Child Advocacy Program
Art of Social Change:
Child Welfare, Education, & Juvenile Justice

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Prostitution of Children:
A Hidden Problem & Model Intervention Program

Lisa Goldblatt Grace, Co-founder and Director, My Life My Choice
Pi Heseltine, Lieutenant, Massachusetts State Police, Trafficking Unit
Ann Wilkinson, Coordinator of Survivor Mentor Services, My Life My Choice
Assignment

Speaker Biographies

Session Description

Readings: Pages

Elizabeth Bartholet

- R. Curtis, et.al., *The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in New York City*, Volume One, Chapter 1 and Chapter 4, Report Submitted to the National Institute of Justice, United States Department of Justice, September 2008*

Lisa Goldblatt Grace


- Case Scenarios


- Please visit the My Life, My Choice website to learn about the organization’s mission and services. See: http://jri.org/services/behavioral-health-and-trauma-services/community-based-behavioral-health-services/my-life-my-choice/

* Thanks to Prof. Janet Halley for alerting us to this important ethnographic study of prostitution of youth in NYC.
Ann Wilkinson


Pi Heseltine

- *Human Trafficking Legislative Issue Brief*, Polaris Project, 2010 76-77
- *Assessment of Policies & Programs to Combat Human Trafficking*, Executive Summary, A Report Prepared for the Massachusetts Governor’s Council to Address Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault, June 22, 2011 78-84
- *An Act Relative to the Commercial Exploitation of People*, Legal Update, Massachusetts District Attorneys Association, January 3, 2012 85-93
Lisa Goldblatt Grace is the Co-founder and Director of My Life My Choice. Since 2002, MLMC has offered the only comprehensive prevention curriculum aimed at reaching girls most vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation. Further, MLMC offers a unique continuum of services including prevention groups, training, survivor mentoring, and program consultation. Ms. Goldblatt Grace has been working with vulnerable young people in a variety of capacities for over twenty years. Her professional experience includes running a long term shelter for homeless teen parents, developing a diversion program for violent youth offenders, and working in outpatient mental health, health promotion, and residential treatment settings. Ms. Goldblatt Grace has served as a consultant to the Massachusetts Administrative Office of the Trial Court’s “Redesigning the Court’s Response to Prostitution” project and as a primary researcher on the 2007 U.S. Department of Health and Human Services study of programs serving human trafficking victims. In addition, Ms. Goldblatt Grace has written in a variety of publications regarding commercial sexual exploitation and offered training on the subject nationally. Ms. Goldblatt Grace is Adjunct Faculty at the Boston University School of Social Work. She is a Licensed Independent Clinical Social Worker and holds masters degrees in both social work and public health.

Lt. Pi Heseltine has been with the Massachusetts State Police for approximately 20 years. She is currently assigned to the Special Service Section of the Investigative Division investigating cases of child exploitation; more specifically child prostitution/Human Trafficking. Previous assignment(s) included the Massachusetts Missing Children Clearinghouse where she created and launched a public facing website designed to assist the public, law enforcement and social services in developing a better systemic response to children at risk. Prior to that, she worked with the FBI and Boston Police on the Innocence Lost initiative.

Before the above assignments, Lt. Heseltine worked in both Essex and Middlesex counties conducting homicide, sexual assault and child abuse investigations.

Lt. Heseltine currently teaches sexual assault investigations for both the State and Municipal Police. In addition, she serves on the Governor’s Commission on Sexual Assault and Domestic Violence where she spearheaded the drafting of the Sexual Assault Guidelines for Law Enforcement for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In addition, she serves on the Board of Directors for the Massachusetts Children’s Alliance (MACA).
Ann Wilkinson, Coordinator of Survivor Mentor Services, has been a Mentor and Group Facilitator for My Life My Choice since 2006. Ann brings eighteen years of experience as Counselor, Group Facilitator, and Mentor to multi-stressed youth and women. Prior to coming to MLMC, Ann worked in the fields of domestic violence, homelessness, and substance abuse treatment in a variety of leadership roles. Her work experience has included being the Senior Manager at Elizabeth Stone House, and the Director of Women’s Programs at Peace at Home. Ann utilizes her personal experiences in “the Life” to inform the work she does with adolescent girls and adult women, helping them build a life free from exploitation.
Session Description

Research shows the average age of entry into prostitution is between eleven and fourteen. Yet, there are almost no programs specifically aimed at serving children involved in prostitution. One model program is based here in Boston: My Life My Choice (MLMC). The director of the program, Lisa Goldblatt Grace, will describe the problem of childhood prostitution, providing an overview of the demographics. She will explain MLMC’s unique curriculum focused on preventing commercial sexual exploitation among youth, a curriculum being employed at agencies across the country. Drawing on her personal experience with sexual exploitation, Ann Wilkinson from MLMC will explain how children get pulled into prostitution and how MLMC uses mentors and group counseling to support youth.

Policies and practices with respect to children involved in prostitution have undergone a sea change in some jurisdictions. Historically, children involved in prostitution were considered delinquents and charged with delinquency offenses. Now, in some jurisdictions, they are approached as victims of child sexual abuse. In Boston, for instance, through the “SEEN” Coalition (Support to End Exploitation Now), law enforcement, child protective services, medical providers, and district attorneys work together to protect sexually exploited children and develop a plan aimed at safety and recovery, instead of punishment. This approach, however, arguably has its limitations.

Lt. Pi Heseltine has been working in law enforcement for over twenty-five years. She will discuss her work investigating crimes involving the prostitution of children across Massachusetts, the difficulties involved in keeping prostituted children safe from further victimization, and why some situations still merit coercive state intervention.
The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in New York City

Volume One

The CSEC Population in New York City: Size, Characteristics, and Needs

Ric Curtis, Karen Terry, Meredith Dank, Kirk Dombrowski, and Bilal Khan

Report Submitted to the National Institute of Justice, United States Department of Justice

September 2008
Chapter One
Introduction

The number of commercially sexually exploited children (CSEC) in the United States is unknown, but the U.S. Department of Justice estimates that there are between 100,000 and three million, including children forced into prostitution, pornography, and those trafficked into the country for sexual slavery. For the purposes of this study, commercially sexually exploited children are defined as juveniles (18 and under) who perform sexual acts in exchange for money, drugs, food or shelter. According to researchers and child advocates, the CSEC issue mostly affects: runaway and homeless youth who trade sex as a means of survival; children who have been sexually, physically and emotionally abused; juveniles with minimum education who are unable to find legitimate employment; and children who are vulnerable and easily controlled and manipulated by an adult looking to make a profit. This study of commercially sexually exploited children in New York City, and the City’s response to the problem, conducted by the Center for Court Innovation and John Jay College of Criminal Justice (see Volume Two for the background to the project), hopes to provide an empirical foundation that will better inform policy makers, professionals, researchers and advocates about the extent and nature of the problem.

Though there is a dearth of empirical data about the commercial sexual exploitation of children to offer guidance to policy makers, clearly, the larger context of the sex business in New York City – in which CSEC markets are embedded – has dramatically changed over the last two decades. For example, under the Giuliani administration all “adult establishments,” including stores specializing in sexually explicit magazines, books and videos as well as strip clubs and peeps shows, had to be located at least five hundred feet apart from each other and at least five hundred feet away from churches, schools and residential districts. These establishments were also restricted from operating in certain commercial and manufacturing districts. The regulations severely limited the number of adult establishments located around Times Square, and significantly reduced street prostitution in the Midtown area (Sviridoff et al, 2000)\(^1\), displacing much of the sex business to the outer boroughs (Spangenberg, 2001)\(^2\). More recently, in January 2002, Mayor Bloomberg announced “Operation Clean Sweep” with the purpose of abolishing quality of life problems by targeting repeat offenders with high numbers of arrests, including those involved with prostitution, with the use of undercover police to arrest offenders or issue them summonses, and the more aggressive pursuit of warrant cases. But as law enforcement has devoted more attention to pursuing the street-level sex market and their participants, the sex business has adapted and diversified, becoming reliant on technological innovations such as the Internet and cell phones, to conduct business. The paradox is that while the City can rightfully claim to have made progress in addressing the most blatant sex markets, there is scant evidence that the overall sex market has been reduced in size during this same period of time. Indeed, all evidence points to the opposite conclusion: that the sex market is bigger and more multi-faceted than ever. The hidden nature of the CSEC population and the stigma that is attached to sexual


exploitation make it extremely difficult to estimate the size of the population using empirically sound methods. Yet professionals and child advocates have become concerned that the CSEC population has grown in recent years. Indeed, End Child Prostitution, Pornography and Trafficking (ECPAT) USA, estimated that by 2001, there were up to 5,000 youth who were sexually exploited in New York City (ECPAT 2001), though a more recent study estimated that the CSEC population in New York City was approximately 2,200 (Gragg et al., 2007)\(^3\). Still, many practitioners and child advocates believe that the problem is becoming worse, not better, as illustrated by suggestive evidence from the police and courts in New York City. For example, the recidivism rate for prostitution is often believed to be quite high, but “of 1,075 prostitution-related charges arraigned by the Midtown Community Court in 2001, 849 (79%) involved offenders with no prior convictions” (Thukral & Ditmore, 2003, p. 14)\(^4\). The large percentage of first-time prostitution arrests at the Midtown Court suggests that the overwhelming majority of the adult sex worker population is new to the criminal justice system. Therefore, commercially sexually exploited children are even less likely to be represented in arrest or court statistics, and thus, far more numerous than they appear. Better estimates of the size of the population are urgently needed, and if CSEC markets are indeed growing as feared by some, policy makers and professionals need more detailed information about the attitudes, orientations and behaviors of these youth, and those who prey on them, to develop effective responses.

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Chapter Four
Conclusion

To gain a better understanding of the CSEC population in New York City, the John Jay College research team recruited a sample of 329 youth using RDS methods to 1) make estimates of the size of the population, and 2) to provide a reliable and ethnographically rich description of the characteristics, experiences, and service needs of the local CSEC population. The project challenged the researchers in several ways – methodologically, physically and emotionally – that were not fully appreciated at the beginning of the study.

Methodologically, the initial definition of the problem that was based upon previous research and others’ experience with the CSEC population led the John Jay College research team to plan for a study that was substantially different from the methods and techniques that were eventually employed during the data collection phase of the project. The adjustments to the research plan that were made in the field – such as the abandonment of the idea of meeting the youth where ever they pleased and interviewing them inside of a rental car, in favor of meeting youth in a conveniently-located public park where their friends could linger nearby and provide safety – challenged the researchers to quickly shift gears and abandon many of their notions about who the youth were, where and when they could be engaged, and what they were willing talk about.

Physically and organizationally, and partially because of our misconceptions about the population, the research team was not prepared for the large number of youth who were recruited to the study when the data collection phase began. The initial deluge of recruits – on some days, more than 20 interviews were completed – overwhelmed our capacity to collect data fast enough: the maximum amount of cash withdrawals given by ATMs were exceeded almost on a daily basis, the digital recorders became filled to capacity, the batteries wore out in the recorders, and the mosquito-bitten researchers were exhausted by the end of many evenings.

Emotionally, the impact of recruiting and interviewing the youth was substantially greater than the researchers had anticipated, but it seemed not so much on the youth. Indeed, the IRB had worried about the traumatizing effect that a truly probing interview might have on the youth, and because of that concern, the researchers had purposively developed a questionnaire that did not attempt to “dig too deep.” In that regard, the research team did well and only one or two youth who were interviewed had an adverse reaction to the interview process (none required professional consultation), but no one had considered the impact that the work might have on the members of the research team. The researchers were clearly affected by what they saw and heard, and most reported that over the course of several weeks when it finally abated, they had disturbing dreams and difficulty sleeping.

Strengths and limits of the methods employed

This project broke new ground in the study of hidden populations. In using Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) methods to recruit a sample of youth, the study demonstrated that the CSEC population was highly networked rather than composed of isolated pockets of youth who were connected by a few fragile bridges. The experience that the research team had in conducting this project helped spark our interest in further exploring the potential of combining
RDS and Social Network Analysis (SNA) to understanding social networks in general, and the CSEC population in particular. In the summer of 2007, Kirk Dombrowski organized a symposium on RDS and SNA that was held at John Jay College, that attracted several prominent researchers in the overlapping fields of RDS and SNA.\textsuperscript{28} The purpose of the symposium was to explore ways to generate network topologies from the partial spanning-tree graphs produced by the RDS methodology. The RDS spanning trees by definition lack cycle data and differential degree evidence (estimated for the population, but lacking for individuals themselves). Several methodologies were discussed including a new randomized edge assignment protocol (repeated over a large number of iterations) that was developed by the John Jay research team. This protocol was able to estimate accurately a number of network parameters on already known networks (Khan, Dombrowski and Curtis 2007\textsuperscript{29}). We are continuing to develop this methodology for application to partly sampled networks such as the CSEC population in New York City.

Yet for all of the innovations that the research team made implementing cutting-edge research methods in the recruitment of sexually exploited youth, they were also forced to make some compromises that weakened the quality of the data. In particular, the original number of 200 youth that the project intended to recruit via RDS proved to be too small to adequately represent some portions of the CSEC population that were known to exist (especially pimped girls), and thus, the project extended its recruitment goal beyond the original target to help ensure that subgroups within the CSEC population were adequately represented (i.e., that there were a sufficient number of them to perform meaningful statistical measures). At the end of the data collection phase, 329 youth had been recruited by the project, but the limitations of time and money and our desire to ensure that some sub-populations were included in the sample, led the researchers to discontinue expanding the various recruitment trees according to the rules that govern RDS recruitment near the end of the project. As the project approached the target of 200 interviews, the researchers became concerned about an insufficient number of girls versus boys in the sample, especially pimped girls, and they eventually instructed subjects that they could no longer recruit boys, only girls. This, of course, considerably diminished the capacity of the project to sustain recruitment trees, and while it did boost the number of girls recruited into the project, it did so at the expense of the quality of the RDS data, which was skewed by this new directed recruitment strategy. One remedy to this problem would be to recruit a much larger sample (as was the case with recent CDC studies of HIV that aimed for at least 500 research subjects) so that recruitment trees grow long enough to ensure adequate representation from sub-groups in the larger network (or determine that sub-groups are not sufficiently connected to make them part of the extended network), but this project did not have the luxury of time or money to recruit such a large number of youth.

In focusing the questionnaire on current market conditions and avoiding questions that might lead the youth to feel emotionally distressed, the project also compromised the depth of information that might have otherwise been collected about their lives. Yet we would also argue


that much of the information that we might want to know about these youth—such as which factors from their childhood were most critical to their subsequent entry into CSEC markets—is not best collected retrospectively because people have very selective memories that may edit out the very factors that were critical in their development while focusing attention on others that were not. But despite our intention of focusing on present-day behavior to avoid the emotional trauma or skewed accounts that asking about the past might elicit, many youth insisted on discussing their past anyway, and they often attempted to rationalize their behavior or their experiences with precisely the types of accounts that the researchers were careful to avoid asking about. We make no judgment about the veracity of many of these narratives, but in offering them as explanatory devices, many youth actively participated in constructing an identity for themselves that was sufficiently at odds with the picture of the CSEC population that we had expected to find.

**RDS and Population Estimates**

To estimate the size of the CSEC population in New York City, the project used two methods. In the first, using a “capture-recapture” methodology, the RDS-generated sample was compared with arrest records provided by the Department of Criminal Justice Services (DCJS) in 2005 and 2006, to calculate a population size of 3,946 youth. In the second, the research staff developed and tested a new population estimation technique—using “special seeds”—to serve as mutual cross-validation against the "capture-recapture" estimate of the population size. The mean value of the population estimate obtained using the special seeds was 3,769, which is comparable to the population estimate obtained by the traditional capture-recapture technique. The application of the new technique in this study shows considerable promise—as is readily seen in the confluence of estimates obtained through classical "capture-recapture" and the special seed technique. The theoretical hypotheses in which the special seed technique can be made to reliably generate population estimates are still under investigation.

One important caveat to the population estimates attempted in this study is that they calculate the number of youth that are likely to exist within the universe from which they sample, that is, they estimate the number of youth who stand a chance of getting recruited into the study, but not those who stand no chance of being recruited. The project demonstrated that it was possible to recruit pimped youth into the study, but there are some CSEC sub-groups that are likely to be excluded from this estimate, e.g., those who are trafficked into New York City from other countries to work in tightly controlled in indoor environments, and whose lack of cultural and linguistic skills make it impossible for them to network with the larger universe of CSEC youth. To the degree that these sub-groups exist—and there is no doubt that some do exist—the CSEC population will be larger than what this study has estimated. Unfortunately, the methodology employed here cannot offer any insight into the size of this component of the CSEC population, and none of the youth that were recruited into the study offered any anecdotal information that hinted at the existence or prevalence of these youth. Other methods of investigation are required to gain insight into the number of these types of youth.

**RDS Data and the composition of the CSEC Population**

The RDS recruitment data called attention to unexpected findings in the research, first and foremost, the large number of boys that were recruited into the project. Even with the
alterations to the recruitment of research subjects that the research team implemented to favor the recruitment of girls, boys still outnumbered girls in the sample. And the RDS data on homophily showed that both boys and girls were slightly more inclined to recruit other boys into the study. Yet the number of boys in the market is likely to be less than what RDS estimated for them because 35% of the boys were determined to be ineligible for the study (because they were too old or not involved in CSEC activities). Because of the large number of boys that were recruited in the initial stages of data collection, the project altered the recruitment process to favor girls, especially pimped girls. But one interesting finding from an analysis of the recruitment process was that non-pimped youth, including males, successfully recruited pimped youth, but pimped girls did not recruit other pimped youth. The project demonstrated that it is possible to recruit a sample of pimped youth, but the patterns of recruitment suggest that pimped youth are not very adept at recruiting each other.

Nearly the entire sample is contained in 5 major “trees,” with the largest tree extending to 12 waves of recruitment, far more than needed to produce a representative sample of the population, and the second-largest tree (begun by a non-eligible research subject!) extending to 9 waves of recruitment. The findings regarding the geographic distribution of research subjects revealed that youth from all 5 boroughs of New York City were recruited into the study, as well as youth from across the country and abroad. A larger sample may produce slightly different estimated population proportions by birth, but the sample appears to have accomplished the goal of geographic representation of youth.

The RDS recruitment process also produced an estimate of the proportions of the various racial, ethnic or national identities claimed by the youth within the overall CSEC population. Black youth were estimated to be the largest single group within the population, but there was a significant presence of other groups, including 23% whites, 23% Hispanics, and 22% of the youth who identified as “multi-racial.” But in terms of who recruited who: white youth were very likely to recruit other white youth; Black youth had a slight tendency to recruit other Blacks, but Hispanic youth were somewhat more likely to recruit non-Hispanics than members of their own group. And multi-racial youth were just as likely to recruit another multi-racial youth as they were a member of another group.

The RDS data include the cases of those youth that were later determined to be ineligible for the study (and whose data were excluded from the CSEC analysis). They cannot be excluded from the RDS database because their exclusion would disable the ability to connect subjects to each other. But besides keeping them in the database to allow the RDS data to be analyzed, these cases were useful (or will be useful) for several reasons. First, from a review of the RDS recruitment data, ineligible subjects were often adept at recruiting youth that were eligible; clearly, they were participants in the web of social relationships that included CSEC youth. For example, of the 64 non-credible males, 21 recruited credible male subjects, and 18 recruited credible females. In addition to their utility in recruiting eligible youth, the data from the non-credible cases are likely to provide additional insights in subsequent analyses. For example, those subjects that were found to be ineligible because they were older than 18 may serve to model the developmental trajectories that youth are likely to follow if they remain in the market, and a comparison of these cases to the eligible youth may offer insight to policy makers and professionals who seek to short-circuit youths’ participation in the market. By closely examining excluded subjects that were not believed to be participants in CSEC markets to see how they constructed idealized images of themselves as commercially sexually exploited children, the researchers will look for narratives that illustrate dominant and emerging cultural norms within
the wider youth culture that enable the expansion of CSEC markets. In short, while the existence of ineligible cases complicates our ability to analyze the data, they also provide unique opportunities for additional analyses.

Demographic profile of a complex and diversifying population of youth

The sample of 249 eligible youth was diverse in a variety of ways – by gender, by race/ethnicity, and by nationality or place of origin. The large number of boys that were recruited was a surprise to the researchers because even though boys had been occasionally mentioned by policymakers, practitioners and some researchers prior to the beginning of data collection for this project, no one focused on boys as a significant segment of the market or said anything about the unique sets of problems – quite different from those of girls – that these boys face. For example, heterosexual boys that described their disgust and shame about having sex with men for money provided some of the most riveting, harrowing and heartbreaking accounts to come out of the mouths of the youth. And yet, they remain almost entirely invisible in the shadow cast by the stereotypical CSEC victims: pimped girls. While we might argue about the relative proportion of boys versus girls in the CSEC market, there can be little doubt that boys are far more numerous in CSEC markets than is commonly acknowledged. Policy makers and practitioners who are concerned about the growth of CSEC markets need to account for and respond to all of the youth that are swept into it, yet there is scant discussion about boys, and no services for them at all.

African American and “mixed race” youth made up nearly half of the sample, while about a quarter of the sample of youth was white or Hispanic. The majority of the youth in the sample said that they were born in New York City, but many were currently homeless, with 32% of them “living in the street,” though girls more often than boys described themselves as living in their “family home,” in a “friend’s home,” or in “another home.” These findings – that many youth are from New York City and less than half of them are homeless – lend credence to the anecdotal reports from the police and others that that have characterized an increase in CSEC markets over the last several years as being fueled local youth rather than youth imported from outside of New York City, especially from “down south.” There are no reliable statistics that can inform us about the composition of CSEC markets in the past, but it seems entirely plausible that there has been an increase in the number of local neighborhood youth that are participants in CSEC markets, and if so, it begs the question of what is going on in New York City neighborhoods to produce these outcomes.

The reason why some youth become participants in CSEC markets is complex, but the chronic lack of jobs, and hence money, for youth in many neighborhoods is an important factor. Despite the difficulties that youth in New York City have in finding employment, many youth in the sample said that they were actively “looking for a job,” and that they did not like what they were doing to earn money. Indeed, 38 youth said that they had other sources of income besides participating in CSEC markets, including panhandling, dealing drugs and a wide variety of odd jobs. Thus, the most obvious explanation about why youth entered the market, and the one that they most frequently mentioned, was economic necessity, and 95% of them said that they exchanged sex for money. Far fewer youth said that they exchanged sex for other things like shelter, drugs, or food and items such as clothing or electronic goods. These findings are similar to those reported in other research (Thukral & Ditmore, 2003; Dalla, 2000; Bagley & Young, 1987; Gragg, et al., 2007; Murphy & Venkatesh, 2006; Silbert & Pines, 1982; Weisberg, 1985;
West, 1993). Clearly, more attention to the well-being of children in poor neighborhoods of color is one prescription for reducing the number of youth that are pulled into CSEC markets.

**Entering the CSEC market**

Though girls, boys and transgender youth all appear to have entered the CSEC market at about the same age – about 15 and a half, slightly older for transgenders – there appeared to be real differences in how they entered the market. When the research team prepared for conducting this study, pimps were believed to be important, indeed, dominant actors in CSEC markets, including initiating youth into the market. In fact, we did not find that pimps were key actors for initiating many youth into the market or in controlling them once they were in the market. But many youth were averse to describing themselves as having been manipulated by a pimp, and when the researchers began calling pimps “market facilitators,” many youth seemed far more willing to discuss their relationships with them. By the end of data collection phase, the project had recruited 41 youth who were currently working for pimps or what we referred to as market facilitators when talking with the youth; 31 were girls and 10 were boys. Yet it seemed clear that youth knew pimps more than worked for them: when asked if they knew any pimps, half of those who responded to that question (n=44) said “yes” and half said “no.” But their responses about knowing other pimps varied by gender: 68% of those who said that they knew other pimps were girls, only 30% were boys. Pimps are clearly more of a problem with girls than boys or transgender youth, and the difficulty that the project had in recruiting pimped girls is perhaps reflective of the degree to which they are not (always) free to interact with others – and that is reason enough for pimps to continue to receive the high level of scrutiny that they get from law enforcement and criminal justice community.

**Friends and Peers**

Girls, boys and transgender youth all reported surprisingly high percentages of their “friends” as responsible for their entry to the markets (46%, 44%, and 68%, respectively), though some of these “friends” seemed as though they were simply acting as surrogate recruiters for pimps. Still, most friends did not appear to have or need pimps; they were already deeply involved in CSEC markets themselves, and many youth said that their friends put them directly in touch with their first customers. If the role of “friends” in initiating youth into CSEC markets is as large as the data suggest – nearly half of the time – this complicates our view of their victimization, so often seen as the outcome of adult manipulation and exploitation. It suggests that youth turn to their friends first at critical junctures in their lives – perhaps because there are so few choices available to them for help – and that our efforts to short-circuit their entry into the market may benefit from greater attempts to recognize and provide appropriate responses when these crises happen.

Many youths’ accounts of their initiation into CSEC markets were accompanied by narratives of economic desperation, but some young people did not talk about their need for money; instead, they described social contexts where sex work seemed integral to their peer networks, and these networks seemed to draw in others over time. CSEC peer groups were not only vital to youths’ entry into the market, but also to their ability to engage the market and their decision to remain in “the life.” Some of their networks were quite extensive and over one quarter of the teens claimed to know 20 or more CSEC youth, an additional 20% of the youth...
said that they knew between 10 and 20 other CSEC youth. There was a widespread ethos of among CSEC youth of helping each other out, even if they did not know each other very well, and this orientation extended into the market and beyond. Despite the competition that existed in the market, some youth said that they felt an obligation to help their peers find customers, and provide emotional and financial support. This impulse was partially an outcome of the strong bonds that some youth developed with members of their peer group, but was also likely the outcome of the isolation that was so deeply expressed by many youth and the lack of any other source of help to solve their problems. Policy makers and practitioners who seek to provide assistance to CSEC youth should be aware of the impact that peer groups have upon some youth and capitalize upon the network ties that exist among youth rather than always treating youth with secrecy and as individuals.

For many youth, it seemed, the language of prostitution had become normalized, and even though several said that they felt “peer pressure” to join in, in general, their narratives were not so much about being “pressured” to participate in CSEC markets as they were about fascination and curiosity with what appeared to be an emerging “lifestyle.” Some youth stated that the fast money their friends were making by prostituting was too good of an opportunity to pass up, so they decided to follow suit. It is difficult for the researchers to know what to make of these narratives: perhaps they were recited as a defense mechanism to avoid talking about painful memories, perhaps they truly believed these things, or perhaps they were trying to impress the researchers with shocking accounts: but whatever it was – and maybe it was all of them – there was a remarkable consistency to many of the accounts that prevented it from being simply the ravings of a quirky individual or two. There was a shared and dangerous narrative here: one that denied their victimization. The proliferation of this narrative poses a real challenge to policy makers and practitioners who are concerned about the spread of CSEC markets: to the degree that this narrative enters the mainstream – and it is a complex narrative fed from multiple sources – the stigma that surrounds CSEC activities is likely to decrease and more youth may be lured into the market.

Customers

There were few surprises with regard to the findings about customers: almost all of the youth said that they served male customers, and the majority said that they predominately served white males between 25 and 55 years of age, with a preference for older white males with a lot of money to spend. Even though a third of the youth said that they also served African American clients, a number of teens said that they would not take them as customers because they feared violence or getting ripped off by them. It would be interesting to know whether these sentiments were truly the outcome of experience or simply reflected stereotypical fears about black men; further study is needed. But regardless of who the customer was, having a steady customer (or several of them), was quite important to many youth for a source of steady cash or when they might immediately need something (e.g., money, food, clothes, or shelter). The prices that youth said that they charged their customers varied considerably and depended on several factors besides the duration and the type of sex that was requested, including the outward appearance of the customer, the cost of posting an ad online, and drug consumption needs.

But one unanticipated finding with regard to customers was that 11% of the girls and 40% of the boys said that they had served a female client (including 14 boys that said that they exclusively served female clients). The number of girls that reported women as customers was
surprisingly high, as was the number of boys reporting female clients, though the researchers suspect that the number of boys was overinflated. Boys that participated in CSEC markets almost always found that more men than women sought them out, but for those boys who were not homosexual, or who wanted to avoid what they perceived to be a stigma attached to homosexuality, admitting that one’s clientele was exclusively male was difficult. These boys, the researchers suspect, attempted to cloud their participation in CSEC markets by claiming to serve both genders as clients. But regardless of any over-reporting by boys, the presence of women in the market as customers was surprising, though more information is needed on the details of their participation (for example, whether they more often access youth through the internet or other methods that offer some degree of anonymity).

How youth found their customers often varied on how long they had been in “the life”, their access to the internet and cell phones, and the density and reach of their CSEC peer networks. About half of the youth found customers on the streets, and this method was often coupled with trolling the internet or using a cell phone network to reach clients. The places where teens said that they went with customers were extremely varied, but over half of the youth said that they went to the customers’ apartments and nearly half said that they used hotels throughout the city. Many youth said that they frequented areas throughout the city that were known pick-up spots to meet customers, but of the 139 youth who said that they worked on the streets, only 37% said that they always or sometimes worked the “tracks” (specific streets or corners known for prostitution). By working the same areas (the “tracks”) every week, youth were able to forge alliances and friendships with other exploited youth, and establish mentorships with the older, more seasoned sex workers. The youth named a number of different and specific tracks throughout the city, with the West Village the most popular, followed by Hunt’s Point in the Bronx and the Port Authority bus station in Manhattan. Nearly half of the youth said that the customer typically approached them with a proposition. About a quarter of the youth said that they approached the customer, though at well-known prostitution strolls these methods seemed interchangeable.

The use of cell phones and the internet to build and maintain networks of peers and customers appeared to be a growing phenomenon among some youth, particularly those that worked in Manhattan. Some teens said that they were active participants on a variety of internet sites, and several said that their initial entry into the CSEC market had been through the internet. Those that used the internet said that there were a variety of benefits to working online, including the reduced risk of arrest, the convenience of arranging to meet customers online, the anonymity (though customers’ internet addresses provided, in some youth’s opinions, a measure of safety), greater control over working conditions, greater ability to screen customers, and more control over negotiating prices.

The evidence seemed to suggest that this segment of the market was growing much faster than others, and many youth expressed interest in managing their participation in the market through the internet, often in partnership with others. For example, on one occasion, as the researchers approached a large group of youth waiting for the interviews to begin for the day, they overheard three boys planning to place an ad on the internet. When asked about it, they explained that each of them already had an ad on Craig’s List (where ads can be posted for free), but they wanted to place an ad on “rentboy.com” in hopes of attracting more customers, which they planned to share. But rentboy.com was a pay site, and placing an ad there cost $68, and they were trying to figure out how to pay the fee. Like these boys, the existence of a large number of youth who use the internet to meet customers is another fault line that challenges our simplistic
views about the sexual exploitation of youth: removed from the street and having a measure of independence and control over their working conditions, it becomes more difficult, indeed impossible, to cast them in the classic mold of the victim. And yet they were victims, maybe the perfect victims, who thought that they were living “the life”, when “the life” was living them. For policy makers and practitioners, these youth represent very difficult cases, but one starting point is low-threshold, drop-in services that offer a safe and nurturing environment for them, a place where they can be incrementally brought back into the mainstream. A few such places currently exist in New York City, but more are needed.

**Pimps and Market Facilitators**

While pimps were not the dominant actors in CSEC markets in New York City that the researchers had imagined to be at the outset of the study, they clearly dominated those youth who worked for them. The majority of the 41 youth who said that they currently had a pimp, said that most of them were male, but 4 youth said that they had female pimps or market facilitators. More than half of the youth with a pimp said that they met their pimp primarily “through a friend,” “on the street,” “at a group home” (for girls), and less often on the internet, at private parties, and at youth shelters. Several of the youth said that they or one other youth were the only ones working for their pimp, but 31 of the 41 said that their pimp had more than 2 other youth. Despite the somewhat low number of current and former pimps that were reported by the youth in the sample, it seems clear that pimps play major roles in some parts of the market, especially in the outer boroughs of New York City, where they are able to exert influence over specific “tracks” and use local “hot sheet motels” to conduct business.

The researchers expected that most of the youth who said that they had a pimp would not have good things to say about their experiences with him/her, and with a few exceptions, that was the case; many of the youth recounted harrowing experiences at the hands of pimps, and they reported witnessing a great deal of violence against other teens and feeling helpless to do anything about it. In many instances, pimps became violent with youth when they did not want to work, but they did not seem to need an excuse to get physical. Yet despite the violence and abuse, some youth said that they had been with their pimp for so long that they were resigned to working for him and had difficulty imagining how they could break away. One unanticipated finding that was viewed with skepticism by the researchers was that youth were not uniform in their describing pimps as violent exploiters of children. Indeed, several of them spoke somewhat fondly about their pimps or market facilitators, and portrayed them as protectors or father figures. Several teens mentioned that, although they gave all their earnings to their pimp, they felt that they had their needs taken care of and that the business was organized. Others said that they relied on their pimp to handle abusive clients. While we lack sufficient information about the nature of the relationship that these youth have with their pimps, clearly there is a strong bond between them that will require a sustained and robust effort by practitioners to break. For policy makers and practitioners, reaching these tightly-controlled youth is likely to remain problematic and perhaps the job of law enforcement, but several of their peers believed that they could be reached – and helped – by aggressive outreach efforts. Though it is unclear whether outreach can reach and engage the most despondent and tightly-controlled pimped youth, both venue-based and network-based efforts should be attempted.
Violence

Violence at the hands of customers, pimps and other prostituted youth was something that many of the youth said that they had to contend with on a daily basis, and from the accounts that some youth provided of their experiences with violence, there was good reason to protect themselves. Many said that they ran away from violent situations or gave into the abuse to avoid further damage or harm, but others chose to fight back. Of those who chose to fight, boys more often used their fists to defend themselves, while girls were more likely to carry a weapon such as a knife or blade or pepper spray. Customers tended to be the youth’s greatest threat and some teens told harrowing stories of being kidnapped and held hostage by customers. But even though customers sometimes inflicted serious physical damage on youth, many teens said that they returned to the market after a short break. In addition to the dangers of violence from customers, some youth noted that they had been attacked and robbed by other prostituted youth over issues of poaching customers and turf. And of course, pimps, as described above, were also a source of considerable violence, and this was clearly one reason why so many youth were leery of them.

As traumatic as these various incidents of violence must have been, most youth rattled off the accounts in somewhat emotionless terms, and they seemed to accept them as part of the danger of the business. It is difficult to gauge the psychological impact that these events might have had on their attitudes, orientations and behaviors, but it seems clear that most of them had little place to find solace, comfort or real help in dealing with the aftermath of them. Clearly, these youth could benefit from individual and group counseling to allow them to openly discuss and deal with their experiences with violence.

Law Enforcement Encounters

According to the youth in the sample, encounters with the police were frequent, but they rarely led to an arrest. Though youth did not report many arrests, many claimed that they were verbally harassed and unfairly given citations by the police. Still others said that they were sexually assaulted by police or forced to provide sexual services for free. When it came to arrests, nearly 40% said that had never been arrested and 21% had been arrested only once, 8% had been arrested ten or more times. Drug possession was the most common charge, followed by prostitution and theft. Aside from specific NYPD operations like Operation Spotlight, most youth did not report that the risk of arrest for prostitution was very high. But in reviewing the data, it is clear that there was a clearly gendered pattern to youths’ interactions with law enforcement. Boys reported a greater number of arrests and a high frequency of arrest than girls. As might be expected in New York City, where the quality-of-life campaign has embraced aggressive stop-and-frisk tactics as one of the premier methods to nip crime in the bud, it is hardly a surprise that boys reported significantly more encounters with the police than girls, especially for charges like “disorderly conduct, drug possession, jumping the turnstile in the subway, or trespassing.” Girls, on the other hand, surpassed boys only in two categories of arrest: “loitering for prostitution” and “prostitution,” though, somewhat surprisingly, they essentially reported the same number of arrests for the latter charge.

The high frequency of encounters with police coupled with the low number of reported arrests by the youth in the sample may reflect the ill-defined position that CSEC youth occupy vis-à-vis the police and the limited number of options that police officers have with regard to dealing with the problem. Police officers could clearly benefit from training by service providers
about the scope of the CSEC problem and the resources, albeit limited, that are available to the youth. Of course, greater coordination between law enforcement source and service providers is urgently needed to ensure that problems areas that are identified by the police are responded to quickly via aggressive outreach by service providers.

Current Services for Youth

Many CSEC youth lack social support networks, like families, to help them cope with problems. Among the youth in the sample, less than 10% said that they could go to a parent if they were in trouble, and another 17% said that they could rely on other family members or family friends to help them out. Fully 17% of the youth said that they had “no one” they could go to in times of trouble or doubt, and only 22% said that they could rely on friends for support. To fill this wide gap, New York City has over a dozen agencies that provide services to runaway and homeless youth, 21 years old and under. Among the services that are provided are included: emergency and transitional housing, counseling, food, clothing, showers, employment opportunities, educational classes, job training, legal services, medical services and life skills training.

Youth reported that they heard about these youth service agencies primarily through word of mouth and outreach, and over two-thirds reported that they had visited a youth service agency, and in most cases, had experience with more than one. In many instances, youth reported that they went to agencies to “hang out with friends” in what they considered a safe and friendly environment – though there were some notable exceptions to this – and they took advantage of a variety of services that were offered at some agencies. Many youth reported that they built enduring relationships with the staff and counselors at those organizations, though there were a few complaints from youth about the lack of attention that they received from overworked staff at some of the agencies. Most of the complaints that youth voiced about their experiences at social service agencies revolved around housing problems and the rules regarding 30-day and 90-day shelters that kept returning them to the streets. Clearly, more shelter and housing for CSEC youth is needed.

Despite the availability of services to youth in New York City, one-third of the youth in the sample said that they had not visited an agency; some said that they did not need help, others said that they did not know about the agencies or that they were too embarrassed or ashamed to seek help. Aggressive outreach efforts – perhaps through peer-directed recruitment – are needed to engage the segment of the CSEC population that is not currently receiving services.

Reflections on “the Life”

When the youth were asked if they would like to leave “the life”, 87% said, yes, but most quickly added that they were doing what they had to do to survive. Many youth talked at length about the shame, stigma, degradation and loneliness that they felt. They added that being labeled and stigmatized by their family, peers, and society overall, left them with low self-esteem and self-worth, which often resulted in an inability to leave “the life.” Beside the self-loathing that they experienced from participating in CSEC markets, one of the youths’ biggest dislikes was providing sexual services to strangers, and the risk of being raped or killed weighed most on their minds.
Despite the fear that they expressed about the violence and dangerousness of the market, there was an attitude among many youth that they would survive, and that this was simply a stage in their life. Many youth said that they wanted to get out of “the life”, but they had deep concerns about finding a job and making money, especially a job that paid as much as they were making and that could support their lifestyle. Even though the overwhelming majority of youth said that they wanted to leave “the life”, most of them did not have a plan for accomplishing it, and many had difficulty envisioning an exit route. Most youth, it seemed, blamed themselves for their predicament, but they also admitted that, with help, they might have a chance to get out, or at least, improve their lives. More than half of the teens said that stable employment was necessary for them to leave the CSEC market, followed by education and stable housing. When asked what kind of help could be useful for teens like themselves, they suggested a number of services, including greater outreach initiatives and more non-judgmental counseling.
Understanding the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

By Lisa Goldblatt Grace

Heather's Story

Heather's mother married her stepfather when Heather was 10 years old. His abuse of Heather was constant: he beat, molested, and emotionally tortured her. Several times, Heather came home from school to find a suitcase had been packed with her belongings. Her stepfather would drive her to an unknown destination and leave her on a stranger's doorstep. Heather would find her way home and everyone would pretend like nothing had happened.

At age 14, after a particularly ferocious beating, Heather's teacher filed a report with child protective services. She was placed in a foster home. Heather felt lonely in her new community. One afternoon, she accepted a ride home from school from three teen girls and two men in their early 20s. They invited Heather to go to a party where Heather got drunk and high with the girls. One man, Chris, cornered her and told her that she owed him for giving her the ride. To work it off she would have to turn tricks with the other girls. He told Heather that if she refused, he and his friends would take what they wanted anyway. He said he'd go after her family next. When she tried to leave the room, he hit her in the face. Chris drove Heather and the other girls to the track in Boston. Scared for her life, Heather turned her first trick.

The police picked up Heather on a cold night when she was standing outside in very little clothing. They contacted child protective services who placed her in a different foster home. Heather quickly found that she felt worse—more alone—in the foster home than she did on the streets with the other girls and ran at the first chance she got. She was picked up by the police again and placed in the custody of the juvenile justice system. She entered lock up in an extremely withdrawn state.

Heather's story of commercial sexual exploitation is not unique. Adolescent girls are deceived, manipulated, forced, or coerced into prostitution every day. The average age of entry into prostitution nationally is 13 to 15 years old, though nationwide direct service providers report that they are encountering younger and younger victims over the past decade (Silbert & Pines, 1981; Spangenberg, 2001; Lloyd, 2005). Most often these children are first seen as victims in the child protective services system as a result of familial abuse. They are later seen as delinquents in our juvenile justice system, criminalized for their exploitation.

To truly understand the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC), one must look at this dichotomy and understand the continuum of abuse that begins in childhood. In order to best address this unique form of victimization, it is imperative to identify the antecedents to victimization, the realities of prostitution, and pathways to stability and safety for youth. It is important to note that boys are exploited through prostitution as well. The precursors and the response, however, are somewhat different. Therefore, the author will be focusing solely on girls.

Which Young Women Are Most Vulnerable to Commercial Sexual Exploitation?

Though all young women are at risk of recruitment solely by their age, a subpopulation of adolescents is the most vulnerable. The most common characteristic of commercially sexually exploited girls is a history of childhood sexual abuse. In 20 recent studies of adult women who were exploited through prostitution, the percentage of those who had been abused ranged from 33% to 84% (Raphael, 2004). For example, findings from a study of 106 adult women in Boston who were incarcerated for prostitution-related offenses or had ever been arrested for prostitution-related offenses, 68% reported having been sexual abused before the age of 10 and almost half reporting being raped before the age of 10 (Norton-Hawk, 2002). Smaller studies

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of prostituted girls affirm these figures. For example, the Huckleberry House Project in San Francisco reported that 90% of the girls who had been exploited through prostitution had been sexually molested (Harlan, Rodgers, & Slattery, 1981). Further, the childhood trauma history experienced by most prostituted girls includes abuse that is chronic in nature and took the form of physical abuse, emotional abuse, and multiple perpetrators of sexual abuse (Farley & Kelly, 2000).

Most notably, prostituted girls are likely to be victims of incest (Silbert & Pines, 1982). One researcher is quoted as saying, “Incest is boot camp for prostitution. Incest is where you send a girl to learn how to do it. So you don’t obviously, have to send her anywhere, she’s already there and she’s got nowhere else to go. She’s trained. And the training is specific and it is important: not to have any real boundaries to her own body; to know that she’s valued only for sex; to learn about men what the offender, the sex offender, is teaching her” (Dworkin, 1997). Research has demonstrated that the younger a girl is when she first becomes exploited through prostitution, the greater the likelihood that she has a history of child sexual abuse and the greater the extent of the abuse (Council for Prostitution Alternatives, 1991).

In addition to a history of childhood abuse, commercially sexually exploited girls are likely to experience other forms of familial disruption. Multiple studies suggest that girls exploited through prostitution are likely to come from homes where addiction was present (Raphael, 2004). One study of 222 prostituted women in Chicago found 83% had grown up in a home where one or both parents were involved in substance abuse (Center for Impact Research, 2001). Further, prostituted girls are likely to have witnessed domestic violence in their home; specifically, girls are likely to have seen their mother beaten by an intimate partner (Raphael, 2004). For example, 62% of the respondents in the aforementioned Chicago study reported that they had viewed domestic violence in their childhood home; and 40% reported that these violent incidents were “serious,” involving beatings, rapes, and threats with a weapon. Over half of these women identified their mother as the victim and 91% identified the perpetrator as their father, stepfather, or their mother’s partner (Raphael & Shapiro, 2002).

Some literature has begun to recognize a correlation between school-related problems, most notably learning disabilities, and subsequent exploitation. This may be organic within the girl or a result of her trauma. Whichever way, the later the disability is diagnosed and an appropriate educational plan put in place, the greater the likelihood of the girl experiencing a sense of failure in school, making her vulnerable to exploitation (Harway & Liss, 1999).

Other factors emerge as similarities among exploited girls. Many girls experienced the loss of a parent, through death, divorce, or abandonment. In two separate studies of adolescent girls exploited through prostitution, a third of the sample had a deceased mother (Raphael & Shapiro, 2002; Norton-Hawk, 2002). Often this familial disruption results in the child’s involvement in the child welfare system, involving placement in foster care or group homes. One study in Canada of 47 women in prostitution found that 64% had been involved in the child welfare system, and of these 77.8% wound up in foster care or group homes (Nixon, Tutty, Downe, Gorkoff, & Ursel, 2002).

The themes of trauma, abandonment, and disruption are central to the narratives of adolescent girls in the commercial sex industry. Girls describe having had a profound sense of being alone without resources: “They [the women and girls] described their isolation, lack of connectedness, and feelings of separation as the single most important factor in making them vulnerable to prostitution to begin with...” (Rabinovitch, 2003). With childhoods such as these, girls are likely to run from their homes, group homes, foster homes, and treatment centers, placing them at the greatest risk of being targeted by a pimp and becoming exploited.

Research consistently confirms the correlation between running away and becoming involved in prostitution. Researchers have found that the majority of prostituted women had been runaways: 96% in San Francisco (Silbert & Pines, 1982), 72% in Boston (Norton-Hawk, 2002), and 56% in Chicago (Raphael & Shapiro, 2002). Among prostituted youth (both boys and girls), up to 77% report having run away at least once (Seng, 1989). Experts anecdotally state that within 48 hours of running away an adolescent will be approached to participate in prostitution or another form of commercial sexual exploitation (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children [NCMEC], 2008).

As described, there is a documented link between early victimization in the home and subsequent victimization by pimps, johns, and other predators. A National Institute of Justice report states that children who were sexually abused are 28 times more likely to be arrested for prostitution at some point in their lives than children who were not sexually abused (as reported in Spanenberg, 2001). Yet we continue to call these same children delinquents when they are arrested for prostitution.

**Buying and Selling: The Role of Perpetrators**

Understanding the dynamics of pimps and recruitment is crucial for understanding how girls are targeted for prostitution and what keeps them trapped. Ninety percent of prostituted women interviewed by Women Hurt in Systems of Prostitution Engaged in Revolt (WHISPER) had pimps while in prostitution (Gioombe, 1993). As of mid-year 2008, there were approximately 90 pimps in the Boston area that had been identified by Boston police (K. O’Connell, personal communication, 2008).

Girls who have survived childhood trauma may demonstrate an overwhelming sense of shame, a profoundly low sense of self-worth, and an eagerness to find love and acceptance. Further, they have already been taught lessons about keeping secrets and seeing their bodies as a commodity. Pimps who target and trap teen girls prey on
these vulnerabilities, actively seeking girls in crisis who lack a stable support network (Flowers, 2001; Spangenberg, 2001; NCMEC, 2002; Raphael, 2004). Pimps actively seek girls in the child protective services system, trolling around group homes or residential treatment centers looking for girls walking to school or the bus stop. Pimps will also spend time in bus stations and train stations seeking girls on the run, knowing these girls do not know where they will spend the night. Further, with the popularity of social networking websites, pimps have taken their tactics online, looking for girls with seductive pictures or who otherwise appear vulnerable.

Pimps may use a variety of tactics to recruit young women including force and coercion. He may pretend to be a photographer who wants to build her modeling career, or a music executive interested in casting her in a music video. The most common tactic, however, that pimps use is seduction (Flowers, 2001; Spangenberg, 2001; NCMEC, 2002; Raphael, 2004; Lloyd, 2005). Pimps traditionally will spend time grooming a young woman, slowly isolating her and increasing her dependence on him for both material things and emotional sustenance. Within a year, he will begin the process of “turning her out.” This process, and the violence, degradation, and brainwashing that follows, renders adolescent girls similar to battered women; the girl is both terrified of her perpetrator and willing to lay down her life, and her body, for his needs (Flowers, 2001; Spangenberg, 2001; NCMEC, 2002; Raphael, 2004; Lloyd, 2005). Further, approximately 20% of youth—both girls and boys—are trafficked nationally by organized criminal networks, crossing the United States through well-estab-

The Impact of Commercial Sexual Exploitation: Body, Mind, and Soul

Violence is a day-to-day reality in the lives of prostituted women and girls (Nixon et al., 2002). Girls are beaten or raped by pimps, Johns, and, at times, law enforcement, per reports by the girls themselves or adult women reporting retrospectively (Norton-Hawk, 2002; Nixon et al., 2002; Raphael, 2004). One study of 800 women found that 85% had experienced rapes, 95% assaults, and 77% kidnapping by pimps (Council for Prostitution Alternatives, 1991). Another study found that almost 20% of the women interviewed had been assaulted, sexually assaulted, or propositioned by law enforcement (Nixon et al., 2002). One research study stated, “They are the most raped class of women in the history of our planet” (Hunter & Reed, 1990). Most of this violence goes unreported due to fear of retaliation or that law enforcement may arrest them or return them to their abusive homes (Flowers, 2001). In addition to violence, reproductive health issues including exposure to STDs such as HIV are an omnipresent hazard (Farley & Kelly, 2000).

Girls quickly learn to use substances to numb themselves in order to survive the daily trauma of “the Life.” One large study of homeless youth exploited through prostitution found that more than 75% of these youth abuse alcohol or drugs, while virtually all admit to some level of use. These rates were notably higher than homeless youth not exploited through prostitution (Yates, Mackenzie, Pennbridge, & Swofford, 1991). It is important to note that a significant percentage of girls enter prostitution with no drug or alcohol abuse history (Farley & Kelly, 2000). Some studies suggest that girls who become exploited through prostitution, however, are likely to have begun using substances at an earlier age than their at-risk peers who do not become exploited in this way (Inciardi, Pottier, Forney, Chitwood, & McBride, 1991; Nadon, Koverola, &Schudemann, 1998).

Adolescent girls suffer severe emotional and physical consequences as a result of being prostituted. Survivors of commercial sexual exploitation demonstrate a high rate of dissociative disorders, self-destructive behaviors (including cutting), suicide attempts, and clinical depression (Globle, 1993; Farley & Kelly, 2000; Nixon et al., 2002; Lloyd, 2005). One study found that almost 50% of women in the sample had attempted suicide and approximately 20% engaged in self-mutilation (i.e., cutting) (Parriott, 1994). One prostituted woman stated, “When I’m in pain, I like to hurt myself because the pain goes away” (Nixon et al., 2002).

As a result of the chronic trauma, prostituted girls often develop symptoms congruent with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). One international study of prostituted people in five countries found that almost three-fourths met the diagnostic criteria for PTSD (Farley, Baral, Kiremire, & Szegi, 1998). The powerlessness felt by girls in “the Life” is reinforced by social isolation, captivity, verbal abuse, threats, intimidation, sexual assaults, and physical abuse—all of which are common practice for pimps (Silbert & Pines, 1981; Dworkin, 1997).

Some adolescent girls may display the symptoms of the Stockholm Syndrome, otherwise most frequently seen among prisoners of war (Graham & Wish, 1994). Here, as a means of emotional and physical survival, the captive (the girl) identifies with her captor (the pimp). She expresses extreme gratefulness over the smallest acts of kindness or mercy (i.e., he does not beat her today), denial over the

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS

The Juvenile Justice Policy Network Listserv (JJPOLNET) is a valuable tool for all Juvenile Justice stakeholders who are interested in or participate in advocacy efforts on behalf of youth and adolescents involved with the Juvenile Justice System. With JJPOLNET it is easy keep up with the latest Juvenile Justice news, information, and policy developments, as well as the events, publications, and work being done by the CWLA Juvenile Justice Division. To sign up for JJPOLNET, the CWLA Juvenile Justice Listserv, e-mail scoconadora@cwla.org.
extent of violence and injury, rooting for her pimp, hypervigilence regarding his needs, and the perception that anyone trying to persecute him or help her escape is the enemy. She may lash out at service providers or anyone else attempting to help her exit, and insist that she is fine and happy in her current situation.

Further, the manifestations of her trauma may make her reticent to trust anyone outside the Life who states they are trying to help her (Raphael, 2004; Friedman, 2005). Her self-esteem is so brutalized, she does not believe that she could ever warrant being cared for, respected in her community, or valued in her personal relationships (Farley et al., 1998). Like soldiers returning from a war zone, these girls are damaged mind, body, and soul by their experiences. And yet, they must return to that war zone every night.

The Role of Child Welfare and Juvenile Justice in Responding to Victims of Commercial Sexual Exploitation

Given the level of trauma experienced by victims of prostitution, and their potential criminalization in our juvenile justice system, we must think proactively about how to best support girls so that they may escape the destructive path of exploitation. First and foremost, we as providers must challenge our assumptions and patterns of behavior around this crime. Who is the criminal in prostitution? If a 15-year-old girl has sex with her 17-year-old boyfriend, we name that statutory rape in municipalities across the country. We determine that she is too young to consent. If that same 15-year-old girl has sex with a 40-year-old man, however, and money is exchanged, in most municipalities we call this her “choice” and charge her with a crime. We must push our community law enforcement to recognize this and go after the real criminals—the pimps and johns who exploit adolescent girls. For example, in Suffolk County, Massachusetts (the county that includes Boston), the District Attorney stated in 2004 that he did not want to see prostituted juveniles in his courts anymore—he wanted police and prosecutors to focus on bringing the perpetrators to justice. This has resulted in an enormous shift in thinking and a sharp decrease in juveniles arrested for prostitution-related offenses.

Identification

It is a key that any effort to respond to the needs of commercially sexually exploited girls begin by increasing providers’ ability to identify victims. This can prove to be problematic for a variety of reasons. The stigma associated with prostitution increases the difficulty in identifying victims. Adolescents are less likely to disclose their involvement in prostitution to providers due to their own sense of shame and fear of the provider’s response (U.S. Department of Justice, 2002; Raphael, 2004; Lloyd, 2005). Further, the power of the pimp’s seduction and manipulation, as well as the manifestations of the Stockholm Syndrome, render these victims less likely to call themselves victims and more likely to protect their perpetrator at all costs (Raphael, 2004; Lloyd, 2005). It is also important to note that frequently pimps will assign girls a new identity, including a new name, social security number, and birth certificate. This increases the difficulty of identifying and tracking these victims (McInnes, 1998; Raphael, 2004; Lloyd, 2005).

The primary way to identify a victim is through their disclosure. In order to increase the likelihood of disclosure, all providers—whether they are in child protective services system, the juvenile justice system, community-based agencies, health care settings, schools, etc.—should include inquiry around exploitation as part of their regular forms of assessment. Providers simply need to include the question, “Have you ever had to exchange sex for money, food, or shelter?” Though most victims will not readily disclose their experiences, asking the question communicates to victims that the provider is someone who could handle the information without judgment. Most victims believe that adults would be unable to deal with the intensity of the trauma and therefore do not want to know. In addition, pimps tell their girls that adults will be repulsed by “what they’ve done.” It is important for providers to communicate their willingness to listen and help, simply beginning with asking the appropriate question.

In lieu of a disclosure, providers should be in tune to common red flags that indicate a young woman may be exploited. These may be noted in changes in appearance (expensive, new, or sexually suggestive clothing; tattoos/branding), sleep habits (sleeps during the day, stay awakes at night), loss of interest in age-appropriate activities, and truancy from school. Also, an exploited youth may distance herself from caregivers, friends, and family—but increase her time spent with new (often older) friends. Though any one indicator is not enough to identify a victim, it is the confluence of many factors that is most telling.

Direct Intervention

Once an exploited youth is identified, she will need an immediate, supportive response from providers. Specifically, it is paramount that providers are nonjudgmental, willing to listen to a young woman as she discloses her experiences. It is important that agencies have a protocol for handling disclosures and that all staff are trained in both understanding victims and responding appropriately.*

Multidisciplinary Collaboration

The process of supporting commercially sexually exploited girls must involve a multidisciplinary response. A youth’s recovery from prostitution is multifaceted and complicated, and as such must include more than one service provider (McInness, 1998). Effective programs engage multidisciplinary allies in order to develop efficacious partnerships on behalf of these victims (NCMEC, 2002; A. Adams, personal communication, March 2006; N. Hotaling, personal communication, June 2006; K. Seitz, personal communication, October 2006).

In addition to basic needs such as stable housing and food, a victim will likely have a complex array of other see Commercial, page 13
and plans, and for providing guidance, support and oversight to states/territories in implementing the JJDPAct.

OJJDP, the agency charged with responsibility for juvenile justice at the U.S. Department of Justice, is statutorily tasked with carrying out its purposes through research, policy, and grants to states and localities to assist in planning, establishing, operating, coordinating, and evaluating projects for the development of more effective education, training, research, prevention, diversion, treatment, and rehabilitation in the areas of juvenile delinquency prevention and systems improvements.

The JJDPAct was first enacted in 1994 and was long overdue for major overhaul. The legislation passed by the Senate Judiciary Committee will make many significant improvements and needs to be passed into law and fully implemented. Our children, youth, and communities deserve no less.

Sources for this article include the Campaign for Youth Justice (cyj.org) and the Coalition for Juvenile Justice (cj.org).

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CJJR Certificate Program Website Posting

The Center for Juvenile Justice Reform at Georgetown University's Public Policy Institute is launching its 2019 Certificate Programs designed to advance cross-systems work to improve outcomes for youth involved in the juvenile justice and child welfare systems through the generous support of Casey Family Programs and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, participants will be able to benefit from expert guidance and professional resources to support their work across the juvenile justice and related systems of care. Individuals and jurisdictions will also receive financial support to help subsidize the travel, lodging, and tuition for the Certificate Program.

Public agency leaders and senior level management at the state, local, and tribal levels within the juvenile justice, child welfare, and related systems of care who are interested in and committed to cross-systems efforts are encouraged to apply. In particular, directors and senior staff from juvenile probation and corrections, child welfare, education, substance abuse and mental health agencies; juvenile, family, and tribal court judges; prosecutors or public defenders; as well as political leaders, senior staff and representatives from governor's offices, state legislatures, tribes, county commissions, and city councils, would benefit from this program.

Certificate Program for Individuals

June 12, 2019 - June 18, 2019
Washington, D.C.
Application Due: March 2, 2019

Certificate Program for Teams/Breakthrough Series Collaborative

July 24, 2019 - July 29, 2019
Washington, D.C.
Application Due: March 23, 2019

For more information and to apply, please visit http://cjr.georgetown.edu and click on Certificate Programs.
goal of increasing awareness of, identification of, and service provision to commercially sexually exploited adolescents, project partners developed Multidisciplinary Team Guidelines launched in October 2006. These guidelines ensure that within 48 hours of any agency identifying a girl or boy being exploited through prostitution, representatives from all relevant agencies (including law enforcement, child protective services, medical providers, district attorneys, etc.) convene to work in collaboration with the victim to develop an immediate service plan aimed at ensuring her safety and planning for her recovery. It is important to note that though the model is predicated on a victim’s choice about exit and planning, the team will convene to exchange information and provide support, whether the victim is ready to receive these services or not. If the victim is not yet ready to receive services, the collaboration ensures that she does not fall through the cracks of the system (SEFN, 2008).

**Principles of Successful Programming for CSEC Victims**

Ideally, once identified and offered services, prostituted girls may begin the process of recovery. It is imperative that services for this population are tailored and specific, though they may be developed within existing programs and systems. Adolescent females in the process of exiting the commercial sex industry need a service provision that emphasizes four main treatment themes: safety, trauma recovery, relationship development/consistency, and survivors involved in service development and provision.

**Prevention**

Literature focused on treatment of victims of commercial sexual exploitation consistently points to the importance of prevention education (NCMEC, 2002; Priebe & Suhr, 2005; GEMS, 2006). Best practices related to the prevention of sexual exploitation of girls through prostitution are an area of research that is undocumented to date. The Paul & Lisa Program, Fair Fund, and GEMS use a well-constructed training program for youth in public schools as well as group homes and juvenile justice facilities. Nationwide, few agencies are engaging in primary prevention that has a demonstrated effectiveness, and those engaged in secondary and tertiary prevention lack an evidence-based curriculum to utilize in order to meet their goals.

An example of a project aimed at offering primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention to a population of particularly vulnerable girls (including those in group care settings) is the *My Life: My Choice* Project in Massachusetts. Co-written by a clinician and a survivor, the group work component of the *My Life: My Choice* Project utilizes a 10-session curriculum presented in weekly 1 1/4-hour modules. The sessions include material on dispelling myths and stereotypes about commercial sexual exploitation, awareness of recruitment tactics by pimps, information on sexual health, resource lists, strategies for exit, and an overarching emphasis on improving self-esteem. In addition, the participants hear throughout the 10 weeks both written and live testimony by women who have been in the Life. The sessions include engaging interactive activities (e.g., games, role-plays), art, music, reading, and journaling. Evaluations of the *My Life: My Choice* group work component have shown a positive impact on the young women involved.

**Victims or Perpetrators?**

While prostitution is considered a criminal activity in the United States, the young women who find themselves manipulated, beaten, and raped into submitting to multiple tricks each night of the week are not criminals. On any given day, you will find these victims in our lock up facilities, our group homes, our foster homes, or lost in our communities. Until we recognize this degrading form of victimization for what it is, and pledge to provide better care and better understanding, girls like Heather will be alone in our systems of care. Until we reach out and name the prostitution of children as victimization, this trauma will not end.

**References**


Lisa Goldblatt Grace has been working with vulnerable young people in a variety of capacities for almost 20 years. Her professional experience includes running a long-term shelter for homeless teen parents, developing a diversion program for violent youth offenders, and working in outpatient mental health, health promotion, and residential treatment settings. Ms. Goldblatt Grace has served as the Program Director to The Home for Little Wanderers on the "My Life, My Choice Project" since its inception in 2002. She facilitates exploitation prevention groups with girls throughout the Boston area, and trains providers, law enforcement, and community members throughout Massachusetts and nationally on recognizing the signs of exploitation and helping girls exit. Ms. Goldblatt Grace is a Licensed Independent Clinical Social Worker and holds masters degrees in both social work and public health.

* To learn more about identifying youth who are at-risk for commercialized sexual exploitation—or if you would like additional information about training for prevention, direct intervention, and successful programming—please visit www.thehome.org or contact the author at lgoldblattgrace@thehome.org.
Recruitment Case Study 1

Bethany: 12 yr old Caucasian female

Bethany’s mother, Fran, was only 15 when she gave birth to her. Bethany’s father was an older man from her mother’s neighborhood who had sexually abused her since she was 11 years old. Fran believed that they had a ‘real’ relationship and was devastated when she got pregnant and he completely rejected her. Fran slowly realized that she had been abused, and often took out her hurt and frustration on Bethany, the product of her abuse, by yelling at her and occasionally beating her with a belt. When Bethany was seven, her mother began a relationship with a man who introduced Fran to heroin; within a few months Fran was completely hooked.

Fran often exchanged sex for drugs or money with neighbors and friends. After a few months, this became her primary source of income. As her addiction increased, Fran found that the money wasn’t supporting her habit. She began to rationalize that Bethany wasn’t much younger than she was when she started having sex with a neighbor, and minimized the abuse that had actually happened to her. Fran began to sell Bethany when she was nine years old, primarily in their house, and occasionally in the street. She found that men were willing to pay more for Bethany than for her.

Bethany initially was scared, but soon discovered that her mother was pleased with her when she made money. Bethany didn’t like what was happening to her, but still wanted to make her mother happy. She felt like if she could make enough money, her mother would eventually get better and they could be a proper family.

When Bethany was 11 years old, she told the school nurse that using the bathroom was hurting her. Bethany was diagnosed with two STD’s and the doctors noted extensive genital trauma. Bethany was removed from her mother’s home, and placed in a group home. Staff told her that she was ‘loose’ and ‘fast’ and that she ‘thought she was grown’ Other girls in the group home called her a ‘ho’ and made fun of her constantly. Bethany started staying out at night to avoid coming home to the name-calling and harassment. One night, hanging out in the street, she saw an older man that she recognized as one of her ‘johns’. He offered her a place to stay and Bethany gratefully accepted. Within a few weeks of moving in with the man, Bethany was making pornographic videos which the man sold on the internet. The man was happy when her videos sold online and would give her small amounts of money. Bethany often visited her mother, and gave her any money that she’d earned to try to help her.
Recruitment Case Study 2

Yesenia: 16-year-old Latina female

Yesenia's mother and father split up when she was three years old. Yesenia grew up in Springfield with her mother and grandmother, and her father moved to Boston. Her father visited her occasionally and they spoke every few months on the phone. Although Yesenia had a close relationship with her mother when she was young, as she entered adolescence, it seemed like all they did was argue. Boys, clothes, phone calls, money, they argued about everything and Yesenia grew more and more resentful of her mother's 'controlling ways'. Yesenia began to fantasize about living with her father, who was far more lenient. One night in an argument, Yesenia called her mother names and her mother slapped her in the face. Yesenia decided that she hated her mother and that she would go live with her father. Her father agreed that she could come and stay for a while and let things calm down. Yesenia's mother felt that she should find out for herself that living with her father wouldn't be that much better.

Yesenia took the bus to Boston and arrived late in the evening. Her father had given her directions to his house but the T was confusing. Since she knew he lived near a big park, she just guessed and got off. Yesenia walked around for a few minutes before she realized that she was lost. She stopped at a store to ask directions and a young man approached her. He was handsome and very helpful. He asked for her phone number and offered her a ride. Yesenia was flattered that he was interested in her and grateful for the ride. He told her he needed to make a few quick calls to borrow his friend's car and so he took her to McDonalds and bought her food while he went outside to use the phone. Within ten minutes a van pulled up and he introduced the driver as his cousin who would drive them. Yesenia felt that something funny was happening and as she hesitated, she was grabbed her by neck and forced into the van. Yesenia was petrified and didn't understand what was happening. The men told her that if she tried to leave or call for help, they would kill her. The driver moved a rag off the console to show her a gun. Her 'friend' went through her bag and found her ID. He read her mother's address aloud several times and put the ID in his pocket. The man told her that now he knew where her family lived, and that he would kill them all if she escaped. Yesenia sat crying in the car as they drove on.

They arrived at a house and the men grabbed her by the arms and dragged her into the basement. In the basement was a pole with torn pieces of duct tape on it. The men opened a closet and showed her an array of weapons including numchucks, several swords and knives, more guns, and other scary looking
weapons she didn’t know the names of. They told her that this is what they used on other girls who disobeyed them or tried to run away. One man brought another girl from upstairs and they made Yesenia watch as they taped the girl to the pole and took turns beating her with various weapons. That night, they took turns raping Yesenia and told her that tomorrow she would have to earn her keep. Yesenia decided that she would do whatever she was told, just so that she could stay alive and protect her mother and grandmother too. The following night, Yesenia worked her first night on the track.

Recruitment Case Study 3

Quiiana: 13 year old African-American female

Quiiana was five years old when her father walked out. Sometimes she would see him in the street but he would walk the other way pretending not to see her. Quiiana’s mother met a new man whom she married when Quiiana was 8 years old and they had two more children. Quiiana often made to feel like she was in the way of the new family. Her stepfather rarely paid attention to Quiiana, and when he did, it was normally to yell at her for something he felt like she’d done to her younger siblings. Quiiana looked a lot like her real father and heard her mother complain about it a lot. Quiiana started to believe that she was unattractive, and worked hard to make the boys at school like her, although they teased her a lot and sometimes made her cry.

Quiiana’s mother and stepfather both worked late, and her brother and sister were in after-school programs, so during the afternoon she hung out with friends in downtown crossing. Walking up Washington Street back to the T one evening, a cute guy in his 20’s drove up in an Escalade and asked if she’d stop to talk to him. Quiiana played shy, but was secretly thrilled that a grown man would be interested in her. His name was Tre and told her that she was beautiful and asked if he could give her a ride home. Quiiana told him that she was nervous to get into his car, but Tre showed her his ID and told her she could write his license plate down if she wanted to. Tre asked her if he looked like the type of guy that needed to force a girl into doing something. Quiiana felt silly for being so mistrustful of such a nice, handsome guy and after talking on the street for a while, agreed to get in the car. Tre was a real gentleman and didn’t even try to touch her, when he dropped her home, he kissed her hand and called her ‘sexy’. They arranged to meet again the next day, and Quiiana walked in the house that night floating on cloud nine.

For two weeks, Quiiana met Tre every day after school. Sometimes he would take her to fancy restaurants like Uno Chicago Grill or Applebees or sometimes
they would just drive around and talk. Tre called her his little princess, and told
her he wanted them to be together forever. Quiana lost her virginity with Tre and
believed that he would be her husband once she turned 16. Quiana started
missing her curfew at home, and eventually stopped coming home at all. Tre had
a nice apartment and she didn’t have to deal with her mother, step-father and
half-siblings. She was so grateful to Tre for helping her get out of the situation
and felt that the meals he bought her and the jeans and sneakers he’d given her
proved how much he loved her. One night, Tre told her that there was something
she could do to prove her love for him too. Quiana readily agreed; there was
nothing that she wouldn’t do for him. Tre asked her to go to a club with him and
dance. He told her that she’d be just like the girls in her favorite music videos and
that everyone would see how sexy she was. Tre bought her some heels and a
bikini and showed her how to move around in a sexy way. He gave her a few
shots of Hennessey to drink so that she would relax and took her to a club.
Quiana felt light-headed from the alcohol and the attention from all the guys, but
the best thing was watching how happy Tre was when she got dollars from the
men. She still felt a bit shy taking off her clothes, but it was worth it for Tre to be
proud of her and it would help them build a future together. After a few weeks of
dancing, Tre told her that there was one more thing that could make him love her
even more. That night, he introduced her to the VIP room.

Recruitment Case Study 4

Kiara: 16 year old African-American female

Both of Kiara’s parents were had jobs in pharmaceutical sales, and were gone
from home a lot either traveling or working late hours. Kiara had two younger
sisters and her mother made her pick them up from school and babysit them until
someone came home from work. Being at home so much was boring and meant
that she couldn’t hang out with her friends after school, but all of Kiara’s friends
were on Myspace so she hung out with them online. Kiara’s page had pictures of
herself with her friends hanging out at the movies or at school. In her favorite
she was wearing her cutest jeans, striking a pose she copied from Fergie;
looking back over her shoulder with her best ‘sexy’ look. Kyria’s friends told her
she looked like Rihanna but sometimes Kiara worried that she was too fat. She
hated her thighs and wished she could be smaller and sexier like the girls on TV.
When Kiara first began to go on Myspace, she only visited her friend’s pages but some of her friends liked to add boys they didn’t know to their friends list, and after a while Kiara joined in. Kiara would get lots of ‘friends requests’, some of the guys were old and creepy and some of them were cute and would write nice messages telling her how pretty she was. One of the new guys on her list was called Eric and was 23 years old. Eric said he worked in the music industry and said she had ‘star potential’. Kiara was really excited, she did want to be famous and have a big singing career. Eric lived in the city and told her how much fun she’d have if she ever came to visit. He told her that he would take her to nice restaurants and even a nightclub. Eric told her that age was “just a number” and that he thought she seemed really mature. Kiara liked the fact he took her seriously and was genuinely interested in her life and in helping her start singing. Eric told her that he had set her up with an audition with a real producer and invited her to come into the city.

Kiara decided to take a big chance and bribed her best friend to watch her sisters for the day. She wore her prettiest outfit and fixed her hair and caught the bus into the city. Eric picked her up from the bus station in a nice car and drove her to a recording studio. There were a group of guys there and people were drinking and smoking but everyone was really nice to her. She recorded her first track over a Beyonce song, but it seemed like no one was really listening. Eric told her that she needed some real photos taken to show people what a star she was, and brought out some sexy outfits for her to model in. At first Kiara was a bit shy. Eric offered her some weed which she had never tried before, but knew lots of kids at school were trying. Posing in front of the camera and hanging out with older guys felt like a dream, like she was the star in her own movie. Everyone was paying attention to her, and telling her how beautiful she was. Before she realized it, she’d missed the last bus back.

Eric told her she could stay the night. The next morning she was too nervous to go back home because she knew her parents would go crazy, so she stayed two nights. Being with Eric and his friends was so cool. She knew she should go back home but didn’t want to go back just be grounded so she figured she’d stay and try and make her music career happen so that her parents would be less mad. After a week, Eric told her that a famous producer wanted to meet her and that she should be really nice to him. He took her to a hotel room and the man asked her to model for him and sing a little bit. The man told he was going to get her a record deal but that she had to let him touch her first. After he raped her, another man came in the room and did the same, then five more raped her too. She kept wondering where Eric was, but finally he came in smiling and holding money and said he knew all along that she’d be a star.
Previous research indicates that women who were sexually abused as children are more likely to become involved in prostitution and to experience criminal victimization. A sample of 40 adolescent runaways and a sample of 95 homeless women were studied to test direct and indirect models of the impact of early sexual abuse on prostitution and victimization. The results suggest that early sexual abuse increases the probability of involvement in prostitution irrespective of any influence exerted through factors such as running away from home, substance abuse, and other deviant activities. In contrast, the findings indicate that early sexual abuse only indirectly affects the chances of victimization by increasing the likelihood of a life-style based on participation in risky activities and events.

Sexual Abuse as a Precursor to Prostitution and Victimization Among Adolescent and Adult Homeless Women*

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Over the years a number of studies have reported that female prostitutes have a higher incidence of early sexual abuse than do women in general (Fields, 1981; Harlan, Rogers, & Slatterly, 1981; James, 1976; James & Meyerding, 1977; Silbert & Pines, 1981). Based on this finding, numerous authors have speculated that one of the consequences of childhood sexual victimization is an increased probability of involvement in prostitution (James & Meyerding, 1977; Weiner, 1964; Weisberg, 1985). Although there is strong evidence suggesting that sexual abuse is often a precursor to prostitution, past research has devoted little attention to the causal processes that link these two phenomena. Some have argued that early sexual abuse fosters attitudes about oneself and the act of sex that facilitate the selling of sexual favors (James & Meyerding, 1977; Miller, 1986). Another possibility, however, is that early sexual abuse, like other forms of destructive parenting, sets in motion various processes that increase the

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probability of a wide variety of deviant acts, including prostitution. The present study uses a sample of adolescent runaways and a sample of adult homeless women to test these direct and indirect models of the impact of early sexual abuse on prostitution.

In addition, the study addresses the issue of victimization as a consequence of childhood sexual abuse. Studies indicate that women who experience early sexual abuse are at risk for sexual and physical attack during adolescence and adulthood (Browne & Finkelhor, 1986; Finkelhor & Browne, 1988; Wyatt & Powell, 1988). One explanation for this relationship is that women who have been the victim of early sexual abuse develop a self-concept, interpersonal style, or personality that makes them easy prey for aggressive, exploitative males (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988). On the other hand, it may be that sexual abuse increases the likelihood that a woman will become involved in a lifestyle (e.g., substance use, criminal behavior) that increases her risk of victimization. Thus explanations for the relationship between early sexual abuse and subsequent criminal victimization also involve direct and indirect effect models. The adolescent and adult homeless samples are employed to test these models as well.

**SEXUAL ABUSE AND PROSTITUTION**

Clearly, there is no simple cause-effect relationship between sexual abuse and prostitution. Although estimates vary depending on the definition of abuse employed, research indicates that between 10% to 50% of females have been sexually abused at least once by age 18 (Russell, 1988; Wyatt & Peters, 1986; Wyatt & Powell, 1988). Given the small percentage of women who become involved in prostitution, it is obvious that the vast majority of sexually abused women do not become prostitutes. Studies indicate that prostitution tends to be concentrated among women who are members of the underclass and who are familiar with street culture (Miller, 1986; Weisberg, 1985). Given this fact, there are two ways that sexual abuse might facilitate involvement in prostitution.

First, sexual abuse may affect the probability of prostitution indirectly by increasing the probability of participation in a deviant street culture and illegal activities. Studies show that, compared to youngsters who experienced effective parenting, youth subjected to physical and/or sexual abuse display more social skill deficits, are more apt to be rejected by conventional peers and form ties with a deviant peer group, and participate
more frequently and in more serious forms of delinquent behavior (Gray, 1988; Howes, 1988; McCord, 1979; Patterson, 1982, 1986; Simons, Conger, Whitbeck, & Conger, in press; Simons & Robertson, 1989). Also, several studies report that one of the primary reasons that adolescents leave home is to escape parental abuse, with boys most often running from physical abuse and girls from sexual abuse (McCormack, Janus, & Burgess, 1986; Simons & Whitbeck, in press; Whitbeck & Simons, 1990). And, once on the street, runaways tend to become involved in a social network composed of other runaways and street people who engage in deviant, often illegal, acts of various sorts to support themselves.

This literature suggests that child sexual abuse, as well as other forms of abusive and ineffective parenting, contribute indirectly to involvement in prostitution by increasing a young woman’s ties to deviant peers and familiarity with the culture of the streets. This way of life is likely, in turn, to facilitate experimentation with various sorts of deviant behavior, including prostitution. This causal model is consistent with both social control (Hirschi, 1969; Elliot, Huizinga, & Ageton, 1985) and social learning (Conger, 1976; Patterson, 1986; Simons, Conger, & Whitbeck, 1988) explanations of deviant behavior. Note, however, that this account of the relationship between early sexual abuse and prostitution does not assume that the sexual component of the two phenomena are in any way related. Rather, it is assumed that child sexual abuse, like other forms of destructive parenting, sets in motion various processes that increase the probability of a wide variety of deviant acts, including prostitution.

Although few students of deviant behavior would deny that early sexual abuse indirectly increases the probability of prostitution through the processes described above, this is not the type of effect that researchers have in mind when they contend that there is an association between the two events. These individuals are concerned with the way in which the specific experience of child sexual abuse fosters attitudes about oneself and the act of sex that facilitate the selling of sexual favors. In other words, these social scientists posit a direct effect between early sexual abuse and prostitution in addition to any indirect effects that may be operating.

Miller (1986), for example, in her excellent study of women hustlers on the streets of Milwaukee, hypothesized that

the experience of emotional distancing during sexual contact that incest victims often describe is too like the psychological state described by prostitutes when they are servicing a trick for one not to be a sort of rehearsal for the other. In those cases, sexual exploitation on the street seems but an extension of sexual exploitation in the family. (p. 115)
James and Meyerding (1977) made a somewhat different argument, emphasizing the impact of early sexual abuse on the young woman's self-concept. They suggest that in addition to isolating the victim's emotions from sexuality, child sexual abuse serves to reinforce perceptions of herself both as a sexual object and as sexually debased. These changes in self-concept, in conjunction with other life circumstances, are seen as fostering participation in prostitution.

The present study examines the extent to which early sexual abuse is associated with prostitution once the indirect effects described above are taken into account. Specifically, analysis focuses on the magnitude of the association between child sexual abuse and involvement in prostitution after controlling for constructs such as parental physical abuse and current levels of substance use and participation in criminal activity besides prostitution. Physical abuse is included to assess whether it is child sexual abuse or the more general construct destructive parenting that is important in the etiology of prostitution. The latter two constructs—substance use and criminal activity—are included in an effort to determine the extent to which the impact of child sexual abuse is mediated by a woman's level of participation in deviant street culture.

**VICTIMIZATION**

In recent years a number of researchers have reported that women who have been sexually abused as children are at increased risk for rape and other forms of physical victimization as adults (Briere & Runtz, 1988; de Young, 1982; Fromuth, 1983; Herman, 1981; Miller et al., 1978; Russell, 1984, 1988). One explanation for this phenomena is that women who experience early sexual abuse develop a self-concept or interpersonal style that somehow invites victimization (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988). An alternative explanation is provided by life-style/exposure theory (Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978), which posits that the life-style that a class of people displays largely determines their probability of suffering criminal attack. Whether freely chosen or structurally induced, the daily routine of activities characteristic of certain groups exposes them and their possessions to greater threat and danger than do the life-styles associated with other groups.

Applying life-style/exposure theory to victims of sexual abuse, it may be that the experience of abuse increases the probability of involvement in activities and interactions associated with high risk for physical assault.
As noted in the previous section, both child sexual and physical abuse have been linked to involvement with deviant peers and participation in delinquent/criminal behavior. Thus the association between early sexual abuse and victimization again later in life may simply be a function of the fact that sexual abuse increases the likelihood that a young woman will participate in a dangerous life-style. And, it is this participation in risky activities and interaction with aggressive characters, and not any residual psychological effect of child sexual abuse, that increases her risk of being victimized. To the extent that this is true, controlling for involvement in deviant/criminal activities should reduce or eliminate the relationship between early sexual abuse and later victimization.

**DESIGN AND PROCEDURES**

**SAMPLE AND METHODS**

Given the low base-rate of prostitution, an extremely large number of individuals would be required if a representative sample were used to test the various models. An alternative is to employ a sample of women at relatively high risk for prostitution. Toward this end, the study used a sample of 40 adolescent runaways and a sample of 95 homeless women. These samples represented two groups for whom prostitution is a viable alternative. Given their economic plight and social location with regard to deviant street networks, prostitution is one of the few readily available strategies that these women have for supporting themselves.

Both the runaway and adult samples were drawn in Des Moines, Iowa, a metropolitan area of approximately 300,000 persons. In recent years the state of Iowa has experienced severe economic hardship as a result of the midwest agriculture crisis. There is much to suggest that what began as an economic crisis has evolved into a chronic condition (Lasley & Conger, 1986). Although only 10% of the residents are farmers, much of the industry in the state is agriculturally related. As a result, there have been a number of factory closings, and the percentage of persons living below the poverty level has increased substantially (Lasley & Conger, 1986). One consequence of this economic downturn has been a significant increase in the number of homeless in rural population centers such as Des Moines (Simons, Whitbeck, & Bales, 1989). Estimates are that the city may contain as many as 2,000 homeless persons (Des Moines Coalition for the Homeless, 1987).
An adolescent sample was obtained with the help of two agencies specializing in services to runaway youth. The first organization tends to serve adolescents who have been gone from home for a relatively short period of time, with intervention focusing on the child’s return to his or her home. A counselor interviewed all clients in the program during a 4-month period. The second organization is concerned with chronic runaways, helping them to locate housing and employment. A street worker, with the help of a graduate student, attempted to interview all of the adolescents who had contact with the program during a 1-year period. The majority of the respondents were obtained through this second program.

Interviewers were given training in the administration of the instrument and in techniques for establishing rapport with respondents. The interview schedule was composed largely of closed-ended questions and took about 10 to 15 minutes to complete. Respondents were paid $2 for their participation. The response rate was approximately 80%. Interviews were conducted with 40 young women ranging from 14 to 18 years of age: 68% (27) were 16 or 17 years old; 31 (78%) were White, 5 (13%) were Black, 1 was Hispanic, and 2 were Native American; 24 (60%) indicated that they were from the Des Moines area.

A substantial proportion of the youth sample consisted of chronic runaways. Twenty-four of the young women (60%) had left home 3 or more times, and 13 (one third) had done so more than 10 times. Seventeen (43%) had been away from home for over 50 days. Over half (22) of the young women reported that they had been “barred from home,” indicating that they had been thrown out of their home or asked to leave.

A sample of homeless women was obtained by having two trained interviewers (both female) visit and attempt to interview all of the residents of the major shelters and missions in the area. Care was taken to ensure that no individual was interviewed more than once. In an effort to increase the sample size, women who had resided in the local YWCA for less than 3 months were also included. About one third of the women interviewed were living in this facility. In addition, an effort was made to identify women living on the streets, under bridges, or in abandoned cars and buildings. The interviewers were able to locate only two women who were living under such circumstances.

The interview schedule consisted of both open- and closed-ended questions and took about 20 to 25 minutes to administer. Previous research indicates that reliable self-report data can be obtained from homeless persons (Bahr & Houts, 1971; Robertson, Ropers, & Boyer, 1985).
Respondents were paid $2 for their participation. If an individual was quite intoxicated, arrangements were made to interview the person at a later time. Over 90% of the individuals approached agreed to be interviewed. Interviews were conducted with 95 women.

Analysis showed that in many ways this sample of adult homeless women displayed the characteristics reported in studies that have been completed in more urban states (Hoch, 1987). About three quarters of the respondents were White (72) with most of the remaining individuals being either Black (14) or Native American (7); average age was late twenties; 45% (39) had received mental health treatment; and approximately 30% had a substance abuse problem. Of the women, 62 (65%) were mothers and a quarter had at least one child living with them. Fifty-four percent (51) had grown up in Iowa; 50% (47) had been homeless for less than 6 months, and 18% (17) had been so for over 5 years. Over two thirds (64) reported that they had lived in only one state during the previous year.

Of the homeless adults, 42% (40) reported that they had run away from home during their youth. Of those who indicated that they left home during this period, 52% (22) said that they lived on their own for 6 months or longer. Indeed, 38% (16) of those who reported running away stated that they had lived on their own for over 1.5 years prior to age 19. Thus a significant proportion of the homeless women were chronic runaways during their youth.

Given the sensitive nature of many of the questions asked, it is undoubtedly true that some of the respondents were too embarrassed or guarded to provide honest answers. The interviewers for both the runaway and adult samples received training in techniques for increasing rapport and openness (e.g., universalization, sanctioning in advance, reminders of confidentiality), but many of the respondents must have found it quite difficult to talk about issues of sexual abuse and prostitution with a stranger. Hence the frequencies presented below should be considered an underestimation of the extent of these phenomena among the women in the samples. However, this measurement error should serve to reduce, rather than enhance, relationships between study constructs.

MEASURES

The runaway study and the study of adult homeless were initiated as two independent projects. Hence, whereas in some cases the same or similar measures were employed with both samples, in other instances the measures used for a particular construct were quite different.
Early sexual abuse. An index of sexual abuse was formed for the runaways by summing responses to three questions. The first two questions asked whether a parent, foster parent, or an adult relative had ever made a verbal request for sexual activity, or had touched or attempted to make sexual contact. The response categories for these two questions ranged from 1 (never) to 4 (three or more times). The third question was embedded in a set of items pertaining to the respondent's reason for leaving home. The youth were asked to rate the importance (1 = not at all important; 4 = very important) of each of 14 factors in their decision to leave home. One of these factors was sexual abuse. Alpha for this three-item sexual abuse scale was .83.

Two questions were employed to measure sexual abuse for the adult sample. Respondents were asked whether prior to the age of 18 a parent, foster parent, or adult relative had ever made a verbal request for sexual activity or had forced them to engage in sexual activities against their will. The correlation between the two items was .83. Responses to the items were summed to obtain a sexual abuse score.

Parental physical abuse. The physical abuse measure for the runaways consisted of items adapted from the Straus and Gelles (Gelles & Cornell, 1985) measures of family violence. Respondents were asked to report how often each of seven types of violence had been directed toward them by a parent or foster parent. The items included being pushed, shoved, slapped, beat, hit with an object, or assaulted with a weapon. The response categories ranged from 1 (never) to 4 (more than three times). Coefficient alpha for the scale was .91.

The same scale was employed as a measure of physical abuse for the adult sample. Coefficient alpha for the adult women was .84.

Prostitution. A single question was employed to measure involvement in prostitution for both samples. Respondents were asked: "To support yourself since you have been on the streets have you ever sold sexual favors?" Response categories ranged from 1 (never) to 4 (11 or more times).

Involvement in criminal activity. Both samples responded to a five-item index that focused on the extent to which various illegal activities had been employed as a source of supporting oneself. The items asked about selling drugs, shoplifting, burglary, and robbery. The response
categories were 1 = never, 2 = 2 to 5 times, 3 = 6 to 10 times, and 4 = 11 or more times. Cronbach’s alpha for the youth was .61; .68 for the adults.

Substance abuse. Substance abuse for the youth sample was measured by standardizing and then adding respondents’ scores on two instruments. The first, a frequency of substance use scale, involved summing reported frequency of use (0 = never; 5 = almost daily) during the past 6 months over seven separate substances. Previous research attests to the validity and reliability of such scales (Elliott et al., 1985). The second instrument consisted of nine items, and asked respondents to indicate the extent to which they had experienced (1 = never; 5 = six or more) various negative consequences as a result of substance use. The consequences cited reflected those listed in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM-III) of the American Psychiatric Association as criteria for making the diagnosis of substance abuse. These included experiencing blackouts, missing work or school, getting in a fight, being arrested for disorderly conduct, and the like. Thus the substance abuse instrument employed with the youth focused on two dimensions of problematic use, frequency of use and the experience of dysfunctional effects. Both of the subscales showed strong internal reliability. Cronbach’s alpha was .88 for the frequency of use subscale and .85 for the dysfunctional consequences subscale.

Three subscales were combined to measure substance abuse among the adults. The first two subscales consisted of the frequency and consequences instruments employed with the youth. Cronbach’s alpha was .67 for the frequency subscale and .79 for the consequences subscale. In addition, the adults were asked whether they had ever received treatment for a drug or alcohol problem. The scores for this question were standardized and added to the standardized scores for the frequency and consequences indexes.

Victimization. The same measure of criminal victimization was used with both samples. The instrument consisted of five items that probed how often respondents had been criminally assaulted during the last year. The items asked how many times they had been beaten up, robbed, sexually assaulted, threatened with a weapon, or assaulted with a weapon. Response categories ranged from 1 (never) to 4 (more than 3 times). The scale achieved an alpha of .74 for the youth and .79 for the adults.

Adolescent runaway. The adults were asked whether they had run away from home prior to age 18. Respondents who answered yes were asked
the following question: "Counting all of the times you ran away from home, how much time would you say you spent living on your own?" Response categories could range from 1 (less than 1 week) to 6 (over 1.5 years).

RESULTS

Analysis showed that various measures of family socioeconomic background (e.g., economic strain, parents' education, father's occupation) were not related to child physical or sexual abuse, victimization, or prostitution. This lack of association is probably an artifact of the limited range of the socioeconomic variables. Both the runaway and adult samples tended to come from educationally and financially deprived families. In the interest of parsimony, socioeconomic variables are omitted from the results to be presented. It should be noted, however, that there is no evidence to support the contention that some of the findings reported below may be spurious due to the association of pairs of variables with socioeconomic factors.

Table 1 presents the percentage of respondents in each of the samples who responded affirmatively to the questions involving prostitution, early sexual abuse, and victimization. Eighteen percent (7) of the runaways and 11% (10) of the homeless women had engaged in prostitution. The sexual abuse questions are highly intercorrelated so respondents answering affirmatively to one of the items tend to be the same individuals responding as such to the other abuse items. Over 40% of the runaways and about a quarter of the homeless adults report being sexually abused by a parent or adult relative. Indeed, over a third of the runaways gave this as the reason for leaving home. Several of the respondents had been victimized since becoming homeless. Thirty-nine percent (15) of the runaways and 23% (22) of the adults reported having been beaten; 43% (15) of the runaways and 15% (14) of the adults had been raped.

The Pearson correlations between the study variables are presented in Table 2. Considering the runaways first, prostitution shows a .33 correlation with sexual abuse. However, sexual abuse is also related to criminal behavior that is correlated with prostitution. This suggests that the effect of sexual abuse on prostitution may be indirect through involvement in criminal activities. Further, there is a correlation between physical abuse and criminal activity, consistent with the contention that it is destructive
Table 1

Number and Percentage of Runaways and Homeless Women Who Report Ever Engaging in Prostitution or Having Experienced Sexual Abuse or Victimization (N = 40 runaways and 95 adult homeless)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Runaways</th>
<th>Adult Homeless</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual abuse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Request sex</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touched</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced sex</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason left</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victimization</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raped</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbed</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaten</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threat weapon</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault weapon</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

parenting in general, rather than sexual abuse in particular, that leads to increased participation in deviant behavior and drifting into prostitution.

The pattern of correlations is somewhat different for the homeless adults. Sexual abuse is related to prostitution, heavy substance use, and time spent on the streets as a runaway, but not to criminal behavior. Physical abuse is related to criminal behavior and time spent on the streets as a runaway. Both criminal behavior and heavy substance use are related to time spent on the streets as a runaway.

The next step was to employ multivariate analysis with both samples to determine whether sexual abuse continued to be associated with prostitution after the effects of the other variables were taken into account. As noted above, 18% of the runaways had engaged in prostitution, and all but two of these young women fell into the lowest category with regard to frequency. A smaller proportion, only 11%, of the adult homeless had participated in prostitution, and all but one of these women fell into the most frequent category. Thus, for both runaways and homeless adults, prostitution was essentially a dichotomous variable and was recoded as such. Given that for both samples the newly coded variable was quite
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prostitution</th>
<th>Sexual Abuse</th>
<th>Physical Abuse</th>
<th>Criminal Behavior</th>
<th>Substance Problem</th>
<th>Victimization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution</td>
<td>-.26*</td>
<td>-.33*</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>-.31*</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.55*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual abuse</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>.42*</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>-.29*</td>
<td>.27*</td>
<td>.35*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical abuse</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.29*</td>
<td>-.21*</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal behavior</td>
<td>.19*</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.29*</td>
<td>.28*</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.65*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance problem</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.19*</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.28*</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.43*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victimization</td>
<td>.29*</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runaway</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.24*</td>
<td>.35*</td>
<td>.18*</td>
<td>.18*</td>
<td>-.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p ≤ .05.
TABLE 3
Logistic Regression With
Prostitution Regressed on Types of Early Abuse
and Involvement in Deviant Behavior – Runaway Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Regression Coefficient</th>
<th>Natural Antilog</th>
<th>Probability of z</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sexual abuse</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical abuse</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.95</td>
<td>.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal behavior</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance problem</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

unevenly distributed, multiple regression analysis was inappropriate. Rather, logistic regression was used (Agresti, 1984; Agresti & Finlay, 1986).

Table 3 provides the results of logistic regression for the runaways. The first column presents the logistic regression coefficient, the second column the natural antilog of the regression coefficient, and the probability of z (as determined by dividing the regression coefficient by its standard error) is listed in the final column. Unlike regression based on ordinary least squares, the regression coefficients obtained through logistic regression cannot be interpreted simply as the amount of change produced in the dependent variable by a unit change in the explanatory variable because the impact of the explanatory variable varies across values. A logistic regression coefficient is more interpretable when expressed in terms of its natural antilog (Agresti & Finlay, 1986). This statistic indicates how much the odds of moving from category one to category two on the dependent variable rises with each unit increase in the explanatory variable.

As is evident in the third column of Table 3, sexual abuse has a significant impact on the probability that a runaway will become involved with prostitution. The table indicates that with each unit increase on the sexual abuse scale there is a 1.23 increase in the odds of engaging in prostitution. None of the other explanatory variables are significantly related to prostitution. These findings are consistent with a direct effect model of the impact of sexual abuse on prostitution.

In addition to the physical abuse scale and the two measures of involvement in deviant behavior—the criminal activity index and the substance abuse scale—the logistic regression for the adults included amount of time spent homeless as a youth. It seems reasonable that sexual abuse might influence the probability of prostitution indirectly through this variable, namely, young women often run away in response to sexual
TABLE 4
Logistic Regression With
Prostitution Regressed on Types of Early Abuse and
Involvement in Deviant Behavior — Homeless Women Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regression Coefficient</th>
<th>Natural Antilog</th>
<th>Probability of z</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sexual abuse</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical abuse</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal behavior</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance problem</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adolescent runaway</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>.82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

abuse, and the longer they live on the street the greater their need to employ rather desperate survival strategies such as prostitution. Table 4 presents the results of logistic regression for the adults. The findings are very similar to those for the runaways. The only variable to show a significant association with prostitution is sexual abuse. Each unit increase in the sexual abuse scale is associated with a rise of 1.30 in the odds of involvement in prostitution. The results for the adults, like those for the runaways, support a direct effect model of the impact of sexual abuse on prostitution.

Turning to the issue of victimization, Table 2 shows a .35 correlation between early sexual abuse and subsequent victimization for the runaways. There is no significant zero-order association between these variables, however, for the adult women. Thus, if sexual abuse increases the probability of victimization for the adults, the relationship between the two is being suppressed by one or more other variables. Victimization was measured through the use of an ordinal-level scale, and therefore multiple regression rather than logistic regression was employed to perform the multivariate analyses.

Table 5 reports results of the multiple regression analysis for the runaways. Two variables show a significant association with victimization: prostitution and criminal behavior. The standardized regression coefficients for these variables are .38 and .43, respectively. Sexual abuse is no longer related to victimization once the effects of prostitution and criminal behavior are taken into account.

Results of the regression analysis for the adults are presented in Table 6. The table shows a statistically significant standardized regression coefficient of .32 between prostitution and victimization. None of the other variables, including sexual abuse, are significantly associated with vic-
TABLE 5
Multiple Regression With
Victimization Regressed on Early Sexual Abuse
and Involvement in Deviant Behavior – Runaway Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Standardized Regressed Coefficient</th>
<th>Probability of t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sexual abuse</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal behavior</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance abuse</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 6
Multiple Regression With
Victimization Regressed on Early Sexual Abuse and
Involvement in Deviant Behavior – Homeless Women Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Standardized Regressed Coefficient</th>
<th>Probability of t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sexual abuse</td>
<td>−.13</td>
<td>.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal behavior</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adolescent runaway</td>
<td>−.05</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance problem</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

timization. Thus the results for both the runaways and the adults are consistent with an indirect effects explanation of the impact of sexual abuse on victimization.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study tested direct and indirect effects models of relationships between early sexual abuse and prostitution and victimization. First, considering prostitution as an outcome, the results indicate that child sexual abuse increases the probability of involvement in prostitution irrespective of any influence exerted through other variables. There was evidence that early sexual abuse indirectly increases the chances of prostitution by elevating the risk of running away, substance abuse, and other forms of delinquent/criminal behavior. In this respect, the consequences of child sexual abuse are similar to those of other inadequate and destructive forms
of parenting. Early sexual abuse continued to be associated with prostitution, however, even after controlling for these factors.

Although the findings support the contention that early sexual abuse increased the probability that women with ties to street culture will employ prostitution as a means of self-support, the results do not provide an explanation for this relationship. As noted above, Miller (1986) suggested that repeated child sexual abuse provides training in the use of "emotional distancing" during sex, a psychological ploy that must be employed by the prostitute while servicing her trick. James and Meyerding (1977) posited that early sexual abuse fosters prostitution by isolating a woman's feelings from sexuality and by reinforcing perceptions of herself as a sexual object and as sexually debased. Unfortunately, the variables included in the present study do not allow one to test the adequacy of these different hypotheses.

Recently, Finkelhor (Finkelhor, 1988; Finkelhor & Browne, 1988) argued that early sexual abuse creates trauma by distorting a child's self-concept, worldview, and affective capacities. He suggested that these distortions can be divided into four areas: (a) traumatic sexualization, (b) stigmatization, (c) betrayal, and (d) powerlessness. Further insight into the relationship between child sexual abuse and prostitution requires that researchers investigate the manner in which specific attitudes and beliefs associated with each of these domains facilitates involvement in prostitution.

Turning to victimization, several studies indicate that women who experience early sexual abuse are at risk for future sexual and physical attack (Browne & Finkelhor, 1986; Finkelhor & Browne, 1988; Wyatt & Powell, 1988). Results from the present study indicate that this association is mediated by aspects of the individual's life-style. Specifically, child sexual abuse increases the probability of involvement in prostitution and other forms of deviance, and these behavior patterns expose one to hazardous individuals and events. Thus the association between early sexual abuse and victimization again later in life appears to be a function of the fact that sexual abuse increases the likelihood that a young woman will become involved in a dangerous life-style. And, it is this involvement in risky activities and interaction with aggressive characters that increases her risk of being victimized.

This finding for the underclass women who were the focus of the present study suggests the utility of employing a life style/exposure perspective (Hindelang et al., 1978) in studying other populations of sexually abused women. Several studies have found that victims of early
sexual abuse are more apt to experience rape (de Young, 1982; Fromuth, 1983; Herman, 1981; Russell, 1984) and wife abuse (Briere & Runtz, 1988; Russell, 1984). There is a need for research that investigates the manner in which sexual abuse leads to perceptions and behaviors that expose one to risky situations and events. Too often, sexually abused women are viewed simply as helpless, dependent women whose interpersonal style somehow invites attack. Little attention has been given to the specific ways in which early sexual abuse contributes to hazardous life circumstances.

REFERENCES

Keeping Girls Off the Street

The My Life My Choice Project targets girls at risk of sexual exploitation.

By Emily Shenk

At 13, "Cara" ran away from her group home in Boston with a friend, unaware of what dangers the streets might bring. She had been in multiple foster homes growing up, and in an effort to belong and fit in with her peers, she ran away.

- Consequences of Living
  - "the Life"

- Predators and Recruitment
  - Tactics

- Know the Signs

[Cara's name has been changed to protect her identity.]

Cara ended up in "the Life"--a term used to describe life in prostitution--after meeting a pimp. She worked in the Boston area for two years until an undercover police officer caught her and referred her to the Department of Social Services (DSS). She landed back in group care at a residential facility and today, at 18, is preparing to live on her own.

Cara might have run again if not for the My Life My Choice Project, a prostitution prevention program based in Boston for girls at risk for sexual exploitation. My Life My Choice educates youth providers about how to address the sexual exploitation of adolescent girls in care and works with the girls themselves to build their knowledge and skills to prevent exploitation.

Nationally, the average age of entry into prostitution is 13-16 years, and 300,000 of the estimated 1.2 million prostitutes in the United States are children. Lacking connections to family, desperate for love and attention, and struggling financially, young girls involved with the child welfare system are particularly vulnerable to the Life, which may appear glamorous at first glance.

Unless their group home has a prevention program like My Life My Choice, girls are usually
unaware they are being drawn into prostitution.

"Pimps stand outside and wait for girls to come smoke a cigarette or walk to the store," says Rachel Lloyd, Founder and Executive Director of Girls Educational and Mentoring Services (GEMS), the only nonprofit in New York State that works specifically with victims of commercial sexual exploitation and domestic trafficking. "Sexual abuse has taught [these girls] their bodies are exchangeable, or they'll get rewarded if they have sex with somebody. Pimps are very good at creating the fantasy of this whole other life. And when you're dealing with the child welfare system...that can be so tempting."

Lloyd can attest first-hand to the ease with which young girls, particularly those in the child welfare system, are targeted by pimps. After running away from home and her alcoholic mother, she became involved in the Life in Europe and narrowly escaped when her pimp tried to kill her. "Eighty to 90% of the kids we see [at GEMS] have been physically or sexually abused," Lloyd says. "That means that there's a high likelihood that if you're in a group home, there's been some level of neglect, abandonment, abuse, substance abuse, death, trauma--you name it."

**Realities of "the Life"**

Latasha Cannon was another girl in care who was drawn into the Life, but with fatal consequences. In 2001, the 17-year-old was murdered in Massachusetts while reportedly involved in prostitution. Latasha had been living in a DSS-funded group home at the time. Her death spurred questions about the vulnerability of girls in residential group care facilities to be lured into sexual exploitation. DSS developed My Life My Choice after Latasha's death to examine and prevent sexual exploitation in the state.

My Life My Choice initially began with a $60,000 grant awarded from DSS to the Home for Little Wanderers, a private, nonprofit child and family service agency in Boston, to address the issue of sexual exploitation. The Home for Little Wanderers conducted a comprehensive literature review to create a national profile of girls at risk. The picture that developed was one very much in line with the typical profile of a girl in group care--a girl with low self-esteem, typically with a history of sexual or physical abuse, whose experiences lead her to believe there isn't a better life out there. The review also found that girls were getting involved in the Life at disturbingly young ages.

My Life My Choice Program Director Lisa Goldblatt Grace sees this problem happening nationwide. "I was recently in San Diego and heard providers talking about the same kinds of tactics that pimps use there," she says. "Pimps seek out the most vulnerable girls, and being in group care often means that things have been difficult for these young women throughout their lives. Pimps sense that and target group home residents."

The result of the Home for Little Wanderers' review was a 10-session curriculum designed to educate vulnerable girls about the Life. The first group session was held in 2003 at Germaine Lawrence, New England's largest provider of residential treatment for adolescent girls with severe behavioral and emotional problems. To date, about 200 girls have participated in My Life My Choice groups in a variety of settings across the country, including group homes,
residential treatment facilities, DSS offices, juvenile corrections facilities, and public schools. More than 1,500 providers have been trained to understand sexually exploited youth, including child protective services, law enforcement, health care providers, and staff within the programs where the group has been offered. Both the Massachusetts DSS and the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, fund the project.

My Life My Choice sessions provide information about the realities of the Life, the recruitment methods used by pimps, sexual health, substance abuse, media literacy, and how to find additional resources to avoid or leave prostitution. The program's overarching goal is to increase girls' self-esteem by showing them they are valued and accepted.

Two women lead each session, one a licensed social worker and the other a survivor of the Life. A major strength of the program is the live testimony from people formerly involved in the Life, including survivors of prostitution and pimps.

Hearing directly from survivors of the Life greatly affected Cara, who participated in a group at Germaine Lawrence upon her clinician's suggestion. Initially she felt uncomfortable talking about her experiences, but hearing other women tell their stories gave her hope. "It made me wonder, maybe I could do that--talk about it and keep my head high," she says. "I felt more comfortable to say my part and didn't feel ashamed."

"The girls need women who have been through what they have been through to feel like they are not alone," says Audrey Morrissey, Assistant Program Director of My Life My Choice and a survivor of the Life. Morrissey first got involved with My Life My Choice when she was asked to speak about her experiences at an early training. Since then, she has become increasingly involved in the program and a role model for many girls.

Lloyd points out that having a mentor can be an important part of staying out of the Life. "Lots of studies prove that having a consistent, supportive adult in your life can really make a difference," she says, "particularly if that adult can talk to you in a nonjudgmental way about the streets and pimps and what you're facing."

Cara formed a close relationship with Morrissey, and after completing the My Life My Choice program, decided to help run the group. "I call her, I e-mail her, sometimes I go over to her house," Cara says of Morrissey. "It makes me want to move on and do better things for myself."

Victims, Not Criminals

Germaine Lawrence staff were initially nervous about handling discussions about sexual exploitation by participating in the My Life My Choice project. But as they learned more about the Life and the vulnerability of the girls in their care, they quickly came on board. "We've provided increased education to staff, which has allowed them to be more active and supportive with girls," says Beth Everts, Director of Clinical Services at Germaine Lawrence.

Through the program, staff now know the warning signs a pimp may be targeting a girl, and they ask many more questions about girls' boyfriends. A staff member, for example, might ask if a
boyfriend is showering her with gifts, or what he does for a living. They also watch for signs that
girls have entered the Life, such as having a street name, having multiple pagers or cell phones
that ring at all hours, changing appearance, or losing interest in age-appropriate activities.

"By learning about the dynamics of the Life and the psychological and physical impact of
exploitation, staff are better able to respond to the girls in their care and understand their
experiences," Goldblatt Grace explains.

During staff training, My Life My Choice stresses that girls are victims, not criminals. "We
see girls who've already been sexually exploited going into group homes or foster care,
then somebody finds out, and they are completely stigmatized, not only by their peers but by
staff as well," Lloyd says. "This is really challenging, because it makes girls want to go back to
the person who wasn't stigmatizing them. [Their pimp] may have been beating them, but he
wasn't making fun of them." Staff need to let girls in their care know they are there to help if the
girls find themselves being drawn into prostitution, Lloyd says.

"If kids know they're just going to be shamed or humiliated, of course [they won't talk]," Lloyd
says. "Pimps do a great job of building trust and loyalty, of taking 110% of their attention and
putting it on that girl. In social services, we don't equal that. His whole time and attention
revolves around her and we're overwhelmed with our caseloads and don't have time to sit
down with the girl even when she's crying out for help. Then we wonder why she feels a stronger
connection to him than to us."

Encouraging results are emerging from the My Life My Choice project. "Since we've started the
group, more girls have felt comfortable enough to...disclose their experiences," Everts says.

Through questionnaires, participants have illustrated a significant increase in their understanding
of sexual exploitation, Goldblatt Grace says. In one group she facilitated, for example, a
participant realized her boyfriend was actually grooming her for prostitution. Staff contacted
Boston police, and it turned out the young man was a well-known pimp. The girl was transferred
to a safer location, and police increased surveillance on the pimp.

"The vast majority of girls who get exploited through prostitution had no idea what they were
getting into," Goldblatt Grace says. "They have a right to understand there are pimps out there
seeking them out. Whether this happens through My Life My Choice or some other way, as
providers we have a responsibility to these vulnerable girls."

Making the Right Choice

Cara recommends agencies implement My Life My Choice, if they don't already have a similar
program, to give girls the resources to determine and get excited about their own futures. She
feels strongly that My Life My Choice could have prevented her from getting involved in the
Life had the program been available at the group home from which she ran. She says when she
met her pimp, "I could've known better, saying, 'I've heard about people like you.'"

She doesn't struggle with going back to the Life at this point. "That's something I no longer
want," she says. "And I have someone like Audrey to always remind me what I really want for my future."

Since attending her high school prom and graduating last spring, Cara plans to enroll in college to study nursing. "I know now that I have more choices. I don't have people judging me for what I've done in the past. I have my life together, and it feels good. "My Life My Choice offers half-day and full-day trainings for youth service providers nationwide. For information about training sessions or obtaining copies of the My Life My Choice curriculum, contact Lisa Goldblatt Grace at 617/699-4998 or lgoldblattgrace@thehome.org.
Power, Sex, and Violence: A Psychological Reconstruction of the 20th Century and an Intellectual Agenda for Political Psychology

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Power, sex, and violence are three themes that characterize a good deal of 20th-century experience. Connections among these themes can be demonstrated through archival and field studies and by laboratory experiments, in the core disciplines of political psychology as well as in literature and art. Understanding and explaining this power-sex-violence fusion is an urgent theoretical and practical imperative. Two tasks are especially critical: understanding the nature of power-striving and how it might be tempered, and understanding how and why people construct “differences” among themselves. With its broad interdisciplinary tradition, its variety of traditional and innovative methods, and its links to the real world of human affairs, political psychology is well placed to assume this intellectual agenda.

KEY WORDS: power, sex, gender, violence, group differences.

On 1 January 2000, the efforts of computer programmers worldwide to correct old software that used only the final two digits to indicate the year proved quite successful. Only a few computer systems responded as if the date were 1 January 1900. But what difference would it have made if they were right, if it really had been 1900 again? Archival research reveals headlines from one hundred years ago:

The “Great Powers” were worried about the consequences of vigorous Serbian nationalism for increased ethnic strife (and the possibility of wider war) in the Balkans.

The Prince of Wales was a publicly admitted adulterer.
Efforts were underway in the Hague to deal with unnecessary cruelty (especially toward civilians) during wartime.

A recent Democratic president of the United States had been involved in a sex scandal.

A Havana newspaper declared that “the world will shortly begin to regard American intervention [in Cuba] as a failure.”

A sexually transmitted disease, for which no cure was yet known, threatened Western civilization—including some of the “best and brightest” young people in the arts.

An American general gave assurance that with 50,000 more American troops, he could win a land war in Asia “before the next rainy season.”

And in the Netherlands, a woman was head of state.

Looking back, it seems that the beginning of the century, like its end, was dominated by themes of power, sex, and violence.

Power. Power is the control, by one person, group, or nation, of the behavior and conditions of life of another. Our century has developed power to an unprecedented extent: power over the elemental forces of nature, power over information, power over people—and power of some groups over others. We have seen power exercised by force, compulsion, influence, propaganda, charisma, and bureaucracy. Power has been embodied in empires, gangs, and global corporations. A recent pictorial book about the political history of the 20th century is titled, simply, Power (Nicholls, 1990).

Violence. The 20th century turned out to be not so much the “American Century” (as Henry Luce claimed in a 1941 magazine essay) but rather the violent century. We have had world wars, colonial wars, civil wars, ethnopolitical wars, guerrilla wars, wars of national liberation, police actions, ethnic cleansing, low-intensity conflicts, total wars, and small-scale teenage “wars” fought in the corridors and playgrounds of American public schools. In this century, perhaps 100 million people have died from high explosives, machine guns, land mines, torpedoes, poison gas, gas chambers, saturation fire-bombing, biochemical agents, napalm, people dropped into the sea from helicopters, and nuclear weapons. The 20th-century techniques of mass production work not only for automobiles and food, it seems, but also for death.

Sex. Finally, we come to sex. First, sex in the sense of gender. Why do we notice that the Dutch people have been ruled by women for the past 119 years? Simply because it is unusual. It is an “exception” for women to exercise political power, even the very limited power of a constitutional monarch in the Netherlands. The pictorial history of the 20th century referred to above (Nicholls, 1990) ends with biographical sketches of 139 important 20th-century figures; four of them are
women. Sex in the sense of gender, then, is a major dimension of stratification of almost everything: power, health, wealth, well-being, life expectancy, literacy.

Now about sex in the “other” sense. Our century has seen the transformation of sex from an object of repression to a commodity. In late 1899, Freud (1900/1953) was putting finishing touches on his magnum opus, The Interpretation of Dreams, in which he wrote that “only sexual wishful impulses . . . which have undergone repression . . . are able to furnish the motive force for the formation of psychoneurotic symptoms of every kind” (pp. 605–606). The world was shocked. (One American critic was to label Freud’s theories “decadent German pansexualism”; see Hale, 1971, p. 272.) Today, however, anyone can read or see pictures of explicit sexual activity with half a dozen clicks of a computer mouse.

Thus power, sex, and violence are three major themes of the century that is now past. Because humans tend to assume that whatever occurs together must be connected, it is natural to ask whether there are deeper connections among power, sex, and violence. Can each of these words be used as metaphors for the others?

I suggest that power, sex, and violence are deeply linked, that they form parts of a single complex—a complex that characterizes our century and may, in the next century, threaten our very existence as an organized species if we do not come to understand it. For this reason, I go on to suggest that elucidating and deconstructing the power-sex-violence complex is an urgent intellectual task for political psychology.

**Linking Power to Violence**

There is a good deal of evidence linking power concerns and violence, at both the individual and collective levels. Starting at the most basic level, people scoring high in power motivation (i.e., people who use verbal images involving one person having impact on the behavior and emotions of others and the world at large; see Winter, 1973, 1992) have more active and volatile sympathetic nervous systems (McClelland, 1984). That is, they are more easily aroused to “fight, flight, or fright.” They may become charismatic leaders (House, Spangler, & Woycke, 1991; McClelland & Burnham, 1976), but if they lack internal controls or a sense of responsibility, they engage in more “profligate,” high-risk impulsive behaviors (drinking, drug use, exploitative sex) and get into more verbal and physical fights (Winter, 1973, 1988, 1992). They are exploitative negotiators (Schnackers & Kleinbeck, 1975).

The link between power and violence can also be seen at the collective level. Numerous studies suggest that when a concern for power is more frequent in documents such as speeches or diplomatic communications, the likelihood of war

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1 Most of the psychophysiological research reported by McClelland was only done with male participants. On the other hand, the review of the literature by Winter (1988) shows few if any gender differences in power motivation (see also Winter & Barenbaum, 1985), which suggests that the psychophysiological results should also hold for women.
also increases (see McClelland, 1975; Winter, 1980, 1993). Figure 1 (adapted from Winter, 1993) illustrates this effect in the speeches of British sovereigns to Parliament over 385 years, from 1603 to 1988. During the 2 years before Great Britain entered a war, power motive imagery in these speeches increased to a level that was significantly higher than the peacetime base rate. Conversely, British wars ended only after power motivation in the sovereign’s speech had declined. And in both archival and laboratory studies, Langner (1999) has shown that power motivation is inversely related to the propensity for compromise.

An intensive study of documents from nine pairs of matched crises (Winter, 1997), one of which escalated to war and the other of which was peacefully resolved, showed the same power-violence link. Overall, the “war” crisis documents were significantly higher in power motive imagery than the “peace” crisis documents. Figure 2 shows the result of an analysis of documents in one famous crisis—the 1962 Cuban missile crisis—where war was avoided (from Winter, 1998). Successive drafts of U.S. President Kennedy’s nationwide television speech (22 October 1962) and letters to Soviet Premier Khrushchev show, after an early peak, a dramatic decline in levels of power imagery. (Kennedy’s 6 November letter to Khrushchev, with slightly higher power motivation, was written during a period of hard bargaining, after the agreement to resolve the crisis on 28 October.)
Concerns with power lead men to profligate sexuality—for example, having sexual intercourse at an earlier age (Winter, 1973, pp. 176–178) and with more partners (Table I). Such men seem drawn to the mythic figure of Don Juan, who seduced and abandoned women (“in Spain, already a thousand and three,” according to the libretto for Mozart’s opera Don Giovanni). Like Don Juan, moreover, these men seem to pursue sex not for its own sake, but rather as a way of demonstrating their power by exploiting, humiliating, and debasing women. For example, power-motivated men prefer dependent wives (Winter, 1973, pp. 177–178), who do not have independent careers (Winter, Stewart, & McClelland, 1977).

Not surprisingly, such men are likely to turn violent with their intimate partners. Table I summarizes evidence from several different studies. First, consider power as a motive. Mason and Blankenship (1987) studied a sample of 150 college students involved in an intimate (heterosexual) relationship. Men scoring high in power motivation reported inflicting significantly more physical abuse on their partners within the last year.2 Along these same lines, Dutton and Strachan (1987) studied 75 married men and found a highly significant correlation ($r = .69$,

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2 For women, inflicting abuse on an intimate partner—which undoubtedly means something quite different than it does for men—was correlated with a pattern of high affiliation motivation and low control, and having experienced high stress and physical abuse.
Table I. Summary of Findings Linking Power Concerns to (Violent) Sexuality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable and source</th>
<th>Power motivation</th>
<th>Power/sex cognition</th>
<th>Interaction: Power motivation × power/sex cognition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of sexual partners (Winter, 1973, pp.176–177)</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-reported physical abuse of partner (Mason &amp; Blankenship, 1987)</td>
<td>.27*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severe abuse of spouse (Dutton &amp; Strachan, 1987)</td>
<td>.69***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood to Sexually Harass scale (Bargh et al., 1995)</td>
<td>.37**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attraction to Sexual Aggression scale (Bargh et al., 1995)</td>
<td>.32**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coercive Sexual Behavior scale (Zurbriggen, in press)</td>
<td>.23+</td>
<td>.33**</td>
<td>.31**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+p < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

*p < .001) between power motivation and the use of “severe abuse” conflict tactics with their wives (as reported both by the men and by their wives).

Zurbriggen (in press) studied 79 adult heterosexual males. As expected, she found a significant relationship between power motivation and self-report inventory of coercive sexual behavior (beta = .23, p < .10), and an unrelated scale measuring seduction (beta = .23, p < .10).

Next, consider power and sex as a cognitive connection. Zurbriggen also found that men with a stronger cognitive association between the concepts of “power” and “sex” (as measured by a computerized priming task) also reported higher levels of sexual force and coercion. This is consistent with the work of Bargh, Pryor, and their colleagues (Bargh, Raymond, Pryor, & Strack, 1995; Pryor & Stoller, 1994) showing a relationship in men between a power → sex cognitive link and sexual aggression against women.

Finally, Zurbriggen found that power motivation and the cognitive power → sex association (which were themselves not related) interacted to produce a highly significant multiple correlation with these variables (R = .56, p < .01, in the case of coercion). In other words, men concerned with power are likely to exploit and abuse women sexually; if in addition they view “power” as being “sexy,” the likelihood that they will abuse women increases substantially.

3 Zurbriggen found a different pattern for women, similar to that found by Mason and Blankenship (1987): Affiliation motivation predicted aggressive sexual behavior.

4 Zurbriggen found that the sex → power association, measured by the extent to which sex primes power, had no such direct or interactive effects. This suggests that experiencing sex as “powerful” is quite different from—and more benign than—experiencing power as “sexy.”
Taken together, these results certainly support the analysis of Stock (1991), who suggested that sexual coercion is motivated by male power motives. That is, men who want power, especially if they feel that power is “sexy,” treat women as objects of their power. To use the terminology of an important contemporary conceptual distinction, they convert *sexuality* or *sex* into *gender*—that is, sex becomes a hierarchy of power relationships built on a set of anatomical differences (Scott, 1986). Their practice suggests that for these men, “gender” may be a prototype for all other power hierarchies, such as those based on race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, and age.

It is important to note that in all these studies, both power motivation and the power → sex cognitive connection were measured implicitly (by thematic apperception or nonconscious computerized priming), not by direct questions about motives or cognitive associations.

**Linking Sex to Violence**

*Evidence From Anthropology*

There is a good deal of evidence linking sex, now in the sense of gender or social differentiation based on sex, with violence in general as well as violence against women (see Zillmann, 1998, for a general review of this literature). At the collective level, there is testimony from anthropology. For example, Gorer (1968) observed that cultures that do not take pleasure in domination and killing (such as the Arapesh or the Lepchas) have little differentiation of sex roles and no ideal of brave, aggressive masculinity.

More systematic and formal cross-cultural studies, summarized in Table II, point in the same direction. For example, in a study of 17 cultures, McConahay and McConahay (1977) found that the overall level of violence was positively related to having a rigid differentiation of sex roles, which in effect means male dominance ($\rho = .70, p < .01$).

In a larger study of more than 80 cultures, Sanday (1981a, p. 174) found that war is positively related to a direct measure of male dominance ($r = .30, p < .05$). Further, both organized war and interpersonal violence are positively associated with the incidence of female rape ($r = .21, p < .05$, and $r = .47, p < .001$, respectively). Not surprisingly, rape is negatively related to female-male equality ($r = -.22, p < .05$; Sanday, 1981b, p. 23). In rape-prone societies, Sanday concluded, “men are posed as a social group against women,” whereas in rape-free societies, “women are treated with considerable respect,” “interpersonal violence is minimized,” and “there is little differentiation of labor by sex” (1981b, pp. 15, 16–17).

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5 Illustrative of this relationship are the expressions of the Highlanders of New Guinea, who refer to sexual intercourse as “fighting,” ejaculation as “shooting,” and the penis as an “arrow” (McConahay & McConahay, 1977, p. 142).
Table II. Summary of Cross-Cultural Studies Linking Power, Sex, and Violence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural characteristic</th>
<th>Relationship with incidence of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McConahay and McConahay (1977), 17 cultures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex-role differentiation (p statistic)</td>
<td>.70**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanday (1981a, 1981b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male dominance of women (r statistic)</td>
<td>.22*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male dominance of women (q statistic)</td>
<td>.30**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War (r statistic)</td>
<td>.21*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal violence (r statistic)</td>
<td>.47***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divale and Harris (1976); (γ statistic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive “men’s houses”</td>
<td>.59*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage by capture</td>
<td>1.00**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postmarital sex restrictions on women</td>
<td>.88***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property rights in women</td>
<td>.79**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. On account of missing data, the numbers of cultures vary from 83–199 (Sanday studies) and 34–58 (Divale and Harris).

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.

Finally, Divale and Harris (1976) assembled data from more than 30 cultures to show that warfare was part of a larger “male supremacist complex” that included several variables reflecting men’s higher status relative to women—for example, the presence of sex-exclusive “men’s houses,” marriage by capture, restrictions on women’s sexuality after marriage, and property rights in women.

Evidence From History and Literature

Brownmiller (1975) has documented the tight historical and contemporary connection between war and violence against women. Rape is often an explicit tactic of war, as has been demonstrated once again in the recent ethnopolitical strife in the former Yugoslavia (Allen, 1996; Stiglmayer, 1994).

The connection between sex and violence may exist at a deep symbolic level, too, at least in the minds of some men. In an obscure and now forgotten paper that appeared, appropriately enough, on the eve of the First World War, Otto Rank (1914) traced the literary and symbolic connections between the conquest of cities and “conquering” women. Thus a besieged city is often poetically represented as a woman, sometimes even a bride. This metaphoric connection dates from the Old

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6 Earlier, Hirschfeld (1941) discussed the many ways in which many different aspects of sexuality had been involved in the First World War.

7 Rank was for many years Freud’s devoted disciple and closest associate (see Jones, 1953–1957).

8 For an example of visual representation of the symbolism, see the discussion by McGrath (1975).
Testament and classical times. However, it became especially popular again toward the end of the Middle Ages. For example, in a popular romance dating from the time of the Spanish reconquest of southern Spain in the late 15th century, King Juan tells the Moorish city of Granada that he would like to possess her as a husband. Granada replies that she is already married, and that "the Moor who possesses me can defend me well." In response, King Juan orders an artillery attack that conquers the city.9

Rank also gave examples of the reverse symbolic connection, in which the "courting" (or sexual conquest) of a woman is represented as the siege or seizure of a city. In Italian novellas collected by Giovanni Sercambi (1347–1424), for example, men and women having sex call it playing "the Sultan entering Babylon" or "storming Constantinople."10 The connection is also apparent in our everyday representation of proposals of love with metaphors of "assault" and "capitulation."

Rank analyzed these symbolic connections in terms of a fusion of the libidinal and mastery instincts (in contemporary terms, a linkage of sex and violent power). Freud (1912/1957) suggested that this combination, which he called "debasement in the sphere of love," resulted from an unresolved male Oedipus complex (aggression toward father, desire to possess mother) condensed into a single motive combination.

**Putting Together Gender, Power, and Violence**

Let us take a closer look at the nature of war. It is a highly gendered domain. That is, during a war men and women are more separated—in their physical locations, in their actions, in their emotional experiences—than in any other human activity (except, perhaps, in prisons).11 In wartime, men are the soldiers—still, nowadays, the overwhelming proportion of combat soldiers, the people who actually carry out the acts of killing that are both the ultimate goal of war and the ultimate expression of power. Women play many other, complementary parts. As an audience at the beginning of wars, they may incite men to aggressive battle, as is said to have happened in 1914 (see Canetti, 1962, pp. 63–66; Hirschfeld, 1941, pp. 27, 33; Shevin-Coetzee & Coetzee, 1995, pp. 6, 13–15).12 As both real bodies and a symbolic "motherland," they are contested objects of conquest. As mothers,

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9 The original Spanish version of 1550, "Romance frontizero," is published in F. J. Wolf and C. Hofmann (Eds.), Primavera y flor de romances ó coleccion de los mas viejos y mas populares romances castellanos. Berlin: Asher, 1856.
11 For example, in the battle of Gettysburg at the climax of the American Civil War, all of the participants were men and all but one of the (approximately) 45,000 casualties were men. (And the preponderance of attentive modern visitors to the site of the battle are male.)
12 This can happen at a considerable distance. Thus, according to Canetti, "when the Germans were marching on Paris in 1914 the women in Tananarive [on the French island colony of Madagascar, off the east coast of Africa] danced the Mirary for the protection of the French soldiers" (1962, p. 66).
siblings, lovers, and wives, they mark the absence of “their” men. As nurses, they care for wounded men. Finally, after the war, they mourn those men who do not return.

There is considerable evidence that many male soldiers, at least in the heat of battle, experience killing as a sexual experience. Consider the following quotations, from memoirs and war literature (see also Bourke, 1999):

[Killing is] like getting screwed the first time. (Jones, 1962, p. 198)

It’s getting off on having all that power every day. . . . It’s like the best dope you ever had, the best sex you’ve ever had. (Mann, 1997, p. 59)

Weeks of bottled-up tensions . . . released in a few minutes of orgiastic violence; . . . an ache as profound as the ache of orgasm. (Caputo, 1977, pp. xiii, 268)

The love of war stems from the union, deep in the core of our being, between sex and destruction. . . . Anyone who has fired a bazooka or an M-60 machine gun knows, there is something to that power in your finger, the soft, seductive touch of the trigger. (Broyles, 1984, p. 61)

The highest status was given to “double veterans” (rape followed by murder). (Bourke, 1999, p. 442)

In this connection, Kull’s (1990) study of the “attraction to destruction” and Cohn’s (1987) analysis of symbolic “phallic worship” in the language of “nuclear theology” must also be cited. Cohn noted the use of terms such as “penetration aids” and the comparative advantage of a “spasm attack” (which meant releasing a substantial proportion of U.S. nuclear weapons “in one orgasmic whump”; p. 693).

Although Stekel’s (1929) belief that “there is no cruelty which is not toned with sexual pleasure” (vol. 1, p. 31) may be too extreme as a general truth, the testimony is clear that—at least for some men in some circumstances—violence is experienced as “sexy.” Direct participation is not necessary; violence (on movie, television, or computer screens) appears to be a staple ingredient in the “entertainment” of many men. As the anthropologist Freeman (1964) concluded: “Field observation shows that expressions of pleasure are basically associated with the witnessing of destruction and the infliction of hurt—the most common of these expressions being that of involuntary and cathexed laughter” (p. 113).

We have, then, a vicious circle: War is the outcome of a gendering process, and war has the effect of reinforcing and extending the gendering process. Power creates gender, and gender creates power.

**Explaining the Fusion of Power, Sex, and Violence**

Why is violence sexy (at least to some men, some of the time)? How and why does violence acquire properties of sexual arousal and satisfaction, and vice versa?
And why are sex and violence, and sexualized violence, related to power concerns? Whole books have been written on such questions, dating back to Ovid’s *Artis Amatoriae*. (One of the latest is Zillmann, 1998.) Here I can only suggest some possible approaches to answers.

**Physiological arousal.** First, power, violence, and sexuality all share a dimension of sympathetic nervous system arousal. As Caputo (1977) put it:

Under fire, a man’s powers of life heightened in proportion to the proximity of death, so that he felt an elation as extreme as his dread. His senses quickened, he attained an acuity of consciousness at once pleasurable and excruciating. It was something like the elevated state of awareness induced by drugs. And it could be just as addictive. (p. xv)

Given this common physiological element, any particular experience of sympathetic nervous system arousal may be misattributed; in Zillmann’s (1998) terms, there may be a “transfer of excitation.” Thus when I am aroused, I may label my feelings as power, sex, or violence, depending on a variety of other cognitions and experiences.

A “mastery of danger” script. As a result of common physiological roots and attributional confusion, cognitions of danger may function as crossover points or “switches” among sex, power, and violence. According to the psychoanalyst Stoller (1979), sexual excitement often involves (for a man, at least) a “script” consisting initially of danger or risk, further clothed in secrecy and mystery. Then he triumphs over the danger by the mechanisms of power—namely by dehumanizing the source of danger, the “other,” to the status of a nonliving object. (That is, the ability to render the organic inorganic is the most primitive form of power.) In the realm of “ordinary” sexuality, this often occurs through mild forms of fetishizing the partner (p. 21). Thus, in Stoller’s terms, sexualized violence can be interpreted as a much more extreme form of fetishism. Where there is true affection, however, the danger and consequently the fetishizing tendency may diminish to subtle, even microscopic levels (p. 31).

An addiction model. In many respects, the compulsiveness and emotional intensity associated with power (especially when fused with sex and violence) suggests that it is a kind of addiction. [Indeed, Mulder (1977, pp. 68–89) characterized power as an addiction.] And, like many other addictive substances, power often seems not to give much direct pleasure to the addict. For example, people scoring high in power motivation often describe themselves in emotionally negative terms (McClelland, 1985, p. 281). When asked to describe a pleasant experience, they do indeed report experiences related to power, but they tend to feel relatively low levels of positive emotion about these experiences (Woike, 1994). And in a longitudinal study of men, Winter (1996) found that power motivation was associated with self-reported physical and social anhedonia. Interestingly, Freud (1940/1968) wrote that satisfaction of the destructive instincts “seems not to produce feelings of pleasure” (p. 154).
How does power become an addiction, yet one that gives no pleasure? Perhaps the repeated exercise of power sets off a paradoxical opponent-process (see Solomon, 1980). Recent research by Berridge and Robinson (1995) suggests that the brain may have separate mechanisms of “wanting” (the salience attributed to a particular incentive) and “liking” (the direct experience of pleasure). Berridge and Robinson suggested that levels of “wanting” can be affected by experiences or substances (e.g., drugs) that leave “liking” unchanged; hence, an addict “wants” something that may actually give little pleasure.

Some level of power concern and motivation may be necessary for survival in a world populated with predators and prey (Ehrenreich, 1997). But if power isn’t experienced as pleasant, then what makes us pursue it? Here I indulge in some speculation. If power is fused with other motives that are undoubtedly experienced as pleasant, then humans would be more likely to “get enough” power to meet survival needs. In a similar fashion, the addition of taste, smell, and social pleasures of eating (not to mention other, more symbolic incentives) may help to ensure that we will eat enough to survive. And just as the motives governing eating sometimes go wrong and produce eating disorders such as obesity or anorexia, so also may the motives that govern our power behavior sometimes produce the “power disorders” of violence, coercive sexuality, and sexualized violence. In a world that has combined technology (power over things) with social power over people, what was once “enough” power may now be a dangerous excess (see Lorenz, 1966).

An Agenda for Political Psychology

I have suggested that some of the most characteristic features of the 20th century—the things that were least expected and most distressing to our forebears, the people of 1899—involvement phenomena of power, sex, and violence. In my view, expanding our understanding of the psychological, social structural, and cultural dynamics—the micromechanisms—that underlie this triad is an urgent agenda for political psychology in the 21st century (if, indeed, we are to survive this century). I suggest that we focus on three broad topics that deserve theoretical and empirical attention: understanding the striving for power, which leads to violence in the context of perceived “difference”; understanding the construction of “difference,” of which gender is perhaps the original, the prototype or template for all other “differences”; and exploring whether it is possible to live beyond power and difference. For each topic, I suggest some questions that political psychology could ask and some contributions we could make.

13 See MacKinnon (1984) on “difference and dominance.”
Understanding the Striving for Power

Diagnosis. Many researchers (e.g., Winter, 1999) suggest that there may be two fundamentally different kinds of power-striving. One is “offensive,” in the sense that it is presumed to originate in the sense of omnipotence and entitlement. This is direct power, growing out of early reinforcement (e.g., McClelland & Pilon, 1983). The other, “defensive” power-striving is said to be rooted in a sense of weakness and inferiority. This is power as compensation (George, 1968). Are these really two different kinds of power-striving, or is one really a mask for the other? What is the relationship between the two? Do they have different sources? Should we use different tactics in responding to each?

Jervis’s (1976, pp. 58–113) distinction between “deterrence” and “spiral” crises in international relations may help to elucidate this issue. Defensive, compensatory power may be engaged by a spiraling arms race (as in 1914). The fear that is at the root of this kind of power drive can perhaps be appeased. In contrast, offensive power may be the motivational basis of the kind of aggression that cannot be appeased, but only deterred (as in 1939). Jervis argued that it is essential to get the diagnosis right, because a policy that is appropriate for each type of crisis (i.e., for each type of power) will almost certainly lead to disaster if applied to the other type.

Tempering power. If the striving for power is a characteristic that is always present in human affairs, and sometimes even useful, can we tame or temper power so that we can live with it, as well and as peaceably as we can? Many authors have suggested individual mechanisms of control. For example, Freud believed that our destructive power instincts could be restrained by bringing “Eros, its antagonist, into play against it” (1933/1964, p. 212), as well as by the “soft” voice of human intellect (1927/1961, p. 53). Other psychologists have suggested such concepts as responsibility (Winter & Barenbaum, 1985), self-control and inhibition (McClelland & Boyatzis, 1982), or self-regulation (Carver, 1998; Rusting & Nolen-Hoeksema, 1998; Shoda, Mischel, & Peake, 1990) as mechanisms that might restrain motives such as power. Taking Zurbriggen’s (in press) results seriously, we might try “metaphor retraining” to modify men’s cognitive associations between power and sex.

Power can also be tempered at institutional or social levels. In Troilus and Cressida (Act I, scene iii, lines 109–111), Shakespeare argued that to be effective, power must be restrained by “degree.” (In Shakespeare’s time, this word meant “station” or “position in the scale of dignity.”) In other words, if people stick to their place or station, then power assumes a stable structure and all will be well. Whether Shakespeare was right,14 such a notion is not likely to be accepted in today’s world. In an age focused on individual liberty and mobility, we may only

14 Lord Acton would have disagreed, holding that “power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.”
be able to control power by balancing separate powers. As Montesquieu (1748/1949) wrote, “experience shows us that every man invested with power is apt to abuse it,” therefore it is necessary that “power should be a check to power” [p. 150 (XI, 4)]. The U.S. constitution was built on this doctrine of “separation of powers” (see especially The Federalist Papers 47 and 51).

Dealing with the effects of power. Power changes people. Being the target of others’ power can certainly have traumatic effects; indeed, it may be a consistent proximal cause of the condition now labeled post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Can we gain any advantage in understanding and treating PTSD by conceiving of it as a “power injury”? Canetti’s (1962) provocative, highly metaphorical study of power, involving concepts of “sting” and “recoil,” might be useful in this connection.

Powerholders may all too easily become desensitized to the effects of their power, so that they relate to other people in dehumanized ways (Kipnis, 1976). Or they may suffer from a “power burnout” (Golembiewski, 1996), which can jeopardize their leadership. Could such power burnout possibly be a reflexive form of PTSD? How can these “metamorphic effects” of power (Kipnis, 1976) be avoided? Again, Canetti’s (1962) analysis provides a useful starting point.

I suggest that as political psychologists, we are strategically poised—with one foot in social science and the other in the real world of power relationships—to study both of these problems. We should remember, however, to be both reflexive and reflective about what we do, about our helping and healing efforts. They, too, involve the exercise of power, with all the inherent risks that such exercise entails.\(^{15}\)

Understanding the Construction of Difference

When people select power targets, they construct, magnify, and then act on differences among themselves. Perhaps the most important feature of these constructed differences is that they are just that—constructions. Although there may be some evolutionary basis to the human tendency to categorize (see, e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), the concrete specifics of when, where (and how rigidly) we draw actual category boundaries are very different among different people and different societies. Boundaries can be based on language, religion, or skin color; very often they are constructed on an imagined sense of shared history. Sometimes heterogeneous populations, for all their potential differences, become successfully alloyed with the passage of time (for example, the 13 British colonies in America and, to some extent at least, Israel and Brazil). Alternatively, populations that appear quite homogeneous may nevertheless perceive important differences among themselves. Thus the Dutch, who to many outsiders appear homogeneous

\(^{15}\) As Lakoff and Coyne (1993) pointed out, Dora (Freud’s first major psychoanalytic case) was a victim of power: both the power of the adults who deceived her, and the power of Freud, who, in insisting on his own interpretations, thereby colluded with that deception (see also Maddi, 1974).
and very international-minded, sometimes distinguish themselves from the Frisians (who live in the northern Netherlands province of Friesland and speak a language that is different from Dutch), and the rivalry between Amsterdam and Rotterdam is fueled by what Freud (1930/1961, p. 114) called the “narcissism of minor differences.” Gouwsblom (1967) discussed the way in which mid–20th-century Dutch society was carefully constructed on the basis of “pillarization” (verzuiling), or the structured balance among perceived differences.

Constructions of difference change. In the 1990s, for example, we have seen the ethnopolitical identity category of “Yugoslav” shred itself into many different components. On the other hand, after hundreds of years of enmity, the people who call themselves “deutsch” and “français” have finally started to call themselves “allemand” and “französisch,” as well as “European.”

What psychological mechanisms lead us to draw tight lines of difference on the basis of characteristics such as gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, race, language, religion, social class, or region? Currently, concepts such as right-wing authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1996) and social dominance orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) offer some promising leads. At the same time, it is also important to study mechanisms that work in the opposite direction—that is, “mechanisms of inclusion” that bind together difference into larger wholes. Examples include empathy, curiosity, and a sense of cosmopolitan identity.

What factors activate right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance, so that they override mechanisms of inclusion? Altemeyer’s research (1988) suggests that perceptions of external threat and convictions of self-righteous religions are key antecedents of drawing lines—of “differencing”—and its usual sequel, prejudice. This process can be seen as an example of Tajfel’s (1957, 1981) principle of social categorization, whereby value or emotional relevance (in this case, threat and a religiously based sense of self-righteousness) lead us to exaggerate or “stretch” the scales we use to evaluate dimensions of difference that are relevant to the value or emotion. (Tajfel often used the example of an “elastic ruler” to explain this principle.)

Our human heritage. Power-striving and differencing, then, may be two key psychological mechanisms that underlie the power-sex-violence triad that was so characteristic of the 20th century. Both laboratory and survey evidence (e.g., Winter, 1973, p. 94) suggests that they are uncorrelated. Because both mechanisms play a part in humans’ response to threat, they may therefore have roots in our early history as a species. At this point I enter the subjunctive mode, and offer some speculations. First, the capacity to construct differences probably helped our ancestors to distinguish “prey” from “peer” and “predator.” A concomitant tendency to exaggerate such differences, under especially threatening conditions,

16 Perhaps these two perceptions come together in an implicit sense of “protection” that self-righteousness offers to the faithful, against the “threat” of a religious Armageddon.
could have facilitated selection of the appropriate responses. These responses—fight, flight, and/or fright—are all energized by the sympathetic nervous system, which is linked to the psychological mechanism of the power motive (McClelland, 1982). Acting in concert, therefore, the two psychological mechanisms of “differencing” and power motivation may have played a role in the survival of humans. Now, however, this same combination—multiplied by the human development of technology (Lorenz, 1966)—can be deadly to humanity (see Peterson, Doty, & Winter, 1994, for a model of how these two processes interact in conflict escalation).

**Living Beyond Power and Difference**

**Beyond power.** Do people ever give up power willingly? As addictive as power can often be,\(^{17}\) it is still possible that some people, sometimes, move beyond their power concerns. Under what conditions might this happen? Perhaps with the development of maturity, a capacity for generativity, or the growth of wisdom, or even with the realization that power does not—cannot—provide happiness. One outstanding example of the renunciation of power is the character of Prospero in Shakespeare’s final play, *The Tempest*. Having exulted that “at this hour lie at my mercy all mine enemies,” Prospero then reverses course, releasing his enemies and renouncing the symbols of his power (“I’ll break my staff,” and “I’ll drown my book”). Why? In the immediately preceding scenes, Prospero has realized his own mortality, seen his daughter happily partnered, felt empathy, and realized that power brings no real pleasure. Perhaps Shakespeare’s play contains some hypotheses about giving up power that could be explored by carefully designed political psychology research studies.

**Beyond difference.** In addition to moving beyond or tempering our power drives, we can also try to tear down our constructions of difference. For all its abusive and oppressive potential, the advent of a cosmopolitan, globalized economy might actually help in some ways: Listening to the “other’s” global pop music (Taylor, 1997), driving their automobiles and wearing their clothes, and all staring at the ubiquitous Windows® logo, we may be less inclined to apply the label “other.” One should not exaggerate, however: Friedman’s dictum that “no two countries that both had a McDonald’s have ever fought a war against each other” (1996; see also 1999, pp. 195–204) was, sad to say, disproved by the 1999 war between NATO and Serbia.

For all the appeal and power of nationalism and ethnically rooted social identities, over the course of human history cosmopolitanism has *sometimes* been a more powerful force than nationalism and difference. Thus in the time of the

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\(^{17}\)Hobbes vividly captured the addictive, ever-increasing aspect of power drives with these words: “The nature of power . . . is like the motion of heavy bodies, which the further they go, make still more haste” (1651/1950, p. 69).
Roman Empire, the phrase “Civis Romanus Sum” was a proud claim even among the provincials at the periphery of the empire. For example, St. Paul, while zealously propagating a new religion, did not hesitate when imprisoned to assert his Roman citizenship and appeal to Caesar (Acts 22:25, 25:11). Even as nationalisms were beginning to tear apart the Hapsburg Empire, some Slavic provincial citizens were proud to be civil servants in Vienna, “at the center of the world” (Michener, 1983, p. 277). And a few years ago, one of the sharpest critiques of Québec nationalism in favor of a more worldly and cosmopolitan identity—entitled Québec Is Killing Me—was written by a young professional francophone woman who had grown up in the very heartland of Québec separatism (Jutras, 1995). Lamenting that “those things which I value—knowledge, intellectual development, are not found here,” she concluded that “Québec does not fulfil me” (pp. 10, 14). Political psychologists need to increase their understanding of the conditions—psychological, structural, communication, and market conditions—under which people give up nationalism and instead opt for broader, “globalized” identities.

Getting There From Here

So how do we prepare ourselves and our students, the political psychologists of the 21st century, to carry out this ambitious agenda? In many ways, political psychology already occupies an advantageous position. For example, I think the most important requirement for “getting there” (indeed, for figuring out where “there” is) is broad, interdisciplinary experience. Political psychology has always been an interdisciplinary field par excellence. Still, we can learn a lot from fields beyond our two component disciplines. In this paper, for example, I found it useful to draw on history, anthropology, sociology, the history of literature and music, sexology, physiology, neuroscience, and evolutionary biology, in addition to psychology and political science—as well as the unclassifiable polymath Elias Canetti.

Although political psychology has a firm foundation in the traditions of positivistic social science, I hope we will continue to expand our engagement with exciting recent developments in the humanities—feminist theory, critical theory, and the postmodern perspective. From these perspectives, many new and provocative questions are being posed; we should play a part in asking and answering them.

Along with breadth of experience, we need breadth of method. In this paper I cited studies using content analysis of archival documents, personality research surveys, theoretical models of international relations, laboratory studies, and literary scholarship. To enrich our multivariate statistical pyrotechnics, I suggest, we must not neglect our abilities of close reading—to analyze narratives and nuances, and to discern latent images and implicit themes.

Finally, I think that political psychology will enrich itself by maintaining a focus on the practical problems of the real world. The International Society of Political Psychology was founded as a place where people who do political
psychology (in government, nongovernmental organizations, private practice, and activism) can come together with people who study political psychology. Only by maintaining that tension (and it is, sometimes, tense!), I think, can we preserve our vitality and protect ourselves from becoming just another pigeonhole in the dusty desk of the academy. In this paper, I have tried to show how some of the most important and characteristic events of the 20th century have deep and complex relationships to some complex and interesting intellectual themes. In a future world where a globalized economy and ethnopolitical war confront each other ["Jihad versus McWorld," in Barber’s (1995) phrase], where political actions, responses, and sentiments are increasingly mediated by the old and new "media,” understanding will advance farther if it is in partnership (working partnership, dialogical partnership, critical partnership) with practice.

A Concluding Vision

Often we need a vision to keep the image of our goal before us and to inspire us to work toward it. I conclude with my favorite quotation from a hero of my young adulthood, John F. Kennedy. In many respects, of course, Kennedy was an icon of the power-sex-violence complex. His inaugural promise to “pay any price, bear any burden . . . support any friend, oppose any foe” was all too tragically redeemed in the killing fields of Vietnam. Still, only 5 months before his death, he spoke about the possibility of moving beyond difference (Kennedy, 1963):

If we cannot end now our differences, at least we can help make the world safe for diversity. For, in the final analysis, our most basic common link is that we all inhabit this small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children’s future. And we are all mortal.

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Almost all sexually exploited women, whether they are trafficking victims or otherwise involved in prostitution, experience some degree of violence, regardless of the venue or type of prostitution activity in which they are connected. Incidents of physical assault, rape, incest, sexual assault, emotional abuse, verbal abuse, stalking, torture, degradation, and humiliation perpetrated by traffickers, pimps, johns, and others are common. Significantly, violence against sexually exploited women, whether they are trafficked or non-trafficked, often ends in death. Over the last two decades, international, federal, state, and local governments, law enforcement agencies, prosecutors, and advocacy groups have increased their focus on trafficking and violence against women and girls. This focus has triggered extensive research on the dynamics of commercial sexual exploitation, revealing the prevalence and severity of sexual and physical violence directed at both trafficked and non-trafficked women involved in prostitution. In some jurisdictions, this has led agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to develop outreach, diversion, and transitional housing programs for commercially sexually exploited women and to strengthen advocacy on behalf of – and services for – them. Further it
has led both the anti-trafficking and violence against women movements to develop or enhance coordinated responses to these respective crimes.⁹

Even in jurisdictions where the link between violence against women and sexual exploitation is recognized, criminal justice professionals often adopt a siloed approach¹⁰ to them, thus erroneously considering these crimes to be distinct, rather than overlapping and co-occurring. This approach causes significant gaps into which both trafficked and non-trafficked women who are victims of violent crime fall.

A strong response to violence against sexually exploited women is a critical component of anti-human trafficking initiatives, closing existing gaps, and enhancing community safety and offender accountability. Further, collaborations among prosecutors and allied professionals with expertise in violence against women crimes and those with considerable expertise in other relevant criminal prosecutions such as organized crime, narcotics, and gangs, which often involve complex investigative tactics or legal issues, as well as the civil legal and advocacy needs of these victims, enhances the identification of victims and perpetrators and the effectiveness of the response to these crimes. There are seven critical strategies that can help prosecutors develop a response to human trafficking that recognizes and responds to the interconnected sexual and physical violence perpetrated against trafficked and non-trafficked victims and, thereby, better identify, investigate, and prosecute the crimes against them.

1. CREATE A COLLABORATIVE COMPREHENSIVE TASK FORCE

A coordinated, multi-disciplinary response is critical to identifying and effectively responding to trafficking and related violence against women.¹¹ Multi-disciplinary teams (MDTs) should include broad and diverse representation from law enforcement, prosecution, advocacy, medical, social service, and other agencies and systems with which sexually exploited women may have contact.¹² Combining elements and philosophies of traditional domestic violence and sexual violence coordinated responses with those recommended for human trafficking can yield the most effective results. MDTs that involve survivor-advocates or advocates who have undergone specific training to work with sexually exploited women provide victims with appropriate support and necessary safety measures to encourage them to cooperate in a case against their perpetrator(s). MDTs help system responders identify and overcome barriers to a victim’s cooperation and provide the victim with resources, protection, assistance, and encouragement throughout the investigation, prosecution, disposition, and beyond. Law enforcement who are specially trained in victim behavior and other issues involving sexual exploitation and human trafficking – particularly officers who work in vice or special victims units – can be especially crucial in creating an atmosphere in which victims feel supported and have access to advocacy and other necessary support built in to the criminal justice response to their victimization. Further, MDT-Coordinated Community Responses (CCRs) have extensive reaches into the community, and, therefore, can more easily recognize, respond to, and refer victims with whom they come into contact with the appropriate services or resources. To be effective, the coordinated response must occur between state and federal law enforcement and advocacy agencies and within the agencies’ various divisions. Specifically, prosecutor’s and law enforcement offices with separate sexual assault, intimate partner violence, child abuse, and gang units must collaborate to increase efforts to identify both victims and perpetrators. Victims also commonly enter the system as defendants. Including “vice” police officers, corrections officers, court personnel, public defenders, and other providers who concentrate on defendants is critical to accurate victim identification and enhancing responses.¹³ When the response addresses both human trafficking as well as violence against women, the result is that cases are appropriately referred, information on perpetrators and victims is shared, and necessary follow-up is conducted. This critical collaboration utilizes the unique expertise of each individual, division, or agency to maximize victim safety and offender accountability.¹⁴

2. CREATE SPECIALIZED UNITS AND PROSECUTORS¹⁵

Skills developed through specialization in human trafficking cases can greatly improve prosecutors’ effectiveness. Due to the similar dynamics raised in human trafficking, sexual assault, and intimate partner violence crimes, the
skills, knowledge, and experience of sexual assault and domestic violence prosecutors are critical components to the successful prosecution and investigation of human trafficking cases. Those prosecutors, therefore, are crucial to combating human trafficking. Violence-against-women prosecutors are experientially equipped to conduct evidence-based prosecutions, work with reluctant and uncooperative witnesses, persuade victims to participate in the prosecution of their perpetrators, understand the complex dynamics of interpersonal violence, explain victim behavior, and conduct victim-centered and offender-focused prosecutions. Significantly, these prosecutors understand and can explain cases in which trafficking was carried out without actual physical force because, in part, they understand the use of power and control over victims and the complexities of victim behavior.

Skills developed through specialization in sexual violence cases can greatly improve a prosecutor’s effectiveness as well. Defense attorneys commonly seek to tilt the scales in a defendant’s favor by focusing entirely on the victim. They cast a case as “he said/she said;” describe any victim behaviors that don’t fit jury expectations as evidence of a victim’s lack of credibility; or seek to introduce a victim’s medical, mental health or sexual history in an effort to embarrass, humiliate or shift blame to the victim. Specialized prosecutors anticipate these tactics and prepare their cases accordingly. They know that these cases require a thorough investigation to corroborate as many details of the crime as possible, including investigating the defendant’s past, any planning or preparation by the defendant, and what occurred after the assault. These prosecutors also prepare and file pretrial motions to exclude privileged, irrelevant, or immaterial information about the victim and collaborate with civil attorneys, where necessary, to protect victim privacy.

Specialized prosecutors’ concentrated trial experience allows them to create an environment for victims that enables them to meaningfully participate in the criminal justice process. Meaningful participation includes recognizing the impact of each decision in a prosecution on a victim, and, where possible, getting the victim’s input and working with advocates to provide the victim with support, services, and information. For example, victim advocates and counselors help victims work through the trauma they have experienced and may continue to experience during the pendency of a prosecution; they also provide victims with information on available resources, e.g., housing, financial support, and childcare assistance. This support not only helps victims heal but also encourages victim participation.

Many of these skills are not only developed over time in the courtroom, but through focused training and collaboration as well. Specialized prosecutors often obtain the most intensive, skill-building training offered. Training will cover the latest investigative, courtroom, and collaborative strategies available. Some of the most effective training are multi-disciplinary trainings, which can involve police, prosecutors, and community advocates learning together. Further, because these crimes so often involve evidence of financial crimes, these specialized prosecutors collaborate with investigators and prosecutors who are skilled in analyzing financial data and evidence in order to corroborate a case and detect additional perpetrators.

Experienced sexual assault and domestic violence prosecutors are also collaborators. They have a history of collaborating with different disciplines on prosecutions, and, therefore, they respect the roles of different partners in the effective prosecution of a case, enhancement of victim safety, and holding perpetrators accountable. Further, because they have developed and refined their own victim-centered prosecution practices, they often understand the nuances involved in handling particular cases, including those involving gangs and organized crime. They also understand that collaboration, communication, and cross-training among and within agencies is necessary because of the complexities of many of these cases that implicate gangs, financial crimes, and RICO, and require wiretaps and other sophisticated surveillance and investigative methods.

### 3. Identify Victims and Perpetrators by Recognizing Indicators of Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is a $9 billion-a-year industry, ranking second only to drug smuggling in organized crime activities. Despite its pervasiveness, human trafficking remains largely hidden in plain sight. Sexual exploiters in rural, urban, and suburban jurisdictions may rely on
internet websites, upscale hotels, or private escort services to promote or conduct their activity.\textsuperscript{19} Often, they use “legitimate” businesses as fronts for criminal pursuits, or conceal themselves in private residences, sometimes in seemingly less suspicious upscale neighborhoods. Despite the “high end” or exclusive labels often attached to women used in prostitution, the majority still experience severe and often frequent violence while involved in prostitution.\textsuperscript{20} In addition, responders should keep in mind that the individuals who feed the demand for commercially sexually exploited women and girls reside everywhere.

In order to recognize the indicators of human trafficking, it is critical for prosecutors and other allied professionals to understand the dynamics of human trafficking, including common victim pathways into exploitation. Sexually exploited women are often victims of childhood physical or sexual abuse that is untreated, or they are fleeing homes in which domestic violence is present. In many cases, this prior exposure to violence facilitates their sexual exploitation.\textsuperscript{21} Some sexually exploited women also are involved in intimate relationships with their pimps, and therefore, the dynamics of trafficking, exploitation, domestic violence, and sexual assault co-exist. Further, human traffickers operate in diverse venues, from the internet to storefront businesses that appear to be legitimate, e.g., nail salons or massage parlors, and where victims may be citizens or foreign born. Far too often, responders’ unfamiliarity with or misperceptions about human trafficking lead them to form expectations of victims, perpetrators, or dynamics that, when unmet, cause them to overlook or ignore the crime.

There are various, complex pathways of entry into trafficking and other sexual exploitation, many of which entail recruitment, force, coercion, and deception tactics by pimps and others who take advantage of the vulnerabilities of the women and girls they exploit. Research and anecdotal evidence indicate a range of precursors to a woman’s sexual exploitation, including being forced to have sex by family members at an early age, being “pimped out” by intimate partners, exchanging sex for survival needs, and supporting substance addictions.\textsuperscript{22} Regardless of whether one identifies as a trafficked or otherwise sexually exploited woman or describes a voluntary pathway into prostitution, most individuals face violence upon entry into, while being used in, and when attempting to escape prostitution.\textsuperscript{23} Further, some of the same reasons that led to a sexually exploited woman’s involvement in prostitution, e.g., addiction, financial desperation, and coercion, are also the barriers that keep her in the “revolving door”\textsuperscript{24} of sexual exploitation.

Despite the unlimited availability of women and girls for sale on the Internet, many communities believe that prostitution is limited to urban streets and certain neighborhoods. The sexual exploitation of women – and the violence directed at them – permeates urban, suburban, and rural areas and extends far beyond city streets.\textsuperscript{25} While it may seem that the sexual exploitation of women only occurs in larger metropolitan areas, it is simply more visible because of the prevalence of homelessness and street-level prostitution. In addition, many sexually exploited women are exploited simultaneously\textsuperscript{26} through various venues and activities, including: bars, brothels, escort agencies, private parties, and massage parlors\textsuperscript{27} and in neighborhoods throughout their city, suburbs, and other U.S. cities and countries.\textsuperscript{28} Women in suburban neighborhoods and rural communities are victims of sexual exploitation as well, though it may appear as “adult entertainment” or “private prostitution,” taking place behind the closed doors of homes, clubs, and legitimate businesses.\textsuperscript{29} In fact, experts estimate that 80 percent of prostitution takes place indoors in massage parlors, champagne rooms in strip clubs, health clubs, and hotel rooms.\textsuperscript{30} These closed-door locales also play host to trafficking victims, which is one of the reasons these victims are so difficult to identify. Traffickers and pimps transport victims to these closed-door “businesses” in plain sight, and often operate with confidence that law enforcement and the public will misidentify victims as “willing” sex workers or ignore them completely.\textsuperscript{31}

Unfortunately, the siloed approach to these crimes can also impact the response to juveniles in prostitution, whose dependency and delinquency statuses often co-exist. Some agencies and jurisdictions have created excellent models for developing comprehensive responses to violence against sexually exploited youth.\textsuperscript{32}
4. Understand the Health Consequences of Human Trafficking

Given the frequent physical, sexual, and emotional violence that sexually exploited women endure at the hands of a variety of perpetrators, many inevitable health issues arise at various points in time. In addition, many may not have recently – or ever – seen a physician, dentist, or other healthcare provider. It is critical, therefore, that healthcare professionals are cross-trained in order to help identify and better respond to victims and are part of any coordinated response.

The constant and brutal violence that sexually exploited women experience impacts their physical and emotional health and often leads to or exacerbates mental health and substance abuse issues. In fact, as a result of the numerous assaults, prostituted women consistently suffer more severe health consequences than do other women. As a direct result of the frequent, forced, and/or unprotected sexual violence perpetrated against sexually exploited women, a large percentage of them commonly contract sexually transmitted infections, including HIV, and experience multiple pregnancies that often result in premature births, babies with low birth weights, and miscarriages due to poor prenatal care. Significantly, it has been found that, as a result of being beaten, hit, kicked in the head, and strangled, prostituted women exhibit incidents of traumatic brain injury (TBI) similar to those of torture survivors and battered women.

The emotional health effects of prostitution are devastating and may commonly include combinations of depression, anxiety, and dissociative disorders. Consequential to physical, sexual, and psychological trauma, many prostituted women have complicated mental health problems and may even suffer from posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Furthermore, the severe emotional scars will often lead women to engage in self-destructive behaviors as a method of coping. Women in prostitution frequently turn to drugs and alcohol or self-medicate to numb the pain and cope with the victimization, or may even resort to other dangerous self-destructive behaviors such as cutting and attempting suicides.

5. Conduct Offender-Focused, Victim-Centered Human Trafficking Investigations and Prosecutions

Traffickers and other perpetrators of violence against sexually exploited women count on a victims’ fear and society’s biases against these women to protect them from detection and accountability:

From working as a prostitute myself for two decades, I know that violent crimes against sex workers often go unreported, unaddressed, and unpunished. There are people who really don’t care when prostitutes are victims of hate crimes, beaten, raped, and murdered. They will say: ‘They got what they deserved.’ ‘They were trash.’ ‘They asked for it.’ ‘What do they expect?’ ‘The world is better off without those whores.’

It is important, therefore, for criminal justice professionals to conduct thoughtful and thorough investigations in which they recognize how difficult it is for victims to self-identify, let alone come forward to authorities. Because these crimes are so often hidden in plain sight, accurate case assessments require thorough investigations so that evidence exposing victims, perpetrators, and related crimes is revealed and obtained. Many trafficking crimes implicate state and federal laws more commonly used in gang and organized
crime cases; these additional crimes can and should be used to hold traffickers accountable for the totality of their victimization.

Unfortunately, opportunities for victim-witness intimidation exist in almost every criminal case. In cases involving human trafficking, however, the motivations for interfering with victim cooperation with law enforcement are heightened by the offender’s financial interest in the victim. In addition, both trafficked and non-trafficked victims of sexual assault, physical violence, and exploitation may face enormous collateral consequences when they participate in a prosecution. They may not be able to return to their homes due to violence in the home, safety concerns, immigration issues or their families’ rejection of them. Those victims who were exploited or trafficked by an intimate partner or family member may be conflicted about testifying against their perpetrators out of loyalty, love or fear. Victim service providers can offer victims support through psychological or sexual trauma counseling, financial assistance, professional or vocational skill building, life skills training, housing, and other services so victims can participate in the criminal justice process.

Gangs have increasingly entered the world of sexual exploitation because of the high economic benefits, the low risk of being identified as a trafficker, and because of the nature of the gang itself – the organization, control, and network it possesses. Further, the violence perpetrated by the gang against the victims and third parties serves as a powerful deterrent to disclosure. In addition gang members involved in trafficking have affiliates, co-conspirators, and spies in correctional facilities as well as within law enforcement itself. The knowledge that they might be watched at any given time also serves as a deterrent to confide in law enforcement about victimization and seek help.

In human trafficking cases, prosecutors face trial issues similar to those encountered in sexual and physical violence cases. As discussed above, victims may not participate in the criminal justice process, and therefore, prosecutors should be prepared to investigate and prosecute cases in which the victim does not participate by proceeding with evidence-based prosecutions. Even victims who are present for trial, however, may still pose challenges for the prosecution by recanting or testifying on the behalf of the defendant. Cross-examination of a recanting victim should initially focus on obtaining corroboration of key facts that are not controversial, such as the daily life and schedule of the offender and victim, how they met, where they live, with whom they normally come into contact and why, and any other facts that can confirm the circumstances surrounding the crimes committed by the offender. If it becomes necessary for a prosecutor to question a recanting victim’s credibility on cross-examination, it should be done as gently as possible, recognizing the victimization she has endured and the pressure the victim is facing, with the goal of trying to expose to the jury that the source of the pressure is the defendant. Defendants, by contrast, should be cross-examined to expose tactics of coercion and control.

The dispositions of trafficking and related violent offences normally fit very closely with The Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO). Trafficking, prostituting, and commercial sexual exploitation activities frequently consist of co-occurring violent crimes and the involvement of more than one individual working in concert. These operations meet the broad definition of the “enterprise” requirement of a RICO violation. Also, by nature, trafficking and exploitation operations are ongoing, and therefore defendants can often be found to violate more than two of the enumerated offences, and can meet the continuity element of RICO. It is critical for prosecutors handling these cases to understand the laws available to them to address these crimes, and the partners with whom they must collaborate to effectively investigate these cases, develop effective trial strategies to satisfy the elements of the statues, and be able to present very complicated arguments in a straightforward way.

Prosecutors have many tools at their disposal to prevent introduction of irrelevant evidence that the defense seeks to introduce as a tactic to discredit the victim through embarrassment, humiliation, or prejudice. The law of most jurisdictions supports prosecution arguments that irrelevant evidence that the defense seeks to admit has a limited probative value far outweighed by its prejudicial value. Evidentiary rules related to rape shield, balancing tests that prelude the admission of unduly prejudicial evidence, and other acts evidence (such as FRE 404(b)) are critical tools to help prosecutors protect victim privacy and expose perpetrators.
In cases where the defendant threatens a victim or witness or interferes with her participation in a trial, prosecutors may introduce statements under the doctrine of forfeiture by wrongdoing.49 While the Sixth Amendment provides defendants with the right to confront witnesses against them, the right is not absolute. Defendants may forfeit that right when they cause witnesses’ or victims’ unavailability with the purpose of preventing them from testifying at a present or future trial. Such wrongdoing may be comprised of threats or acts of violence, or may be more subtle and thus potentially overlooked by authorities. The ability to recognize these less obvious intimidation tactics is another trait honed by violence-against-women prosecutors.50 Evidence of intimidation can be useful in cases where the trafficker is the victim’s intimate partner as well as in those cases and situations in which there was no prior relationship.51

Human trafficking prosecutions—like violence against women prosecutions—often involve dynamics and victim behaviors that are misunderstood and, at times, may be perceived as counterintuitive to allied professionals or lay people inexperienced with these crimes. Prosecutors who work with experts to prepare and prosecute their cases can better identify relevant evidence and explain the context in which the violence against the victim occurred. Further, expert testimony can be critical in helping prosecutors explain dynamics and victim behavior so that jurors do not ignore common control tactics of pimps and traffickers or misjudge certain behaviors as evidence of a victim's dishonesty or lack of credibility.52

A critical component of keeping victims safe is ensuring that they are not re-victimized. In addition to criminal statutes that allow restitution to be awarded in these cases, some jurisdictions have recognized a civil cause of action for damages against a person who coerces another into prostitution, coerces another to remain in prostitution, or uses coercion to collect or receive earnings derived from prostitution.53 Coercion is defined broadly and may include: physical or mental force or threats; blackmail; threats to interfere with parental rights or responsibilities; restraint of speech or communication with others; exploitation of a condition of developmental disability, cognitive limitation, affective disorder or substance dependency; exploitation of victimization by sexual abuse; exploitation of pornographic performance; and exploitation of human needs for food, shelter, safety or affection.54

Prosecutor’s offices may be concerned about prosecuting cases of human trafficking based on the perception that they will require additional intensive resources. However, an increase in collaboration, communication, and cross-training will enable jurisdictions to combat human trafficking cases through more effective and efficient use of existing resources. Jurisdictions should also keep in mind that they may be able to obtain resources through asset forfeiture, as the law generally allows for the seizure of any money, real estate or personal property that was derived from the commission of a crime.55 Asset forfeiture is civil in form and quasi-criminal in nature, with a required burden of proof of preponderance of the evidence – making it possible to seize assets in circumstances in which the prosecution has not obtained a conviction. The forfeited assets can include any property that constitutes the fruit of the criminal enterprise or that was used to further the enterprise. Further, the forfeiture is not limited to assets within the jurisdiction; some statutes enable the state to obtain overseas assets if certain conditions are satisfied.56

6. Develop Victim Services to Rehabilitate Victims and Reintegrate Them into the Community

Sexually exploited women often identify needing a safe place to live, job training, drug and alcohol treatment, health care, counseling, peer support, legal assistance, childcare or physical protection from their pimp-traffickers in order to help them transition out of the life.57 Prosecutors must form partnerships with allied professionals and agencies that work to advocate, rehabilitate, and reintegrate trafficked or non-trafficked victims of violence.58 Understanding some of the reasons that women cannot escape from prostitution can help allied criminal justice professionals find appropriate support for victims, even if they enter the criminal justice system as defendants.

7. Evaluate and Improve Your Jurisdiction’s Current Response

Communities that do not recognize the existence of trafficking, prostitution, or other forms of commercial sexual exploitation within their borders are generally not looking closely enough at the common venues where these crimes thrive. Jurisdictions historically have conducted raids or undercover operations of massage parlors, tracks or other
suspected prostitution venues. These operations have led almost exclusively to pre-ordained mass arrests of sexually exploited women, and the wholesale absence of arrest of johns, pimps, and traffickers. Women are arrested, arraigned, jailed, and typically plead guilty to a term of probation or short incarceration, and then find themselves repeating the cycle of the justice system's revolving door again in the future.

Jurisdictions seeking to improve their ability to identify, investigate, and prosecute cases of human trafficking and sexual exploitation can seek assistance through a variety of sources. The Bureau of Justice Assistance funds many anti-trafficking initiatives throughout the nation that promote and facilitate a collaborative, coordinated approach to these cases. Further, AEQuitas has resources and experts available to consult and aid in the development of refined investigation and prosecution practices.

CONCLUSION

Traffickers and other perpetrators of violence against sexually exploited women inflict devastation on individuals as well as the communities in which they commit their crimes. Because human trafficking disproportionately impacts women and girls, prosecutors who prioritize the response to violence against sexually exploited women in their anti-trafficking efforts can enhance victim safety, prevention, and prosecution efforts. Working in partnership with advocates and agencies with the skills, experience, and expertise leads to a more comprehensive approach to these crimes and holds dangerous perpetrators accountable.

ENDNOTES

1 Jennifer Long is the Director of AEQuitas: The Prosecutors’ Resource on Violence Against Women. This article contains significant contributions from former Attorney Advisor Toolsi Meisner, particularly in the sections addressing Health Consequences and Identification, current Attorney Advisor Viktoria Kristiansson, Associate Attorney Advisor Charlene Whitman, and former law clerk Michal Gilad, LLM.

2 Interview with Samir Goswami, Director of Corporate Responsibility, Rule of Law at LexisNexis, who is the former Director of Policy and Outreach at the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless (June 3, 2010).

3 While this article does not discuss the specific issue of labor trafficking, prosecutors should note that the strategies needed for labor trafficking cases mirror those employed in sex trafficking and other violence-against-women cases. For more information, see generally Duren Banks & Tracey Kyckelhahn, Characteristics of Suspected Human Trafficking Incidents, 2008–2010 (U.S. Dep’t of Justice/Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Apr. 2011, available at http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/cshi0810.pdf (includes data provided by the Bureau of Justice Assistance’s law enforcement grantees who serve on the task forces. According to these data, 82% of reported human trafficking incidents in the United States between January 2008 and June 2010 involved allegations of sex trafficking; labor trafficking accounted for 11% of incidents; and other or unknown forms of human trafficking made up the remaining 7%). For additional information and resources, contact AEQuitas at http://www.aequitasresource.org. In addition, instances of human trafficking involving juveniles and children involve additional challenges and dynamics that will be addressed in a forthcoming publication.


8 Supra note 4.


10 “Siloed approach” refers to the lack of a coordinated response to sex trafficking and interrelated violence against women.


12 For a detailed discussion of the numerous agencies relevant to creating a multi-system, multi-agency response to sexually exploited women, see Muskovitz, supra note 4. For information regarding anti-human trafficking task forces, see Human Trafficking, OFFICE OF JUSTICE
Sex trafficking of children is a brutal form of child sexual abuse. Experts estimate that at least 100,000 American children are exploited in prostitution every year, and that the average age of this first exploitation is between 12 and 14 years old. Pimps target the vulnerable, such as runaway and homeless youth or children who have been abused or neglected. And while the commercial sexual exploitation of children (and prostitution of a child) is a form of human trafficking under U.S. federal law, many states still do not offer legal protections for minor victims, appropriate penalties to curb demand, or services to care for these severely victimized children. In many cases, these victims are treated as criminals or delinquents, resulting in significant additional harm.

The law should protect child victims of prostitution and punish the abusers. State law should:

1. Prevent minor victims of commercial sexual exploitation from being prosecuted for prostitution. Criminal prostitution statutes must remove the burden of criminal responsibility from children and ensure that legal mechanisms are in place for the state to take temporary protective custody. A practical prerequisite for such legislation is to:
   • Define prostituted children as victims of abuse and neglect, triggering a child protective response.
   • Grant immunity from prosecution for prostitution if the arrested person is under 18; or
   • Divert arrested children from juvenile delinquency proceedings to child protection proceedings.

2. Ensure that knowledge of age and coercion are not required to prosecute sex trafficking of children. Approximately two-thirds of state human trafficking laws still require that force or coercion be used to prosecute those who engage in sex trafficking of minors. However, similarly to statutory rape laws, criminal law should recognize the basic fact that children do not have the legal, psychological, or emotional capacity to consent to engage in commercial sex acts. Therefore, the law should:
   • Severely penalize child predators without requiring evidence that they used force or coercion to induce the child victim to engage in commercial sex acts.
   • View purchasers of commercial sex acts with children as child sexual predators and their acts punished as severely as other forms of child sexual abuse.
   • Ensure that anyone who knowingly purchases sex and turns a blind eye to the likely minor status of their victims, cannot use “mistake of age” as a defense, which is the case under federal law.

3. Protect child victims of sex trafficking by providing them with specialized services. Child victims of sex trafficking have very specialized needs that may include: safe houses, long-term housing, mental health care, access to GED or other remedial education, and life skills learning. Experienced practitioners have found that mainstream programs of the child abuse and neglect system routinely fail these children. The law should require protection and recovery programs for child victims such as:
   • Placement separately from other children who have not experienced the same form of abuse and who may stigmatize these victims because of their involvement in commercial sex;
   • Mentorship by survivors of the same crime or, when that is not possible, by other caring professionals who are familiar with the special trauma associated with commercial sexual abuse.
   • Protocols that ensure immediate placement of these victims in appropriate, pre-identified locations, without undue questioning from untrained law enforcement officers or other officials.

Current Policy on the Sex Trafficking of Minors
New York (2008) enacted the Safe Harbor for Exploited Children Act, which recognized that children in prostitution are not criminals or delinquents but victims of a brutal form of child sexual abuse who need specialized services. This watershed law catalyzed passage of similar “Safe Harbor” bills in other states during the 2010 session, including laws in Connecticut, Illinois* and Washington. (*sent to the Governor on 5/26/10).
In addition, the Texas Supreme Court recently ruled that children involved in prostitution are victims, not criminals (see below).

**Landmark Decision: Texas Supreme Court Rules In Matter of B.W. (2010)**

**Children in Prostitution are Victims, Not Criminals.**

**Facts**
- Thirteen-year-old B.W. flagged down the car of an undercover officer and offered to engage in oral sex for twenty dollars. She was arrested for prostitution.
- The trial court (Family Court) found her guilty of Class B misdemeanor of prostitution; she admitted that she had "knowingly agreed to engage in sex . . . for a fee," and received a sentence of 18-months' probation.
- The Court of Appeals affirmed the judgment, and the case was appealed, the Texas Supreme Court agreed to review her case.
- The Supreme Court of Texas reversed the Court of Appeals by a 6-3 decision.

The Supreme Court of Texas argued in its decision:
1. *Because a 13 year old child cannot consent to sex as a matter of law . . . B.W. cannot be prosecuted as a prostitute.*
   - The Supreme Court argued that children below the age of 14 cannot understand the significance of agreeing to sex and, therefore, could not satisfy the “knowing” requirement of the statute. The Court cited longstanding common law, Texas statutes, and numerous cases. “The notion that an underage child cannot legally consent to sex is of longstanding origin and derives from common law.”
2. **Children cannot be considered guilty of an act that involves their own sexual exploitation.**
   - “Transforming a child victim of adult sexual exploitation into a juvenile offender was not the legislature’s intent when it enacted the laws on prostitution” and “delinquent conduct of a child… It is far more likely that the legislature intended to punish those who sexually exploit children rather than subject child victims below 14 years to prosecution.”
   - The court also cited legislation that “compelling a child under 18 to commit prostitution was a second-degree felony” and harsher penalties for “inducing a child under fourteen to engage in sexual conduct or performance.”
     1. “In passing these statutes, the Legislature has expressed both the extreme importance of protecting children from sexual exploitation, and the awareness that children are more vulnerable to exploitation by others.”
3. Prohibiting underage victims of prostitution from being prosecuted will not encourage more exploitation.
   - “Pimps and sexual exploiters of children may still be prosecuted for compelling prostitution and other crimes of sexual exploitation even though child may not be prosecuted for prostitution.”
   - Treating child prostitutes as victims rather than criminals will also undermine the ability of pimps to play on the child’s fear of police, removing an powerful tool pimps use to assert control.
4. **Child victims of prostitution should be provided counseling, rehabilitation, and services instead of being placed in a detention system, ill-suited to the child’s needs.**
   - The Court argued a child such as B.W. would qualify for State child protective services, which would be better equipped to provide her with proper care and treatment.

All quotes from Supreme Court of Texas, *In Matter of B.W.*, June 18, 2010, No. 08-1044

**Please support and sponsor legislation to help child victims of commercial sexual exploitation!**
For more information, assistance with drafting or advocacy support, please contact jjanovsky@polarisproject.org.

www.polarisproject.org
ASSESSMENT OF POLICIES & PROGRAMS to Combat Human Trafficking

A Report Prepared for the Massachusetts Governor’s Council To Address

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE And SEXUAL ASSAULT

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Assessment of Policies and Programs to Combat Human Trafficking

Executive Summary

Over the past two decades, the trafficking of persons across borders for sexual, labor and other forms of exploitation has become a major concern for governments, international organizations, and NGOs. Since 2000, there has been a flurry of anti-trafficking policy activity in the United States and a variety of anti-trafficking initiatives aimed at increasing international cooperation in combating trafficking and bringing greater attention to the problem worldwide. Although the subject has surfaced in movies, television shows, and other forms of media, the underlying issue is one of horrendous conditions—victims held captive by force, fraud, or coercion—and a hopeless future.

Despite the increased awareness, little research has been conducted to evaluate recent anti-trafficking policy initiatives and programs. This is particularly problematic because policymakers, service providers, and activists across the United States are looking to recent research to help identify what efforts have been effective and what efforts have not or could be improved. Many states also are reevaluating their efforts and considering new approaches, but have even less knowledge and understanding of the problem.

Massachusetts stands as one of only four states that currently lacks legislation specifying human trafficking as a crime. Although one bill introduced in 2009 passed the state Senate, it died in the House. Under the leadership of the Attorney General and key state legislators, new bills have been filed this year. Despite the apparent momentum for a landmark bill, it is not clear that the public or most members of the legislature and other policymakers view human trafficking as a problem here in Massachusetts.

To address this void, a team of researchers from the Bentley University Service-Learning Center and University Honors Program offered to assist the Massachusetts Governor’s Council to Address Sexual Assault and Domestic Violence in drawing together what is known on the topic and evaluating programs that exist within and outside of the state. After meeting with the Council’s Executive Director, Sheridan Haines, and learning of the Council’s objectives, we developed the following research questions:

1. To what extent is human trafficking a problem in Massachusetts?
2. What explains the variation among the U.S. states in policymaking outcomes on combating human trafficking?
3. How well are current law enforcement and prosecution strategies and specific programs to combat human trafficking working in practice?
4. How well are current strategies and specific programs to protect victims of sex trafficking working in practice?
5. How well are current prevention strategies and programs working in practice?
6. How can effective strategies and programs to combat human trafficking be adapted to effectively address the problem in Massachusetts?
Although we acknowledge the existence of many other forms of trafficking for labor, organs, etc, this report is focused primarily on the trafficking of women and children for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

### Measuring the Extent of Human Trafficking

- The International Labor Organization estimates that there are an estimated 12.3 million people living in slavery today; nearly 50,000 people were trafficked into the U.S. in 2009.
- The Department of Justice investigated more than 1,200 cases where women who were alleged to have been trafficked for prostitution and more than 1,000 cases of prostitution or sexual exploitation of a child.
- The trafficking of human beings for sex work and other forced labor is estimated to be a $32 billion a year industry, $8 billion of which is for sex work in the United States. Human trafficking ranks below only drug trafficking and just ahead of arms trafficking in terms of profits in illegal markets.
- Victims of sex trafficking suffer from various forms of physical and psychological trauma including gynecological complications, STD’s, severe drug and alcohol addiction, and disassociation and various other health complications.
- Victims of trafficking crimes are at high-risk of becoming recruiters for traffickers of new victims and have children who are at high-risk of becoming involved in the sex industry.
- We estimate that between 1,500 and 1,800 people were victims of sexual violence as a result of human trafficking and prostitution in Massachusetts in 2010. This amounts to the equivalent figure for forcible rape cases reported and ten times the rate of murder and manslaughter in the Commonwealth.

### Explaining Variation in Anti-Trafficking Policy in the U.S. States

- State laws to combat human trafficking are needed in addition to the 2000 Trafficking Victims Protection Act because these laws:
  - allow states to pursue cases that do not fit the definition of crimes such as kidnapping, sexual assault, and extortion;
  - allow states to collect and disseminate data on trafficking crimes and profile traffickers and victims;
  - coordinate prosecution efforts with authorities from the federal government or neighboring states; and
  - recognize that social service agencies and state & local law enforcement come into closer contact with the problem and usually are the first responders to trafficking cases.
- As of May 2011, 46 states plus the District of Colombia have their own laws in place to address human trafficking; Massachusetts, one of the remaining three without legislation, is ranked by the Polaris Project in the bottom tier of states in its commitment to combating trafficking.
- Legislation to address human trafficking is most likely to pass when there is a dedicated legislator or, “champion,” who is passionate about the problem and takes a leadership role; NGOs and other activists also are helpful in making taking an active role to support and inform policy.
• Legislation designed to increase penalties for trafficking crimes are more likely to pass than legislation that seek protection services for victims because they do not require the same amount of financial support.
• States with major ports of entry to the country and that have concerns about illegal immigration are more likely to involve the debate over human trafficking, more likely to pass prosecution-based bills, and less likely to pass legislation that provides protective services for victims.

Prosecution and Law Enforcement Strategies

Task Forces

• Between 2001 and 2007, the Department of Justice has increased the number of human trafficking cases filed by six times the previous number, quadrupled the number of traffickers charged, and tripled its number of convictions. Parts of the increased success in prosecution can be attributed to a larger network of anti-trafficking organizations that are working together.
• There is a strong relationship between the success and effectiveness of task forces and the frequency of their meetings; the most effective task forces meet multiple times per year with subcommittees meeting even more often.
• Although the diversity of perspectives on task forces can provide a more comprehensive approach to addressing the problem, their different priorities and interactions with the issue can create rifts in what is deemed the correct approach to combating trafficking.
• Task forces that designate a single person whose sole job is to coordinate the task forces and where members have defined roles and responsibilities are more effective at coordinating strategy.

Training Programs for Police

• Massachusetts and most other states do not require training programs for local police departments to identify victims of human trafficking.
• In states where training programs are not mandatory, local police departments that wish to participate must make a request in order to receive trainings. Requests are rarely made, however, since most departments are unaware that these programs exist.
• A recent survey of training programs in Ohio indicates that only one-fourth of detectives receive training to recognize trafficking; however, two-thirds of law enforcement officials indicated that their own departments needed training.

John schools

• Evaluations of john schools suggest a strong relationship between participation in the program and decreased rates of recidivism among johns.
• John schools are currently self-funded; the required fee paid by johns cover the administrative and operating costs of the program.
Protection Strategies

- A challenge to developing effective protection programs for trafficking victims is that social service providers believe that each case is unique and that services must be customized to meet victims’ needs.
- A victim’s trust in those assisting them can be compromised by language barriers and a lack of cultural understanding.

Court Advocacy

- The coordination between different service providers can become chaotic and inefficient, requiring the need for a designated case worker familiar with the legal aspects of trafficking and who is able to help a victim navigate the system.
- Court advocates and other individuals assisting the victims through the legal proceedings must be aware of the rights to which victims are entitled under federal law and proper procedures for securing those rights so they can be properly communicated to victims.

Mental Health Counseling

- The mental trauma for victims often is heightened when they are subjected to interviews and screening by law enforcement and service providers.
- Although trauma therapy is an effective method of counseling in trafficking situations, it often is challenging for service providers to establish the trust of victims and convince them to be receptive to treatment.
- Most larger hospitals do not have any procedures in place to assist victims of sex trafficking; instead, many counseling services currently are provided through all-encompassing providers that may lack personnel with expertise in mental health counseling.

Transitional Services

- Because T- and U-visa application processing times can take over a year, victims trafficked in the United States from abroad require services for longer periods of times.
- Victims frequently run away from shelters because they are not accustomed to the regimented schedules and structures of the organizations.
- Unlike court advocacy and mental health counseling that require service providers to have training and specialized skill sets, the success of transitional services is contingent on providers having the knowledge, ability and resources to meet many different needs of the victims.

Prevention Strategies

- There is no empirical evidence suggesting general awareness programs such as pamphlets, brochures and other public awareness campaigns are effective.
• Educational seminars that are more focused and targeted to smaller, high-risk audiences such as are more informative, but are expensive to operate and lack research to assess its effectiveness.
• Businesses can assume an active role in combating human trafficking by reporting evidence of sex trafficking and forced prostitution and by entering into voluntary compacts with other business to closely monitor their supply chains for evidence of slave labor, enforce a code of conduct, and conduct business only with others adhering to the same standards.

Recommendations

General and Legislative Response

• Develop better data collection to more precisely measure the extent of human trafficking in Massachusetts.
• Inform legislators and the general public on the general impact human trafficking has on its victims, public resources, and the larger social implications.
• Focus initial legislation on designating human trafficking as a crime and imposing lengthy sentences for convicted traffickers rather than social services or prevention programs.
• Encourage one key legislator or other prominent member of state government to assume a leadership role in persuading legislators to support passage of an anti-trafficking bill.
• Encourage NGOs, interest groups, and activists to use the media and other communication channels to keep the problem of human trafficking on the public agenda and work with legislative champions to move a bill through the legislative process.

Prosecution

• Streamline task force structures so that roles and responsibilities are well-defined.
• Encourage the use of free online training programs for police officers to identify victims of trafficking through the Blue Campaign.
• Increase the number of those convicted for soliciting prostitutes to attend a john school, adding a location in Boston where most trafficking- and sex-related crimes occur.
• Impose higher fines on johns who are required to attend johns schools to help fund an expanded curriculum.

Protection

• Work with service providers to develop protective efforts general enough to meet the needs of a wide variety of victims.
• Share information with court advocates to ensure that they are familiar with the law and victims' rights, in particular immigration law and rights for victims trafficking into the United States.
• Monitor closely the work of researchers at Massachusetts General Hospital to identify resources and tools that healthcare providers need to identify and properly treat victims of sex trafficking.
**Prevention**

- Place more preventative efforts on seminars for at-risk individuals rather than the distribution of pamphlets and brochures.
- Decrease demand for trafficked labor and prostitution by educating young boys on the negative aspects of the sex industry in their health classes at school and in youth organizations.
- Designate someone to take the lead on working with businesses to persuade them to implement policies to prevent trafficking including: monitoring their supply chain, suspending or terminating contracts with third-party vendors and suppliers that use trafficked labor, purchasing from fair trade organizations or companies with anti-trafficking policies, and providing training for employees in the travel industry to recognize signs of trafficking victims passing through their hotels, flights, etc.

Eliminating, even reducing, human trafficking in Massachusetts requires a long-term commitment and comprehensive approach. Once human trafficking is a crime at a state level, resources should be expanded to protect victims and facilitate their successful transition to society. At some point, the state should consider the need to direct resources at addressing the conditions that put individuals in high-risk situations for trafficking. Although these objectives are not necessarily inexpensive or easy to accomplish, they will have long-term benefits to victims of trafficking and the people of Massachusetts, setting the state in the right direction to combat this global issue occurring right here in the Commonwealth.

A copy of the full report and other supplementary materials can be obtained by contacting the study’s faculty advisor, Professor Jeff Gulati at jgulati@bentley.edu or 781-891-3177.

June 22, 2011
An Act Relative to the Commercial Exploitation of People

On November 21, 2011 Governor Patrick signed “An Act Relative to the Commercial Exploitation of People,” also known as the “Human Trafficking Law.” This comprehensive legislation addresses the exploitation of children and adults for purposes of sexual servitude, forced labor and organ trafficking. It creates a host of new offenses and increases penalties for existing crimes. It expands reporting obligations, mandates inter-agency cooperation to provide services to victims and establishes a Victims of Human Trafficking Fund to help fund those services. It also authorizes the forfeiture of offender assets and civil actions by victims.

This legal update focuses on the provisions that involve investigations and prosecutions. For the complete text of the law, please see Chapter 178 of the Acts of 2011, which can be found at http://www.malegislature.gov/Laws/SessionLaws/Acts/2011/Chapter178

NEW CRIMINAL OFFENSES

1. Enticement of a Child by Means of Electronic Communications,
   G.L. c. 265, § 26D

Definitions:
- “Entice” – to lure, induce, persuade, tempt, incite, solicit, coax or invite.
- “Electronic Communication” – shall include, but not be limited to: any transfer of signs, signals, writings, images, sounds, data, or intelligence transmitted by wire, radio, electromagnetic, photo-electronic or photo-optical system.

Text:
Whoever, by electronic communication, knowingly entices a child under the age of 18 years, to engage in prostitution in violation of section 50 or section 53A of chapter 272,

1 Effective in 90 days. Note that the emergency preamble found on the Legislature’s link to Chapter 178 of the Acts of 2011 does not pertain to An Act Relative to the Commercial Exploitation of People.
human trafficking in violation of section 50, 51, 52 or 53 or commercial sexual activity as defined in section 49, or attempts to do so, shall be punished . . .

**Punishment:** House of Correction for not more than 2 ½ years or state prison for not more than 5 years, or by a fine of not less than $2,500, or both fine and imprisonment.

**Second/subsequent offense:** State prison for not less than 5 years and a fine of not less than $10,000. Sentence cannot be reduced to less than 5 years, or suspended, nor eligible for parole, probation, work release or furlough until after 5 years are served.

### 2. Trafficking Persons for Sexual Servitude, G.L. c. 265, § 50

**Definitions** (found in G.L. c. 265, § 49; apply also to G.L. c. 265, § 51, below):

- **“Commercial sexual activity”** – any sex act where anything of value is given, promised, or received by any person.
- **“Financial harm”** – a detrimental position relative to wealth, property or other monetary benefits that occurs as a result of another person’s illegal act.
- **“Forced services”** – services performed or provided by a person that are obtained or maintained by another person who:
  - Causes or threatens serious harm;
  - Physically restrains or threatens to do so;
  - Abuses or threatens to abuse the law or legal process;
  - Knowingly destroys, conceals, removes, confiscates or possesses a passport, immigration document or government-issued identification card;
  - Engages in extortion;
  - Causes or threatens to cause financial harm to any person.
- **“Services”** – acts performed by a person under the supervision of or for the benefit of another.
- **“Sexually-explicit performance”** – an unlawful live or public show intended to arouse or satisfy sexual desires.

**Text:**

(a) Whoever knowingly: (i) subjects, or attempts to subject, or recruits, entices, harvests, transports, provides or obtains by any means, or attempts to recruit, entice, harbor, transport, provide or obtain by any means, another person to engage in commercial sexual activity, a sexually-explicit performance or the production of unlawful pornography in violation of chapter 272, or causes a person to engage in commercial sexual activity, a sexually-explicit performance or the production of unlawful pornography in violation of said chapter 272; or (ii) benefits, financially or by receiving anything of value, as a result of a violation of clause (i), shall be guilty of the crime of trafficking of persons for sexual servitude . . .
Punishment: State prison for not less than 5 years but not more than 20 years, and fine of not more than $25,000. If victim is under 18, punishment in state prison for life or any term of years, but not less than 5 years.

- Sentence cannot be reduced to less than 5 years, or suspended.
- No eligibility for probation, parole, work release, furlough, or any deduction for good conduct until at least 5 years of sentence is served.
- No continued without a finding or placed on file.
- A business entity shall be punished by a fine of not more than $1,000,000.

Second/subsequent offense (also applies to G.L. c. 265, § 51, below): Imprisonment in state prison for life or for any term of years, but not less than 10 years. Sentence shall not be reduced to less than 10 years, or suspended, nor shall any convicted person be eligible for probation, parole, work release, furlough, or receive any deduction from his sentence for good conduct until 10 years are served. No continuance without a finding or place on file.

- Prima facie evidence of a valid prior adjudication, conviction or finding of sufficient facts shall be demonstrated by either certified attested copies of original court papers, or certified attested copies of the defendant’s biographical and informational data from probation, jail or corrections documents. The commonwealth shall not be required to introduce any additional corroborating evidence or live witness testimony to establish the prior violation.

3. **Trafficking Persons for Forced Services, G.L. c. 265, § 51**

Definitions: same as section 50, above.

Text:
Whoever knowingly: (i) subjects, or attempts to subject, another person to forced services, or recruits, entices, harbors, transports, provides or obtains by any means, or attempts to recruit, entice, harbor, transport, provide or obtain by any means, another person, intending or knowing that such person will be subjected to forced services; or (ii) benefits, financially or by receiving anything of value, as a result of a violation of clause (i), shall be guilty of trafficking of persons for forced services . . .

Punishment: same as section 50, above.

Second/subsequent offense: same as Section 50, above.

4. **Organ Trafficking, G.L. c. 265, § 53**

Text:
Whoever: (i) recruits, entices, harbors, transports, delivers or obtains by any means, another person, intending or knowing that an organ, tissue or other body part of such
person will be removed for sale, against such person’s will; or (ii) knowingly receives anything of value, directly or indirectly as a result of a violation of clause (i) shall be guilty of organ trafficking . . .

**Punishment:** State prison for not more than 15 years, or by a fine of not more than $50,000, or both imprisonment and fine. When the victim is under the age of 18, punishment shall be imprisonment in state prison for 5 years.

**INCREASED PENALTIES**

5. **Penalty for Solicitation of a Prostitute**

Increases the penalty for this crime, found in G.L. c. 272, § 8, to imprisonment in the House of Correction for not more than 2 ½ years, or a fine of not less than $1,000 and not more than $5,000, or both imprisonment and fine.

6. **Penalties for Engaging in Sexual Conduct for a Fee**

Strikes G. L. c. 272, § 53A, and replaces it with the following:

**Section 53A(a)** – whoever engages, agrees to engage or offers to engage in sexual conduct in return for a fee shall be punished by imprisonment in House of Correction for not more than 1 year, or by fine of not more than $500, or both imprisonment and fine, regardless of whether sexual conduct occurs.

**Section 53A(b)** – whoever pays, agrees to pay or offers to pay another person to engage in sexual conduct, or to agree to engage in sexual conduct with another person, shall be punished by imprisonment in House of Correction for not more than 2 ½ years, or by a fine of not less than $1,000 and not more than $5,000, or by both imprisonment and fine, regardless of whether sexual conduct occurs.

**Section 53A(c)** – whoever pays agrees to pay or offers to pay any person with the intent to engage in sexual conduct with a child under the age of 18, or whoever is paid, agrees to pay or agrees that a third person be paid in return for aiding a person who intends to engage in sexual conduct with a child under the age of 18, shall be punished by imprisonment in state prison for not more than 10 years, or in the House of Correction for not more than 2 ½ years, and by a fine of not less than $3,000 and not more than $10,000, or by imprisonment and fine, regardless of whether sexual conduct occurs. Prosecutions under this section shall not be continued without a finding or placed on file.
ASSET FORFEITURE

7. Victims of Human Trafficking Trust Fund

The legislation creates a “Victims of Human Trafficking Trust Fund” under G.L. c. 10, § 66A. This fund shall consist of proceeds of assets seized and forfeited pursuant to G.L. c. 265, §§ 55, 56 and fines and assessments collected pursuant to G.L. c. 265, §§ 50, 51, 54. The funds shall be transferred to the Victim and Witness Assistance Board for distribution to public, non-profit and community-based programs that provide services to victims of offenses under G.L. c. 265, §§ 50, 51.

- All money furnished or intended to be furnished in exchange for forced labor, sexual servitude or to facilitate any violation of sections 50 or 51 shall be subject to forfeiture and shall be made available by the court to any victim ordered restitution pursuant to G.L. c. 258B, § 3.
- The following property shall be subject to forfeiture, and shall, upon motion by the Attorney General or District Attorney, be declared forfeit by any court having jurisdiction over said property or having final jurisdiction over any related criminal proceeding:
  - All conveyances, aircraft, vehicles or vessels used, or intended for use, to transport, conceal or facilitate a violation of section 50 or 51;
  - All books, records, research, microfilms, tapes and data used, or intended for use, in violation of section 50 or 51;
  - All negotiable instruments, securities or other things of value furnished or intended to be furnished by any person in exchange for forced labor or sexual servitude, all proceeds traceable to such an exchange, including real estate and any other thing of value, and all negotiable instruments and securities used or intended to be used to facilitate any violation of section 50 or 51;
  - All real property, including any right, title and interest in the whole of any lot or tract of land and any appurtenances or improvements thereto, which is used in any manner or part to commit or facilitate any violation of section 50 or 51.

MANDATED REPORTING AND INVESTIGATION OF CHILD ABUSE

8. Modifications to G.L. c. 119, § 21 (Definitions)

The legislation adds to the definitions section as follows:

- Defines “advocate” as a person trained to work and advocate for the needs of sexually exploited children.
- Defines “appropriate services” as the assessment, planning and care (including food, clothing, medical care, counseling and crisis intervention) provided by an entity that has expertise in providing services to sexually exploited children.
Such appropriate services shall be provided in accordance with DCF regulations and policies.

- Defines “sexually exploited child” as any person under the age of 18 who has been subjected to sexual servitude, sex trafficking, engaging in sex in exchange for a fee, food, shelter, clothing, education or care, inducing a minor into prostitution or engaging in common night walking or streetwalking.
- Amends the definition of “children in need of services” to include a sexually exploited child.

9. Mandated 51A reports of sexually exploited or trafficked children

This legislation amends G.L. c. 119, § 51A to mandate reports to DCF of sexually exploited children or children who are otherwise human trafficking victims, and amends section 51B to require DCF to immediately report such cases to the District Attorney.

10. Multi-disciplinary Service Teams, G.L. c. 119, § 51D

When a 51A report specifically involves a sexually exploited child or a child human trafficking victim, the multi-disciplinary service team may consist of a team of professionals trained or otherwise experienced and qualified to assess the needs of sexually exploited children or children who are otherwise human trafficking victims, including:

1. Police officer, or other person designated by the police chief,
2. DCF employee,
3. Representative of the appropriate District Attorney,
4. Social service provider,
5. Medical professional or mental health professional.

The Multi-disciplinary team members shall determine whether the child has been sexually exploited and recommend a service plan.


The legislation adds two new sections to G.L. c. 119, §§ 39K, 39L:

Section 39K: This section requires DCF to provide services for sexually exploited children and those reasonably believed to be sexually exploited. DCF or any person may file a care and protection petition when a child declines services or is unable or unwilling to participate in services. The child shall have access to an advocate, as defined in G.L. c. 119, section 21. The advocate or a member of the multi-disciplinary team established under section 51 shall accompany the child to all court appearances.

Section 39L: When a sexually exploited child is charged in juvenile or criminal court with common nightwalking/streetwalking, G.L. c. 272, section 53 or with engaging in sexual conduct for a fee, G.L. c. 272, section 53A(a), there shall be a presumption that a
petition for care and protection or child in need of services will be filed before or after arraignment.

- Any person, including the juvenile, may file the care and protection petition, including a petition for emergency commitment under G.L. c. 272, § 24.
- A parent or police officer may file a child in need of services petition under G.L. c. 272, § 39E.
- The court may appoint a guardian ad litem and shall hold a hearing, and may allow a reasonable delay in the proceedings, including arraignment, to consider the petition. The court shall issue written findings of fact to become part of the court record.
- If the court finds that the child is in need of services or care and protection and arraignment has not yet occurred, and unless the District Attorney or Attorney General object, the court shall indefinitely stay the arraignment for DCF to provide services. If arraignment has occurred, and absent an objection by the District Attorney or Attorney General, the court shall sentence the child to pretrial probation under G.L. ch. 276, section 87. If the child fails to substantially comply with services, the court may restore the proceedings to the court docket.

EVIDENTIARY ISSUES

12. Confidential Communications with Human Trafficking Caseworker

The legislation creates a new section 20M under G.L. ch. 233 to protect communications between trafficking victims as caseworkers, as follows:

- It defines a “confidential communication” as information transmitted in confidence by and between a victim and a caseworker by a means which does not disclose the information to a person other than a person present to benefit the victim, or to those to whom disclosure is reasonably necessary to counsel and assist the victim.
- Confidential communication shall include all information received by a victim’s caseworker while counseling and assisting the victim, including, but not limited to, reports, records, working papers or memoranda.
- A caseworker shall not disclose any confidential communication without the prior written consent of the victim or the victim’s guardian.
- Such confidential communications shall not be subject to discovery in any civil, legislative or administrative proceeding without the prior written consent of the victim or the victim’s guardian.
- In criminal actions, such confidential communications shall be subject to discovery and shall be admissible as evidence but only to the extent that information is exculpatory in relation to the defendant; provided, however, that the court shall first determine whether or not such exculpatory information exists before allowing the discovery or introduction of such evidence.
• At the initial meeting, the caseworker must inform the victim of the confidentiality rights and the limitations.

13. Reputation Evidence

The legislation amends G.L. c. 233, § 21B by adding the new human trafficking crimes (G.L. c. 265, §§ 50, 51) to the current rape shield law. Therefore, evidence of the reputation of a victim’s sexual conduct shall not be admissible in an investigation or proceeding before a grand jury or a court for a violation of these statutes.

MISCELLANEOUS

14. Statute of Limitations

The legislation amends the statute of limitations for sexual abuse of minors, G.L. c. 260, § 4C, to include human trafficking offenses, thereby creating a three year window, which is tolled for a child until the age of 18. The statute also amends G.L. c. 277, § 63 by adding human trafficking crimes to the current criminal statute of limitations tolling periods.

15. Victim’s Name; Confidentiality

The statute amends G.L. c. 265, § 24C to protect the confidentiality of a human trafficking victim’s name from release by a court, police department or state agency.

16. Child Witness Testimony; Videotaping or Simultaneous Electronic Transfer

The statute amends G.L. c. 278, § 16D to extend its protections to victims and witnesses under the age of 15 in prosecutions under G.L. c. 265, §§ 50, 51.

17. Affirmative Defense to Common Night Walking and Streetwalking (G.L. c. 272, § 53) and Engaging in Sexual Conduct for a Fee (G.L. c. 272, § 53A)

The statute creates an affirmative defense for a human trafficking victim involved in a prosecution or juvenile delinquency proceeding that, while a victim, such person was under duress or coerced into committing the offenses.

18. Sex Offender Registration

The statute amends the definition section of the sex offender registration and community notification act, G.L. c. 6, § 178C, by adding the following crimes to the definitions of “sex offense,” “sex offense involving a child,” and “sexually violent offense:”
• Enticing a child under 18 via electronic communication to engage in prostitution, human trafficking or commercial sexual activity under G.L. c. 265, § 26D;
• Trafficking of persons for sexual servitude under G.L. c. 265, § 50;
• Second and subsequent violation of human trafficking or sexual servitude under G.L. c. 265, § 52.

19. Civil Actions

A victim of G.L. c. 265, §§ 50, 51 may bring a civil action. Any legal guardian, family member, representative or court appointee may represent the victim’s rights. The court may award:
• Actual damages
• Compensatory damages
• Punitive damages
• Injunctive relief
• Any other appropriate relief
A prevailing plaintiff shall be awarded attorney’s fees and costs.
A civil action shall be commenced within 3 years of the date on which the victim was freed, or, if the victim was a child, within 3 years after the date the victim turns 18.

20. Address Confidentiality Program

Amends the definition of “sexual assault” in G.L. c. 9A, § 1, by adding the following crimes to those eligible for the address confidentiality program with the Secretary of State’s Office:
• Enticing a child under 18 via electronic communication to engage in prostitution, human trafficking or commercial sexual activity under G.L. c. 265, § 26D;
• Trafficking of persons for sexual servitude under G.L. c. 265, § 50.

21. Interagency Task Force on Human Trafficking

The Attorney General shall chair a task force to address all aspects of human trafficking. The task force includes numerous representatives, including a representative of MDAA.