability around special events) (Dank et al., 2014; Hughes, 2005; UNODC, 2014). Understanding likely activity trends and the current landscape can bolster anti-human trafficking efforts on local, state, and national levels; though more quantitative information is needed to develop a more comprehensive picture.

Human trafficking occurs in all areas of the United States, though some regions and populations are more heavily impacted than others. States like California, Florida, Nevada, New York, and Ohio have been identified as highly vulnerable to human trafficking due to the number of airports and ports, the close proximity to international borders, and high rates of immigrant populations, among other factors (CAST). The U.S. Department of State lists the most at-risk populations as women, children, the LGBTQ community, persons with mental and physical disabilities, indigenous persons, and migrants (2014). Though trafficking across international borders is highly prevalent, there are countless domestic-born citizens trafficked within the United States.

Commercial sexual exploitation manifests differently throughout the United States but there are particular recurring themes and overrepresented populations. For example, sex trafficking of women and girls exists and thrives in all settings: rural, urban, suburban, and areas in close proximity to military bases (Raymond, Hughes, & Gomez, 2010). Polaris reported that in 2014, 35 percent of the 693 sex trafficked survivors surveyed reported hotels and motels as the most common venue for commercial sex with average nightly quotas between \$500 and \$1,500 (Polaris Project, 2015b). According to victim testimony, the failure to meet quotas often results in the following repercussions: physical, emotional, verbal, psychological, and sexual abuse; and denial of basic needs including food and shelter (Harris, 2012; Polaris Project, 2015a). Around the nation, traffickers rely on their social and criminal networks for reasons including: information on local law enforcement activity, coordination of travel logistics before arrival to ensure assimilation to new environments, and transportation of victims (UNODC, 2014; Polaris Project, 2015a).

The King County Prosecuting Attorney's Office in Washington State has actively worked to reframe anti-sex trafficking discourse within their jurisdiction by collecting data and implementing tactics to prosecute and deter CSEC demand. Through multi-agency collaboration, the King County Prosecuting Attorney's Office has gleaned new data that serves to adequately inform and guide anti-trafficking efforts. In King County, both African-American and Caucasian youth represent 43 percent of CSEC victims, though African-Americans comprise only seven percent of

the general population while Caucasians represent 70 percent. Native Americans are only 1 percent of the general population but represent 3 percent of sex trafficked youth; Asians are 16 percent of the population but 1 percent of CSEC. The racial breakdown of exploiters buying sex from children in King County is as follows: 79 percent are White, 13 percent are Hispanic, 5 percent are Asian, and 3 percent are Black. Data in their locality mirrors common victim and exploiter demographics at the national level. King County's exemplifies how emerging data can be continuously tracked within local jurisdictions.

In 2015, the National Human Trafficking Resource Center (NHTRC) received 24,757 substantive signals nationwide: 21,947 phone calls, 1,275 emails, 1,535 online tips. For about 60 percent of callers, the primary reason for calling was to report a human trafficking tip (NHTRC, 2015). The most frequent callers continue to be community members at 27 percent, followed by human trafficked victims at 16 percent (NHTRC, 2015). Sex trafficking tips accounted for about 75 percent of cases, labor trafficking tips accounted for 13 percent of calls, and the combination of sex and labor were 3 percent (NHTRC, 2015). Of the total 4,136 cases of potential sex trafficking, the top three venues and industries were commercial front brothels with 426 cases, motels and hotels with 423 cases, and online advertisements with 353 cases (NHTRC, 2015). The following sections explore available knowledge on the various manifestations of and responses to CSEC throughout the states particularly vulnerable to sex trafficking: California, Texas, Florida, Ohio, and New York.

4.1 California

California has consistently received the highest volume of human trafficking tips reported to the NHTRC hotline. In 2015, there was a total of 3,609 signals (NHTRC, 2015). In 2014, the hotline received 3,736 tips: 3,495 phone calls, 144 online reports, and 97 emails with 912 unique cases of potential human trafficking confirmed (NHTRC, 2014a). Potential sex trafficking cases accounted for about 75 percent of tips and potential labor trafficking accounted for about 15 percent (NHTRC, 2014a). Of the 685 potential sex trafficking cases reported, the top identified venues and industries included: motels and hotels at 9.54 percent; commercial front brothels at 9.54 percent; street-based at 6.47 percent; and online advertisements at 5.26 percent (NHTRC, 2014a). Sex trafficked youth are known to intersect with the child welfare system at relatively high rates throughout California. The California Child Welfare Council reports that 50 percent to 80 percent of CSEC have had child welfare involvement at some point (ACYF, 2013).

California has no single agency responsible for collecting human trafficking data on a statewide level (Harris, 2012). As of 2012, California had nine regional task forces that aim to increase human trafficking investigations, identification of victims, and the number of arrests through a collaborative, multi-disciplinary (i.e. law enforcement, prosecution, and nonprofit agencies) approach (Harris, 2012). Between 2010 and 2012, California task forces initiated over 2,500 investigations which contributed to the identification of roughly 1,300 victims and 1,800 arrested traffickers (Harris, 2012). Much of the available information relies on smaller quantitative data sets and offers insight into common trends throughout the state.

The California-Mexico border presents specific challenges that necessitate cross-border partnerships with the Mexican government (Harris, 2012). California is the nation's largest portal for the influx of drugs and human trafficking, the same routes are often used to export smuggled weapons and laundered profits (Harris, 2014). The FBI (2003) marked California as home to three of thirteen high-intensity CSEC areas: Los Angeles; San Diego; and San Francisco Bay Area (Office of General Inspector, 2009).

Los Angeles County

Los Angeles County is a major hub and transit route for sex trafficked youth. Beginning in 2010, city officials recognized an unprecedented number of youth arrested on prostitution and related charges (County of Los Angeles,

2015) particularly girls of color intersecting with the child welfare system. One Los Angeles-based report indicated that 92 percent of identified CSEC in the juvenile justice system were African-American girls (Human Rights Project for Girls, 2015). A Los Angeles Juvenile (delinquency) Court reported that in 2012 over 75 percent (56 of 72) of the sex trafficked girls in their program were involved in the child welfare system (Human Rights Project for Girls, 2015). The Los Angeles Probation Department conducted one survey that showed 59 percent of the 174 youth detained on prostitution-related charges were in the foster care system (ACYF, 2013). From 2012 to April 2016, the Los Angeles-based nonprofit Saving Innocence served 349 youth: 343 female, 4 transgender, and 2 male. Of Saving Innocence's available data on race and child welfare involvement, at least 61 percent of 135 youth identified as African-American and at least 68 percent of 122 youth were involved in the child welfare system while receiving services. In response to the overrepresentation of African-American girls sex trafficked and subsequently detained on prostitution and related charges, Los Angeles County pioneered two multi-agency programs: Succeeding Through Achievement and Resilience (STAR) Court and the First Responder Protocol for CSEC.

STAR Court is a Juvenile (delinquency) court that takes a multidisciplinary approach to attain their primary goal of rehabilitating CSEC survivors (Courts.ca.gov, 2014).

STAR Court was initiated with a three year federal block grant, funding is now channeled from Title IV-E Foster Care of the Social Security Act with assistance from the pro bono work of local entities (C. Pratt, personal communication, March 7, 2016). Through a partnership with the Los Angeles Probation Department, the Assistant District Attorney, the youth's lawyer, and the youth's advocate from local community-based organizations, STAR Court is equipped to offer specialized services for sex trafficked victims in the Los Angeles area as an alternative to detention (Courts.ca.gov, 2014). To mitigate further re-victimization, youth are not required to testify against their traffickers in order to receive services (C. Pratt, personal communication, March 7, 2016). Effective January 2015, California Senate Bill 1038 (SB 1038) Juveniles: dismissal of petition now ensures records are sealed, at no-charge immediately following the youth's termination hearing, for those who satisfactorily completed probation, including non-wardship and informal handling (CA SB 1038, 2014). One caveat, minors 14 years or older must not have admitted to an offense outlined in Welfare and Institution code section 707(b) (e.g. murder, arson) (CA SB 1038, 2014). According to Judge Catherine Pratt, SB 1038 benefits about 90 percent of youth at STAR Court (personal communication, March 7, 2016). Sealing the records has positive long-term outcomes for youth by enhancing their ability to secure housing and employment in adulthood.

In 2013, the First Responder Protocol (the Protocol) was launched in a pilot area of Los Angeles County with specific roles and responsibilities outlined for each multi-disciplinary partner. By taking a victim-centered, multi-agency approach the Protocol utilizes the following community-based and child-serving agencies: specialized law enforcement (i.e. human trafficking and vice units); Department of Children and Family Services (DCFS); Probation Department; Department of Health Services; a local (and vetted) victim advocacy agency; and emergency housing/shelters (County of Los Angeles, 2015). The first responders stabilize CSEC victims through 72 hours of continued crisis intervention that addresses both basic and medical needs. The Protocol's effectiveness is assessed monthly by the Los Angeles County CSEC Multi-Agency Review Committee (MARC). Within 9 months, the first responders identified 32 sex trafficked children of which 68 percent were child welfare involved, and 28 percent were from another state (County of Los Angeles, 2015).

San Diego County

According to one study capturing available quantitative and qualitative data in San Diego, the most prevalent types of victims are women and girls sold at the street-level and through Internet-based ads; though law enforcement suspects trafficking in other venue types (e.g. massage parlors, and residential brothels) and among boys and

young men there is less available information (Dank et al., 2014). San Diego is dominated by “hybrid” gangs, street-based criminal networks specifically developed for the sole purpose of “pimping,” that control street based and online sex venues (Dank et al., 2014). These hybrid gang units can include rival gang members and are less likely to be intergenerational or long-term trafficking rings. It is estimated that 50 percent of traffickers are gang-involved, who rely on their networks (e.g. school or community) to recruit victims rather than the Internet (Dank et al., 2014). Though almost all venues are driven by men of all races and ethnicities, at the street and Internet level, military-involved men are common purchasers of sex (Dank et al., 2014). The pricing structure for San Diego County applies to most of California: street based hand job is \$40, oral sex is \$40 to \$80, and sex is \$80 to \$120. Internet-facilitated “dates” range from \$120 to \$140 per half-hour and \$200 per hour (Dank et al., 2014). The circuit most often used by gang-related traffickers in San Diego includes: Anaheim, Orange County, Los Angeles, Las Vegas, and, most recently, Phoenix (Dank et al., 2014).

Alameda County

Alameda County’s Safety Net program reviewed 267 CSEC cases between 2011 and 2012 yielding demographic and regional information on sex trafficking in the Bay area. Oakland had the highest referrals to the program with 32 percent, followed by Contra Costa at 11 percent, Hayward at 7 percent and San Francisco with 4 percent of referred cases (Walker, 2014). Sixty-four percent of CSEC were from Alameda County but the remaining 36 percent came from 40 cities from 15 counties located in three different states (Walker, 2013). Of the 267 cases, 99 percent were female while 66 percent were African-American, 14 percent were Latina, 11 percent were multi-racial, and 6 percent were Caucasian (Walker, 2013). Sixty-seven percent of youth were on juvenile probation and 41 percent were in the foster care system, only 10 percent had no system involvement (Walker, 2013). One Alameda County-based organization found that 82 percent of CSEC survivors accessing services had run away from home multiple times and 55 percent were from foster care group homes (Human Rights Project for Girls, 2015).

The available San Francisco-based data mirrors national trends in that the majority of identified sex trafficked survivors were both African-American and female while the majority of traffickers were male. The Human Trafficking Report in San Francisco 2015 collected data between July 2014 and December 2014 from eleven community-based and eight government agencies. During the last half of 2014, there were 291 known and suspected trafficked survivors of which 40 percent were minors (ages 0 to 17) and 40 percent were transitional age youth (ages 18-24) (Lim & Kandel, 2015). Females accounted for 224 survivors, followed by 42 males, and 10 transgender individuals (Lim & Kandel, 2015). Survivor demographics show that more survivors identified as African-American than the combination of all other ethnicities: 111 African-American, 23 Asian Pacific, 40 Hispanic, 39 White, 2 Native-American, and 1 Middle Eastern (Lim & Kandel, 2015).

The California Standards of Judicial Administration 5.40 uniquely affords juvenile justice judges the opportunity and responsibility to engage multi-disciplinary professionals in supporting at-risk children and families in an individualized and community-based manner. Presiding Juvenile Court Judge Stacy Boulware Eurie of the Superior Court of California, Sacramento County facilitates a specialized calendar dedicated to serving confirmed and at-risk youth of sex trafficking. With the use of a standardized intake tool, developed by West Coast Children’s Clinic, partners are able to assess and filter youth into Judge Boulware Eurie’s Court. Through cross-system collaboration, a team of adequately trained professionals (i.e. probation officers, attorneys, mental health clinicians, and child advocates) ensure the court meets the youth and the family’s needs (e.g. stability, permanency) throughout their involvement in the system. From mid-July 2014 through February 2016, the aforementioned Juvenile Court served 197 youth, almost 99 percent were female, about 60 percent identified as African-American yet only 27 percent had a history of prostitution-related charges. These findings exemplify the need to use a comprehensive lens that looks

outside of the prostitution-related scope when identifying juvenile justice-involved CSEC (S. Boulware Eurie, personal communication, March 15, 2016). Furthermore, the presiding Judge emphasized the need for judges, professionals, and service providers to remain humble and mindful of the youth's experience and resilience while concurrently taking into account the adolescent cognitive brain development (personal communication, March 15, 2016).

California has responded to sex trafficking in a variety of ways including the formation of task forces, work groups, and units to address different facets of sex trafficking. The California Child Welfare Council's CSEC Work Group addresses sex trafficking through a multidisciplinary, public-private partnership with the following representatives: youth survivors, foster parents, child advocacy organizations, courts, law enforcement, mental health, probation, and social services. The Attorney General's eCrime Unit in the California Department of Justice was developed in 2011 to support local law enforcement by partnering with technology companies and academic institutions to develop tools aiding investigation and prosecution of technology-based crimes, including human trafficking (Harris, 2012).

In 2007, the California State Senate enacted the Receivership/Overcrowding Crises Aggravation (ROCA) policy; in direct reaction to prison overcrowding this prohibited any legislation that would increase human trafficking prison sentences (Harris, 2012). Subsequent human trafficking policy has been centered on asset forfeiture, civil nuisance, penalty provisions, and victim resources (Harris, 2012). In January 2006, California Penal Code §236.1 made human trafficking a separate reportable crime (Harris, 2012). Data regarding arrests and case dispositions on charges associated with §236.1 are collected through the California Department of Justice's Division of Criminal Justice Information Systems (CJIS); according to this data between 2007 and 2012 California had 441 arrests and 113 prosecuted convictions (Harris, 2012). Although the CJIS data is useful, it only captures data associated with one of several criminal statutes used to prosecute traffickers.

According to the California Attorney General, the majority of trafficking cases are charged and prosecuted with the penal codes: §266h Pimping; §266i Pandering; §266j Procuring a minor for lewd or lascivious act; §267 Abducting a minor for prostitution; §311.4 Use of minor for obscene matter; and §653.22(a) Loitering with intent to commit prostitution (Harris, 2012). There are many benefits to prosecuting traffickers based on alternative penal codes; for example, California's pimping and pandering can allow for increased sentencing, requires less proof, has a greater likelihood of conviction, and ensures the convicted are ineligible for probation (Harris, 2012). Some of the lengthiest sentences given to traffickers have been for crimes other than human trafficking, including kidnapping with intent to commit a sexual act. Unfortunately, prosecuting outside of human trafficking statutes skews quantitative data on prosecutions in the state. From January 2006 through September 2012, Alameda County convicted 46 percent of all human trafficking cases in the state of California.

Proposition 35, the Californians Against Sexual Exploitation (CASE) Act, was overwhelmingly passed by voters in November 2012. The law gives harsher penalties and fines for traffickers, and requires convicted traffickers to both register as sex offenders and provide law enforcement with their online information and activity (Musto & Boyd, 2014). Traffickers who are not convicted under human trafficking or CSEC policy, (e.g. traffickers prosecuted under "pimping a minor") are not required to register as a sex offender (Shared Hope International, 2015).

In an analysis of state laws, conducted by the American Center for Law and Justice and Shared Hope International, California received the nearly failing grade of D in their legislative response to domestic minor sex trafficking. Though there have been significant strides made at the ground level, the final score of 65.5 highlights the need for more comprehensive state legislation that offers greater protection for victims and increases the criminal provisions for traffickers (e.g. exploiters and purchasers of sex) (Shared Hope International, 2015).

4. 2 Texas

NHTRC reports rank Texas as having the second-highest volume of human trafficking tips in the nation. In 2015, Texas received a total of 1,731 signals (NHTRC, 2015). In 2014, Texas received 1,876 phone calls, 64 emails, and 89 online submissions for a total of 452 unique cases of potential human trafficking reported (NHTRC, 2014e). Seventy-seven percent of tips were potential sex trafficking and the most common venues and industries included: commercial front brothels at 11.50 percent; motel and hotel at 9.73 percent; and Internet-based ads at 5.97 percent (NHTRC, 2014e).

Texas has given specific attention to Internet-based venues that facilitate sex trafficking. One study assessed the number of potential CSEC victims advertised across all major websites in Texas; it yielded a total of 36,425 paid sex services ads with an estimated 123 CSEC victims advertised per day (The Shapiro Group, 2011). One statewide data set suggests that approximately 130 female minors are sex trafficked on any given weekend evening via Internet classifieds websites and escort services (The Shapiro Group, 2011). Between 2007 and 2014, the HTRS data from two FBI Innocence Lost Task Forces, based in Dallas and Houston, cited 1,057 reported human trafficking-related incidents with a total of 957 reported sex trafficking victims (Texas Department of Public Safety, 2014). As of January 2014, 24 individuals were serving prison sentences for human trafficking-related crimes and 75 individuals were serving sentences based on compelling prostitution (Texas Department of Public Safety, 2014).

Like other parts of the nation, trafficker and victim demographics vary by location and type of venue. According to one study, the most commonly identified venues are street-level and Internet-based, with an increase of well-organized massage parlors (Dank et al., 2014). Officials reported that the top two venues for minors were street-based and the Internet; while adults were typically sold in store-front brothels, massage parlors, and topless bars (Dank et al., 2014). As previously discussed, available data tends to reflect law enforcement bias and policing of certain communities and venues. Many types of traffickers and venues exist in close proximity to each other to fulfill demand. Organized and informal brothels are primarily comprised of Latinas and operated by Latinos (Dank et al., 2014). In Dallas, brothels tend to be located in residences of low income communities but have recently shifted to include more “outcalls” where the victim visits the client (Dank et al., 2014). Other parts of Texas have more Cantina-style brothels, which are brothels narrowly disguised as legitimate cantina restaurants (Dank et al., 2014). Dallas prices range from \$20 to \$25 per 15 minutes; as is typical of most brothels, the “house” or owner receives fifty percent of all profits (Dank et al., 2014). A practice that is unique to the Dallas area is the growing prevalence of non-Asian traffickers partnering with Asian-owned, specifically Chinese and Korean, massage parlors to sell their victims (Dank et al., 2014). Transit circuits typically include Oklahoma City, Miami, Atlanta, and St. Louis (Dank et al., 2014). Texas has also witnessed an increase in intrafamilial trafficking among the Latino population, a practice that is typically fueled by substance abuse (Dank et al., 2014). Victims are commonly recruited through social media platforms, in school, at public transit stations, in close proximity to homeless shelters, and at local shopping malls (Texas Department of Public Safety, 2014).

In an effort to combat human trafficking, Texas continues to increase penalties for Trafficking of a Person (Texas Penal Code §20A) and Compelling Prostitution (Texas Penal Code §43.05). According to the American Center for Law and Justice and Shared Hope International analysis of state laws Texas received an A grade in their legislative response to domestic minor sex trafficking (2015e). Though CSEC victims continue to face criminalization and barriers to accessing services, the 90.5 rating was based on their aggressive legislation to prosecute traffickers and purchasers of sex (Shared Hope International, 2015e).

4.3 Florida

The NHTRC continues to rank Florida third in the nation with a total of 1,518 substantive tips in 2015. In 2014, Florida received 1,428 calls, 48 emails, and 67 online tip with a total of 364 unique cases of potential human trafficking (NHTRC, 2014b). In Florida CSEC is the most identified and reported form of human trafficking (Florida Department of Children and Families, 2014b). Miami has the highest accounts of sex trafficking through venues such as massage parlors, escort services, brothels, Internet-based advertisements, and other locations that provide low risk of detection (Dank et al., 2014). Unlike other cities, traffickers in the Miami metropolitan area primarily function independently rather than in organized street gangs, a method that relies on competition for buyers (Dank et al., 2014). Although Miami traffickers prefer to work independently rather than in highly organized groups, they continue to network with each other to remain aware of local law enforcement activity (Dank et al., 2014). The major travel circuit for Miami is Atlanta, New York, Dallas, Houston, Las Vegas, Orlando, Jacksonville, Seattle, and California (Dank et al., 2014).

In 2010, one FBI agent estimated that about 70 percent of Florida's identified CSEC population was involved in the foster care system during their exploitation (Human Rights Project for Girls, 2015). This has caused the public child welfare system in Florida and other states to develop programs and policies to prevent and address the needs of this target population. Florida was the first state to categorize human trafficking as a form of maltreatment in the child abuse reporting guidelines (Walker, 2013). In 2012, Florida's legislature enacted the Safe Harbor Act to promote victim identification and assistance and decrease victimization within the juvenile justice system (Florida Department of Children and Families, 2014a). Since May 2009, the Florida Abuse Hotline has coded potential human trafficking calls, making it one of the first child welfare abuse hotlines to document tips related to the human trafficking of minors (Florida Department of Children and Families, 2014b). Between 2009 and 2014 the hotline received 1,357 calls coded as human trafficking; in 2012 the hotline coding disaggregated CSEC and labor trafficking which resulted in 805 CSEC and 147 labor trafficking tips (Florida Department of Children and Families, 2014b). In total 62 of 67 of Florida's counties made human trafficking reports, of the identified victims about 84 percent were female and 16 percent were male (Florida Department of Children and Families, 2014b). According to Florida Department of Children and Families, at any given point, there are 180 confirmed survivors of CSEC in the foster care system (2014b). Incoming data continues to convey an increase in human trafficking-related referrals and reinforces a strong correlation between CSEC and victims' history in the child welfare and/or foster care system (Florida Department of Children and Families, 2014b; Walker, 2013).

Florida received a B grade in their legislative response to CSEC, according to the American Center for Law and Justice and Shared Hope International analysis of state laws (2015b). When CSEC victims are identified they have access to specialized services including residential options, however, the 86.5 rating reflects age-neutral prostitution statutes that do not address minors who are detained and prosecuted on such charges (Shared Hope International, 2015e).

4.4 Ohio

According to the 2015 NHTRC report, Ohio climbed in their national ranking from fifth to fourth place. In 2015, Ohio reported a total of 1,066 human trafficking tips (NHTRC, 2015). An increase from the 809 calls, 23 emails, and 27 online tips in 2014 (NHTRC, 2014d). Victims are generally sold in less visible places such as motels, cars, truck stops, and brothels (Voices for Ohio's Children, 2014). Voices for Ohio's Children reports that the individuals mostly likely to purchase sex from children are middle-aged and older white men and African American men of various ages (2014). Ohio has been proactive in providing comprehensive services to survivors and developing a collaborative

environment between governmental and nongovernmental agencies. In 2011, Attorney General Mike DeWine reinitiated the Ohio Human Trafficking Commission, which is comprised of six subcommittees that aim to improve resources and services to victims, capture accurate data about victims, traffickers, and purchasers, and develop materials to educate and prevent trafficking (Voices for Ohio's Children, 2014). This commission has successfully provided training to law enforcement officials to aid in the identification of human trafficking victims and aided in the passage of House Bill 262, the Safe Harbor Act (Voices for Ohio's Children, 2014).

Ohio's Safe Harbor Act helps victims gain access to health and social services, provides resources and support to law enforcement, and developed harsher penalties for convicted traffickers (Voices for Ohio's Children, 2014). One of the provisions included in the Safe Harbor Act requires law enforcement agencies to collect data on human trafficking investigations, which is then shared with the Bureau of Criminal Investigation (BCI) (Ohio Attorney General's Office of Human Trafficking, 2014). In 2014, there were 85 human trafficking investigations which led to 98 arrests and 17 criminal convictions (Ohio Attorney General's Office of Human Trafficking, 2014). One of the commission's primary objectives was the passage of the End Demand Act (House Bill 130) which builds on the efforts of the Safe Harbor Law by creating more safeguards for child victims and stronger penalties for traffickers (i.e. from a misdemeanor to a felony offense) (Ohio Attorney General's Office of Human Trafficking, 2014). Along with their legislative and policy efforts, Ohio actively provides resources for prevention and intervention services. A public campaign was launched in January 2014 in collaboration with Ohio's 5th Annual Human Trafficking Awareness Day to inform the public about how to identify and report potential human trafficking (Voices for Ohio's Children, 2014).

In 2013, Ohio made significant strides to combat human trafficking as evidenced by the following actions. The state of Ohio hired its first full-time anti-trafficking coordinator, which is housed in the Ohio Department of Public Safety Office of Criminal Justice Services (Voices for Ohio's Children, 2014). The Ohio Department of Job & Family Services and the Ohio's Children's Trust Fund distributed more than \$520,000 to 26 child and advocacy centers to help identify and support victims (Voices for Ohio's Children, 2014). During the same year, the Corporation for National and Community Service allocated \$290,000 to facilitate the AmeriCorps PATH (Prevention of Trafficking Humans) grant, which funds 23 AmeriCorps members who will provide prevention and protection services to at-risk youth (Voices for Ohio's Children, 2014). The Ohio Attorney General's Office of human trafficking granted \$49,356 to the Cincinnati Salvation Army to maintain a 24-hour hotline and case management program aimed at helping victims with resources needed to exit their circumstances (2014).

The American Center for Law and Justice and Shared Hope International analysis of state laws scored Ohio with a C grade in their legislative response to CSEC (2015c). The state's trafficking in persons law has limited protection for older minors (i.e. sixteen and seventeen years old), only children under the age of 16 do not have to prove force, fraud, or coercion (Shared Hope International, 2015c). CSEC face disparate outcomes in the juvenile justice system because there is no mandated juvenile delinquency adjudication or court diversion program that ensures survivors have access to services (Shared Hope International, 2015c).

4.5 New York

New York ranks as the fifth highest volume of NHTRC signals with a total of 924 in 2015 (NHTRC, 2015); this is a drop from their fourth place ranking just one year prior. In 2014, the NHTRC received 904 calls, 37 emails, and 41 online tips reporting 271 unique cases of probable trafficking from the state (NHTRC, 2014c). According to statewide tips, the most identified venues and industries included: commercial front brothels at 8.86 percent; online ads at 7.38 percent; residential brothels at 7.01 percent; motels and hotels at 5.9 percent; and street-based at 4.8 percent (NHTRC, 2014c).

According to the New York State Office of Children and Family Services (OCFS) report in 2007, 166 agencies identified over 2,600 sex trafficked children with unique demographic characteristics; Upstate identified 399 CSEC and New York City (NYC) identified 2,253 sex trafficked youth. In NYC sex trafficked youth were overwhelming female at 85 percent, African-American at 67 percent, and 16 to 17 years old at 59 percent with a majority of youth identifying as LGBTQ (Gragg, Petta, Bernstein, Eisen, & Quinn, 2007). The NYC data highlighted important demographic information: one-fifth of children as Hispanic or Latino; 85 of the youth (4 percent) were 13 years or younger; and 31 CSEC identified as transgender (Gragg et al., 2007). Similar to NYC, females were significantly overrepresented in Upstate, comprising about 78 percent of victims while males accounted for 22 percent. Upstate CSEC demographics had significant contrasts from NYC including race, age, and sexual orientation: 47 percent identified as White; only 10 percent were Hispanic or Latino; 36 percent were 16 to 17 years old; 28 percent, 63 girls and 50 boys, were 13 years and under; only 2 percent were lesbian, gay, bisexual, or question; and none identified as transgender (Gragg et al., 2007).

Regardless of geographic location, a minimum of 85 percent of the identified CSEC had prior contact with the child welfare system (Gragg et al., 2007; Walker, 2013). OCFS data showed that 75 percent of CSEC from New York City and about half of CSEC from Upstate New York were in the foster care system, typically due to abuse and neglect allegations, during exploitation (Gragg et al., 2007; Human Rights Project for Girls, 2015). One New York-based study showed that sex trafficked boys in New York have more encounters with law enforcement than their female counterparts (Curtis et al., 2008). Girls are more likely to be detained on prostitution and loitering with the intent to prostitute while boys are more likely to come into the juvenile justice system for disorderly conduct, drug possession or trespassing (Curtis et al., 2008).

In April 2010, New York passed the Safe Harbor for Exploited Children Act, making it the first state to enact legislation that prohibited the prosecution of minors for participating in sex work (Polaris Project, 2008). According to the American Center for Law and Justice and Shared Hope International analysis of state laws New York received a D grade in their legislative response to domestic minor sex trafficking (2015c). The 60 percent rating reflects inadequate CSEC legislation that does not protect minors 14 years and older, enforces low penalties for purchasers of sex, and requires minors to prove the presence of force, fraud, or coercion (Shared Hope International, 2015c).

5. TRAFFICKERS

Globally, 18.7 million people—90 percent of victims—are exploited by individuals or enterprises in the private sector and 2.2 million people—10 percent of victims—suffer from state imposed circumstances (International Labour Organization, 2015). Men overwhelmingly account for the majority of convicted traffickers worldwide. Roughly 72 percent of convicted traffickers are men and 28 percent are women (UNODC, 2014). In the United States between 2008 and 2010, men comprised 81 percent of suspected human traffickers with 62 percent of sex traffickers identified as Black and 48 percent of labor traffickers identified as Hispanic (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011). The identification of Black and Hispanic men as the most prevalent traffickers is a reflection of law enforcement bias. Men and women of all races, ethnicities, and socioeconomic statuses have exploited victims both within and outside of the United States. It is the perception that men of color are more culpable coupled with the policing of low-income communities where people of color are overrepresented that have a profound influence on who is identified and prosecuted as traffickers. According to qualitative data collected in one study of eight major cities in the United States, the most cited factors influencing exploiters entry into sex traffickers were: community influence, familial exposure to sex work (not specified if sex trafficking), dearth of job options, and encouragement from others (e.g. significant others and acquaintances) (Dank et al., 2014). Exploiters run the gamut from corrupt governments and organized criminal groups, to small networked gang activity and intergenerational and intrafamilial actors of all races, classes, and socioeconomic statuses (UNODC, 2014; Sensenbrenner & Hyde, 2006).

5.1 State Imposed

Human trafficking is provoked when governments fail to comply with the minimum standards set forth by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime available in the Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons (UNODC, 2006). Militant rebel groups like the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) is an example of state imposed commercial sexual exploitation. ISIL has been known to conquer villages and commodify non-Muslim women and girls, between the ages of 1 and 50, for sexual purposes (Callimachi, 2015). Though the United States government and activists are working to dismantle sex trafficking domestically, U.S. citizens provoke state imposed trafficking by purchasing sex from these types of victims abroad or brought into the United States.

5.2 Organized Crime and Gangs

Transnational organized criminal groups are well-connected and profit highly from the concurrent trafficking of drugs, persons, and weapons (Harris, 2014; UNODC, 2006). Organized criminal groups exploit unsuspecting victims, particularly women, into the United States with valid business and tourist visas, later withholding possessions, and keeping them captive beyond their visa expirations or by providing false documentation (Richard, 1999; Schauer & Wheaton, 2006). Organized criminal groups are of particular concern in facilitating sex trafficking of foreign-born and native women and girls; these networks are known to further exploit victims by forcing their participation in other illicit activities like trafficking of drugs and weapons (U.S. Department of State, 2014). Well-known organized criminal groups that have specific ties to human trafficking in California are Asian and Eurasian transnational criminal rings (Harris, 2014). Gangs such as Asian Gangsters and Armenian Power have a significant presence in domestic and international human trafficking throughout California, particularly sex trafficking of victims of similar ethnic and cultural backgrounds (Harris, 2014).

There are an estimated 20,000 gangs with over one million members in the United States (Lederer, 2011). The United States Department of Justice identifies three types of gangs: 1.) street gangs; 2.) prison gangs; and 3.) outlawed

motorcycle gangs (Lederer, 2011). Street gangs account for most active involvement in gang-related activity and have been cited most extensively for their role in sex trafficking of women and girls. As of 2011, the United States government prosecuted approximately 200 gang-affiliated, including street, motorcycle, and prison, cases where human trafficking, specifically commercial sexual activity was involved (Lederer, 2011). In 2013, the National Gang Intelligence Center identified at least 30 separate gangs involved in either labor or sex trafficking nationwide (The City of Los Angeles, 2015). Like organized criminal groups, gangs are known to be particularly violent and ruthless toward victims but highly adaptable and influential in their respective environments (Fitzpatrick, 2003; Harris, 2014).

5.3 Romeo

The “Romeo” style trafficker is often, but not always, gang-affiliated; under the facade of a “boyfriend” this trafficker uses affection, charm, and positive attention throughout the “grooming process” to manipulate girls and young women (Harris, 2012; Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center, 2008). Signs of grooming include: gifts, especially cell phones; sudden changes in appearance (e.g. attire and accessories) and attitude (e.g. hypersexualization); sense of secrecy and heavy influence regarding new friendships or relationships; truancy from school; and excessive nights away from home (Sowers Education Group, 2014). The romance and manipulation are underscored by flattery, “acts of love,” and material gifts (e.g. clothes, food, money) (Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center, 2008; Walker, 2013). The trafficker creates a false sense of security then exploits the victim’s financial and emotional vulnerabilities (Harris, 2012). The victim typically has feelings of indebtedness for the trafficker’s perceived kindness, which ensures she will initially comply with desires for her to engage in commercial sex acts with his “friends” or strangers (Lederer, 2011). The grooming period can last for hours, months, or years before the trafficker systematically breaks down the victim’s self-esteem, social support systems, and resistance (Harris, 2012). As the affection and gifts diminish the trafficker then asks, persuades, or forces the victim into exchanging sexual activity for compensation (Walker, 2013). The victim’s loss of agency over their own body is routinely coupled with physical, emotional, and sexual violence; thus, reinforcing the “boyfriend” dominance and unequal power dynamic (Harris, 2012) and ensuring an omnipotent presence the victim cannot easily detach from. At times, victims become pregnant by their trafficker which can be a manipulative and coercive tactic that reinforces the victim’s dependence, further complicating their ability to exit the exploitation (Polaris Project, 2015). Typical coercive measures include but are not limited to: gang rape, isolation, torture, beating, cutting, burning, deprivation of basic needs, threats of murder, and “branding” the practice of physically tattooing the trafficker’s moniker on the victim to convey her commodification as his property (Harris, 2012). The “boyfriend” or “Romeo” trafficker is the most extensively studied and is believed to be the most prevalent type of trafficker (Thorn, 2015).

5.4 CEO

The “CEO” type trafficker lures girls and young women into commercial sexual exploitation with false promises of work in legitimate business settings (Sowers Education Group, 2014). The business guise coupled with the extravagant use of money often deceives aspiring actresses and entertainers into believing they are entering a professional business dynamic (Sowers Education Group, 2014). This type of trafficker might operate a legitimate business, be in a network with legitimate businesses, or illegally operate a store-front (Fedorschak et al., 2014). Like the “Romeo” trafficker, these traffickers might use “flattery” and “charm” but their tactics are more reliant on their position of authority as talent “agents” (Sowers Education Group, 2014). In order to legitimize their claims the “CEO” trafficker often has victims’ complete initial paperwork through which the trafficker gleans personal information while the victims unknowingly sign contracts that consent to performing duties like commercial sex acts (Sowers Education Group, 2014). This type of trafficker is the least discussed within available literature, though equally exploitative and opportunistic.

5.5 Gorilla

The “Gorilla” trafficker requires no previous relationship with their victim; there is no “grooming” process or “business” type relationship. Through forced kidnapping, violence, drugs, and blackmail, this type of trafficker overpowers victims into forced commercial sexual activity (Sowers Education Group, 2014). Regardless of antecedents (e.g. history of sexual abuse, poverty, etc.), youth are targeted and victimized without previous engagement with the perpetrator. For example, traffickers might frequent areas nearby schools and parks, identify youth by their school uniforms, and forcibly kidnap youth. Although this type of trafficker is less common, it is typically more enduring and abusive than other traffickers (Marcus et al., 2014). These traffickers use coercion, isolation, and actual or threatened physical violence to ensure that their victims remain fearful and comply (Lillie, 2014). These types of traffickers do not allow victims to look other men in the eye or speak without permission as a way of preserving their sense of power over victims (Lillie, 2014). This situation is the most difficult for victims to escape, as traffickers afford their victims the least amount of agency (Marcus et al., 2014).

5.6 Family, Guardians, and Peers

Some studies cite biological parents, legal guardians, foster parents, relatives, and their companions as the most coercive type of trafficker with children initiated into commercial sexual activity at the youngest ages (Marcus et al., 2014). Although the victims are typically initiated within their childhood the exploitation often continues into young adulthood (Polaris Project, 2015). In a national survey, several law enforcement respondents named parents as prominent traffickers of children in rural areas (Newton et al., 2008).

In a New York-based study, 47 percent of CSEC were recruited by “friends” both within and outside of their peer network, though it should be noted some of the “friends” acted as surrogate recruiters for traffickers (Curtis et al., 2008). The initiation by “friends” and peer-to-peer recruitment methods are typically reinforced by peer pressure, society’s glamorization of and the youth’s curiosity about the sex industry, and the youth’s lack of financial resources or economic alternatives (Curtis et al., 2008). There are unique challenges for populations affected by this recruitment method. It may become difficult for youth to self-identify as a victim of trafficking worthy of appropriate services when commercial sexual activity is normalized within their peer network. Furthermore, the normalization of commercial sex affects how youth desensitize sexuality and internalize their role as sexual objects which ultimately reinforces their reluctance to exit the exploitation and access services.

5.7 Secondary Profiteers

Secondary profiteers are businesses, venues, and individuals who financially benefit from the commercial sexual exploitation occurring within their vicinity, establishment, or place of business (Hughes, 2005). Common secondary profiteers include motels and hotels, taxi services, restaurants, clothing stores, strip clubs, and other businesses (Hughes, 2005). The individuals and businesses that knowingly allow the exploitation to occur within their vicinity and do not report the crime to authorities are accomplices.

6. RECRUITMENT

Traffickers are dependent on the number of victims under their control; making recruitment a salient component of any trafficker's business model. The recruitment of victims is both complex and multi-layered; traffickers use different tactics based on the victim's characteristics (e.g. young, female, systems-involved) and the trafficking intentions (e.g. labor or commercial sex). In the sex industry, traffickers often interchange several recruitment tactics like charm, covert manipulation, and the glamorization of commercial sex. Tactics riddled with manipulation often leave victims struggling to decipher the perceived love from the actual exploitation, even as they reintegrate into society. For example, a youth might strongly believe they were in a healthy relationship and their boyfriend asked them to engage in commercial sex in order to attain a better life for their unit as a family. In reality, the "boyfriend" style trafficker manipulated the youth with a false sense of love then coerced them into exchanging commercial sex acts. The deep-rooted manipulation often blurs the sex trafficked individual's ability to distinguish healthy from unhealthy relationships. It is especially difficult for children who have come to understand unhealthy relationships as the social norm. Long periods of entrenchment compound the victim's ability to debunk manipulation and unhealthy components of relationships.

Traffickers are known to both frequent areas highly populated with youth and use victims already under their control to recruit more victims. Some of the most common public areas include in or around foster care group homes, detention centers, and runaway and homeless youth shelters (National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2011; Saar, Epstein, Rosenthal, & Vafa, 2013). A common tactic includes promising unsuspecting girls a better lifestyle filled with glamorous gifts (e.g. new clothes, beauty services, etc.) and familial-like protection and safety.

7. DEMAND

Implementing effective means of curtailing demand across the nation remains one of the biggest unfulfilled needs on the trafficking continuum. Demand drives the supply of any market, therefore, reducing or eliminating the demand for sex trafficked children can drastically affect their prevalence in illicit markets (Shively, Kliorys, Wheeler, & Hunt, 2012). Solely addressing the endless supply of victims and targeting traffickers willing to commodify children has proven ineffective in reducing the prevalence of CSEC (Shively et al., 2012). Purchasers of sex fuel CSEC when they willingly or unknowingly exploit minors in commercial sexual activity. This is not to oversimplify the intersection of social, political, economic, and institutional factors that both shape and reinforce the supply and demand relationship of sexually exploited people (Anderson & Davidson, 2004). Gender discrimination and inequality undergird the social constructs that reinforce the commercial sexual exploitation of women and girls while simultaneously allowing mostly men to perpetuate the demand for these victims (Equality Now). Though scant and incomplete, existing research on demand provides an at times competing profile of purchasers of sex, deterrent tactics across the nation, and salient anti-demand policies domestically and abroad.

Men of all ages, socioeconomic status, occupations, and ethnic groups have been known to purchase sex at significantly higher rates than women (Anderson & Davidson, 2004; Curtis et al., 2008; Hughes, 2004). In a New York-based study, 91 percent of male and female youth surveyed reported men to be their most frequent buyers and 64 percent said Caucasian was the most frequent race (Curtis et al., 2008). Consistent with Europe and Australia, U.S. surveys have found that between 10 percent and 20 percent—roughly one in five or six—males have purchased sex at some point (Shively et al., 2012). A national health study confirmed that 16 percent of men in the United States have purchased sex; however, the sex industry's driving force are the .6 percent of men known as “habitual buyers” who frequently purchase (Hughes, 2004). Data from a San Francisco-based “First Offender Prostitution Program” showed that within the previous year 33 percent of men participating in the program had bought sex at least five times, and about 10 percent bought sex 4 to 15 times (Hughes, 2004). In the aforementioned New York study, 24 percent of youth claimed to not have any steady buyers of sex, yet 38 percent of youth had between one and three consistent buyers, and 36 percent of youth had more than four consistent buyers of sex (Curtis et al., 2008).

Researchers conclude that male buyers of sex are a heterogeneous group with distinct subcategories of profiles, motivations, and behaviors (Hughes, 2004). Findings from multiple countries indicate that men who buy sex do not fit the profile of “lonely, sexually dissatisfied” men (Hughes, 2004). A large portion of purchasers of sex are married, educated, employed, and few have criminal backgrounds (Shively et al., 2012). Boys are commonly bought for sex by the following demographic: White, male, married, middle to upper class, and professional (Friedman & Willis, 2013). Research from several nations suggest that men who frequently travel, on business or leisure, are more likely to purchase sex; occupations most prone to buy sex include military, police, truckers, and seafarers (Anderson & Davidson, 2004). Research has highlighted five salient motivations to buy sex: 1.) desire for intimacy; 2.) desire for intimacy-free sex; 3.) seeking a particular type or wanting a variety of sex partners; 4.) thrill seeking or draw to the illicit activity; 5.) pathology with an intent to control or harm (Abt Associates Inc., 2010; Shively et al., 2012).

Men's sexual desire to purchase sex from younger girls directly influences the demand for sex trafficked children. An international study of men who have purchased sex in North America, Europe (e.g. Great Britain, Italy, Spain), North Europe (e.g. Sweden, Denmark), East Asia (e.g. India), and Asia (e.g. Thailand) reported that 75 percent preferred women under the age of 25 and 22 percent desired women under the age of 18 (Hughes, 2004). Sweden was the only country in which no men desired girls under the age of 18, however, 57 percent of Swedish men expressed a preference for women between 19 and 25 years old (Hughes, 2004).

Like other sectors of human trafficking, data on demand remains fragmented and often offers contradictory insight into the backgrounds of purchasers of sex. One comparative study of 200 purchasers and non-purchasers of sex identified specific attitudes, behaviors, and life experiences that made buyers socially and statistically distinct from their non-buying counterparts (Farley et al., 2011). Unlike other data, in this study purchasers of sex participated in significantly more criminal activity and were more likely to commit misdemeanors, felonies, violent crimes against women, assault, crimes with weapons, crimes against authority, and crimes related to substance abuse than non-purchasers of sex (Farley et al., 2011). Those who purchased sex self-reported a greater likelihood to rape and admitted to committing significantly more sexually coercive acts against women (Farley et al., 2011). Non-purchasers of sex tended to have a higher degree of empathy for those engaging in commercial sexual activity, while buyers had little objection if the individual they purchased clearly disliked performing sexual acts (Farley et al., 2011). Sex buyers frequently commented about enjoying the unequal power dynamic and freedom from relationship obligations or emotional connections (Farley et al., 2011).

Each group displayed extensive knowledge of the harms (e.g. psychological and physical) associated with commercial sexual activity, including knowledge about sex trafficking of women and children. In addition to monetary compensation many buyers exchanged basic needs for sex: 25 percent exchanged shelter, 18 percent exchanged food, and 15 percent exchanged clothes (Farley et al., 2011). Although two thirds of men in both groups acknowledged that most women are “lured, tricked, or trafficked into prostitution” this was not a deterrent to purchasers of sex and many admitted to purchasing sexual activity from women under “pimp” control (Farley et al., 2011). Furthermore, almost all men agreed that “minor children are almost always available for prostitution in bars, massage parlors, escort and other prostitution in Boston” (Farley et al., 2011) illustrating their knowledge of sex trafficking.

Men who purchase sex routinely perpetuate violence against trafficked women, girls, boys, and young men (Hughes, 2004). Though there is no representative data at a national level, several studies offer insight into the prevalence and multiple forms of violence reported by victims. In 2002, a Chicago-based study of 222 sex industry-involved women reported that men purchasing sex were the most frequent perpetrators of violence, and sexual violence was the most common (Hughes, 2004). In drug houses, about three-fourths of women were forced to engage in oral, vaginal, or anal sex (Hughes, 2004). On the streets, 86 percent were slapped, about 80 percent were threatened with a weapon at least one time, and 70 percent were punched; in the streets men perpetrated between 62 percent and 100 percent of different and multiple types of violent acts (Hughes, 2004).

The culture of violence and rape is exacerbated by men’s sense of “entitlement” to have any and all of their desires fulfilled upon the financial transaction (Hughes, 2004). In escort services, about 50 percent of women were raped. In erotic dancing venues, women endured frequent violence including slaps, grabbing, ripped clothing, threats of rape, and threats with a weapon; in these venues men were responsible for 30 percent to 100 percent of different and multiple forms of violence (Hughes, 2004). Among women engaging in commercial sex in their own homes, 21 percent were raped 10 times or more (Hughes, 2004). Sex buyers regularly inflict multiple forms of violence including but not limited to: abductions and kidnappings; physical violence like beating, slapping, and choking both with and without weapons; sexual violence like forced oral, vaginal, and anal rape; and coercion into not only performing acts seen in pornography but also producing pornography (Hughes, 2004).

Implemented throughout the United States are 12 distinct ways to intervene and curb the purchase of sex (Shively et al., 2012). Demand reduction tactics rely on the two primary functions of educating potential and actual purchasers and punitive interventions by law enforcement (Shively et al., 2012). According to a national study on city and county-wide interventions, the typology is listed in order of prevalence: reverse stings at the street level (over 826 cities and

counties), shaming via publicizing identity (484), reverse stings, web-based (286), seizing automobiles used to solicit sex (120), neighborhood action (115), geographic restraining orders or exclusion zones (83), surveillance cameras (67), public education and awareness programs (67), “John Schools” education or treatment programs for arrestees (51), community service programs for arrestees (50), shaming via “Dear John” letters (40), and reverse stings in brothels (13) (Shively et al., 2012). Many of the demand-based interventions are either cost-neutral or revenue raising via fees and taxes (Shively et al., 2012).

In one study, both purchasers and non-purchasers of sex agreed the most effective way to reduce demand would be to place buyers on a sex offender registry and the least effective would be educational programs (Farley et al., 2011). According to multiple studies, the top three techniques to deter sex purchasers are: 1.) sex offender registration; 2.) public exposure techniques (i.e. releasing information in public forums); and 3.) incarceration (Farley et al., 2011; IOM & NRC, 2013). One study suggests that legal sanctions are more likely to deter infrequent purchasers of sex than habitual buyers (IOM & NRC, 2013). Many stakeholders have emphasized the need for a “balanced and collaborative approach” to address demand, but not at the detriment of victim assistance or prosecution of traffickers (Abt Associates Inc., 2010).

Internationally, one of the most heralded models deemed as an effective approach to decrease the demand for sex and increase gender equality is the “Nordic model” also known as the “Swedish model” (Equality Now) while some researchers urge the use of a more universal term like “Demand model.” In 1999, Sweden enacted the Law That Prohibits the Purchase of Sexual Services, part of the Violence Against Women bill, which directly criminalizes purchasers of sex while protecting individuals who sell or are sold for sex (Ekberg, 2004; Equality Now). The Swedish government’s exemplary Demand model established a zero-tolerance policy by enacting a series anti-demand legislation, educating the public via conscious-raising campaigns, and investing in comprehensive victim services and support (Ekberg, 2004; Equality Now).

As a result, Sweden has not only seen a reduction in “street prostitution” but a transformation in societal attitudes toward purchasing sex, between 1996 (prior to anti-demand legislation) and 2008 the number of men buying sex decreased from 13.6 percent to 7.9 percent (Equality Now). Subsequently, neighboring countries who have not adopted the model have seen a dramatic increase in “street prostitution” (Equality Now). This model uniquely promotes the protection of victims who are sold for sex while appropriately placing the burden of responsibility on a population of mostly adult men who, on a global scale, have far less legal, social, and economic repercussions than the women and children they purchase for sexual purposes.

United States federal policy has addressed the issue of demand with the passage of Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act 2015 (JVTA). JVTA passed swiftly through the House of Representatives but stalled in the Senate due to anti-abortion language (Byrnes, 2015). Democrats in the Senate had particular issue with diction that expanded the Hyde Amendment by ensuring the fines levied on traffickers could not be allocated to funding abortions (Sneed, 2015). Legislators were able to reach a compromise by establishing two funding streams for survivors: the first funding stream allocates the fees paid by traffickers to support non-healthcare related services; and the second funding stream appropriates existing resources to community health centers that provide healthcare services for survivors (Sneed, 2015). The compromise allowed for the passage of the bill. Some of the most salient functions of JVTA include: a \$5,000 fine for convicted traffickers; traffickers and purchasers of sex are “equally culpable” in sex trafficking offenses; producers of child pornography are classified as traffickers; the development of evidence-based best practices for healthcare professionals; and establishes a process for survivors to vacate criminal records for non-violent crimes (Congress.gov, 2015). Yasmin Vafa, co-founder and director of Law and Policy at Human Rights Project for Girls expressed gratification in the pioneer legislation. In a press release Vafa stated, “For the first time, there is a

federal law on the books that specifically addresses domestic human trafficking and prioritizes the need to confront the demand for child sex” (Byrnes, 2015). This legislation is a pivotal stepping stone in the domestic fight against the demand for child sex.

There is a need for more comprehensive quantitative and qualitative data on victims and exploiters. The scarcity of human trafficking data is largely attributed to the highly clandestine nature of criminal networks, the victim’s’ fear of self-identifying, inadequate resources provided to law enforcement to properly document, and a lack of data sharing collaboratives (Fedorschak, Kandala, Desouza, & Krishnamurthy, 2014). These factors should be mitigated to better track and identify human trafficking victims and exploiters at local, state, and national levels.

8. PROSECUTION

Between 2000 and 2014, there were 600 federal convictions for human trafficking under TVPA 2000 (Fedorschak et al., 2014). According to experts, traffickers believe there is low risk of sentencing and feel removed from the possibility of arrest due to the trafficker's ability to deter victims from testifying and law enforcement's lack of physical custody of victims (Dank et al., 2014). The TVPA reauthorization of 2007 suggested State Legislation included the widely adopted Model State Anti-Trafficking Criminal Statute that serves as a prototype to assist states in policy development (The Council of State Governments, 2007). Although TVPA provides federal parameters, prosecutors at the state and local level often utilize more familiar charges against traffickers like pimping and pandering (Dank et al., 2014).

The U.S. Department of State marks human trafficking cases as "the most labor and time-intensive matters undertaken by the Department" due to complex factors surrounding working with victims (2004). Investigation and prosecution of traffickers are at the discretion of stakeholders at the local level. Prosecutors use professional discretion to decide if there is enough evidence to secure a conviction, otherwise they will opt for a lesser sentence or a plea bargain (U.S. Department of State, 2004). One study found that on average, offenders who went to trial received 61 months more prison time than if they had accepted a plea bargain (IOM & NRC, 2013). There are distinct characteristics, like race and education, which affect the length of sentencing for sex traffickers. The aforementioned study found that traffickers of color received 16 months longer than their white counterparts; traffickers with less than a high school education received longer sentences than traffickers who had completed some college (IOM & NRC, 2013).

In some cases, if local prosecutors perceive that the human trafficking case is too complex they will report it to the federal authorities rather than utilize scarce resources; the latter ultimately results in the underutilization of laws and resources in most states (U.S. Department of State, 2004). Although legislation provides a vehicle for criminalizing certain behaviors, law enforcement agencies must create the actual policies and practices to implement the law. This becomes challenging when law enforcement and prosecutors do not have the appropriate training or resources to investigate and prosecute human trafficking cases. Rather than utilizing specific anti-human trafficking laws, prosecutors can have a higher success rate with lengthier sentences by building cases with more familiar legislation that prohibits pimping, pandering, and abducting a minor with the intent to prostitute. A shared understanding must be developed in order to operationalize the enforcement of human trafficking laws (U.S. Department of State, 2004) and prosecute based on policies that ensure successful conviction of exploiters.

Law enforcement's interpretation of human trafficking policy informs their understanding of the problem and likelihood to train frontline professionals, criminalize exploiters, and adequately assist victims (Joshi, 2002; Young, 1999). Existing research on law enforcement's response to human trafficking identifies numerous quandaries in their current responses, including conflicting understanding of statutory definitions (Newton et al., 2008). In many instances, law enforcement lacks knowledge about the existence of human trafficking within their community and, therefore, are rarely aware of the anti-human trafficking legislation that can guide their investigatory work (Farrell et al., 2012). This directly impacts the identification, investigation, and prosecution of human trafficking incidences within their jurisdictions. The misinterpretation of legal statutes can have unintended consequences on the lives of victims often resulting in re-victimization through victim-blaming and criminalization rather than crisis intervention and stabilizing after-care services (Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2013). Criminalizing human trafficking victims can have several unintended consequences including, but not limited to, the following: reinforces victims' pre-existing distrust of law enforcement; impedes on law enforcement and anti-trafficking advocates ability to successfully intervene; has psychological effects on the individual's desire to fully exit the exploitative circumstances; and informs access to rehabilitative services (Epstein & Edelman, 2013; IOM & NRC, 2013; National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2011).

8.1 Transforming the CSEC Narrative

While children have historically been criminalized as “juvenile prostitutes” (National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2011) the majority of men who purchase sex go unscathed from the legal ramifications associated with buying sex (Houston, 2015). Those who exploit children, benefitting financially, sexually, or otherwise, continue to operate above the law; as evidenced by the countless reports identify human trafficking as a crime that has high profit but low risk of detection.

Nationwide activists urge for the decriminalization of CSEC by transforming the victim-blaming ideology into a narrative that advocates for proper identification of these children as victims and survivors of child rape and abuse who worthy of trauma-informed care and rehabilitation (Epstein & Edelman, 2013; Houston, 2015; Human Rights Project for Girls, 2015; County of Los Angeles, 2015; National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2011; Smith, Vardaman, & Snow, 2009). According to Penelope Saunders, the term CSEC was coined in the 1990s by nongovernmental organizations attempting to reframe the child sex trafficking narrative (Houston, 2015). The term was intended to emphasize the child’s victimhood and place the onus of exploitation on adult sexual abusers (Houston, 2015). The work of local and national activists, including sex trafficked survivors, have campaigned to reinforce a narrative that decriminalizes CSEC and penalizes purchasers of sex. The No Such Thing initiative advocates for the eradication of diction that reinforces the misconception that minors under the age of 18 can consent to sex or can be labeled as “child prostitutes” (Human Rights Project for Girls, 2015). Furthermore, prosecuting child sex trafficking victims on prostitution-related charges is contradictory to the premise of statutory rape laws (Walker, 2013). This requires law enforcement to be more diligent in actively decriminalizing child sex trafficking victims. Ultimately, it is the normalization of criminalizing diction and imagery depicted in the media, literature, and society at-large that inadvertently reinforces sex trafficked victims as perpetrators of criminal activity rather than victims worthy of adequate resources and restoration. Detaining and charging victims on any crime that was a direct result of the commercial sexual exploitation reinforces the latter notion.

Safe Harbor policies are in effect in all 50 states and address the improper criminalization of children purchased for sex (Polaris Project, 2015a). Safe harbor laws are essential to victim-protection and expunging criminal charges that were a direct result of a victim’s exploitation (e.g. theft, soliciting, etc.) (Polaris Project, 2012). Building on the progressive and ground-breaking New York Safe Harbour for Exploited Children Act of 2008, Illinois subsequently enacted the Safe Children’s Act of 2010 (Public Act 96-1664) (Bounds, Julion, & Delaney, 2015; Polaris Project, 2010). Illinois was the first state to prohibit the prosecution of any minor under the age of 18 on prostitution charges (Bounds, Julion, & Delaney, 2015; Polaris Project, 2010). To ensure safe harbor laws are effective, like all other policies, stakeholders must maintain adequate knowledge of policy nuances and proper implementation on the ground-level. For example, some safe harbor laws require mandated reporting among service providers but not all stakeholders may be aware of the requirements within their state.

Unfortunately, there are also discrepancies in the wide-ranging legislation that can be less protective and more harmful for particular youth. For example, some states establish a minors “maximum age under which a victim will be decriminalized” and/or only decriminalize first-time offenders (Polaris Project, 2015a). This results in the criminalization of older youth (typically 15 years and older). Furthermore, youth who come into contact with law enforcement but fail to exit the exploitation successfully the first time are more likely to be incarcerated if they interact with law enforcement on other occasions. On a state and local level, policy needs to continue focusing on decriminalization all victims and victim-assistance.

Various entities in states across the United States have made significant efforts to decriminalize human trafficked victims. In 2010, New York’s Criminal Procedure Law was amended to ensure sex trafficking victims could vacate

prostitution convictions (The New York State Anti-Trafficking Coalition). In October of 2015, authorities from the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department advised officers to end the arrest of minors on prostitution charges, urging their staff to recognize that sex trafficked children are victims of rape. This is an important step to proper victim identification and decriminalization that can act as a prototype for law enforcement around the nation and world. A common language for understanding human trafficking must exist amongst law enforcement to ensure a proper response to the issue (Harris, 2014).

The King County Prosecuting Attorney's office has drastically changed the ways in which sex trafficking is understood and handled through their transformative "Buyer Beware" initiative (2016). There are seven salient components of the campaign that target sectors of society including: criminal justice, education, employers, health, marginalized populations, media, and technology. In previous years, like many other parts of the nation currently, sex trafficked children were detained and charged on prostitution and related charges. In 2013, law enforcement began to adequately arrest and detain purchasers of sex and decriminalize sex trafficked youth with the inception of the initiative. According to King County Prosecuting Attorney's Office data, in 2015 not one minor was charged with prostitution but 45 exploiters were charged with "Commercial Sexual Abuse of a Minor" which has more legal repercussions than patronizing charges. Furthermore, the county has targeted sex buyers by harnessing technology to circulate psychoeducational "memes" through social media platforms and online deterrence advertisements on the Internet search engines Google and Bing. In three weeks, the online deterrence ads on Google reached 100,000 impressions; on a monthly basis Bing has anywhere between 3,000 and 4,000 impressions. In the first three weeks of operating the social media-based deterrence campaign, the initiative was able to reach about 52,000 young men ages 18-24 year old which is just over half of the 100,000 men in that age bracket that reside in King County.

Decriminalizing children is an important foundational step to intervention but it is equally (if not more) important that children access survivor-centered services with adequately trained professionals. Currently, there is no standard of care for human trafficked survivors. Children's Advocacy Centers (CAC) serve as a model of how service providers can mitigate retraumatization for child abuse victims. Developed in the 1980s, CACs have positively transformed services for and treatment of child victims of suspected maltreatment (e.g. sexual abuse) through a centralized and comprehensive approach (Office of Justice Programs, 2008). CAC's coordinate multidisciplinary teams of professionals from the medical and mental health fields, child protective services, and advocacy groups to investigate child maltreatment in a child-friendly setting (Office of Justice Programs, 2008). Currently, two-thirds of the nation have access to CAC's with more than 770 member organizations; fifteen states have 100 percent CAC coverage (National Children's Alliance, 2014). At this time not all CAC's are equipped to handle human trafficking cases.

9.1 TECHNOLOGY

The ease of communication and access to material on the Internet has increased the global commercial sexual exploitation of women and children. As anti-human trafficking stakeholders become increasingly aware of tactics employed by exploiters (i.e. traffickers and purchasers of sex) who contact, groom, advertise, and purchase sex acts from victimized youth there has been a strong push to develop and maintain relationships (i.e. public-private, multi-agency, and multi-disciplinary) that assist in researching, developing, and enhancing technological tools that can prevent, combat, and rehabilitate survivors of commercial sexual exploitation.

Regardless of demographic and geographic factors, using the Internet places all youth at higher risk for commercial sexual exploitation. Young people admit to a deeper level of connectivity with technology than older generations and view the Internet as a safe place to build relationships with new people (Thorn, "How Technology is Used to Recruit, Groom and Exploit Victims of Child Sex Trafficking," 2015). In many cases, technology-based social media platforms are the first point of contact between traffickers and victims, particularly in the recruiting and grooming processes (boyd, Casteel, Thakor, & Johnson, 2011). A national survey on youth Internet safety found that one in seven youth received unwanted sexual solicitations online; in 2000, the study indicated that one in five youth were sexually solicited online (NCMEC, 2005).

Trafficker's capitalize on social media platforms, applications (apps), and websites that are geared to younger demographics (e.g. teenage girls, adolescents, etc.) as well as those equipped with a built-in GPS component that track the user's location (Webb, "What the Tech?," 2016). The Internet allows predators to communicate with unsuspecting youth regardless of the platform's original intention, especially those with low security measures. In a training on the intersection of technology and child sexual exploitation, Los Angeles City Attorney Tracy Webb explained that YouTube's comments section is favored by traffickers though this was not the websites intent (Webb, "What the Tech?," 2016). Platforms with unregulated, or poorly regulated, interfacing allow exploiters to build relationships with and gain the trust of youth.

The Internet and new information technologies have been exploited by traffickers who victimize children in multiple ways most notably with commercial sex advertisements (ads) and child pornography (Hughes, 2005). In 2014, Polaris studied a single user-based website known for advertising commercial sex services and found nearly 12,000 sex-related ads posted in a single day (Polaris Project, 2015b). The same year Thorn estimated that more than 100,000 escort ads were posted across the Internet daily (2014). As of November 2015, the classified advertising website Backpage had an estimated 100,000 sex-related ads posted on their site alone each day (Thorn, "How Technology," 2015). According to a survey conducted by Thorn, in more recent years, three out of four sex trafficked survivors say they have been advertised for sex online and more than half named Backpage as the top venue (Thorn, "How Technology," 2015). Tactics used by traffickers like search engine optimization (SEO), a "proprietary auto-posting system," ensure their sex ads of trafficked victims appear high on the list of online search results (Fedorschak et al., 2014).

Technology can be harnessed to both prevent sex trafficking of at-risk youth and also intervene during the exploitation. It is a common misconception that all domestic minors do not have any access to technology during their exploitation. Traffickers often restrict victim's level of access to technology in order to maintain physical and psychological control (boyd et al., 2011). In a focus group conducted by Thorn, 62 percent of survivors had access to cell phones and 42 percent had access to the Internet during their exploitation. The GPS component in cell phones and various apps underpins the trafficker's control of their victims' location without requiring direct communication but it can also be used during the intervention process. According to Thorn's focus group, 80 percent of survivors

said they wanted help during their exploitation, however, technology is rarely used to assist victims in exiting the exploitation (“How Technology,” 2015). One unique feature for users visiting the Polaris website is the “quick exit” tab that redirects the user to another more anonymous webpage.

Contrary to popular belief, that mainstream Internet does not afford traffickers and purchasers of sex a high degree of anonymity because of the digital traces, also known as digital footprints, left behind (Thorn, 2014). The immense amount of data available from online criminal activity is both an asset and hindrance to law enforcement investigators, who must sift through and analyze information in order to build cases (Thorn, 2014). Law enforcement officials are aware of websites and social media platforms that foster commercial sexual exploitation but many are unaware of existing technologies that expedite the once-manual process of filtering through individual sex ads or profiles (LexisNexis, 2013). Not having adequate specialized tools or training greatly impedes on gaining valuable intelligence on criminal activity and can waste valuable time and resources (LexisNexis, 2014). The deep web, also known as the dark web and darknet, offers a new set of challenges for law enforcement investigation.

The deep web is well-known for ensuring higher levels of anonymity and untraceable access that is not indexed on search engines. Trend Micro describes the deep web as, “a secure platform for cybercriminals to support a vast number of illegal activities – from anonymous marketplaces to secure means of communications to an untraceable and difficult to shutdown infrastructure to deploy malware and botnets” (Allen, Rubley, & Villasenor, 2014). The Onion Router (Tor), Invisible Internet Project (I2P), and Freenet are some of the most popular networks utilized; these networks provide cybercriminals with a digital space to exchange goods and services in an unregulated and anonymous marketplace (Allen, Rubley, & Villasenor, 2014; Ciancaglini, Balduzzi, Goncharov, & McArdle, 2013). Networks like Tor offer high degrees of anonymity by using multiple layers of encryption (Dank et al., 2014). This poses new challenges for law enforcement who will need specialized training and investigative methods to understand the criminal landscape of the deep web (Allen, Rubley, & Villasenor, 2014).

The popularity and convenience of difficult to trace electronic currencies offers forensic challenges that law enforcement must mitigate. Historically, underground economies have relied on cash-based transactions as a means of avoiding detection (Latonero, 2012). The emergence of digital economies, whether they are centralized (e.g. Liberty Reserve, Webmoney, Perfect Money), decentralized (e.g. Bitcoin), or hybrid systems with components of both, coupled with anonymizing tools has given birth to unique complexities (Allen, Rubley, & Villasenor, 2014). Recently, Visa and MasterCard disallowed use of their credit cards on Backpage.com, citing “illegal or brand-damaging activities” as their reason (Bitcoinist.net, 2015). In response, Backpage.com lowered the price for posting adult ads and now accepts the electronic currencies: Bitcoin, Litecoin, and Dogecoin (Bitcoinist.net, 2015). Bitcoin is an unregulated, decentralized electronic currency that has legitimate purposes but may attract illicit actors due to the perceived anonymity (FBI, 2012). All Bitcoin transactions are publicly posted on an online ledger; the user information is a series of numbers and letters that do not offer immediate identification (FBI, 2012). Although it is possible to link Bitcoin transactions to unlawful activity, the forensics would require specialized training for law enforcement or the use of a vetted third-party. These steps are time-consuming and intensive but they are feasible. Experts recommend cross-sector and multi-disciplinary collaboration between law enforcement, the private sector, and academia to initially understand the intersection of emerging technology and criminal activity then to subsequently develop specialized tools to combat such criminal activity (Allen, Rubley, & Villasenor, 2014).

While websites known for their role in sex trafficking continue to be shut down there seems to be a never-ending emergence of websites and apps that support the sexual exploitation of children. In September 2010, Craigslist shut down its Adults Services section after receiving criticism for its role in facilitating sex trafficking (Latonero, 2012). This is not to say that other sections of Craigslist have not be used for commercial sex purposes. Much of the Craigslist

traffic has since migrated to other websites that allow for classified advertisements. In 2011, the hacktivist group Anonymous, hacktivists are described as “ideologically motivated cyber hackers,” infiltrated and shut down the deep web’s child pornography website Lolita City (Allen, Rubley, & Villasenor, 2014). In 2014, sources indicated that Lolita city was fully operating with 15,000 members circulating 1.3 million child pornography images (Allen, Rubley, & Villasenor, 2014). In October 2013, the FBI arrested founder of Silk Road, a site known as “the online marketplace for all things illicit,” however, shortly after the arrest a host of other websites had replaced the illicit marketplace (Allen, Rubley, & Villasenor, 2014). Organizations like LexisNexis and Thorn: Digital Defenders (Thorn) have developed tools to directly benefit law enforcement’s investigations.

In 2013, LexisNexis launched Social Media Monitor a data mining tool developed to assist law enforcement with detecting criminal activity on social media platforms to both prevent criminal activity and further corroborate evidence (LexisNexis, 2013). By utilizing intelligence gained from social media platforms law enforcement and prosecutors can help prevent, intervene, and better prosecute human trafficking cases. Studies have shown that investigators are typically unaware of ways in which technology could benefit their efforts to build cases. In a national study of over 1,200 federal, state, and local active law enforcement agents one-third of investigators indicated they lacked the resources to harness data from social media platforms (LexisNexis, 2013). There is a clear need for cross-sector collaboration that can both educate law enforcement on existing technologies and demonstrate how to efficiently utilize existing tools and social media platforms for criminal investigations.

In the spring of 2014, Thorn introduced Spotlight a tool specifically designed to aggregate data from online commercial sex ads for use in law enforcement investigations (Thorn, 2015). Though Spotlight is widely available there is a continued lack of awareness among law enforcement agencies. As of October 2015, Spotlight has been utilized in 49 states by nearly 1,400 law enforcement personnel (Thorn, 2015). Agencies utilizing this tool have seen a 43 percent reduction in law enforcement’s investigation time and have identified over 300 victims and 56 traffickers (Thorn, 2015). Thorn also provides a guide for technology-based companies to use sound practices that prevent their websites from being utilized by traffickers for exploitative purposes (2014).

Many technology-based companies have underpinned their corporate social responsibility (CSR) by taking on anti-human trafficking initiatives. In 2015, the world’s leading search engine, social media, and software firms including Google, Yahoo, Microsoft, Twitter, Facebook, and Tencent publicly vowed to continue taking action against Internet-based child sexual exploitation by developing innovative technology (Gov.UK, 2015). This pledge reflects years of action-oriented anti-trafficking efforts funded and developed by each entity. Each of these agencies have taken steps to better understand, equip the public and private sectors, and work against human trafficking.

Since 2010, Google has provided more than \$21 million to non-governmental organizations with a focus on developing new technologies, research, and services that work in the anti-trafficking and child abuse fields (Google.org). Microsoft launched PhotoDNA in 2009, a tool that assists in the identification of online images of child sexual exploitation. This technology, donated to NCMEC, mitigates the mental and emotional impact of child pornography on employees by minimizes the resources and human capital needed to find such images (Microsoft, 2013). In 2012, Microsoft awarded \$185,000 to six research teams investigating the role that technology can play in the identification of and support for CSEC (Latonero, 2012).

Collaboration between tech-based companies and anti-trafficking stakeholders has proven to be effective in the development of tech-based tools not otherwise available. For example, Palantir partnered with NCMEC to generate software that could aggregate and analyze data about missing and exploited children and sex offenders. Together Palantir and Polaris built software to manage NHTRC data (Latonero, 2012). In 2013, Polaris and Thorn partnered with Twilio and Salesforce Foundation to develop the NHTRC’s SMS-based component; victims can text the shortcode

“BeFree” for a discreet and time-efficient way to access the hotline (Petronzio, 2013). Multi-disciplinary collaboration continues to be extremely beneficial and impactful for law enforcement, service providers, and victims.

Since 1998, NCMEC has operated CyberTipline, a mechanism for community members to report suspected child sexual exploitation by providing images or videos and information (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2016). Congress authorized NCMEC to document reports from electronic service providers (ESPs); subsequently, all information is cross reported to local law enforcement to assist in investigation and prosecution of child sexual exploitation crimes (Thorn, 2014; Latonero, 2012).

The telephone denial of service attacks (TDoS) method identifies telephone numbers associated with online ads then floods their phone number with continuous calls and/or text messages which make the number unreachable for purchasers of sex (Malaga, 2015). The FANTOM software, developed by the FBI’s Special Technologies and Applications Office, analyzes the input of digital information (e.g. phone calls and text messages) to visually represent patterns in tracking and significant relationships between suspected human trafficking organizations (Major).

In 2014, the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) announced the launch of the Memex program, initiated to combat human trafficking through an advanced search engine. DARPA (2014) created Memex for four primary reasons: 1.) development of next-generation of search technologies to revolutionize the discovery, organization and presentation of domain-specific content; 2.) creation of a new domain-specific search paradigm to discover relevant content and organize it in ways that are more immediately useful to specific tasks; 3.) extension of current search capabilities to the deep web and nontraditional content; and 4.) improved interfaces for military, government and commercial enterprises to find and organize publically available information on the Internet.

Through DARPA’s funding, research-oriented organizations have developed innovative tools to combat human trafficking. In 2012, the University of Southern California’s Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism developed the tool DIG a “domain-specific indexing, search and analysis system.” DIG uses open source software “combined with an open architecture and flexible set of APIs to facilitate the integration of a variety of extraction and analysis tools” (USC, 2015). DARPA funding also facilitated the creation of TellFinder, which analyzes and characterizes data on publicly-available escort and advertisement websites to flag for probable trafficking activity.

Anti-human trafficking public service announcements (PSAs) have been developed by a variety of stakeholders (i.e. governmental and nongovernmental agencies) and can be easily accessed online. Consciousness-raising PSAs can be widely circulated among a variety of audiences via social media platforms. Deterrence PSAs for search engines target purchasers of sex; the PSAs provide psychoeducation on the consequences of buying sex from exploited women and children and often provides links to organizations that offer services for individuals with sexual compulsions (Thorn, 2014).

Emerging technologies should focus on disturbing sophisticated criminal networks rather than solely targeting easily visible offenders (WIRED, 2013). The Wynyard Group’s Advanced Crime Analytics (ACA) software was specifically built to ease the technological burden of large data sets for law enforcement and government agencies collecting intelligence and investigating crime. ACA fuses all investigatory evidence directly input by agents and integrated from other sources then utilizes smart analytics to pinpoint anomalies, patterns, trends, and relationships that might otherwise go unidentified. The software serves the important function of aggregating necessary data then delineating salient themes but ultimately relies on investigatory professionals to interpret the data in order to make informed decisions, act in a timely manner, and disturb criminal activity. When utilizing technology-based tools experts should be involved in the process of interpreting large data sets in order to provide a more targeted understanding of what the data represents (WIRED, 2013). Advanced technology like big data analytics can assist

in uncovering intelligence in a resource efficient manner. Pattern identification within large data sets remains a complicated effort, which is guided by the assumption and logic of those who created them (Musto & boyd, 2014). Therefore, it is important to be aware of the false positives and potential risks of privacy infringements that can accompany this effort (Musto & boyd, 2014).

In the development of new technologies and the data collection process it is important to consider how privacy and security of confidential information will be maintained. Experts in all sectors should be present during the development of policies and technologies to ensure that all aspects of the environment are considered (boyd et al., 2011). Many of the existing policies and research initiatives focus on how victims and traffickers use technology to communicate during the grooming process and during their exploitation, but there is little assessment on the effectiveness of technologies that focus on intervention and prosecution (boyd et al., 2011). When developing new and assessing existing technologies it is important to understand how some of the technologies used to exploit children are beneficial within other communities; stakeholders must understand the overall benefits before reacting to the potential dangers (Thorn, 2015). Intervention via victim identification is a significant component of anti-trafficking efforts but after-care is as significant for survivors; without proper after-care services in place the heightened identification of youth can lead to inadequate support (WIRED, 2013).

In order for law enforcement to harness the technological resources available for investigation and prosecution, training needs to be implemented across sectors and disciplines to enhance coordination and collaboration (Thorn, 2014).

10. RECOMMENDATIONS

There has been a drastic increase in the amount of peer-reviewed literature and governmental and nongovernmental reports available on human trafficking. However, there remain gaps regarding technologies—both readily available and greatly needed—that could better enhance efforts in the full scope of the anti-human trafficking movement.

The UCLA Luskin Center for Innovation team conducted 70 semi-structured qualitative interviews of stakeholders in the anti-human trafficking field. These stakeholders ranged from local law enforcement and prosecutors to national and international anti-human trafficking non-governmental organizations. These interviews provided insight in the ways technology is currently used to prevent trafficking, disrupt exploitative trafficking rings, investigate and subsequently prosecute traffickers and purchasers of sex, and offer rehabilitation services to survivors. Stakeholders offered innovative technology-based ideas that have culminated into eight recommendations to be developed, implemented, enhanced, and/or maintained by entities within both the public and private sectors—including but not limited to local, state, and federal government agencies, anti-human trafficking organizations, technology-based companies, and socially responsible corporations, among others. The recommendations are based on the review of extant literature and qualitative findings that have been vetted through technology-based organizations at the forefront of the anti-human trafficking movement.

1. National database for FBI and local law enforcement to input, access, and share pertinent information on human trafficking cases across jurisdictions was the most commonly suggested technology-based recommendation. This recommendation will be discussed in further detail below.
2. Enhance social media platform(s) to include a space for survivor leaders, more recent survivors, and service providers to be used as an empowerment tool and healthy communication outlet. The platform would be used to provide information on available services based on localities and salient psychoeducation for youth. This could include developing private online groups on existing social media platforms (e.g. Facebook) or creating new social media platforms, apps, and/or websites specifically for survivors and service providers.
3. Expansion of existing mobile-based app(s) for survivors, social service providers, and law enforcement that provide vital information on local services available for survivors. The GraceCity Resource App is an example of an app that details available services (e.g. housing, legal assistance, and medical) from vetted service providers (e.g. Department of Social Services) that can be scaled across the United States to provide information to users based on localities.
4. Include an emergency function in a newly developed or pre-existing mobile-based app(s) commonly used by youth that instantly notifies specified contacts (e.g. caregivers, social workers, etc.) and/or local law enforcement with an urgent text message, email, and/or phone call that indicates potential danger and includes geospatial information. The emergency function would act as a preventative tool by assisting potential victims who sense immediate danger or intervention method for trafficked victims with access to a mobile phone. Developing an app with an indistinct name and rotating skin could ensure ambiguity. The Aspire App, aimed at assisting domestic violence victims, could serve as an example of an inconspicuous and unidentifiable app that provides immediate assistance to those in need.
5. Digital Platform for Vetted Social Service Providers that bolsters safe and timely information sharing for multi-disciplinary stakeholders providing rehabilitative services to survivors. This platform would be shared with stakeholders involved in multi-disciplinary teams (MDT) that provide reintegration services—including but not limited to lawyers, educators, health care providers, social workers, and case managers. This

technology will assist in providing informed services to survivors by expediting communication between service providers. For example, if a client is missing from their foster care group home then the service provider can easily update the client's profile within the platform which would notify the MDT. Protection and rights of client confidentiality, Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) privacy, regulations, legal concerns, and organizational policies should be at the forefront of this discourse (Harbert & Hughes, 2014). The IOM and NRC recommend the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention for the development and maintenance of such platform (2013).

6. Internship and employment opportunities for human trafficking survivors that teach higher levels of skill (e.g. programming, coding, etc.). For-profit companies can partner with local nonprofit organizations providing rehabilitative services to ensure survivors have a social support system in place that fosters their work experience. AnnieCannons is an example of an anti-human trafficking organization that provides survivors with technical training and employment opportunities; for-profit companies can bolster anti-human trafficking efforts through funding and employment partnerships.
7. Facilitating an app-based challenge for survivors to develop ways to prevent sex-trafficking with at-risk youth, intervene with victims, enhance after-care services, and reduce recidivism for survivors through accessible technology.
8. Further research on the interplay of technology with the following populations: at-risk youth in schools and the child welfare system; mental and physical health of human trafficked victims and survivors; child labor practices; labor trafficking of adults; and sex trafficking of adults.

10.1 Call for Uniform Collection and Repository for National Data

The most common recommendation from existing literature and stakeholders in the field is the development of a comprehensive data collection and management system for law enforcement that can accurately capture and disseminate information on victims, traffickers, and purchasers of sex. Currently, there is no a systematic data collection method for law enforcement or a centralized clearinghouse to store pertinent information on a national-level (Dank et al., 2014), despite the fact that traffickers are known to be transient. Beyond the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) programs and Human Trafficking Reporting System (HTRS), law enforcement units can play a central role in capturing data.

There must be adequate human trafficking training for all officers to ensure they are capable in assessing and handling cases. A multi-system collaborative approach among law enforcement, governmental, and nongovernment agencies is important for developing common language and methodologies (Walker, 2013). Fidelity to data collection should be prioritized in order to ensure accurate reports. Synthesized annual reports can be utilized to guide prevention, intervention, prosecution, and after-care services. Implementing a uniform data collection system would assist in law enforcement's identification of human trafficking victims and in the prosecution of traffickers and purchasers of sex.

The California funded and law enforcement maintained Cal-Gangs System can serve as a prototype of an intelligence database that is widely accessible, low-cost, and securely networked. With appropriate technical enhancements the human trafficking database can ensure the system is intuitive and user-friendly. Implementing a tiered system of access would allow all law enforcement agents to input data, however, only specialized units (i.e. human trafficking, vice, organized crime) would have total access to information and patrolling officers would have the lowest level of access. Patrolling officers are a necessary component to the identification of traffickers and victims; during routine

patrolling, officers frequently yet haphazardly collide with these populations (Farrell et al., 2012). All levels of access should be in accordance with local and state policies and regulations.

The TVPA reauthorizations of 2005 and 2008 are two federal policy efforts that underscore the need for interagency collaboration, a repository to store data, and a means to share data (Fedorschak et al., 2014). The Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2005 calls for “an effective mechanism for quantifying the number of victims of trafficking on a national, regional, and international basis” (U.S Department of State, 2005). The William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008 requires the FBI to include trafficking in person’s data in annual reports from the UCR program (U.S. Department of State, 2008). To date, neither of these policies have resulted in a mechanism such as a comprehensive database to store pertinent human trafficking information (Fedorschak et al., 2014) or tool to aggregate and disseminate information through large data analytics.

There are recognized challenges to the implementation of a national database, including concerns of privacy, confidentiality, and protection of sensitive information. For example, “Between 2009 and 2012, the number of intentional breaches of computer networks and databases in the United States jumped by 280 percent, with California’s share leading the nation” (Harris, 2014). High levels of security protocols must be in place but should not hinder the development of tools that could advance anti-human trafficking efforts. Sex trafficking is a national issue that requires cross-jurisdictional partnerships and collaboration among law enforcement in order to counter criminal networks that move victims throughout the country (Roe-Sepowitz, Gallagher, & Hickle, 2014). One set of researchers noted, “If there is no way to share the collected information on the trafficker, the time is wasted and the opportunity to protect the current and future victims is lost” (Roe-Sepowitz, Gallagher, & Hickle, 2014). Stakeholders across the field have identified the need to invest money into technology that could both assist in victim identification and the prosecution of traffickers and produce accurate data on human trafficking in the United States.

10.2 Conclusions

The commercial exploitation of women, girls, men, boys, and transgender individuals can be better understood and combatted through more accurate quantitative and qualitative data. Human trafficking is an ongoing crisis, which might be better mitigated if all stakeholders are more efficiently utilized within their scope of work. Governmental and nongovernmental agencies can advance the anti-human trafficking through research, partnership, and the subsequent development of innovative tools in a comprehensive, multi-disciplinary, and collaborative manner.

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