Pathways into and out of commercial sexual victimization of children: Recommendations and Implications for Policy and Practice

Linda M. Williams

Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology
University of Massachusetts Lowell

Submitted: September 28, 2009
Revised: October 31, 2009

Submitted in partial completion of for Grant No. 2006-MU-FX-0060: Pathways into and out of Commercial Sexual Victimization of Children: A Life Course Perspective. Linda M. Williams, Principal Investigator, University of Massachusetts Lowell, Lowell, MA and Andrea C. Powell, Co-Investigator, Fair Fund, Inc., Washington, DC

Suggested citation: Williams, L.M. (2009). *Pathways into and out of commercial sexual victimization of children: Recommendations and implications for policy and practice.* Lowell, MA: University of Massachusetts Lowell.

This project was supported by Grant No. 2006-MU-FX-0060 awarded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. Points of view or opinions in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Correspondence about this research should be directed to Linda M. Williams, Professor, Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, University of Massachusetts Lowell, 870 Broadway Street, Lowell, MA 01854. linda_williams@uml.edu or 978-934-4118.

Pathways into and out of commercial sexual victimization of children: Recommendations and Implications for Policy and Practice

The Pathways Project has examined pathways into and out of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) via prostitution with the goal of providing useful information to practice and policy communities (including juvenile and criminal justice systems, social service and public health providers, not-for-profit youth-serving agencies, and communities) to prevent CSEC and increase safety and well being of victims. The study was designed to understand perspectives of the interviewed youth; to identify the factors (individual, family, peer, school, and community contexts) associated with the commencement of CSEC; to identify factors that surround its maintenance and escalation; and to identify factors that impede or empower exiting from or overcoming exploitative situations. Our research included primarily qualitative methods with a focus on integrating researchers and grassroots organizers into the design, data collection, data analysis and dissemination. In the Boston metropolitan area and in Washington, DC, we interviewed 61 adolescents (aged 14-19) who experienced sexual violence via teen prostitution or who were runaways at risk for such commercial sexual exploitation.

Our research called for interviewing boys as well as girls with a clear recognition that boys comprise a significant but understudied portion of the CSEC population. While we achieved many interviews with boys, our field-based interviewing methods and more ethnographic-style approach was not well attuned to gaining access to commercially sexually exploited boys. More research on boys that builds on the work of Curtis and colleagues (2008) is need.

In this section document we summarize the most salient points and themes we extracted from the narratives of the youth we interviewed and the implications for policy and practice. This report has emphasized the voices of the youth. There are, of course other voices to be heard and recommendations to be made by those in our communities charged with responding to this serious problem. It has been the intent of this project to help give voice to the youth and provide their input to those who may not have an opportunity to hear their voices. Reading this section is no substitute for reading the full final report (Williams & Frederick, 2009) with the actual words of the teens who shared their experiences with us.

The need to change the way we think about CSEC and commercially sexually exploited youth

Analyses of the narratives of homeless, runaway and sexually victimized (prostituted and trafficked) teens suggest the need for a more nuanced understanding of both harm and survival that has important implications for practice and policy communities responding to human trafficking within and across borders.

Our research found that coping and survival is a key theme for high-risk runaway and homeless teens. The nature of their survival is complex and to some outsiders may barely resemble “survival.” But based on their own reports they have “survived” the extreme difficulties that violence in their natal homes and on the streets have presented. They have negotiated life at a very young age to deal with hunger and poverty. They see this as survival. Agency staff and policy-makers need to understand how important this identification as “survivor” is in the approach they take to assisting teens victimized by CSEC and why young women and men may rebuff their attempts at “rescue.” Some teens may believe that they have in large part already “saved” themselves simply by still being alive.

The teen narratives reflect themes of harm and survival and even agency that any portrayal of these teens as one-dimensional “victims” or “offenders” misses. Yes, in no uncertain terms they have been victimized and in some jurisdictions they have also violated the law. The complexity of their lives and their survival skills, however, often are not taken into account in common depictions of the prostituted teen. This victim image may garner the support of charities and politicians but this victim label may do them a great disservice in the long run because the portrayal of the weak, “innocent,” helpless victim is directly challenged by the teen the police or a would-be service provider encounters in the field. Instead of a sad-eyed victim they confront a strong, willful, survivor who looks and acts quite differently from the victims portrayed in the media. That survivor may be mislabeled “offender” because she does not conform to the stereotype of victim.

There are even more difficulties when this perception of victims impacts the policies and services that are put in place. To escape CSEC teens need a safe place to stay with nutritious food and services that respect their “survivor” status and foster resilience. But often there are no services that meet their needs. Some teens see the streets as less harmful and more likely to help them “survive” than the programs offered in their communities. Teens may be understandably reluctant to turn themselves over to adults, especially when they have found so many adults they have encountered to be untrustworthy.

Older teens need places to stay where they may be able to maintain some (appropriate) levels of autonomy and be empowered to make the situation work. Our interviews with prostituted teens reveal a long history of highly destructive families fraught with violence and dysfunction. Many of the teens have been in numerous foster care settings or have lived on the streets or with no permanent home for months and even years. They often have little trust in the child welfare systems that they have encountered in the past. Their experiences and the evidence available about their survival based coping skills suggest a need for the development of meaningful partnerships between youth and social services. Without such partnerships that provide the youth a pathway to achieve freedom from the life of prostitution and the control of the pimp and without some meaningful control over their lives (including in many cases freedom from their families)

(Bittle, 2002) there is little likelihood of success. Service providers need to understand that while victimization via CSEC is damaging, for some thrownaway youth it can be part of their survival-focused coping/ micro control (Goodman et al. 2009).

Implementing an approach that would meet the needs of prostituted teens requires a shift in the way we understand social control of youth and a major cognitive shift in how we view the relationship between the states, teens and their families. The narratives of teens who have been prostituted underscore the urgency of this need along with the complexity of making this policy change and putting the appropriate empowering supports in place.

As has been increasingly recognized in the literature on resilience and coping there are some who exhibit exemplary outcomes after adversity, those who while not exceptional in their functioning show positive development in the context of adversity, and finally those who may initially show negative consequences of trauma but over time recover adaptive functioning (Banyard & Williams, 2007). Researchers have challenged models of resilience that reflect a linear pattern of increasing growth across time (Harvey, 1996; Barringer, 1992; Banyard & Williams, 2007). Luthar et al. (2000) suggest that there are developmental progressions to adaptation and survival and that new strengths but also new vulnerabilities may emerge with changing life circumstances. Patterns of resilience may thus be better represented as a spiral than a straight ascending line. This research on prostituted teens may be best understood in the context of such a spiral of harm and coping, recovery and resilience. Determining the trajectory will require future study of the lives of high risk runaway and prostituted teens over the lifespan. The narratives of these prostituted teens suggest that being prostituted is not only a form of sexual victimization and exploitation representing extreme vulnerability but that it is also, for some, a form of survival.

Unique Challenges of CSEC for Program Development and Policy

There are unique aspects of CSEC that are challenging for most systems that have been developed to provide services for youth. These challenges include:

- Youth victimized by CSEC and those at high risk frequently reside in and cross multiple jurisdictions even on a daily basis (many hundreds of communities were mentioned by the interviewed teens). The multijurisdictional nature of the problem calls for innovative coordinated responses by all parts of the system (social, legal, medical, etc.) in multiple jurisdictions and willingness to cross jurisdictional boundaries to provide services for youth;

- Many of the teens involved in CSEC are thrownaway and disconnected youth. This complicates the process of identifying children in need of services in any jurisdiction. It also complicates treatment planning because often the youth have no adult family members who are prepared for or capable of caring for them;

- Youth who have been victimized via CSEC have often experienced complex trauma-including witnessing violence, neglect, abuse, and sexual violence that results in traumatic behavior responses that may inhibit their ability to reach out for or trust in the support being offered. Furthermore, a lack of trust or sense of worthlessness may lead teens to run away from assistance and supports. Special care must be taken devising programs that will draw youth in rather than recreating for them the distinct feeling that they are once again being abused, neglected or violated.

Comprehensive training is critical for communities

An obvious key to engaging an exploited youth is being able to identify him or her. However, due to the underground and transient nature of this form of CSEC, the lack of awareness and understanding of the problem by providers and law enforcement, and the complex psychological influence of the perpetrators, identifying exploited youth has been a tremendous challenge. (Clawson, H. & Dutch, N., 2008, Friedman, 2005). For this reason, the sexual exploitation of children has been referred to as an epidemic and the most hidden form of child abuse in the US (Estes & Weiner, 2001).

A number of training programs have been developed in communities (examples include: My Life My Choice, Boston; Girls Educational and Mentoring Services - GEMS, New York; Standing Against Global Exploitation - SAGE, San Francisco; Bilateral Safety Corridor Coalition, San Diego; Polaris Project, Washington DC; Center to End Adolescent Sexual Exploitation - CEASE, Atlanta; Breaking Free, Minneapolis; You Are Not Alone - YANA, Baltimore; Paul & Lisa, Hartford; PROMISE, Chicago; National Center for Missing and Exploited Children - NCMEC, Alexandria; Children of the Night, Los Angeles). In 2007, the Salvation Army partnered with GEMS, Bilateral Safety Corridor Coalition and Polaris Project for the Community Capacity Intervention Project (CCIP) with the goal of initiating a coordinated and well-informed community response to CSEC in five cities: Atlantic City, Chicago, Denver, San Diego and Washington DC. The first step to the development of a response in each city was the completion of a 4-day comprehensive training on CSEC for local stakeholders and providers. The University of Southern California evaluated CCIP and found the trainings to be quantitatively effective in increasing knowledge, attitude and skill among the multidisciplinary audience (Ferguson, K. & Soydan, H.). The benefits of training were further supported by another study that identified training “smart and often” as a promising strategy for identifying victims (Clawson, H. & Dutch, N., 2008).

The Pathways project findings suggest that training for social service providers, therapists, teachers, and other adults who frequently may come into contact with CSEC involved youth, in addition to helping them understand the issue of CSEC, must provide guidance in developing the specialized services both the larger community and the youth need. Our findings also underscore the need to involve those who work with domestic violence and run shelters for battered women, substance abuse treatment

program staffs, those who operate shelters for homeless adults as well as youth and school personal. Such training should include:

- Developing programming designed to confront social norms that support CSEC;
- Enhancing peer support for preventing sexual exploitation;
- Developing social networks for teen survival including positive uses of the internet for outreach and services for youth and social networking for positive change;
- Rethinking and helping to build communities of support for teens;

Specific components of community and social service response that require implementation for the prevention and control of CSEC.

- Funding and implementation of both emergency and transitional shelters with personnel who are qualified to help prostituted and sexually exploited children.
- Providing the comprehensive types of services we expect other countries to provide for internationally trafficked victims. These include rehabilitation, health care, locating communities of support, and reintegration;
- More support is needed for programs that provide youth with a safe place to stay, nutritious food, positive support networks that address their needs and empower them to make safe choices; and intervention for trauma and for behavioral issues that make it difficult for them to function in traditional settings.
- Developing programs that are far more intentional in reinforcing the connection to key adults.
- Addressing the issue of balancing family connection with the protection of the child. Assuring that children are protected from abuse by interventions and removal from dangerous and abusive situation. Providing services for youth behavioral issues that may not require removal from their homes.
- Developing comprehensive programs to assist youth who are aging out of the child welfare system.
- Increasing reliance on a “Youth Development” model to maximize participation of youth, support youth autonomy and foster their strengths for survival. Recognize and support youth “agency” especially through utilizing youth as peer mentors.
- Identifying youth as peer/ community leaders who can be involved in helping youth avoid and exit CSEC.

- Identifying programs that interact with prostituted teens but may not have been included in early prevention efforts in program development and coordination—including domestic violence shelters and schools.

- Developing not only coordinated community responses but also multijurisdictional and coordinated national responses that are designed not only for the benefit of law enforcement and prosecution but also for providing services and support for youth whose lives span multiple jurisdictions.
- Increasing community awareness so more community members can provide support and pro-social response to CSEC involved and high risk youth in their communities.
- Developing ways to use electronic media and social networking to reach youth and provide them with information on where the find support and also how to keep in touch with program staff.

This study was not designed to assess the mental health of participants. Such a study is needed to plan and provide appropriate interventions to address child traumatic stress and behavioral problems. As we learn more from the victims of CSEC we have come to understand that theories of child traumatic stress and conceptualizations developed from research on other types of child sexual abuse, for example intrafamilial child sexual abuse, may not be sufficient for understanding the complexities of the social context of CSEC. Many CSEC victims are adolescents and this is a more challenging stage of the life course in many ways. In general, our observation has been that while the community can muster concern for pre-pubescent, sexually abused, children this concerned response is less often forthcoming when the victims are adolescents. Perhaps this is because of the challenges of dealing with adolescents who have begun to more clearly form their own identities and desires and because, when compared to younger children, they have a greater level of integration into the community. This makes societal responses necessarily more complex and requires the involvement and coordination of more individuals, community groups and institutions. Seldom has the child sexual abuse literature addressed these special issues of interventions with adolescents.

Direct Law Enforcement Efforts at the Perpetrators

A large national survey of law enforcement found a significant indicator of whether human trafficking cases were investigated to be their agency's understanding and awareness of the problem (Farrell, A., McDevitt, J. & Fahy, S., 2008). To address this challenge, many organizations need to improve law enforcement knowledge, understanding and skills for identifying and responding to at risk teens. In addition:

- Training of law enforcement (not just those in special units)is needed to help police identify and assist at-risk and prostituted teens and to improve skills for communicating with them and connecting them to service providers;

- Police need training on ways to detect the juveniles amongst those persons they question or arrest for prostitution. An arrest that provides a teen who has presented fake ID with an adult identity backed up by her own fingerprints means that in future arrests for prostitution this teen will more easily pass as an adult and be summarily treated as such;

- Police need to have available alternatives for safe shelter (not lock down) if they want teens to be willing to talk and assist in the prosecution of pimps and rapists (the "johns" who pay for sex with them);

- Police, prosecutors and youth public defenders need to participate in innovative coordinated responses and extensive practitioner collaboration. -- CSEC cases are challenging for systems (e.g., youth reside in and cross many jurisdictions).

Today in response to the prostitution of children, there is evidence that many of the same rationalizations offered 30 years ago to deflect attention from the criminal aspects of perpetration of intra-familial child sexual abuse are employed. The arguments that the girl "asked" for it, "enjoyed" it or "seduced" the male or that he did not know she was under the age of consent are used to defend policies that focus on arrest and control of the prostituted juvenile and release of the customer or "john" who often could be charged with rape of a minor. These approaches reflect justifications which rationalize and neutralize the culpability of the person who pays to have sexual intercourse with a child or underage teen (Estes & Weiner, 2001; Flowers, 2001). While it is true that in the 1970s and 1980s children who were victims of intra-familial child sexual abuse (CSA) were not commonly arrested or prosecuted as happens with CSE victims today, it is useful to recall that in the early stages of the discovery of CSA (Herman, 1981) it was common for the young teen to be the one removed from the home and viewed as "incorrigible" or as a person in need of supervision based on her alleged "misbehaviors" (Chesney-Lind & Sheldon, 2004). In the 1970s it was not unheard of for the authorities to place female teen victims of incest in youth detention settings ostensibly for the purpose of "protecting" these victims while avoiding "contamination" of other "wards of the state" who resided in group homes and community settings. In truth this was a means of controlling these teens. The incest survivor was feared for her advanced sexual knowledge and "promiscuity" suggesting once again that, for girls, victimization is one short step in a pathway to the juvenile justice system (Chesney-Lind & Sheldon, 2004).

Although they often may find themselves kept in secure detention, recent research indicates that minors involved in the sex trade or trafficking who come into contact with the police are as likely to be viewed as victims as offenders (Halter, 2009). Our available social and legal responses to commercially sexually exploited children and youth, however, often make such an assessment of little practical difference for the teen victim. Indeed, in the U.S. minors who are found to have traded sex for money may also be arrested and charged in criminal courts or even when viewed as victims they may be

threatened with such charges if they do not cooperate with the authorities. Recent research reveals that U.S. law enforcement personnel are inconsistent in their treatment of juveniles involved in prostitution (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2004; Halter, 2009). This inconsistency may reflect the conflict between law enforcement driven criminalization of prostituted youth and application of other statutes and regulations that define sexual contact by an adult with a person under 18 as a reportable act of child maltreatment. Indeed child welfare agencies may place responsibility on the offending adults or on other adults who failed to protect the youth.

The empirical evidence about the criminal justice interactions with prostituted teens and the impact of the system response on these youth is scant. Until such research is conducted, we must turn to evidence related to practice with teens charged with other types of offenses. We have seen evidence that increased criminalization of youth and application of harsh sanctions has generally not deterred these individuals, but, in many cases, these juveniles go on to commit more frequent and more serious crimes (Frazier, Bishop & Lanza-Kaduce, 1999). In addition, prosecution is likely to be disproportionately applied to minority youth. Although the prosecution of prostituted teens had not been studied empirically, the Pathways Study findings suggest that it is similarly unlikely that such action will have a significant deterrent effect on the behaviors of the teen or the pimp.

Some have argued that recent changes in prosecutorial policies or family court statutes that allow prostituted teens to escape prosecution will be a boon for the pimps who, as a result, will find that such changes make it easy to quickly get those identified by police as under-age back out “on the streets” with no consequences or interruption of profit. Others suggest that the pimps may even become more inclined to target and recruit teens, knowing these teens will not be prosecuted. But this argument misses the point that with a pro-prosecution of teen victims’ policy in place, under-age girls are most likely to hide their age from law enforcement. Unfortunately, such under-age females then often see the pimp as the one person who can protect her from the “system” and likely incarceration. In addition, the threat of prosecution of a juvenile may increase the likelihood that during all interactions with the police the teen will try to hide her young age and, when arrested, attempt (often successfully) to pass herself off as an adult .

Justice calls for more arrests and serious charges lodged against the “pimps” and “johns.”

Achieving justice and social control of prostitution requires a law enforcement focus on the purveyors of sex with a child—the pimps—and also on the demand side focusing on the customers or “johns.” Evidence suggests that customers’ decisions to engage in prostitution are more free and consensual than those of prostitutes (Monto, 2004). More research is needed on strategies to reduce the demand side of prostitution. Recommitting law enforcement efforts to arrest of perpetrators should be easy; however, prosecuting the pimps is not unlike interdiction in the drug trade where finding the kingpins or bosses requires more resources for investigations that are likely to cross state and even national boundaries. Thus far in most jurisdictions the major law

enforcement strategy has been to “clean up” prostitution through a focus on arrests of prostitutes and customers, often using sting operations. When these mostly street or internet-based sting operations occur it is unlikely that the third party exploiters, the pimps and purveyors of sex are apprehended. More coordinated time consuming coordination of law enforcement and prosecution efforts are required to reach the individuals and networks. Sustained and coordinated efforts applied by a law enforcement focus on pimps are likely necessary before more meaningful success will be achieved.

Some jurisdictions have decided not to eliminate the prosecution of prostituted teens but to make it a rarely used option, offering teens the “opportunity” to escape prosecution. In these jurisdictions there are many difficulties faced in an attempt to encourage the teens to regain trust the authorities. To that end, anecdotal experience in cities such as Boston have shown that it is important that the justice system not *renege* on promises too quickly and that prosecutors, judges, law enforcement, and social service providers understand the complexities of the prostituted teens’ victimization experiences and connection to the pimp or others in “the life.” Exiting the web of relationships and social problems that contribute to a youth’s vulnerability to commercial sexual exploitation is likely to be a process that requires some second chances. These second chances may not be forthcoming unless the juvenile and criminal justice system actors are educated about these matters. The success of these approaches requires careful evaluation and documentation.

A review of the family background and experiences of many prostituted teens reveals a long history of highly destructive families fraught with violence and dysfunction. Many of the teens have been in numerous foster care settings or have lived on the streets or with no permanent home for months and even years. They often have little trust in the child welfare systems that some of them have encountered first hand or heard about from others. Their experiences and survival based coping skills suggest a successful strategy for care and support of these youth may be achieved only through the development of meaningful partnerships between the youth and social services (Williams, in press b). Without such partnerships that provide the youth a pathway to achieve freedom from incarceration and some meaningful control over their lives (including in many cases freedom from their families) (Bittle, 2002) there may be little likelihood of success. Such new partnerships need to be implemented and carefully evaluated. The narratives of teens who have been prostituted underscore the urgency of this need but also must be balanced against the complexity of making necessary policy changes to put appropriate empowering supports in place.

It is not enough to develop such programs for youth and to change the way they are treated in the criminal and juvenile justice systems, approaches to stopping prostitution of teens require a broader societal focus. Such an approach should address the social conditions that propel teens into prostitution including family violence, lack of financial and material resources, and sexual socialization of males that feeds demand for teen prostitution and supports patriarchal social relations that facilitate pimps having power

over teen girls. Meaningful partnerships are needed between youth and social services to help the teens regain control over their lives.

There are limitations to the current study. The most important of which is that it used a small sample not demographically representative of all prostituted teens or CSEC survivors. More work in this area is needed. However, given the relative paucity of research this study adds the voices of victims to discussions of ways to prevent commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth. Future research focusing on the issue of harm and survival for prostituted teens over time will be important. Such research also will have important implications for social responses to survivors of CSEC that are empowering and build on survivor's strengths.

REFERENCES

Albanese, J. (2007). *Commercial sexual exploitation of children: What do we know and what do we do about it?* Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice

Banyard V.L., Williams L.M. (2007). Women's voices on recovery: A multi-method study of the complexity of recovery from child sexual abuse. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 31* (3): 275-290.

Barringer, C. (1992). Speaking of incest: It's not enough to say the word. *Feminism and Psychology, 2,* 183-188.

Bittle, S. (2002). When protection is punishment: Neo-liberalism and secure care approaches to youth prostitution. *Canadian Journal of Criminology, 44,* 317-350.

Brannigan, A. & Gibbs Van Brunschot, E. (1997). Youthful prostitution and child sexual trauma. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry, 20,* 337-354.

Carlson, K. & Corbett, A. (2008). *The GIFT Network: Gaining independence for tomorrow*. Presented at Crimes Against Children conference, Dallas Children's Advocacy Center, Dallas, TX.

Chesney-Lind, M. & Shelden, R.G. (2004). *Girls, delinquency and juvenile justice.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Clawson, H. & Dutch, N. (2008). *Identifying victims of human trafficking: Inherent challenges and promising strategies from the field.* Issue brief for US Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation.

Clawson, H. & Grace, L.G. (2008). *Finding a path to recovery: Residential facilities for minor victims of domestic sex trafficking.* Issue brief for US Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation.

Clawson, H.J., Salomon, A. & Grace, L. (2008). *Treating the hidden wounds: Trauma treatment and mental health recovery for victims of human trafficking.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

Cooper, S., Estes, R., Giardino, A., Kellogg, N. & Vieth, V. (2005). *Medical, legal, and social science aspects of child sexual exploitation: A comprehensive review of pornography, prostitution, and internet crimes against children.* St. Louis, MO: GW Medical Publishing.

Curtis, R., Terry, K., Dank, M., Dombrowski, K., Khan, B., Muslim, A., Labriola, M. & Rempel, M. (2008). *The commercial sexual exploitation of children in New York City.* Report to the National Institute of Justice. New York, NY: Center for Court Innovation and John Jay College of Criminal Justice.

Dalla, R. L. (2002). Night moves: A qualitative investigation of street-level sex work. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 26,* 63-73.

Dalla, R. L., Xia, Y., & Kennedy, H. (2003). 'You just give them what they want and pray they don't kill you": Street-level sex workers reports of victimization, personal resources and coping strategies. *Violence Against Women, 9* (11): 1367-1394.

Estes, R.J. & Weiner, N.A. (2001). *The commercial sexual exploitation of children in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico.* Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, Center for the Study of Youth Policy.

Farley, M., Isin, B., Merab, K., & Ufuk, S. (1998). Prostitution in five countries: Violence and post-traumatic stress disorder. *Feminism & Psychology, 8* (4): 405-426.

Farrell, A., McDevitt, J. & Fahy, S. (2008). *Understanding and improving law enforcement responses to human trafficking.* Northeastern University. Final report submitted to National Institute of Justice, US Department of Justice.

Farrow, J.A., Deisher, R.W., Brown, R, Kulig, J.W. & Kipke, M.D. (1992). Health and health needs of homeless and runaway youth. *Journal of Adolescent Health,13, 717-726.*

Ferguson, K., & Soydan, H. (Under review). Building agency and community capacity to address the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) in five cities. *Journal of Community Practice.*

Finkelhor, D. & Ormrod, R. (2004*). Prostitution of juveniles: Patterns from NIBRS Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.

Flowers, R.B. (2001). *Runaway kids and teenage prostitution.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Forst, M.L. (1994). Sexual risk profiles of delinquents and homeless youths. *Journal of Community Health*, *19*, 101-114.

Frazier, C., Bishop, D. & Lanza-Kaduce. L. (1999) 'Get tough' juvenile justice reforms: The Florida experience. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 564,* 167-184.

Friedman, S. (2005). *Who is there to help us: How the system fails sexually exploited girls in the United States.* New York: EPCAT-USA, Inc.

GEMS (Girls Educations and Mentoring Service). (2008). *The GEMS Art Book: Breaking the Silence.* New York, NY.

Goldblatt Grace, L. (2009). Understanding the commercial sexual exploitation of children*. The Link.* Winter. Child Welfare League of America

Gragg, F., Petta, I., Bernstein, H., Eisen, K. & Quinn, L. (2007). *New York prevalence study of commercially sexually exploited children final report.* Westat, MD: Rockville.

Goodman, L.A., Smyth, K.F., Borges, A.M. & Singer, R. (2009). When crises collide: How intimate partner violence and poverty intersect to shape women's mental health and coping. *Trauma, Violence and Abuse: Special Issue on the Mental Health Implications of Violence Against Women.*

Halter, S. (2009). *Youth engaging in prostitution: The social construction of the child sexual abuse victim by law enforcement.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Atlanta, Georgia.

Harvey, M. R. (1996). An ecological view of psychological trauma and trauma recovery. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 9* (1): 3-23.

Herman, J. (1981). *Father-Daughter Incest.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Inciardi, J.A., Pottieger, A.E., Forney, M., Chitwood, D. & McBride, D. (1991). Prostitution, IV drug use, and sex-for-crack exchanges among serious delinquents: Risks for HIV infection. *Criminology, 29,* 221-235.
Kidd, S. & Krall, M.J. (2002). Suicide and prostitution among street youth: A qualitative analysis. *Adolescence, 37,* 411-430.
Lloyd, R. (2005). Acceptable victims? Sexually exploited youth in the U.S. *Encounter: Education for Meaning and Social Justice,18* (3).
Luthar, S. S., Cicchetti, D., & Becker, B. (2000b). Research on resilience: Reply to commentaries. *Child Development, 71,* 573-575.
MacInness, R. (1998). *Children in the game.* California: Street Teams.
Mallett, S., Rosenthal, D., Myers, P., Milburn, N., & Rotheram-Borus, M.J. (2004). Practising homelessness: A typology approach to young people's daily routines. *Journal of Adolescence 27,* 337-349.
Monto, M. A. (2004). Female prostitution, customers, and violence. *Violence Against Women, 10,* 160-188.
Muslim, A., Labriola, M. & Rempel, M. (2008). *The commercial sexual exploitation of children in New York City, Volume 2.* Center for Court Innovation & John Jay College of Criminal Justice. Report submitted to the National Institute of Justice, US Department of Justice.
Panter-Brick, C. (2002). Street children, human rights and public health: a critique and future directions. *Annual Review of Anthropology 31,* 147-171.
Priebe. A. & Suhr, C. (2005). *Hidden in plain view: The commercial sexual exploitation of girls in Atlanta.* Atlanta, GA: Atlanta Women's Agenda.
Rabinovitch, J. & Strega, S. (2004). The PEERS story: Effective services sidestep the controversies. *Violence Against Women, 10,* 140-159.
Silbert, M.H. & Pines, A.M. (1981). Sexual child abuse as an antecedent to prostitution. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 5,* 407-411.
Simons, R.L. & Whitbeck, L.B. (1991). Sexual abuse as a precursor to prostitution and victimization among adolescent and adult homeless women. *Journal of Family Issues, 12,* 361-379.
Springer, D.W. (2001). Runaway Adolescents: Today's Huckleberry Finn Crisis. *Brief Treatment and Crisis Intervention, 1* (2): 131-151.
Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. M. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research Grounded theory procedures and techniques.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
Sutherland, Edwin (1947). *Principles of Criminology.* Fourth Edition. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott.
Thompson, S.J., Pollio, D.E. & Bitner, L. (2000). Outcomes for adolescents using runaway and homeless youth services. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 3* (1): 79-97.
Tyler, K.A., Whitbeck, L.B., Hoyt, D.R. & Cauce, A.M. (2004). Risk factors for sexual victimization among male and female homeless and runaway youth. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 19,* 503-520.
Widom, C.S. & Kuhns, J.B. (1996). Childhood victimization and subsequent risk for promiscuity, prostitution, and teenage pregnancy: A prospective study. *American Journal of Public Health, 86,* 1607-1612.

Williams, L.M. (2008). *Terror and Trauma for Homeless and Prostituted Street Youth: How Can Mental Health and Societal Response be Improved?* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Society for Traumatic Stress, Chicago, Illinois.

Williams, L.M. (in press a). Harm and resilience among prostituted teens: Broadening our understanding of victimization and survival. *Social Policy and Society, 9.*

Williams, L.M. (in press b). Provide justice for prostituted teens: Stop arresting and prosecuting girls. In Natasha A. Frost, Joshua D. Freilich, and Todd R. Clear (Eds.), *Contemporary Issues in Criminal Justice Policy: Policy Proposals from the American Society of Criminology Conference.* Belmont, CA:Cengage/Wadsworth.

Williams, L.M. (2004). Researcher-advocate collaborations to end violence against women: Toward liberating methodologies for action research. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 19* (11): 1350-1357.

Williams, L.M. (2003). Understanding child abuse and violence against women: A life-course perspective. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 18* (4): 441-451.

Williams, L.M., Fernandez, J. & Frederick, M. (2009). *Pathways into and out of commercial sexual exploitation: Law enforcement role in finding justice for prostituted teens.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Boston, Massachusetts.

Williams, L.M. & Frederick, M.E. (2009). *Pathways into and out of commercial sexual victimization of children: Understanding and responding to sexually exploited teens.* Lowell, MA: University of Massachusetts Lowell.

Williams, L.M., Powell, A. & Frederick, M. (2008). *Pathways into and out of commercial sexual exploitation: Preliminary findings and implications for responding to sexually exploited teens.* Report by Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, University of Massachusetts Lowell and Fair Fund, Inc.