The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children In the U. S., Canada and Mexico

Full Report

(of the U.S. National Study)

Richard J. Estes

and

Neil Alan Weiner

University of Pennsylvania
School of Social Work
Center for the Study of Youth Policy
4200 Pine Street, 3rd floor
Philadelphia, PA 19104-4090
Telephone: 215-898-5531
Fax: 215-573-2099
E-Mail: restes@ssw.upenn.edu

September 18, 2001
(Revised 2/20/02)

Funds in support of the U.S. portion of this three-nation project were received from the following sources:

- The National Institute of Justice of the U. S. Department of Justice, grant #1999-IJ-CX-0030
- The William T. Grant Foundation, grant #99-1988-99
- The Fund for Nonviolence
- The Research Foundation of the University of Pennsylvania
- Dean's Discretionary Fund of the School of Social Work of the University of Pennsylvania

The points of view in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position of the U.S. Department of Justice or other organizations that have contributed to the financial support of this project.

Foreword

[this page left blank intentionally]

Acknowledgements

Many persons contributed to the research reported in this volume. Special acknowledgement, however, is given to the remarkable support given to the investigators by members of the project's International Advisory Group (IAG). In addition to giving their time and talent to the project, many of these persons also provided access to agencies, organizations and data that otherwise would not have been available. Each of the following persons is thanked for their exemplary service on behalf of the project:

Eric Alpert, Supervisory Special Agent
U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Elena Azaola, Professor
Center for Advanced Studies in Social Anthropology, Mexico City
Hillary Batjer, Policy Planning Officer
U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, Office of Policy Planning and Coordination
Susan Breault, Executive Director
The Paul and Lisa Program
William Carter, Special Agent
U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Crimes Against Children Unit
Leticia Diaz, International Programs Officer
National Association of Social Workers
Pierre Dionne, Director-General Emeritus
International Bureau for Children's Rights
Marcia Eugenio, Acting Director
U.S. Department of Labor, International Child Labor Program
Sara Friedman, Consultant
Kathy Free, Child Exploitation Unit
National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC)
Steve Galster, Assistant Director
Global Survival Network (now Wild Aid)
Richard Gelles, Welsh Professor of Child Welfare and Family Violence,
University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work
James M. Gibbons, Senior Special Agent
U.S. Department of the Treasury, Cyber-Smuggling Center, U.S. Customs Service
Bruce Harris, Executive Director
Casa Alianza/Covenant House, Latin American Programs
Ingrid Horton, Vanish Children's Alliance
Donna Hughes, Associate Professor, Eleanor and Oscar Carlson Endowed Chair
University of Rhode Island and Coalition Against the Trafficking of Women
Linda Krieg, Supervisory Special Agent
U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation and Liaison Officer National Center for Missing and Exploited Children
Marie Ledan, Program Analyst (International)
U.S. Department of Labor, International Child Labor Program, Bureau of International Labor Affairs
Ingrid Leth, Assistant to the Chief of Child Protection
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

Laura Lederer, Director
The Protection Project, The Paul H. Nitze School for Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University
Joan Lieberman, Associate General Counsel
U.S. Department of State, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), Legal Division
Marsha Liss, Trial Attorney
U.S. Department of Justice, Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section, Criminal Division
Jean Francois Noel, Director General
International Bureau for Children's Rights, Montreal, Canada
Nancy Nye, Director
Youth Advocate Program International
Amy O'Neill Richard, Staff Analyst,
U.S. Department of State, Center for Strategic Intelligence
Jennifer Penta, Program Manager
International Centre for Missing and Exploited Children
David Leiderman (deceased), Executive Director Emeritus
Child Welfare League of America
Tanya Rasa, Labor Rights Officer
U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs
Ruben Rodriquez, Director
Child Exploitation Unit of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC)
Andree Ruffo, Judge
Quebec Juvenile Court, Canada; President, International Bureau for the Rights of Children
Rick Scharlat, Executive Director
Global Survival Network (now Wild Aid)
Ira Schwartz, Professor and Dean
University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work; Director, Center for the Study of Youth Policy
Raymond Smith, Program Manager
U.S. Postal Inspection Service, Fraud, Child Exploitation and Asset Forfeiture Group, Office of Criminal Investigations
Carol Smolenski, Executive Director
ECPAT-USA
Norman A. Strickman, Assistant Director for Aviation Consumer Protection
U.S. Department of Transportation, Aviation Consumer Protection Division
Debra Whitcomb, Director, Grant Programs and Development
American Prosecutors Research Institute
Lynn White, Strategic Intelligence Analysis Unit (SIAU)
U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Kevin Willcutts, Program Analyst (International)
U.S. Department of Labor, International Child Labor Program, Bureau of International Labor Affairs
James York, Special Assistant to the Chief and senior FBI representative
INTERPOL, U.S. National Central Bureau, U.S. Department of Justice

The investigators also acknowledge with appreciation the cooperation they received from the project's many participants, particularly those associated with law enforcement and human service organizations located in the project's 17 "target" cities. A complete listing of the organizations with which these participants are affiliated is contained in Appendix D of this report.

Jayne Bopp and the Rev. Pam Vessels of the *Life Foundation* (Honolulu HI) and the staff of The Paul and Lisa Program (Essex CT) prepared the case studies summarized in this report. Nicole Ives, Mary Johnstone, and Paul Vaca located and summarized the media reports of child sexual exploitation cited in this volume. Hwa Ok Bae, Nicole Ives, Jeff Jarrett, and Eileen Zorc assisted with the distribution and processing of data collected through the project's statistical survey of national, state and local organizations serving sexually exploited children and their families. Mary D'Aiuto located the lyrics of popular American songs that encourage young people to participate in sexually exploitative activities.

Other persons served as consultants to the project on a broad range of topics. Heather Hammer and Louise Hanson of Temple University and Andrea Sedlak of Westat, Inc. provided important clarifications concerning methodological issues associated with two national studies of *Missing, Abducted, Runaway, and Thrownaway Children in America* (NISMART-1 [1988] and NISMART-2 [2000]). Gretchen Kenagy of the Jane Addams School of Social Work of the University of Illinois, Jessica Xavier of the Whitman-Walker Clinic (Washington DC), and Dorena Kearney of The COLOURS Organization (Philadelphia PA) provided us with insights into the numbers and special service needs of transgender youth. Arlene Calabro provided us with data from the Runaway and Homeless Youth Management Information System (RHYMIS) operated by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Patricia West and Stacey Hirsch of the Philadelphia Health Management Corporation provided us access to Children and Youth Fatality Review Team meetings (Philadelphia PA). Jane Weissman of Urban Arts and Ecology (New York NY) introduced us to organizations serving the growing numbers of runaway and homeless youth in New York's new immigrant communities. Leticia Diaz of the National Association of Social Workers provided us with access to meeting place resources both in Washington and other parts of the country. Stephen Frank and Frank Marsh of the National Drug Intelligence Center (NDIC) gave us many useful suggestions regarding the creation of a national intelligence center for dealing with sexually exploited children.

The project's core staff in the U.S. included Batkhishig Adilbish, Nicole Ives, Patricia Loff Surak, Howard Nemon, Kim Nieves, Joseph Surak, Lisa Villarreal-Rios (Washington University), and Eileen Zorc. Each of these persons devoted many more hours in the project than they ever expected. The investigators thank each of them for their dedication and willingness to invest so heavily in such a difficult effort.

Special acknowledgement also is made of the contributions by Michael Guilfoyle, Kimberly Rothman and Rosalinda Rendon to the project. Michael's statistical and Kim's administrative skills helped to make everyone else's work a bit easier. Rosalinda provided critical technical assistance on various aspects of instrument preparation.

Our financial partners made the entire research effort possible. They included the National Institute of Justice of the U.S. Department of Justice, the W.T. Grant Foundation, the Fund for Nonviolence, the Research Foundation of the University of Pennsylvania, and the Dean's Discretionary Fund of the University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work. Jordan Leiter, Cyndy Mamalian and Shelly Jackson of the National Institute of Justice, Betsy Fairbanks and Don Lane of the Fund for Nonviolence, and Nancy Rivera-Torres of the W.T. Grant Foundation are thanked for their unwavering commitment to the goals reflected in this effort. Marvene O'Rourke of the International Center of the U.S.

Department of Justice is thanked for her encouragement. Dean Ira Schwartz of the University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work is thanked for his financial support of the project. Prof. Frans Lammertyn, Vice Rector for Educational Policy of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium), is thanked for providing the principal investigator with two months of "quiet time" in which to draft the final report. The investigators also acknowledge with appreciation the helpful suggestions provided by the anonymous reviews of the draft report to the National Institute of Justice for strengthening both the content and presentation of the final report.

Finally, many sexually exploited children and youth participated in this project—sometimes at physical or emotional risk to themselves. We acknowledge with deep humility the struggle these young people are experiencing as they attempt to regain control over their lives. Their willingness to share their stories with us added much to our understanding of the depth and severity of the sexual victimization that confronts all too many children in the U.S.. This report is dedicated to them.

Richard J. Estes
Professor and Principal Investigator
The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children
In the U.S., Canada and Mexico
University of Pennsylvania
School of Social Work
Philadelphia, PA

Neil Alan Weiner
Senior Research Associate and Co-Principal-Investigator
The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children
In the U.S., Canada and Mexico
Center for the Study of Youth Policy
University of Pennsylvania
School of Social Work
Philadelphia, PA

September 18, 2001
(Revised February 20, 2002)

CHILD SEXUAL EXPLOITATION IN CANADA, MEXICO AND THE U.S.

Contents

Appendix 1
The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S.

A. Members of the Project's International Advisory Group (IAG)

B. Project Staff Members in Canada, Mexico and the U.S.

C. Discussion Guide for City Focus Group Meetings

D. Law Enforcement, Human Services, Advocacy and Other Organizations That Participated in Target City Focus Group Meetings Interviews

E. Questionnaire #1 (Q1a and Q1b): Survey of National, State and Local Law Enforcement and Human Service Agencies Concerning Sexually Exploited (SEC) and Commercially Sexually Exploited Children (CSEC)

F. Questionnaire #2 (Q2, Q3): Survey of National, State and Local Law Enforcement and Human Service Agencies Concerning Adult Customers and Traffickers In Children For Sexual Purposes (CSE and CSEC)

G. U.S. Federal Laws Relating to Sexually Exploited Children (SEC) and Commercially Sexually Exploited Children (CSEC), March 2001 (prepared by Nicole Ives)

H. International Agreements, Covenants and Declarations Relating to Children and Families, Including to Sexually Exploited (SEC) and Commercially Sexually Exploited Children (CSEC), March 2001 (prepared by Nicole Ives)

I. Selected Organizations Working to Protect U.S. Children and Youth From Sexual Exploitation (SEC) and Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSEC)

J. Bibliography: *The Sexual Exploitation of Children: A Working Guide to the Empirical Literature*, August 2001 (an electronic version of the bibliography is available at the following internet address: http://caster.ssw.upenn.edu/~restes/CSEC_Bib_August_2001.pdf

K. Agencies and Organizations Illustrative of Selected Best Practices Associated With Combating the Sexual Exploitation (SEC) and Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) (prepared by Nicole Ives)

L. Areas of Major Questioning, Data Sources, and Data Collection Procedures Associated With Each of the Project's Research Objectives

M. Working Tables: Estimates of Sexually Exploited (SEC) and Commercially Sexually Exploited Children (CSEC)

N. Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children: Overview of Core CSEC Relationships

Appendix 2
The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Canada
(not submitted as part of this report)

Dionne, Pierre. 2001. The commercial sexual exploitation of children in Canada, Richard J. Estes and Neil Alan Weiner (Editors). The Silent Emergency: The Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada and Mexico (Westport CT: Greenwood Publishing Group)—in preparation.

Tremblay, Pierre. 2001. Social interactions Among Paedophiles: A sociological investigation, in Richard J. Estes and Neil Alan Weiner (Editors). The Silent Emergency: The Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada and Mexico (Westport CT: Greenwood Publishing Group)—in preparation.

Appendix 3
The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Mexico
(not submitted as part of this report)

Azaola, Elena. 2000. Stolen Childhood: Girl and Boy Victims of Sexual Exploitation (Mexico City: Unicef).

Azaola, Elena. 2001. The commercial sexual exploitation of children in Mexico, in Richard J. Estes and Neil Alan Weiner (Editors). The Silent Emergency: The Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada and Mexico (Westport CT: Greenwood Publishing Group)—in preparation.

Exhibits

PART I:

INTRODUCTION

THE COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN IN THE U.S., CANADA AND MEXICO

A. Introduction

The benefits of economic globalization, internationalization, and free trade have brought with them an unanticipated set of social problems (Bales, 1999; Estes, 1997, 1998b; Kilias, 1993; Lie, 1996; Woodiwiss, 1993). Among them is what appears to be a dramatic rise worldwide in the incidence of child exploitation. Among the most virulent forms of this exploitation is *child sexual exploitation* [hereafter "CSE"]—including the *commercial sexual exploitation of children* [hereafter "CSEC"] (United Nations, 1994a, 1994b, 1995; Unicef, 2000). Child pornography, juvenile prostitution and trafficking in children for sexual purposes have emerged as significant problems on the national, regional, and international stages (Barr, 1996; Botti, 2000; Caldwell et al. 1997; DoL, 1995, 1998; Ennew, 1986; Hughes, & Roche, 1999; Ireland, 1993; Jaffe & Rosen, 1996; Lederer, 2001; Leuchtag, 1995; Munir & Yasin, 1997; Skrobanek et al., 1997; Williams, 1999; YAPI, 1998).[1] So, too, has sex tourism (Hughes & Roche, 1999; Pettman, 1997), including child sex tourism (Boye, 1996; Casa Alianza, 1999a; Gray, 2000; Klain, 1999; Seabrook, 1997). CSE and the CSEC appear to be related in complex ways with other forms of child exploitation, such as the use of children in labor, drug and warfare settings.

Patterns in the commercialization of sex, whether it is in the form of formal monetary exchanges or informal exchanges of goods and services, ratchet up the abusiveness of the relationship between the child and the trafficker and/or customer. The commercial nature of the relationships pile all the forces of economic interaction (value, profitability, return on investment, payment and pay back) on top of the physical and psychological coercion, duress, and deception that already permeate the sexually abusive relationship. In short, commercialization creates a dense layer of interpersonal *enthrallment* that is extremely difficult to battle against on behalf of child protection.

Listed in the order of frequency with which they have been identified in the scholarly literature, child sexual exploitation appears to be fueled by: 1) the use of prostitution by runaway and thrownaway children to provide for their subsistence needs (Flowers, 1994; Greene et al., 1999; Haq, 1996; Johnson et al., 1996; Kral, 1997; Yates, 1991; Whitbeck & Simons, 1990); 2) the presence of pre-existing adult prostitution markets in communities where large numbers of street youth are concentrated (Farley & Kelly, 2000; Hofstede, 1999; O'Connell Davidson, 1998); 3) prior history of child sexual abuse and child sexual assault (Briere, 1998; McClanahan, 1999; Mullen, 1996; Powers & Jaklitsch, 1989; Rotheram-Borus, et al., 1996; Seng, 1989; Simons & Whitbeck, 1991; Widom & Kuhns, 1996); 4) poverty (Azaola, 2001; Hood-Brown, 1998; Lederer, 1996; Longford, 1995); 5) the presence of large numbers of unattached and transient males in local communities--including military personnel, truckers, and conventioneers among others (Moon, 1997; Sturdevant et al., 1992); 6) for some girls, membership in gangs (Hazelhurst & Hazelhurst, 1998; Moore & Hagedorn, 2001); 7) the promotion of child prostitution by parents, older siblings and boy friends (Dembo et al., 1992; Faugier & Sargent, 1997; Mueck, 1992); 8) the recruitment of children for prostitution by organized crime units (Budapest Group, 1999; Harris, 1998a; Lanning, 1992; Williams, 1995); and, increasingly, 9) illegal

[1] Child prostitution is defined by the U.N. as "the sexual exploitation of a child for remuneration in cash or in kind, usually but not always organized by an intermediary (parent, family member, procurer, teacher, etc.)." The term refers even more specifically to the prostitution of young (pre-pubescent) children and adolescents *up to* the ages of 15 to 18, depending on national laws (U.N.,1994; Muntarbhorn, 1996:3).

trafficking of children for sexual purposes both within and to the U.S. from developing countries located in Asia, Africa, Central and South America, and Central and Eastern Europe (Barr et al., 1996; Hughes, 2000b; Knight, 1998; Lederer, 2001; Miko & Park, 2000).

The extent of these problems in the U.S., Canada and Mexico [hereafter "NAFTA" region] has been unknown, albeit most experts dealing with the CSEC regard the problem to be a serious one in the NAFTA region (Barnitz, 1998; Flowers, 1994; Goldstein, 1999; Richard, 2000).

B. Recruitment of Children Into Sexual Exploitation

The processes whereby children are "recruited" into CSE are varied and complex. They nearly always involve adult accomplices—including parents and older siblings. According to the Exploited Child Unit of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (1998),

> Child prostitutes are victims of sexual abuse. Many of them have run away from homes where they have been sexually or physically abused. Some come from families who no longer want them or who feel they can no longer handle them. These children often see themselves as their only supporter. Under such circumstances, some fall into prostitution as a way to survive or as a way to get the things they want or need…Unfortunately, these victims often become involved in the criminal-justice system as offenders. In order to support themselves, or to escape the life that they have come to lead, they get involved in the use and/or sale of drugs, theft, or robberies.

Other young people are recruited into prostitution through *forced abduction* (Barr et al., 1996; DoL, 1995), by *pressure from parents* (D'Asaro & Foley, 1997), through *deceptive agreements* between parents and traffickers in the CSEC, including unrecognized representatives of crime rings (Barr et al. 1996; D'Asaro & Foley, 1997; DoL, 1995; Miko & Park, 2000; Seabrook, 1997; Yoon, 1997). Once recruited, these children typically are taken or travel to venues located great distances from their place of origin. Isolation from family and friends is the norm. Few are able to establish new relationships with persons other than those who are responsible for their victimization. Violence, forced drug use and threats to the point of death are only part of the daily abuse to which the majority of these children are subjected.

C. Poverty and SEC

Poverty is the most frequently cited explanation for the involvement of large numbers of children in sexually exploitative behavior (Azaola, 2001a; Boye, 1996; Longford, 1995; Mayombo, 1998; Save the Children, 1996; Shamim, 1993).[2] But as suggested by the ECU, poverty alone does not account for the large number of children under the age of 16 years being recruited into the sex industry, especially in rich countries such as the U.S. and Canada (Dionne, 2001; Estes & Weiner, 2001; Tremblay, 2001). Indeed, many children recruited into prostitution in the U.S. and Canada appear to come from middle class families and engage in prostitution as methods of supporting themselves while living on the nation's streets (Green, 1999; Hunnicutt, 2001; NCMEC, 1998; Snell, 1995; Stiffman, 1989). For some youth, however, and especially youth living in highly dysfunctional poor families, poverty does contribute to a higher incidence of juvenile prostitution.

---

[2] For discussions of the highly unfavorable social, political, economic, and legal conditions that contribute to the CSEC in other world regions see Estes, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998a, 1998b.

D. Other Factors that Contribute to SEC

Other powerful explanations of the CSEC include *pedophilia* (Cole, 1993; De Mause, 1991; Knight, Carter & Prentky, 1989; Prentky & Knight, 1993; Prentky, Knight & Lee, 1997), *ease of access* (Harris, 1998a, 1998c; O'Grady, 1992), *relaxed legal enforcement environments* (Editor, 1996; Gutierrez, 1998; Harris, 1997a; Hodgson, 1995; Samath, 1998), *debt bondage* (DoL, 1996; Knight, 1998; Youth Plus, 1995), *sadomasochism* (Finkelhor & Brown, 1985), *inter-generational prostitution* (Seneviratne, 1994), and the *high remittances* received by child sending/sex tourist-receiving countries (Barr et al. 1996; Boye, 1996; ECPAT, 1996a; IBCR, 1998a, 1998b). Other explanations for the CSEC also are plausible but, to date, they have been less fully studied: *high economic demand*, which stimulates the supply of children into the sex trade (Barr et al. 1996; Ennew, 1996; Farley, 1998; Hughes, 2000a; Yoon, 1997); *community disintegration* (D'Asaro & Foley, 1997; Dembo, 1992); *social and cultural devaluation* of children (Flowers, 1994; Gutierrez, 1998); and, pre-existent *international crime organizations* with transnational transportation and financial capabilities (Barr et al. 1996; DoL, 1996; Muntarbhorn, 1996; Williams, 1995; Yoon, 1997). Within this array of potentially influential factors, of course, there also needs to be a convergence in available children, traffickers, and customers.

E. The Impact of Sexual Exploitation on Children

However they fall victims of sexual exploitation, few children are able to escape their molestation unharmed; virtually all suffer long term physical and emotional injures (Barnett, Manly & Cicchetti, 1993; Cevallos, 1998; Finkelhor & Brown, 1985; Gelles, 1994, 1998; Goldstein, 1987; Kilpatrick & Saunders, 1997; Straus & Gelles, 1988; Vittachi, 1989). These injuries remain with children throughout adolescence and adulthood and, in turn, pose complex service challenges for the justice and human service systems. The relationship is known to be especially strong between child sexual victimization and *teen pregnancy* (Ireland & Widom, 1994; Smith & Thornberry, 1995; Widom, 1996; Widom & Kuhns, 1996), *adult prostitution* (Widom & Kuhns, 1996), *substance abuse* (Ireland & Widom, 1994; Kelley, Thornberry & Smith, 1997), *violence* (Gelles & Wolfner, 1994; Weiner, 1994; Weiner & Ruback, 1998; Weiner & Wolfgang, 1989), and *adult criminal behavior* (Kelley, Thornberry & Smith, 1997; Loeber & Farrington, 1998; Smith & Thornberry, 1995).

F. The Emerging Statistical Picture: A Cause For Concern

Though estimates vary concerning the number of sexually exploited children, the United Nation’s Children's Fund (UNICEF) believes their numbers to exceed 100 million worldwide, not all of whom are located in “poor" or “developing" countries (UNICEF, 1997). Indeed, the first *World Congress Against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children* (Muntarbhorn, 1996) confirmed that large numbers of prostituted children are to be found in rich countries, including in the U.S. for which the "End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography, and the Trafficking of Children for Sexual Exploitation" (ECPAT) estimated their numbers to be between 100,000 and 300,000 (ECPAT, 1996b:70). Other estimates suggest the numbers of sexually exploited children to be even higher (Goldman & Wheeler, 1986; Greenfeld, 1997; Spangenberg, 2001).

Certainly, experts in child sexual exploitation believe the numbers of such children in the U.S. to be substantial (Greene et al., 1999; Hughes & Roche, 1999b; Kral et al., 1997). America's problems

with child sexual exploitation is widely believed to be concentrated in cities and towns that border Mexico (Azaola, 2001a; Harris, 1998a; Knight, 1998) and Canada (Dionne, 2001; Hecht, 1997). However, the problem also is believed to be extensive in America's coastal states where large numbers of children from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe enter the country illegally (DoL, 1996). Organized crime groups also appear to be involved in child pornography and child prostitution in the U.S., but especially crime organizations with ties to Russia, the Ukraine, and other countries of the Former Soviet Union (Budapest Group, 1999; Hughes, 2000b; INTERPOL, 1997; Richard, 1999). Crime groups with ties to China, the Philippines, and Thailand also are known to be involved in trafficking children for sexual purposes into the U.S. (Biotti, 2000; ECPAT, 1996a; Richard, 1999).

G. Project Goals and Objectives

Patterns of child sexual exploitation occurring in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico have not previously been studied. The dearth of knowledge concerning the nature and extent of child sexual exploitation in the three countries of the North American region is all the more striking in light of the attention given to the problem by other world regions (Council of Europe, 1992; ECPAT, 1996a; Hodgson, 1995; Vittachi, 1989). Even so, most experts in child violence and child sexual assault recognize that North America's experiences with child sexual exploitation are likely to increase in response to expanding global markets, increasingly more relaxed border controls, and the use of electronic means for linking child victims of sexual exploitation with adult perpetrators of these crimes.

The research summarized in this report represents an innovative approach to the systematic collection of *first-generation* data concerning the nature, extent and seriousness of child sexual exploitation in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico. The project was organized around the following research objectives:

1. identification of the nature, extent, and underlying causes of CSE and the CSEC occurring in the three countries of the North American Free Trade region [hereafter "NAFTA"]—the U.S., Canada, and Mexico;

1. identification of those subgroups of children that are at the greatest risk of being sexually exploited;

2. identification of subgroups of adult perpetrators of sex crimes against children—including pimps, traffickers, and adult "customers" of children for sex;

3. identification of the extent to which organized criminal units are involved in the CSEC, but especially in juvenile prostitution and trafficking in children for sexual purposes;

4. to the extent possible, identification of the modes of operation and other methods used by organized criminal units to recruit children into sexually exploitative activities;

5. identification of local, state and national laws relating to the CSEC;

6. identification of international agreements, covenants and declarations pertaining to the CSEC;

7. identification of the strengths and weakness of the country's current capacity for preventing, or at least protecting, children from sexual exploitation; and,

8. with local, state and national governmental and nongovernmental representatives, frame recommendations designed to strengthen the nation's capacity to prevent, or at least protect, the nation's and region's children from sexual exploitation.

H. Operational Definitions

All first generation research struggles with issues of conceptualization and the operationalization of major concepts. This project was no different. Even so, project staff were able to arrive at definitions of the most critical concepts and constructs used in the course of this research. In the main, these definitions were derived through: 1) reviews of the pertinent literature; 2) consultations with specialists in the fields of child welfare, child violence and child sexual assault; 3) consultations with members of the project's International Advisory Group (IAG); and 4) consultations with investigators conducting similar types of studies in other countries.

The set of definitions that has been compiled is, we think, one of the most extensive of its kind. It is intended as a conceptual roadmap through the dense, subtle differences in terrain both addressed and not addressed by this report. Exhibits 1.1 and 1.2 identify and define the major concepts that have been used in this report. When not developed by project staff themselves, the source(s) of definitions for selected concepts contained in Exhibit 1.1 also are identified. We have shaded those concepts that have, in fact, been addressed as part of the report's *research* agenda. The field of potential concern was much too thick to handle equally in this first-generation research effort.

Exhibit 1.1
Definitions of Terms Associated With the Sexual Exploitation (SEC) and Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC)

Concept	Subtypes	Definition
Child		Persons under the age of 18 years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989: Article 1)
Child Abuse		The recurrent infliction of physical or emotional injury on a dependent minor, through intentional beatings, uncontrolled corporal punishment, persistent ridicule and degradation, or sexual abuse, usually committed by parents or guardians (National Association of Social Workers, 1994).
Child Sexual Abuse (CSA)		Sexual activity involving persons younger than 18 years of age. Most often perpetrated by an adult, such activities include rape and molestation, pornography, and exposure of children to the sexual acts of others (ala National Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect Information, 1996).
	Type I Rape and Molestation (CSA-1)	The carnal knowledge of a person, forcibly and/or against that person's will; or not forcibly or against the person's will where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of his/her temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity. (National Incident-Based Reporting System [NIBRS] as cited in Snyder 2000:13).
	Type 2 Pornography (CSA-2)	The employment, use, persuasion, inducement, enticement, or coercion of any child to engage in, or assist any other person to engage in, any sexually explicit conduct or simulation of such conduct for

Concept	Subtypes	Definition
		the purpose of producing a visual depiction of such conduct (National Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect Information, 1996)
	Type 3 Exposure of Children to the Sexual Acts of Others (CSA-3)	The intentional exposure of children to sexual acts performed by others (including those engaged in by parents, caregivers and others entrusted with the care of children)

Concept	Subtypes	Definition
Assault		A violent physical or verbal attack; an unlawful threat of bodily violence or harm to somebody else, or an attempt to do such violence or harm.
Sexual Assault (SAs)		Any sexual act directed against a person forcibly and/or against that person's will; or not forcibly or against the person's will where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of his/her temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity (ala National Incident-Based Reporting System [NIBRS] as cited in Snyder 2000:13).
	Type 1 Forcible Rape (SAs-1)	The carnal knowledge of a person, forcibly and/or against that person's will; or not forcibly or against the person's will where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of his/her temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity. (National Incident-Based Reporting System [NIBRS] as cited in Snyder 2000:13). If force was used or threatened, the crime is classified as "forcible rape" regardless of the age of the victim. If no force was used or threatened and the victim is under the statutory age of consent, the crime is classified as "statutory rape" (National Incident-Based Reporting System [NIBRS] as cited in Snyder, 2000:13).
	Type 2 Forcible Sodomy (SAs-2)	Oral or anal sexual intercourse with another person, forcibly and/or against that person's will; or not forcibly or against the person's will where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of his/her youth or because of his/her temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity (National Incident-Based Reporting System [NIBRS] as cited in Snyder 2000:13).
	Type 3 Sexual Assault With An Object (SAs-3)	To use an object or instrument to unlawfully penetrate, however slightly, the genital or anal opening of the body of another person, forcibly and/or against that person's will; or not forcibly or against the person's will where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of his/her youth or because of his/her temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity (National Incident-Based Reporting System [NIBRS] as cited in Snyder 2000:13). An "object" or "instrument" is anything used by the offender other than the offender's genitalia (National Incident-Based Reporting System [NIBRS] as cited in Snyder 2000:13).
	Type 4 Forcible Fondling (SAs-4)	The touching of the private body parts of another person for the purpose of sexual gratification. Forcibly and/or against that person's will; or not forcibly or against the person's will where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of his/her youth or because of his/her temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity. Forcible fondling includes "indecent liberties" and "child molesting" (National Incident-Based Reporting System [NIBRS] as cited in Snyder 2000:13).
Child Sexual Assault (CSAs)		Any sexual act directed against a person younger than 18 years of age, forcibly and/or against that person's will; or not forcibly or against the person's will where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of his/her temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity (ala National Incident-Based Reporting System [NIBRS] as cited in Snyder 2000:13). See definitions listed under "Sexual Assault" SAs-1: Forcible Rape

Concept	Subtypes	Definition
		SAs-2: Forcible Sodomy SAs-3: I Sexual Assault With An Object SAs-4: Forcible Fondling
Customer		A person who buys goods or services. The purchase may be made using cash, in-kind exchanges, or on the basis of a promise to pay for the desired goods or services at some future time.
Pornography		Films, videos, magazines, writings, photographs, computer images, or other materials that are sexually explicit and intended to cause sexual arousal in the viewer.
Child Pornography (CP)		Films, videos, magazines, writings, photographs, computer image, or other materials produced by either adults or children, or both, that contain sexually explicit images of children and youth under the age of 18 years. Child pornography often has considerable commercial value; typically, though, child pornography is "traded" or exchanged between pedophiles rather than sold.
	Type 1 Images Depicting Children Only (CP-1)	Films, videos, magazines, writings, photographs, computer image, or other materials *produced by adults that contain only sexually explicit images of children and youth under the age of 18 years*.
	Type 2 Images Depicting Children With Adult(s) (CP-2)	Films, videos, magazines, writings, photographs, computer image, or other materials *produced by adults that contain sexually explicit images of children, youth and adults.*
	Type 3 Images Depicting Juveniles With Juveniles (CP-3)	Films, videos, magazines, writings, photographs, computer image, or other *materials produced and distributed by youth under the age of 18 years* that contain sexually explicit images of children and youth together.
Prostitution		The act of engaging in sexual intercourse or performing other sex acts in exchange for money or other considerations (e.g., food, clothing shelter, affection, etc.).
Child/Juvenile Prostitution (CPR)		The act of engaging in sexual intercourse or performing other sex acts with a child in exchange for money, clothing, food, shelter, drugs, or other considerations (World Health Organization, 1996).
Exploitation		Unfair, if not illegal, treatment or use of somebody or something, usually for personal gain.
Sexual Exploitation (SE)		A practice by which a person achieves sexual gratification, financial gain or advancement through the abuse or exploitation of a person's sexuality by abrogating that person's human right to dignity, equality, autonomy, and physical and mental well-being; i.e. trafficking, prostitution, prostitution tourism, mail-order-bride trade, pornography, stripping, battering, incest, rape and sexual harassment (Hughes, 1999).
Child Sexual Exploitation (CSE)		A practice by which a person, usually an adult, achieves sexual gratification, financial gain or advancement through the abuse or exploitation of a child's sexuality by abrogating that child's human right to dignity, equality, autonomy, and physical and mental well-being, i.e. trafficking, prostitution, prostitution tourism, mail-order-bride trade, pornography, stripping, battering, incest, rape and sex-

Concept	Subtypes	Definition
		ual harassment (ala Hughes, 1999). CSE reflects a continuum of abuse ranging from child sexual abuse to child sexual exploitation to the commercial sexual exploitation of children.
	Type 1 Child Sexual Abuse (CSA)	See definition listed under "Child Sexual Abuse" CSA-1: Rape and Molestation CSA-2: Pornography CSA-3: Exposure of Children to the Sexual Acts of Others
	Type 2 Child Sexual Assault (CSAs)	See definition listed under "Child Sexual Assault" CSAs-1: Forcible Rape CSAs-2: Forcible Sodomy CSAs-3: Sexual Assault With An Object CSAs-4: Forcible Fondling
	Type 3 The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC)	See definitions listed under the "Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children" CSEC-1: Child Pornography CSEC-2: Child/Juvenile Prostitution CSEC-3: Trafficking in Children For Sexual Purposes
Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC)		The sexual exploitation of children of children (SEC) entirely, or at least primarily, for financial or other economic reasons. The economic exchanges involved may be either *monetary* or *non-monetary* (i.e., for food, shelter, drugs) but, in every case, involves maximum benefits to the exploiter and an abrogation of the basic rights, dignity, autonomy, physical and mental well-being of the children involved.
	Type 1 Child Pornography (CSEC-1)	See definitions listed under "Child Pornography" CP-1: Images Depicting Children Only CP-2: Images Depicting Children With Adults CP-3: Images Depicting Juveniles With Juveniles
	Type 2 Child/Juvenile Prostitution (CSEC-2)	See definitions listed under "Child Prostitution" and "Survival Sex"
	Type 3 Trafficking in Children For Sexual Purposes (CSEC-3)	See definitions listed under "Trafficking" T-1: Domestic Trafficking T-2: International Trafficking
Tourist		A person or persons who visit places away from home for pleasure.
Sex Tourist		Persons who travel from their homes, usually across international borders, with the intent of engaging in sexual activities with others, including children.

Concept	Subtypes	Definition
Sex Tourism		Commercially organized travel and related services (e.g., hotel, transportation), usually across international borders, for persons seeking to engage in sex with citizens of other countries, including children who are citizens of those countries.
"Survival Sex"		Many youth involved in the exchange of sex for money or other considerations (e.g., food, shelter, drugs, etc.) do not perceive themselves as engaging in *prostitution* but rather as doing "whatever is necessary" to ensure their survival. For purposes of this study, however, "survival sex" and "child prostitution" are understood to be the same phenomenon and the terms are used interchangeably.
Trafficking (T)		The transport, harboring, or sale of persons within national or across international borders through coercion, force, kidnapping, deception or fraud, for purposes of placing persons in situations of forced labor or services, such as forced prostitution, domestic servitude, debt bondage or other slavery-like practices. Agreement exists that the concept applies whether a child was taken forcibly or voluntarily (18 USC 1589 et seq.).
	Type 1 Domestic Trafficking (T-1)	The recruitment, transportation or receipt of children through deception or coercion for the purpose of prostitution, other sexual exploitation or forced labor *only within their own country.* Children may be trafficked domestically either voluntarily or involuntarily. a. *Voluntary domestic trafficking* involves the movement of children voluntarily across state lines for the purpose of bringing financial gain to either the children or the traffickers, or both. The majority of children trafficked in this way are required either to pay fees to or to perform services, including sexual services, for their traffickers. b. *Involuntary domestic trafficking* involves the movement of children involuntarily across intra-national (e.g., state) lines for the purpose of bringing financial gain to the traffickers. The majority of children trafficked are held in servitude and are forced to pay trafficking fees through a combination of indentured services, including commercial sexual services.
	Type 2 International Trafficking (T-2)	The recruitment, transportation or receipt of children through deception or coercion for the purpose of prostitution, other sexual exploitation or forced labor *across international boundaries*. Children may be trafficked internationally either voluntarily or involuntarily. *a.* *Voluntary international trafficking* involves the movement of children voluntarily across international borders for the purpose of bringing financial gain to either the children or the traffickers, or both. The majority of children trafficked in this way are required either to pay fees or to perform services, including sexual services, to their traffickers. b. *Involuntary international trafficking* involves the movement of children involuntarily across international borders for the purpose of bringing financial gain to the traffickers. The majority of children trafficked internationally are held in servitude and are forced to pay trafficking fees through a combination of indentured services, including commercial

Concept	Subtypes	Definition
		sexual services.
Smuggling		The procurement of illegal entry of a person into a State of which the latter person is not a national with the objective of making a profit (United Nations, 1999:3). Smuggling is distinguished from trafficking in that alien smuggling involves the provision of a service, albeit illegal, to people who knowingly buy the service in order to get into a foreign country.
Organized Crime		A non-ideological enterprise involving a number of persons in close social interaction, organized on a [structured] basis with [different] levels/ranks, for the purpose of securing profit and power by engaging in illegal and legal activities (Abadinsky, 1994:8 as cited in Schloenhardt, 1999:9 and Graycar, 1999:7-8).
Transnational Crime		The crossing of a border by people, things or criminal will, together with the international recognition of the crime at both national and international levels (Secretary-General of INTERPOL as cited by Graycar, 1999:2) To be considered "international," a crime must be a criminal offense in at least two nation states, thereby bringing into effect international conventions, extradition treaties or concordant national laws (Bossard, 1990:5 as cited in McFarlane, 1999:2 and Graycar, 1999:2-3).

Exhibit 1.2
Selected Terms Relating to the Sexual Exploitation of Children (SEC)

Concept	Definition
Call Boy/ Call Girl	A prostitute (male/female) who responds to telephone calls for sex. In all cases, call boys and call girls travel to the prospective client's residence, hotel or other designated meeting spot.
Exhibitionist	A person who repeatedly exposes their genitals to unsuspecting strangers in order to achieve sexual excitement.
Hebephile	An adult with sexual desires and arousal fantasies that often culminate in sexual acts with *pubescent children of the same or opposite sex.*
Hustler	A prostitute, especially a streetwalker or one who solicits in bars (*slang*).
"John"	A man who is a prostitute's customer (*slang*).
Pander	To procure sexual favors for somebody. (Synonym: solicit, procure)
Pederast	Men with sexual desires and arousal fantasies that often culminate in sexual acts with *pre-pubescent boys.*
Pedophile	An adult with sexual desires and arousal fantasies that often culminate in sexual acts with *pre-pubescent children* of the same or opposite sex.
Pimp	One who promotes and/or profits from the sale and/or abuse of another person's body or sexuality for sexual purposes, or the production and/or sale images made of that person, e.g. trafficker, pornographer, brothel madam, third party manager, talent director, mail-order bride agent, prostitution tour agent (Hughes, 1999)

Concept	Definition
Predator	One who exploits conditions of inequality to buy and/or abuse for personal sexual satisfaction those with less power, e.g. john, punter, buyer, client, customer, trick, pedophile, rapist, sex offender, child molester, pornographer (Hughes, 1999)
Sex Industry	The collection of legal and illegal businesses and single and multi-party operations that profit from the sexual exploitation of women, children, and sometimes, men in trafficking, organized prostitution, and/or pornography; e.g. brothels, massage parlors, bars, strip clubs, mail-order-bride agencies, prostitution tour agencies, "adult entertainment," "adult" bookstores, pornographic web sites, etc. (Hughes, 1999)
Sexual Masochist	A person who experiences sexual excitement in the act of being made to suffer.
Sexual Sadist	A person who experiences sexual excitement by inflicting suffering upon another person.
Track	A network of cities and other communities regularly traveled to by pimps, traffickers and sexually exploited youth and adults.
Transgender/ Transsexual	A person who is in the process of changing, or who already has changed, his/her natal gender identity to that of the opposite sex. The process involves both hormonal and surgical treatment.
Transvestite	A person who experiences sexual excitement by wearing clothing of the opposite sex.
Trick	Somebody who hires a prostitute (*slang*); an individual engagement between a prostitute and a client (*slang*).
Voyeur	A person who seeks sexual arousal by observing the sexual activity of others.
"White" Slavery	Historically, the concept referred to the abduction and sale of a Caucasian girl or woman into prostitution against her will. Today, the concept does not include a racial designation and, instead, refers to the use of force, deception or other means to compel people into commercial sexual activity.

PART II:

RESEARCH METHODS

RESEARCH METHODS

A. Introduction

Among others, the project's major objectives have been to: 1) trace the diverse patterns and trends in the CSEC; 2) produce more reliable estimates of the extent of the CSEC in each of the member states of the NAFTA region and for the region as a whole; and 3) document the international, regional, national, and sub-national legal traditions that bear upon, whether directly or otherwise, the CSEC in its many variations—prostitution, pornography, trafficking, and sex tourism.

Our study of these dimensions of the CSEC confronted a wide range of methodological challenges: sampling, measurement, design, analysis, and, importantly, execution in the field. The desired goal of open scientific rigor was challenged at virtually every turn because of the high degree of secrecy associated with sex crimes against children. The harsh panoply of both formal and informal sanctions applied to persons believed to be involved in or formally convicted of sexual crimes against children compounded the methodological difficulties involved in collecting such data. Matters were further complicated by the complex, multidimensional nature of the CSEC itself. Obviously, the CSEC may be viewed from many angles, and few persons are likely to have access to the full picture.

Despite the methodological difficulties posed by the CSEC, methodologies were available that, when used together, enabled us first to peek below the surface of this activity and then, based on these initial views, to examine CSE in remarkable detail (Kilias et al., 1993; McDonald, 1995; Woodiwiss, 1993). In varying combinations, such methods have been used with success in studying other kinds of complex criminal activity including drug trafficking (Hallums, 1997; Kaiser, 1994; Perl, 1994), adult prostitution (Wijers & Lap-Chew, 1997), money laundering (Gilmore, 1992) and other financial crime (Ruevid, 1995), international covert arms trade (Editors, 1994; Alves & Cipollone, 1997), environmental crime (Edwards, Edwards, and Fields, 1996), burglary (Wright & Decker, 1994), false accusations of child abuse and neglect (Cosner et al., 1997), and violent crimes committed by gangs (Chin, 1990; Chin, Kelly & Fagan, 1993). All have been studied more closely and steadily than initially thought possible, albeit research progress on these subjects has been slow and hard fought. The main ingredients of success have been persistence in the application of good scientific sense and creativity combined with the wisdom of direct professional experience.

B. Core Research Elements

The project's investigators capitalized on the direct experiences of child victims, adult traffickers and "customers" of children for sex as well as those of human service and law enforcement professionals who have the front-line responsibility for responding to the region's problems with the CSEC. Hence, a multi-sample, multi-level, multi-method approach was adopted in pursuing this research. Multiple samples were drawn, from both national and sub-national units, some of which comprised traditional random samples and others of which comprised convenience, or purposive, samples. Multiple levels of information were collected that address the variety of conceptual rungs that shape the CSEC (e.g., individual, family, community, social/economic/political structure, culture), and, accordingly, this information was compiled and examined in both individual and aggregate formats. These levels are described in detail in Appendix L.

Multiple methods were used to investigate critical relationships (both qualitative and quantitative in nature) that exist between conceptual level, type of sample and the level of measurement used. Exhibit 2.1 identifies the project's core research elements: 1) the kinds of samples selected---governmental organizations [hereafter "GOs"] and nongovernmental organizations [hereafter "NGOs"]; 2) the study sites to which the sampling formats were applied (i.e., NAFTA nations and selected intensive case-study sites); and 3) data collection techniques and levels (i.e., key decision makers; focus groups of law enforcement and human service professionals; interviews with child victims of sexual exploitation and with adult traffickers and customers; compilation of official records; surveys of agencies; individual and aggregate foci). Both qualitative and quantitative analyses of these data were conducted, depending upon the specific research and policy focus.

Exhibit 2.1
Study Design: Sample Types, Study Sites, and Data-Collection Methods

	Representative Samples		**Non-Representative Samples by Type of Group/Individual and Data Collection Method**				
Study Sites	**GO Surveys**	**NGO Surveys**	**Key Decision Maker Interviews**	**Focus Group Records**	**Child, Trafficker, Customer Interviews**	**Intensive Multi-Disciplinary Team Analyses: Observations, Interviews, Official Records**	**Law-Enforcement and Human Services: Official Records**
NAFTA Nations (U.S., Canada, Mexico)	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Selected Intensive Study Sites: Border Areas and Selected Cities	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

While no single sample, conceptual level, or method by itself is capable of unearthing the extent or dynamics of transnational and intra-national trafficking in children for sexual purposes, their coordinated application laid the groundwork for producing much more extensive knowledge than had been anticipated. Thus, the project remains an ambitious proposal to gather first generation knowledge—solid pre- and quasi-experimental understanding in traditional scientific lexicon—and to pretest, in research settings and the field, tools for better understanding the complex aspects and dynamics of the CSEC in the NAFTA region.

The ultimate goal of this project has been to find ways to prevent and intervene in the CSEC at each feasible point. Saving and salvaging young lives has always been the goal; research is one surefooted way toward promoting its realization. As part of our effort, we were fortunate to have created a collaboration among leading researchers and child-serving and advocacy agencies with critical experience in dealing with the CSEC in each of the three participating countries. Thus, in each NAFTA country the project's interdisciplinary research team paired with a major national professional organization or child serving/advocacy organization. In the U.S., the University of Pennsylvania partnered with the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) and the Child Welfare League of America (CWLA); in Canada, the University of Montreal's International Center for Comparative Criminology (ICCC) partnered with the International Bureau for Children's Rights (IBCR); in Mexico, the Institute for Advanced Study in Social Anthropology partnered with that country's decentralized national fam-

ily and child-serving agency, i.e., the National System for Family Integration (DIF). This unique trio of partners in each country made more feasible surmounting some of the project's more evident research hurdles, i.e., locating exploited children, traffickers, and customers.

C. Project Timing and Phasing

The research extended over a 27-month period, beginning January 1999 and ending in March 2001. The major activities and time lines associated with the project's major milestones are identified in Exhibit 2.2. Where appropriate, the exhibit indicates the actual location where certain of the project's activities took place. All activities outline in Exhibit 2.2 were integrally sequenced so as to insure that all relevant questions and formats were incorporated into the study's data collection procedures, especially those bearing most critically on the project's policy review and recommendation processes.

D. Country Selection

The three countries of the North American Free Trade Agreement region [hereafter NAFTA] were selected as the focus of this project. These countries were selected for a variety of reasons: 1) the geographic proximity of the countries; 2) the special nature of the free-trade agreement in which each country participates as a co-equal partner; 3) the comparative ease with which citizens of the region's countries move across one another's borders; 4) the known existence of individual "entrepreneurs" who are engaged in commercial sexual exploitation, including the CSEC; 5) a growing body of evidence concerning the transnational regional nature of the CSEC, especially along each countries borders towns, villages, and cities; 6) a growing body of evidence concerning the involvement of organized crime rings in the CSEC, including children trafficked into the U.S. from Asia, Africa, and other parts of Latin America; 7) the existence of formal commitments on the part of the region's governments to work toward the elimination of the CSEC both within their countries and the region-as-a-whole; and, 8) as evidenced by this very project, a history of productive research partnerships between the region's universities, human service organizations, and legal bodies.

Considered together, the preceding factors provided a compelling basis for selecting NAFTA as our focus. It also provides a critical springboard for widening our geographical focus later.

Exhibit 2.2

Project Activities and Timelines For the U.S. National Study

	Year 1: 1999				Year 2: 2000				Year 3: 2001
Task/Activity	**Quarter 1 (Ja-M)**	**Quarter 2 (A-Je)**	**Quarter 3 (Jy-S)**	**Quarter 4 (O-D)**	**Quarter 5 (Ja-M)**	**Quarter 6 (A-Je)**	**Quarter 7 (Jy-S)**	**Quarter 8 (O-D)**	**Quarter 9 (Ja-M)**
1. Recruit and Hire Staff	X								
2. Literature Reviews	X	X		X		X			X
3. Linkages Established w/ GOs and NGOs	X		X		X				X
4. Appoint and Coordinate research activities with International Advisory Group (IAG), Tri-national and Bi-national research teams	X IAG	X IAG Bi-national		X Tri-national		X IAG Bi-national Tri-national		X IAG	X Bi-National Tri-national
5. Key Decision Maker Interviews		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
6. Focus Groups									
6.1 Draft Meeting Documents and Agenda	X								
6.2 Convene Initial Focus Group Meetings	X Philadelphia	X Detroit	X Dallas-Fort Worth Honolulu Los Angeles New York City San Diego & Tijuana MX San Antonio		X Miami Las Vegas	X Chicago El Paso Ciudad Juarez, MX	X New Orleans Seattle San Francisco & San Jose & Oakland		

	Year 1: 1999				Year 2: 2000				Year 3: 2001
Task/Activity	**Quarter 1 (Ja-M)**	**Quarter 2 (A-Je)**	**Quarter 3 (Jy-S)**	**Quarter 4 (O-D)**	**Quarter 5 (Ja-M)**	**Quarter 6 (A-Je)**	**Quarter 7 (Jy-S)**	**Quarter 8 (O-D)**	**Quarter 9 (Ja-M)**
6.3 Convene Follow-up Meetings						X New York City Honolulu	Philadel-phia		San Fran-cisco
6.4 Draft Findings	X	X	X		X	X			
7. GO and NGO Surveys									
7.1 Select samples				X					
7.2 Prepare draft surveys				X	X				
7.3 Review draft surveys					X				
7.4 Finalize and distribute surveys						X	X	X	
7.5 Survey return and com-pilation						X	X	X	
7.6 Draft findings								X	X
7.7 Prepare final report									X
8. Interviews w/ Children Pre-viously Employed as Sex Workers									
8.1 Locate children	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
8.2 Draft interview docu-ments and consent forms	X	X							
8.3 Pilot interview docu-ments		X	X						
8.4 Conduct interviews			X	X	X	X	X		
8.5 Draft findings				X	X	X	X	X	
8.6 Prepare final report								X	X
9. Interviews with Traffickers									
9.1 Locate traffickers	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
9.2 Draft interview docu-ments and consent forms	X	X							
9.3 Pilot interview docu-ments		X	X						
9.4 Conduct interviews			X	X	X	X	X		

Task/Activity	Year 1: 1999				Year 2: 2000				Year 3: 2001
	Quarter 1 (Ja-M)	Quarter 2 (A-Je)	Quarter 3 (Jy-S)	Quarter 4 (O-D)	Quarter 5 (Ja-M)	Quarter 6 (A-Je)	Quarter 7 (Jy-S)	Quarter 8 (O-D)	Quarter 9 (Ja-M)
9.5 Draft findings					X	X	X	X	
9.6 Prepare final report								X	X
10. Interviews with Customers									
10.1 Locate customers	X	X	X	X	X	X			
10.2 Draft interview documents and consent forms	X	X							
10.3 Pilot interview documents		X	X						
10.4 Conduct interviews			X	X	X	X	X		
10.5 Draft findings				X	X	X	X	X	
10.6 Prepare final report								X	X
11. Explore Intensive Multi-Disciplinary Team Analyses					X	X	X	X	X
12. Formal Review of NAFTA-specific Legal Codes and Other Legal Protocols						X	X	X	X
13. Forums for Recommendations and Presentations						X	X	X	X
13.1 NIJ Presentations							X X		
13.2 YAPI Consultation on CSEC, SFO									X
14. Prepare Final Report with Recommendations									X

E. Sites for the City Surveys

Originally, twenty-one cities in the U.S. (N=10), Canada (N=4), and Mexico (N=7) were selected for special analysis of the extent to which the CSEC occurred within their boundaries (Exhibit 2.3). Several criteria were used in their selection: 1) the metropolitan area of each city had a population of at least one-million persons; 2) each city had a history of attempting to control sex crimes within its boundaries, including sex crimes involving children; 3) organized crime rings were known to operate within each city, especially in drug trafficking, adult prostitution, and pornography; 4) each city had a rich legal and social infrastructure through which convicted felons could be tracked and controlled; 5) each city contained a rich network of children- and youth-focused organizations that could serve as local partners to the investigators in the research effort; and 6) for our NAFTA partners, relative geographic proximity to the U.S.

As we visited the focus-group cities and met with members of our International Advisory Group [hereafter "IAG"] it became clear that additional cities in the U.S. should be visited as part of our investigation. Thus an additional seven cities (shaded in Exhibit 2.3) were added to the original list of ten on the basis of: 1) their use by children, pimps and domestic traffickers as destination cities for the CSEC; 2) their use by international traffickers in children for sexual purposes as major "gateways" through which foreign children passed prior to being transported to other cities and regions of the U.S.; and 3) the existence of a functioning network of law enforcement and human service agencies working cooperatively on issues related to the CSEC within their communities.

Exhibit 2.3 identifies all 28 cities selected for special study across the three countries of the NAFTA region.

Exhibit 2.3
28 Cities Selected for Detailed Analysis In National Studies

Canada: 4 Cities (Population: 31.3 Million)[3]	**U.S.: 17 Cities** **(10 original, 7 additional)** (Population: 277.6 Million)	**Mexico: 7 Cities** (Population: 100.4 Million)
1. Montreal, Canada	1. Chicago, Illinois	1. Acapulco
2. Toronto, Ontario	2. Dallas—Fort Worth (CMSA)	2. Cancun
3. Vancouver, British Columbia	3. Detroit—Ann Arbor—Flint, Michigan (CMSA)	3. Ciudad Juarez
4. Windsor, Ontario	4. El Paso, Texas (MSA)	4. Guadalajara
	5. Honolulu, Hawaii	5. Mexico City
	6. Las Vegas, Nevada—Arizona	6. Tapachula
	7. Los Angeles—Riverside—Orange County, California (CMSA)	7. Tijuana
	8. Miami—Fort Lauderdale, FL	
	9. New York—Northern New Jersey—Long Island (NY-NJ-CT-PA CMSA/NECMA)	
	10. New Orleans, Louisiana (MSA)	
	11. Oakland, California (MSA)	
	12. Philadelphia—Wilmington—	

[3] Indicates estimated size of national populations as of July 1, 2000. Shading indicates cities added after the study began

Canada: 4 Cities (Population: 31.3 Million)[3]	**U.S.: 17 Cities** **(10 original, 7 additional)** (Population: 277.6 Million)	**Mexico: 7 Cities** (Population: 100.4 Million)
	Atlantic City (PA-NJDE-MD)	
	13. San Antonio, Texas (MSA)	
	14. San Diego, California (MSA)	
	15. San Jose, California (MSA)	
	16. San Francisco (CMSA)	
	17. Seattle—Tacoma—Bremerton Washington (CMSA)	

The statistical data summarized in Exhibit 2.4 underscore the fact that the final list of 17 U.S. cities included in this analysis for special study account for nearly 40% of the total U.S. urban population. As a group, these cities reflect the racial and ethnic diversity that characterizes the U.S.—factors that are known to be linked to the CSEC. Information about the nature, extent and dynamics of the CSEC obtained from our city visits also confirm that this phenomenon is not restricted to a single city or geographic region of the U.S. Instead, the CSEC occurs in virtually all American cities and touches upon every segment of the nation's collective life.

Exhibit 2.4

Selected Demographic Characteristics of U.S. Cities Selected for Special Study (N=17 Cities, 15 CMSAs/MSAs), 1997

POPULATIONS OF SELECTED METRO AREAS, 1997 (*Statistical Abstracts*, 2000: Exhibit 44)	Population	% African American	% Native American, Eskimo, Aleut	% Asian and Pacific Is-lander	% Hispanic
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island (NY-NJ-CT-PA CMSA/NECMA)	19,876,000	19.4	0.3	6.4	17.1
Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County CMSA	15,609,000	8.3	0.7	11.1	38.5
San Francisco CA CMSA (includes Oakland and San Jose) Oakland CA San Jose CA	6,701,000	8.8	0.7	18.2	19.1
Chicago-Gary-Kenosha (IL-IN-WI CMSA)	8,642,000	19.2	0.2	4.0	13.5
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City (PA-NJ-DE-MD CMSA)	5,972,000	19.4	0.2	2.8	4.8
Detroit-Ann Arbor-Flint MI CMSA	5,439,000	20.8	0.4	1.9	2.4
Dallas-Fort Worth TX CMSA	4,683,000	14.2	0.6	3.5	15.5
Miami-Fort Lauderdale FL CMSA	3,515,000	19.7	0.3	1.8	37.2
Seattle-Tacoma-Bremerton WA CMSA	3,368,000	5.1	1.3	7.8	4.2
San Diego CA MSA	2,723,000	6.4	0.9	10.3	25.6
San Antonio TX MSA	1,511,000	6.5	0.4	1.7	53.2
Honolulu MSA	1,182,000	3.8	0.5	64.3	7.4
Las Vegas, NV-AZ	1,262,000	9.1	2.2	4.3	15.1
New Orleans MSA	1,308,000	34.9	0.3	2.1	4.9
El Paso, TX MSA	702,000	3.5	0.5	1.5	74.4
Sample Total 1997	**82,493,000**				
Sample Average		**14.2**	**0.7**	**10.1**	**23.8**
U.S. Total 1997	**267,784,000**				
U.S. Average		**12.6**	**0.9**	**3.7**	**10.7**
Sample as % of U.S. Total	**30.8**				
Sample as % U.S. Urban Pop (211.8 Million)	**38.9**				

Source: *Statistical Abstracts*, 2000 (Table 44).

F. Key Informants for the City, Country, and Regional Studies

Exhibit 2.5 contains a working list of the *types* of persons and organizations that were drawn upon as "key informants" in the city, country, and region-wide studies. In all cases, these persons and organizations were expected to possess the most detailed knowledge of the nature, extent, and impact of the CSEC occurring within their geographic area(s). This generic list of key informants was modified on a country-by-country and, as necessary, city-by-city basis to reflect variations in the legal structure, systems of human service and law enforcement, as well as level of cooperation experienced in each city (and country).

Exhibit 2.5
Key Informant Persons and Organizations for City Studies
(Using U.S. Organizations for Illustration Purposes Only)

Sectors	Types of Institutions To Be Contacted
Sexually Exploited Children and Youth	- Runaway street youth[4] - Thrownaway street youth - Homeless street youth (not elsewhere counted) - Sexually exploited youth in the care of law enforcement and human service agencies
Law Enforcement Organizations	- U.S. Attorneys - Regional Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) - Municipal Prosecutor's Office - Office of the District Attorney - Police Chiefs/Sheriffs Offices - Juvenile/ Adult/ and Family Courts - Sex Crimes divisions of local Police Departments - Juvenile Crimes divisions of local Police Departments
Public Human Service Organizations	- Directors of Children and Youth divisions of local Departments of Human Resources (Welfare) - Directors of Youth Emergency Services (including public shelters) - Directors of youth diversion and street gang programs - Directors of People Attentive to Children (PATCH) networks
Private Human Service Organizations	- Directors of local affiliates of Child Welfare League of America - Directors of family violence shelters - Directors of missing children centers - Coordinators of sexual addiction/sexual crimes self help groups - Planning directors of local United Ways and other federated fundraising organizations - Directors of Planned Parenthood and other agencies serving sexually active youth
Other Child Serving/ Focused Agencies	- Children and youth advocacy networks - Directors of sexual abuse units of children's hospitals
Other Specialist/Expert Groups	- Children and youth focused faculty members and advanced graduate students of local schools of social work - Children and youth focused faculty members and students of local law schools

Key informants were selected for comparability across countries and study sites. In some cases, this involved a different match of representatives of GOs vs. NGOs and, in the case of the U.S.,

[4] For conceptual purposes, the categories of children identified here are treated as mutually exclusive of one another. In reality, some overlap may exist for a small percentage of children who are counted in more than one category.

between various jurisdictional levels (municipal, county, state, federal). In all cases, key informants worked with the project's core staff in solving a number of conceptual and design issues unique to each geographic setting. In some cases, informants also worked with us in arranging interviews or meetings with other key informants in other communities with which we had not had prior communication.

G. Measurement Issues Associated with the CSEC

Measurement was conducted in a number of venues utilizing protocols appropriate to each. In general, we developed measures of the CSEC in the NAFTA region for the purpose of understanding more fully the extent and dynamics of the problem. At the *macro-conceptual level*, we developed measures that calibrated national and sub-national characteristics that were believed to be related to trafficking (e.g., ethnic heterogeneity, gender and age norms, and traditions in sexual trafficking). At the *micro-conceptual level*, we developed measures that facilitated our understanding of individual, familial, educational and community characteristics related to child victims, traffickers, and the adult customers of sex with children.

Finally, we needed to understand the institutional aspects of trafficking--both GO and NGO institutions. Among others, these institutions included law enforcement agencies, trafficking operations, religious and educational groups. Questions were tailored to each type of information-gathering format employed (i.e., questionnaires; focus group content protocols; key decision-maker interviews; child sex-worker, trafficker, and customer interviews). All questionnaire and interview items were drafted in each applicable language using back-translation techniques. Age-appropriate and culturally sensitive wording was employed based on recommendations of selected members of the IAG and persons that participated in the project's initial city-specific focus groups. For each study site, we also gathered census and other aggregate data in order to uncover structural and cultural correlates of the CSEC.

H. Sampling Issues Associated With the CSEC

Technically speaking, the project was not able to deliver rigorously (representatively) drawn samples for analysis of each study focus. As in many other analytical areas, however, we were able to deliver a mixture of sample types and subjects. In some cases, we studied representative samples drawn from larger populations; in others, we relied upon purposive and convenience samples, especially snowball samples in which child sex workers, traffickers, customers, law-enforcement officials, and others identified additional persons and organizations with whom we then spoke (Exhibit 2.6). As noted earlier, such procedures had been used to advantage in research focused on other types of criminal behavior (e.g., drug trafficking, violent gangs, burglary, and robbery).

Exhibit 2.6

Governmental (GO) and Non-governmental Organization (NGO) Samples by Jurisdictional Level, Types by Mailing, and Response Totals

Locale / Govern-mental Jurisdic-tion	Agency Type	Column 1 Number of Surveys Mailed	Column 2 Number of Responses	Column 3 Number of Surveys Completed	Column 4 Response Rate for Completed Surveys	Column 5 Number of Replies "Not Applicable"	Column 6 Number of Surveys "Re-turned to Sender"
NONPROFIT AGENCIES[5]							
Local	Child and Family Agencies Serving Runaway and Homeless Youth (RHYMIS agencies)	**405**	**95**	**89**	**22%**	**6**	**19**
PUBLIC AGENCIES[6]							
I. Local							
	Municipal Law Enforce-ment	93	43	42	45%	1	2
	County Law Enforcement	97	31	29	30%	2	0
	Prosecutors	84	26	26	31%	0	0
	Public Defenders	36	7	4	11%	3	0
	Corrections	81	11	10	12%	1	3
	Local Subtotal:	**391**	**118**	**111**	**28%[7]**	**7**	**5**
II. State							
	State Child Welfare Directors	56	20	18	32%	2	0
	Prosecutors	17	5	5	29%	1	0
	Public Defenders	15	5	5	33%	0	0
	State Subtotal:	**88**	**30**	**28**	**32%**	**3**	**0**

[5] Nonprofit agencies are locally based. Contact information was obtained from the Runaway and Homeless Youth Management Information System (RHYMIS; FY1999-FY2000)

[6] Contact information for law enforcement, prosecutors, corrections, and all federal agencies was obtained from the National Directory of Law Enforcement (1999). Contact information for public defenders was obtained from the National Legal Aid and Defender Association. Contact information for the State Child Welfare Directors was obtained from the American Public Human Services Association.

[7] Average response rate for local public agencies.

Locale / Governmental Jurisdiction	Agency Type	Column 1 Number of Surveys Mailed	Column 2 Number of Responses	Column 3 Number of Surveys Completed	Column 4 Response Rate for Completed Surveys	Column 5 Number of Replies "Not Applicable"	Column 6 Number of Surveys "Returned to Sender"
III. Federal							
	Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)[8]	40	8	7	17.5%	1	1
	Federal Public Defenders	50	6	5	10%	1	0
	Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)	33	12	12	36%	0	0
	US Attorneys	53	1[9]	1	NA	0	0
	US Customs	48	11	11	23%	0	0
	US Postal Service	22	7	5	23%	2	0
	Federal Subtotal:	**246**	**45**	**40**	**16%**	**4**	**1**
	Grand Total:	**1130**	**289**	**269**	**24%**	**20**	**20**

[8] The Federal Bureau of Investigation and the US Postal Service sent in responses through their headquarters as well as from local offices.

[9] The survey for the US Attorneys was completed in aggregate form for all 50 states.

H.1. Traditional Random Samples

A key component of the study involved surveying senior staff members of GOs and NGOs in each country known to be dealing with persons involved in the transnational trafficking of children for sexual purposes—including representatives of law enforcement (e.g., police, prosecutors, defenders, courts, corrections) and the human services (e.g., social services, mental health, and public health). These persons, along with the project's core research staff, our research partners in Canada and Mexico, and with members of our IAG helped to draft agency selection (stratifying) criteria. The generic selection criteria were converted into specifically targeted agencies with the help of agency lists that are compiled by various professional associations representing these agencies or to which such organizations belong as members. From those lists, we were, in turn, able to select conventionally drawn samples and apply established survey research techniques to boost response levels. Exhibit 2.6 summarizes the final sampling strata. As can be seen in this exhibit, the sampling procedures focused primarily on obtaining data from: a) private, not for profit, human service organizations; and 2) governmental organizations (both human service and law enforcement). Additionally, the public agencies were split into local, state, and Federal jurisdictions. Public agencies were further characterized as law enforcement (i.e., police, prosecutors, defense, probation, courts, corrections) and human service types.

Overall, 1,130 surveys were mailed; of these, and after a battery of follow-up mailings, calls and faxes to encourage responsiveness, 288 were returned, for a 25.5% response rate (Exhibit 2.6). Difficulty in accessing information concerning the number of sexually exploited children in their care was one of the factors cited by many agencies for not completing the formal questionnaire. Many more than the 288 surveys were returned to us. Via comments written in the questionnaire's margins, respondents to the partially completed questionnaires indicated that the requested data was simply not available, albeit many recognized that large numbers of the children in their care had been exposed to sexual exploitation. Also, some agencies notified us of this limitation by telephone.

In addition to inquiring about current and expected experiences in the transnational trafficking of children for sexual purposes, we used the survey process to create informational and professional bridges with selected agencies that might facilitate future work in this area. In particular, agencies in our focus group cities that could not respond to our questionnaires often became sounding boards for policy recommendations about how to surmount the present informational difficulties.

H.2 Stakeholder Agency Survey

Mail surveys were developed that probed key stakeholders in GOs and NGOs for recommendations regarding the measurement, implementation, and evaluation of policies regarding national, sub-national, and transnational trafficking in children for commercial sexual purposes (Q2, Q3). Follow up interviews also were conducted with some key informants. Further, officials of many of these organizations were surveyed about policies, procedures, practices, and programs that are relevant to trafficking. We also asked stakeholders about the extent to which they encountered variations in the CSEC.

H.3 Convenience and Purposive Sampling of Selected Subjects

Difficulties in locating all of the many parties involved in the CSEC forced us to use other proven techniques to generate convergent knowledge. Through contacts at the professional associations mentioned above (reflecting the types of agencies identified in Exhibit 2.5), we were able to identify a number of helpful convenience and purposive samples:

H.3.a. Expert Focus Groups

City-specific focus groups, each consisting of approximately 6-15 persons, were convened for the purpose of identifying a broad range of issues related to the CSEC and the domestic and international trafficking of children for sexual purposes (Exhibit 2.7). These meetings included representatives of law enforcement, adult and juvenile courts, social service professionals, elected officials, and others. These discussions relied upon a traditional focus group format to generate a consensus about the kinds of information that was needed to understand the institutional, cultural, organizational, and individual aspects of trafficking, traffickers and consumers of child sex so that, ultimately, policies could be designed to reduce significantly their scope.

During the course of the study, a minimum of two-to-three focus group meetings were held in each of the cities listed in Exhibit 2.3. Each focus group typically included six to fifteen people, albeit some groups were smaller and others larger. The focus groups were held specifically to collect data related to each level of the study's design: 1) to identify the types of local measurements that had to be developed and collected; 2) to identify local samples that needed to be drawn; 3) to refine further our conceptualizations for understanding child trafficking and its collateral aspects; 4) to facilitate an intensive site analysis; and 5) to identify as many as possible of the relevant local stakeholders whose contributions were needed to reduce existing patterns of the CSEC within the local community.

The "working agenda" for focus group meetings is reprinted in Appendix C. The agenda reflected concern for a broad range of interlocking issues that bear on the CSEC at the local level: 1) the forms of child sexual exploitation encountered in each community; 2) the extent to which known patterns of the CSEC were increasing or decreasing; 3) the identification of factors that account for the changes in the CSEC patterns; 4) the extent to which particular groups of children were more vulnerable to CSEC than others; 5) the extent to which racial and ethnic factors effected exposure and involvement in the CSEC; 6) the extent to which new immigrants participated in the CSEC; 7) variations in pathways into and out of sexual exploitation; 8) the international dimensions of the CSEC at the local level; 9) the identification of impediments to dealing effectively with the CSEC at the local level; and 10) the formulation of draft recommendations for policies at the national, regional and local levels for effecting changes in dealing with the CSEC.

Focus groups meetings yielded many insights into the nature and extent of the CSEC both locally and nationally. For example, we probed for numerical estimates of the extent of the CSEC applying a loose model of "magnitude estimation" commonly used in psychometric scaling. Essentially, we asked participants to affix numbers (mainly percentages) to the CSEC in their sites, whether it was the number or

proportion of children involved from different social and economic strata and places. These probes proved critical to our capacity to produce a range of plausible estimates of the prevalence of the CSEC in each community. The estimates are discussed in detail later. All interviews were conducted by members of the core research staff (Appendix B). Detailed summary minutes of each focus group have been compiled and examined for what insights they might contain relevant to the CSEC.

H.3.b Interviews With Key Decision-Makers

Focus group meetings also were used to identify other individuals in critical positions of public policy that directly influence either the national or transnational dimensions of the CSEC, or both (Appendix L; Exhibit 2.7). The “key decision-makers" were persons in strategic and/or sensitive positions in international, national, and sub-national public and private agencies with responsibility for shaping and executing remedial policies.

Key decision-makers were interviewed using a combination of initial mailed surveys, in person interviews, and, in cases, follow-up telephone interviews. The main focus of the interviews was to determine ways to respond more proactively to child victims, traffickers, and adult “customers” of child sex with a view toward reducing, eventually eliminating, the commercial exploitation of children in these activities. This process also was used to galvanize support and create a growing network in opposition to the trafficking of children for sexual purposes.

Necessarily, each aspect of the key decision-maker effort concentrated on identifying policy makers, stakeholders, and others who could influence constructively the implementation of remedial strategies. Members of the IAG and the two National Consultative Groups were asked to supplement the initial list of key decision-makers. A combination of research staff and partners at each study site conducted the interviews (Appendix B).

H.3.c Interviews with Child Victims of Sexual Exploitation

A large number of child victims of sexual exploitation were interviewed as part of this study (Appendix L; Exhibit 2.7). Following an initial series of on-street interviews with children, the investigators made the decision to restrict interviews to children under the direct care of either a law enforcement or human service agency. Most of these children either had been arrested by the police for soliciting sex or, in the case of the humans service agencies, requested services as part of the agency’s outreach efforts to street youth.

The reasons for restricting our interviews to children in the care of law enforcement or human service agencies were several: 1) to reduce possible harm from peers, pimps and traffickers to street children who appeared to be cooperating with the police or human service authorities; 2) to ensure access on the part of interviewed children to at least protective services; and 3) following several verbal assaults, to reduce the risk of physical harm to field staff from adult pimps, traffickers and others profiting from the commercial sexual exploitation of street children.

Some children continued to be interviewed on the street throughout the project but these interviews occurred in the presence of a local law enforcement or human service partner in a position to offer services or continuing care to children who were in the process of being actively exploited.

In all cases, cooperation from the children was elicited in an environment that was not threatening to the child, i.e., away from the street or club where the child was previously exploited and away her pimp or, in the case of boys, away from other adults in a position to threaten the child. The general purposes of the study were explained to the child and, in every case, the child was guaranteed anonymity with respect to any and all responses to questions raised by the interviewer.

Nearly all of the interviews took place in small groups of 3-6 children, thereby, providing the child with an additional degree of support. No child was compelled to meet with the interviewers and, in every case, a child's willingness to participate was determined through a prior discussion with a caregiver with whom the child already had an established relationship. Children did not receive financial compensation for their participation in interviews.

H.3.d Apprehended Populations of Traffickers and Clients

The Canadian and Mexican portions of the study contacted and interviewed apprehended traffickers and clients who were in the custody of public agencies (i.e., law-enforcement, mental, or medical). The substance of these interviews focused on the adult entry into, activities, and exit from the sexual exploitation of children (see Azaola, 2001a, 2001b; Tremblay, 2001). Prison lists, newspaper stories and snowball sampling techniques were employed to identify and establish the current location of these adults. Resource constraints and severe limitations on access to U.S. adult criminal populations made it more difficult than we initially anticipated in including these populations in the U.S. portion of the study.

H.3.e Representative National Surveys

Based upon the agency and victim, trafficker and customer surveys and interviews, as well as the focus group and key decision-maker analyses (Appendix L), we had originally intended: 1) to draft a model survey instrument of potential and actual child victims and their households in the NAFTA region; and 2) to develop a blueprint for the application of the model instrument in each of the region's three countries and for the region as a whole. Once field tested, the initial survey was to have been piggy-backed onto existing national/regional surveys or, possibly, to accommodate phone interviewing techniques that have been successfully used in examining the harassment and stalking of women (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). However, owing to cultural differences with respect to the use of printed questionnaires in Mexico and the initial focus of the Canadian study on apprehended pedophiles it was not possible to field test a region-wide survey instrument as part of this first generation effort. This instrument will be developed and field tested in a subsequent study however.

H.3.f IAG and NCG Meetings and Interviews

Exhibit 2.7 summarizes the number and types of contacts made by the investigators in each of the study's target cities. The exhibit also identifies the number and types of persons that participated in various national and regional consultations related to the work of this project. The exhibit also identifies the number of persons that attended the project's formal IAG and NCG meetings including tri-national meetings held in the U.S., Canada and Mexico between the lead investigators and key members of the IAG and NCGs.

Exhibit 2.7

Respondents and Participants in the Tri-national Study of the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., 2000

			RESPONDENTS/PARTICIPANTS						
Target Cities	**Dates**	**Tri-National Research Team Members**	**Represen-tatives of Interna-tional NGOs**	**Federal Law Enforce-ment Agencies**	**State, County and Local Law Enforce-ment Agencies**	**State, County and Local Public Human Service Agencies**	**Local Private Human Service Agencies**	**Children On the Streets**	**Children in the Care of Human Service Agencies**
			FIELD RESEARCH REPONDENTS						
Philadelphia PA	March and April, 1999	2	0	2	2	1	3	8	0
Detroit MI	June 21-25, 1999	1	0	4	4	3	3	0	0
New York City NY	July 5-9, 1999 and May 17-21, 2000	2	5	5	5	2	14	0	0
Dallas TX	August 2-6, 1999	1	0	4	2	1	9	0	0
Los Angeles CA	August 9-13, 1999	1	0	3	5		6	0	0
San Antonio TX	August 19-28, 1999 (via phone)	1	0	9	7	3	12	0	0
Miami FL	February 19-28, 2000	1	0	5	6	2	6	16	14
Las Vegas NV	March 10-18, 2000	1	0	4	8	6	7	13	9
El Paso TX & Ciudad Juarez MX	March 25-April 1, 2000	1	0	2 0	7 1	1 2	1 5	6 4	3 18
Chicago IL	April 29- May 6, 2000	1	0	6	5	2	8	12	5
San Diego CA	July 26-30,	1	0	6	9	3	11	6	9

			RESPONDENTS/PARTICIPANTS						
Target Cities	**Dates**	**Tri-National Research Team Members**	**Representatives of International NGOs**	**Federal Law Enforcement Agencies**	**State, County and Local Law Enforcement Agencies**	**State, County and Local Public Human Service Agencies**	**Local Private Human Service Agencies**	**Children On the Streets**	**Children in the Care of Human Service Agencies**
	1999								
New Orleans LA	July 30-August 5, 2000	1	0	8	6	2	20	12	8
Seattle WA	August 5-12, 2000	1	0	6	11	8	5	15	9
San Francisco/ San Jose/ Oakland CA	August 12-19, 2000 and March 13-14, 18-20, 2001	1	5	8	6	5	15	14	5
Honolulu HI	August 23-26, 1999 and August 19-28, 2000	1	0	9	17	7	25	18	6
Subtotal Group A		17	10	81	101	48	150	124	86
			NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPANTS IN MEETINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY GROUP (IAG)						
International Advisory Group	Washington May 21, 1999	4	4	11	0	0	4	0	0
Tri-National Team Meeting	Montreal December 13-14, 1999	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bi-National Research Team Meeting	London April 5-9, 2000	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Selected Representatives of IAG	Washington April 27-28, 2000	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	0
Tri-National Re-	Washington	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

			RESPONDENTS/PARTICIPANTS						
Target Cities	**Dates**	**Tri-National Research Team Members**	**Representatives of International NGOs**	**Federal Law Enforcement Agencies**	**State, County and Local Law Enforcement Agencies**	**State, County and Local Public Human Service Agencies**	**Local Private Human Service Agencies**	**Children On the Streets**	**Children in the Care of Human Service Agencies**
search Team Meeting	June 1, 2000								
International Advisory Group	Washington June 2, 2000	5	11	10	0	0	2	0	0
Selected Representatives of IAG	Washington November 6-7, 13-14, 27, 2000	6	3	25	0	0	5	0	0
National Drug Intelligence Center	McLean VA Feb. 9, 2001	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tri-National Team Meeting	Mexico City Feb. 26-March 3, 2001	3	4	4	12	35	10	0	0
Subtotal Group B		38	31	53	12	35	21	0	0
			PARTICIPANTS IN NATIONAL PRESENTATIONS OF INTERIM PROJECT FINDINGS						
Formal presentation to senior staff of the National Institute of Justice	Washington July 11, 2000	2	0	18	0	0	0	0	0
Formal Presentation of Interim Findings at the NIJ Research Conference	Washington July 17, 2000	1	0	10	25	0	0	0	0
Informal Presentation of Interim Findings to Nat'l Planning Meeting	Chicago December 1, 2000	1	5	0	4	5	5	0	0

			RESPONDENTS/PARTICIPANTS						
Target Cities	**Dates**	**Tri-National Research Team Members**	**Representatives of International NGOs**	**Federal Law Enforcement Agencies**	**State, County and Local Law Enforcement Agencies**	**State, County and Local Public Human Service Agencies**	**Local Private Human Service Agencies**	**Children On the Streets**	**Children in the Care of Human Service Agencies**
on Child Labor									
Formal Presentation of Interim Findings to National NGOs	San Francisco March 15-18, 2001	1	5	2	0	9	20	0	0
Subtotal Group C		5	10	30	33	10	25	0	0
			ALL RESPONDENTS/PARTICIPANTS						
Total All Groups (A+B+C)		60	51	164	146	93	196	124	86

H.3.g Multidisciplinary Team Intensive Case Analyses

We had originally intended to select for special study a range of recent cases of regional trafficking in children for sexual exploitation from each of the three participating NAFTA countries. Already known to local police authorities, the intention was that these cases would be subjected to intensive analysis by multidisciplinary teams consisting of international research staff members and selected local partners. At a minimum, each team would consist of a social worker, law enforcement agent, public health worker, medical / psychiatrist, and other mental health specialist. Once fully constituted, and as recommended best practices in this area (DoJ, 1993), each team would be a combination of research staff and study site partners.

The focus of these analyses was to have been on deconstructing the cases with respect to understanding what aspects of entry into trafficking by the children, traffickers, and adult customers of children for sexual purposes might be useful in reducing national, sub-national, and transnational patterns of the CSEC. A combination of on-site observational, ethnographic techniques, structured interviews, and readings of official case records had been scheduled. The method of intensive case analyses by multidisciplinary teams has been used with success in other areas of social research including child fatality review teams, aircraft crash analysis, and epidemic control (American Academy of Pediatrics, 1993; Durfee, 1992).[10]

Unfortunately, we were confronted with a number of serious issues with respect to implementation of the plan for fatality reviews. The approach, for example, requires that key partners and stakeholders in controlling the CSEC be sitting at the same table together. However, the vast majority of cases involving the CSEC defy geographic specificity and, hence, the facility of bringing together all of the relevant stakeholders at the same time and to the same table is prohibitive. Trafficked children often are far from home and, consequently, also are far from the institutional records and professionals in possession of the knowledge required for such reviews. For these reasons, it became impossible to move ahead with the multidisciplinary team intensive case analysis. We nonetheless strongly subscribe to it as a potentially valuable method for adding to our understanding of the factors that contribute to a child becoming involved in sexually exploitative activities. Tele- or video-conferencing are among the approaches under consideration for the conduct of such reviews in the future.

I. Conceptualization

There are several macro- and micro-conceptual levels that the research partners identified as most germane to the study of the national, sub-national, and transnational dimensions of the CSEC in the NAFTA region. At the *macro-conceptual level* are characteristics of the nations and their relevant sub-national

[10] The website of National Center on Child Fatality Review (of the Inter-Agency Council on Child Abuse and Neglect) reviews selected aspects of this methodology (http://www.ican-ncfr.org/).

units (e.g., population density, rates of child birth and infant mortality, ethnic heterogeneity, educational indices, level of industrialization, level of modernization, cultural traditions pertaining to trading in human lives). Also, at the national level is the legal status of trafficking that the study nations have incorporated into their own national laws and to which they might have agreed as a matter of international law. At the *micro-conceptual level* are aspects of individual (e.g., gender, race/ethnicity, age, educational and job status of victim, trafficker, and client), the family (e.g., socioeconomic status, racial/ethnic origin of the victim's family), and community (e.g., socioeconomic status, racial/ethnic composition). These factors can be viewed as forming a set of widening concentric circles. This conceptual framework is consistent with a contextual analytical approach that we used to understand better the dynamics of transnational trafficking.

Operational definitions for the project's major concepts are contained in Exhibits 1.1 and 1.2. Appendix L identifies the major areas of questioning pursued with sexually exploited children, the adult "customers" of sex with children, and adult "traffickers" in children for sexual purposes. Appendix L also identifies the major areas for which data were gathered from various public and private stakeholders in the fields of child welfare, child sexual assault, and child sexual exploitation.

J. Statutory Review

To close the contextual loop regarding the CSEC, we thought it necessary to compile and review relevant national and sub-national criminal statutes and international agreements relating to children and their sexual exploitation by adults. We knew that whatever policy and political recommendations we might make would have to be informed by jurisprudence and the existence of international agreements and covenants ratified by the U.S. Senate. Unless we intimately understood this framework and how to give it "teeth," our recommendations would be hobbled by lame and fuzzy thinking. We wanted to avoid this at all costs, and a simple but powerful way to do so was through compiling and cataloguing laws and agreements.

J.1 U.S. Federal and State Statutes Relating to CSE and the CSEC

U.S. state statutes pertaining to child abuse[11] in general and the CSEC more specifically are available from the National Center for Child Abuse and Neglect Clearinghouse. Like the Protection Project, the NCCAN maintains updated versions of these statutes on its electronic website.[12] A summary list and description of Federal statutes, Acts and other laws related to child pornography, child prostitution, and trafficking in children for sexual purposes is contained in Appendix G of this report.

[11] *Child Abuse* refers to the recurrent infliction of physical or emotional injury on a dependent minor, through intentional beatings, uncontrolled corporal punishment, persistent ridicule and degradation, or sexual abuse, usually committed by parents or guardians (National Association of Social Workers, 1994).

[12] http://www.calib.com/nccanch/statutes/index.cfm

J.2 Laws of Other Nations Relating to CSE and the CSEC

Laws pertaining to the sexual exploitation of children and adults for virtually all member states of the United Nations recently have been compiled by Laura Lederer of the School For Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University's (Lederer, 2001). In addition to a printed summary of the pornography, prostitution and trafficking laws of each country, updates to these laws can be obtained from the "Protection Project's" electronic website.[13]

J.3 International Covenants, Declarations and Agreements Relating to the CSEC

A summary list and description of international agreements, covenants and declarations relating to the sale, use of children as subjects of pornography and prostitution, and in international trafficking is contained in Appendix H of this report.

[13] http://www.protectionproject.org

PART III:

MAJOR FINDINGS

MAJOR FINDINGS

A. Introduction

Child sexual exploitation is a serious and widespread problem throughout the U.S. The most common forms of CSE include child sexual abuse,[14] child sexual assault,[15] child pornography, juvenile prostitution, as well as domestic and international trafficking in children for sexual purposes. The nation's difficulty in recognizing the extent of CSE has been compounded by: 1) the highly secretive nature of the problem; 2) the reality that a disproportionate number of cases involving CSE are perpetrated by family members and other persons with whom the family or child are acquainted; and 3) the disbelief experienced by many doctors, teachers, social workers, police and others to whom children report their victimization. For many older children, the response to sexual victimization at home is to flee their local communities in an effort to build new lives for themselves elsewhere. Sadly, the majority of these runaways become victimized again when they reach the streets and, often, are recruited into commercial sexual activities--including pornography, prostitution, and trafficking for sexual purposes--that not only compound their original abusive situation but also exposes them, among other things, to homelessness, malnutrition, street violence, sexually transmitted diseases. The majority of these children suffer enduring physical and mental impairments; some even are killed either as a result of the violence to which they frequently are exposed on the street or from the diseases they incur through their sexual victimization (Editors, 2001).

This chapter reports the major findings obtained from our two-year study of CSE and the CSEC in the U.S., Canada and Mexico. Inasmuch as separate reports have been issued on patterns of CSE in Mexico (Azaola, 2000) and Canada (Dionne, 2001; Tremblay, 2001), this chapter will deal only with CSE in the U.S. (but includes those elements of the Canadian and Mexican experiences that share a nexus with the U.S.). The chapter is divided into the following sections:

A. Introduction
B. Brief History of CSE and the CSEC in the U.S.
C. Factors That Contribute to CSE and the CSEC
D. Pathways Into CSE and the CSEC
E. More Common and Less Common Forms of CSE and the CSEC
F. Social, Emotional, Health, and Other Risks to Sexually Exploited Children
G. Categories of Sexually Exploited Children
H. Characteristics of Sexually Exploited Youth

---

[14] *Child Sexual Abuse* (CSA) refers to sexual activity involving persons younger than 18 years of age. Most often perpetrated by an adult, such activities include rape and molestation, pornography, and exposure of children to the sexual acts of others (ala National Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect Information, 1996).he recurrent infliction of physical or emotional injury on a dependent minor, through intentional beatings, uncontrolled corporal punishment, persistent ridicule and degradation, or sexual abuse, usually committed by parents or guardians (National Association of Social Workers, 1994).

[15] *Child Sexual Assault* (CSAs) refers to any sexual act directed against a person younger than 18 years of age, forcibly and/or against that person's will; or not forcibly or against the person's will where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of his/her temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity (ala National Incident-Based Reporting System [NIBRS] as cited in Snyder 2000:13). CSAs includes forcible rape, forcible sodomy, sexual assault with an object, and forcible fondling.

I. Profiles of Child Sexual Exploiters
J. Organized Crime, CSEC and the CSEC
K. Domestic and International Trafficking in Children For Sexual Purposes

The least section of the chapter contains a summary of the study's major findings.

B. Brief History of CSE and the CSEC in the U.S.

Prostitution, pornography and trafficking in persons for sexual purposes are not new phenomena in the U.S. Indeed, historical evidence suggests that child sexual exploitation has a long history in the U.S. At the turn of the century, for example, children as young as 9 years of age populated the ethnically organized brothels of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco and other large American cities (Cordasco & Pitkin, 1981; Crewdson, 1983; Weed, 1868). The majority of the children found in these brothels were girls, and most were persons for whom acceptable work in indentured servitude could not be arranged (Connelly, 1980). Boys, who almost always could find paid employment in the smoke stack industries of these cities, also were among the population of prostituted youth but in smaller numbers than girls (Odem, 1995). In any case, the numbers of American children in sexual servitude were sufficiently large as to stimulate the beginnings of the American child welfare movement (Connelly, 1980; Friedman, 1994; Odem, 1995; Smith, 1997). Among other accomplishments, this movement contributed to: 1) raising the legal age for sexual consent for girls from 10 to 16 years (Smith, 1997); 2) passage of the Mann Act which made "white slavery"[16] illegal (Langum, 1994); 3) the establishment of orphanages for homeless and sexually vulnerable youth (Bremner, 1970; Lane, 1932); 4) the creation of national adoption and foster care systems (Editors, 1913); 5) the establishment of child protective services for children living in their own homes (Odem, 1995); 6) the establishment within the federal government of the U.S. Children's Bureau (Tobey, 1925; Lindenmeyer, 1997); and 7) even the development of "orphan trains" that relocated tens of thousand of homeless children from the social chaos of street life in the industrial East to farms in the country's mid- and far-west (Lane, 1932; O'Connor, 2001).

CSE and the CSEC in the U.S. today differ dramatically from that which existed between 1880 and 1939: 1) far more is known and understood about the causes and perpetrators of CSE and the CSEC than was the case in the past; 2) the number of children exposed to sexual exploitation can be identified more easily; 3) a large network of law enforcement and human service programs now are available to assist sexually exploited children and their families; 4) perpetrators of sexual crimes against children can be apprehended, prosecuted and monitored with greater ease; 5) society's commitment to the elimination of CSE and the CSEC as major national problems is increasing at all levels of society; and 6) large numbers of people and organizations all around the world are working to protect children from the ravages of CSE and the CSEC. Even so, a substantial number of children continue to fall victim to sexual exploitation each year.

[16] The term originally referred to Caucasian girls and women sold into prostitution against their will; today, the term refers more generally to sexual servitude among women and includes people of color and other minorities.

C. Factors That Contribute to CSE and the CSEC

Our investigation has determined that a variety of factors contribute to CSE in the U.S. We have divided these factors into three discrete groups--ranging from external factors over which individuals can exert comparatively little control to factors that are internal to the psychological makeup of exploited children and their families: 1) *marcro/contextual external* factors (i.e. broad-based processes and realities that exist in the larger cultural, social structural, historical, economic and political environments over which individuals can exercise only minimal control but which, nonetheless, exert a powerful influence on their lives); 2) *micro/situational external* factors (i.e., processes and events that impact individuals directly and over which they can exert some measure of control); and 3) *individual/internal* factors (i.e., cognitive and psychogenic forces that influence a person's sense of mastery over her/his own personal environment and future). Exhibit 3.1 identifies the major CSE-related elements associated with each of these factors.

Exhibit 3.1
Factors Contributing To the Sexual Exploitation of Children and Youth

Domain	Contributing Factors
Macro/Contextual (External)	• Socio-economic • Societal attitudes toward children and youth • Social anomie among children and youth, i.e., a lack of connectedness on the part of youth with the larger society and their place within it • Poverty • Child victims of crime and violence • Societal responses to crimes committed against children, including sexual crimes • The presence of pre-existing adult prostitution zones • The presence of groups advocating child-adult sexual relationships • Sexual behavior of unattached and transient males including the military, seasonal workers, truckers, motor cycle gangs, conventioneers • Community knowledge and attitudes concerning HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases
Micro/Situational (External)	• Socio-Behavioral o Family dysfunction o Parental drug dependency o History of physical and/or sexual assault o Personal drug dependency o School/other social performance failures o Gang membership • Active recruitment into prostitution by others o Peers o Parents or other family members (including siblings) o Local pimps o National and or international crime organizations
Individual (Internal)	• Psychogenic o Poor self esteem o Chronic depression o External locus of control • Seriously restricted future orientation

C.1. Macro/Contextual External Factors

Contextual factors contribute significantly to the environment that makes CSE possible. In general, those factors include a broad range of processes that exist in the larger society but over which individuals can exercise relatively little control. In effect, these processes form a collective backdrop against which people live their lives and, within which, children consolidate their identities and mature into adults.

An assessment of the following macro/contextual factors was considered important to the present investigation: 1) the nation's general economic climate; 2) societal attitudes toward children and youth; 3) the extent of social anomie among young people, i.e., the strength of their connectedness to the larger society and their role in it; 4) poverty; 5) young people's involvement in crime and violence; and 6) the adequacy of societal response to crimes, including to sexual crimes committed against children. The investigators also sought to understand more fully the role of the following additional macro/contextual factors vis-à-vis CSE; 7) the presence of pre-existing adult prostitution zones; 8) the presence of groups advocating child-adult sexual relationships (e.g., the North American Man-Boy Love Association [NAMBLA]); 9) sexual behavior for "unattached" and transient males; and 10) community knowledge and attitudes concerning HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.

For reasons of brevity, this section will discuss only three of these factors—poverty, the presence of pre-existing adult prostitution markets, and the enforcement of CSE-related laws and polices.

C.1.a. Poverty and CSE

Poverty often has been cited as a major factor driving children and adults into sexually exploitative activities (Adams, 1999; Azaola, 2001; Hood-Brown, 1998; Lederer, 1996). Indeed, we can confirm that the families of origin of some of the sexually exploited young people we encountered were poor and others lived just on the edge of poverty. The vast majority of the children we encountered, however, did not originate from poor families nor did these children think of themselves as "poor"--even given the deeply impoverished circumstances in which all were currently living (e.g., on the streets, in squats, in skid row quality motels, cars and vans, temporary shelters and even dumpsters). Indeed, most of the children we met identified themselves as being from working- and middle-class families and, from their descriptions of their families, this appears to be the case.

While not the exclusive causative factor in explaining CSE, poverty does create the context that contributes to the sexual exploitation of many poor children. This phenomenon was particularly evident among children living in inner-city poor families, those residing in public housing, and the growing numbers of youth whose family have been

forced off of welfare in response to national efforts at welfare reform (Brooks, et al., 2001).

Both children themselves and public officials with whom we met across the country indicated that a "higher than expected" number of children living in poverty were victims of sexual exploitation--initially through sexual assaults at home (e.g., by fathers, step-fathers or boyfriends of single parent mothers) and, subsequently, through prostitution (sometimes as part of organized gang activity). In some cases, children reported being pimped by family members (e.g., mothers, step-fathers, older siblings) to raise money to support either the household economy or parental drug habits (Benjamin, 1998).

Among the majority of children we encountered, however, poverty was not the primary factor that contributed to their exploitation. Rather, family dysfunction (e.g., violence, mental illness, sexual and other intimacy boundary issues), family sexual assaults, familial or personal drug dependency, and recurrent school and other social failures were identified more often as the factors that contributed to the sexual exploitation of these children (Exhibit 3.12).

C.1.b. The Presence of a Pre-Existing Adult Prostitution Zones and CSE

Without equivocation, the investigators can confirm that the presence of pre-existing adult prostitution markets contributes measurably to the creation of secondary sexual markets in which children are sexually exploited. Indeed, in every community we visited in which a substantial adult prostitution markets exists--Chicago, Honolulu, Las Vegas, New Orleans, New York, San Francisco--we also found substantial numbers of young people being sexually exploited—often alongside older prostituted women and men soliciting sex on the same streets and pursing the same clients.

Adult prostitution markets contribute to CSE in several ways: 1) the markets already are well known to local and transient males that frequent prostituted women; 2) they exist in communities where young people easily can find other similarly situated youth, cheap hotel rooms and, not infrequently, cheap drugs; 3) police retain a relative low presence in many of these areas, typically, responding only to emergency calls; and 4) anonymity for both youth and their adult exploiters is all but assured. Ironically, many drop in programs, free health clinics and other human service agencies also are found in these communities--all services on which many street youth depend for food, a place to shower, relief from the pressures of the street. Most of these services, though, are severely under-funded and under-staffed with the result that comparatively few can respond comprehensively to the complex outreach and service needs of the many street youth that move in and out of these communities.

Despite the advocacy efforts of some groups in the U.S., we find no support for the legalization of prostitution in the U.S., especially given the relationship that we can confirm to exist between adult and juvenile sexual exploitation.

C.1.c Enforcement of CSE Laws and Policies (by Law Enforcement and Human Service Authorities)

Many factors have troubled us as we moved across the country in the conduct of this investigation. None proved more disturbing than the comparative laxity we encountered in some communities with respect to the enforcement of laws pertaining to CSE. We observed this phenomenon among both law enforcement and human service agencies (see Part VI) and even among health care providers who were treating sexually exploited children for their injuries, sexual diseases, and pregnancies.

In general, the absence of adequate enforcement of existing CSE laws and policies is manifested through:

- Incomplete or inaccurate information concerning the nature, extent and seriousness of CSE in local communities;

- Highly negative attitudes held by some law enforcement and human service professionals toward children involved in prostitution;

- A focus on children as the source of *the CSE "problem"* rather than on the adults that prey upon and profit financially from the exploitation of these children—pimps, traffickers, customers, hotel operators, purveyors of false identity papers, transporters;

- Inadequate systems for responding to the needs of sexually exploited children—particularly those of street and other groups of transient children (including food, shelter, drug treatment, emergency services, job training);

- Unstated policies on the part of police and child protective service departments to not open closed doors--behind which the vast majority of commercially sexually exploited children are to be found, e.g., in topless bars, nightclubs, massage parlors, photographic studios;

- As evidenced by shockingly low juvenile and adult arrest records for prostitution (discussed more fully in Part IV), inadequate policing of the neighborhoods, bars, clubs and other places where children are regularly exploited;

- The absence of cooperative agreements (and financial resources) in nearly all communities for dealing with both the immediate and near-term needs of out-of-state and out-of-county sexually exploited children who take up residence in the local community;

- Inadequate systems for identifying and monitoring the activities of convicted sexual offenders living in the community—78% of whom have been convicted of sexual crimes against children younger than 18 years of age (Greenfeld, 1997:25);

- In all but a few communities, the absence of coordinating mechanisms for dealing with the complex legal (including forensic) and human service issues associated with CSE;[17] and

- Severe personnel and equipment shortages in local police and human service units responsible for investigating and prosecuting cases—including Crimes Against Children, Special Investigative, Child Protective, and similar types of units.

C.2. Micro/Situational External Factors

Few, if any, victims of CSE and the CSEC have done anything to warrant the assaults to which they are subjected. Most are responding to what they experience as a confusing, often impossible, set of social and emotional issues over which they feel little sense of control. These include family dysfunction or breakup, family history of substance abuse, and personal histories of physical or sexual abuse (Exhibit 3.12; Dembo et al., 1992; Greene et al., 1999; Molnar, 1998; Nadon et al., 1998; NCCAN, 1996; Seng, 1989; Snyder, 2000; Stiffman, 1989). Many of these children also have painful histories of school and other failures. A majority of these children seek release from the pain associated with this complex of problems through drugs and alcohol, by running away from home, by developing emotional (and sexual) relationships with age inappropriate adults, or by engaging in commercial sexual activities—including pornography and prostitution (Exhibit 3.12; Finkelhor et al., 1990; Greene et al., 1999; Kaufman & Widom, 1999; Kral et al., 1997). Some fraction of these children also join the hidden legion of other children that annually are trafficked across the U.S. along well established adult and juvenile prostitution (and drug) circuits (Richard, 1999).

Most of the young people whom we interviewed as part of this study were "recruited" into sexually exploitative activities by same sex peers who already were engaged in pornography, prostitution, or trafficking, or all three. With considerable pressure from the adults profiting directly from the CSEC (including family members, representatives of organized sex crime rings, pimps, traffickers), the new "recruits" were promised something of value to them--money, careers in the recording or movie industries, friendships and, on occasion, love.

C.2.a. <u>The Continuum of Child Sexual Abuse, Child Sexual Assault and Child Sexual Exploitation</u>

Child sexual abuse (CSA), child sexual assault (CSAs) and child sexual exploitation (CSE) are not isolated events that are committed by a discrete group of perpetrators against a more or less clearly definable and restricted group of children. Rather, these sexual crimes against children are perpetrated by a broad segment of the American population and virtually any American child potentially can fall victim to one or another form of these abuses.

---

[17] Communities in which federally-funded multi-jurisdictional *Task Forces on CSE* and *Internet Crimes Against Children* (ICAC) units are the exception.

In a very real sense all four forms of child sexual abuse form a continuum of abuse to which large numbers of American children are exposed. As reported below, the impact of these sexual violations on the lives of children are profound and they remain with children as they mature into adults (Bauserman & Rind, 1997; Finkelhor et al., 1990; Kilpatrick & Saunders, 1997; Molnar et al., 2001; Mullen, et al., 1996; Rotheram-Borus, et al., 1996; Silbert, 1989). Data also are reported that confirm that some percentage of adults who were victims of sexual abuse and sexual assaults as children perpetuate the cycle of sexual abuse on other children as these persons mature into adulthood (Becker et al., 1986; Gelles & Wolfner, 1994; Lanning, 1992; Prentky & Knight, 1993; Reichert, 1998; Silbert & Pines, 1984).

Further, the relationship also is well established between child sexual abuse and subsequent involvement of victims in juvenile (Allen, 1980; Bagley & Young, 1987; Brannigan & Van Brunschot, 1997; Boyer, 1993; Greene et al., 1999; Kaufman & Widom, 1999; Powers & Jaklitsch, 1989; Seng, 1989; Silbert & Pines, 1981a, 1983; Simons & Whitbeck, 1991; Smith & Thornberry, 1995; Stiffman, 1989; Whitbeck & Simons, 1990) and adult prostitution (Cates & Markley, 1992; Deisher et al., 1982; Earls & David, 1989; Farley, 1998; Farley & Kelly, 2000; McClanahan et al., 1999; Nadon et al., 1998).

Thus, the discussion that follows underscores the existence of a *continuum of abuse* associated with child sexual abuse, child sexual assault, child sexual exploitation and the commercial sexual exploitation of children. While the faces of the children victimized by each form of abuse may differ, in fact, the underlying socio-emotional-cultural dynamics responsible for all forms of child sexual abuse are the same, i.e., in every case the abuse is initiated by a more powerful offender(s), usually an adult, who exerts his or her will over the of children in order to secure some sexual, economic or other benefit of value to the offender. In every case the basic dignity, rights and emotional security of the victimized children are compromised, often permanently.

Further, child sexual abuse and child sexual assaults rarely occur within an economic context, i.e., situations in which either the victim or the offender is financially benefiting from the abuse inflicted on the child. In all situations involving the *commercial* sexual exploitation of children, however, the relationship between the victim and the exploiter is essentially economic in nature, i.e., a "customer" (usually an adult) purchasing a sexual service from a child either for cash or something else of value to the child—food, shelter, clothing, video games, drugs and even affection. In such situations, and given the age and maturational disparities between children and that majority of their "customers" who are adults, the exchanges can never be equal and do, therefore, compromise the dignity, rights, physical and emotional well-being of the child.

C.2.b. Child Sexual Abuse and CSE

As evidenced by case information reported to national data collection systems, the extent of child sexual abuse[18] in the U.S. is nothing short of shocking. As reported in Exhibit 3.2 below, the National Center for Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN) receives more than 300,000 *reports* of child sexual abuse each year (NCCAN, 1996). These reports are in addition to the more than 1,700,000 reports--involving more than 3 million children--received by the NCCAN for other forms of child abuse and neglect.

On investigation, approximately 35% of all reports filed with the *National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System* (NCANDS) eventually are either *substantiated*[19] or *indicated*[20]. Thus, a minimum of 105,000 new cases of child sexual abuse are confirmed to occur in the U.S. each year. To this annual incidence figure must be added the hundreds of thousands of already substantiated or indicated cases from previous years. In general, child sexual abuse is more pervasive than realized by either the general public or law enforcement and human service professionals.

Exhibit 3.2 contrasts the incidence of child sexual assault in the U.S. with other forms of child maltreatment--physical and emotional assault, physical and emotional neglect, and educational neglect. Three patterns are evident from these data which cover the years 1986 and 1993:

1. child sexual abuse currently is the least frequently reported form of abuse;

2. though low in comparison with reports of child physical neglect (1,335,000 reports in 1993), child physical abuse (614,000 reports in 1993), child emotional neglect (584,000 reports in 1993) and child emotional abuse (532,000 reports in 1993), reports of child sexual abuse are numerous (300,000 in 1993);

3. reports of child sexual abuse increased dramatically (+124%) between 1986 and 1993, but at a slower rate than increases in the numbers of reported cases of emotional neglect (+188), emotional abuse (+183) and physical neglect (+163).

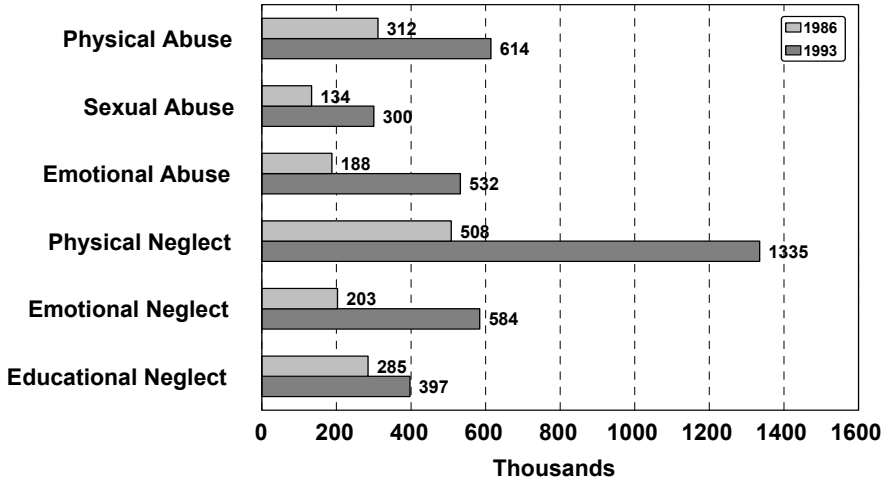
---

[19] Substantiated cases are those in which the allegation of abuse or risk of abuse was supported or founded (DoJ, 2000b:45).

[20] Initiated cases are those in which the allegation of abuse or risk of abuse could not be substantiated but there was reason to suspect the child was abused or at risk of abuse (DoJ, 2000b:45).

Exhibit 3.2

Child Victims of Maltreatment, 1986 & 1993



Source: Nat'l Ctr on Chld Abuse & Neglect (1996) as cited in OJJDP, 2000: 41 [Child_Abuse_r1_010617]

More detailed data from the NCANDS reveals the victim-offender relationship in cases of confirmed child sexual abuse:

1. 49% of all confirmed cases of child sexual abuse were committed by acquaintances known either to the child or the child's family;

2. 47% of all confirmed cases of child sexual abuse were committed by family members; and

3. only 4% of sexual assaults against children were committed by strangers or by other persons unknown to either the child or the child's family.

Thus, 96% of all confirmed cases of child sexual abuse involve adults or either are members of the child's family or are persons known to or trusted by the child. Further, 84% of all confirmed cases of child sexual abuse occurred *in the privacy of the child's own home* (DoJ, 2000b:29), thereby, making the home one of the most sexually dangerous places for many of the nation's children.

Fortunately, recent evidence reported by Jones & Finkelhor (2001) suggest that the incidence of *substantiated* and *indicated* cases of child sexual abuse declined by 31% between 1992 and 1998, i.e., from a high of 150,000 cases in 1992 to a low of 104,000 cases in 1998 (Jones & Finkelhor, 2001:2). Though the precise reasons for the apparent decline remain unclear, the investigators suggest that two factors may account for the downward spiral: 1) a real decline in child sexual abuse; or 2) changes in attitudes, policies, or standards that result in fewer reports and substantiations (Jones & Finkelhor, 2001:4). The investigators tend to favor the first explanation given a combination of public policy successes over the decade that have resulted in: 1) improving public awareness of the existence and seriousness of child sexual abuse; 2) the expansion and increased effectiveness of prevention programs focused on child sexual abuse (Finkelhor & Dziuba-Leatherman, 1995); 3) the incarceration of a large number of adult and juvenile pedophiles and other sexual molesters of children (Beck et al., 1993; Freeman-Longo et al., 1994); and 4) more effective monitoring of child and adult sexual offenders living in the general community (Finn, 1997).

If confirmed by additional studies, the recent decline in the incidence of child sexual abuse would parallel similar trends recently observed in other areas of child maltreatment, teen pregnancy, and teen involvement in violent crimes (U.S. Depart. of Justice, 2000b).

C.2.c. Child Sexual Assault and CSE

The 1986 and 1993 child abuse trends reflected in the NCANDS data are consistent with national trends concerning child sexual assault[21] reported by both the FBI's *National Incident-Based Reporting System* (NIBRS)[22] and the *National Crime Victimization Survey* (NCVS).[23] A more refined study of the NIBRS data reported by Snyder (2000) provides a more detailed picture of victims (N=60,991) and victim-identified offenders (N=57,762) of sexual assaults against children age 17 years and younger for the period 1991-1996. As reported by Snyder (2000:2-4):

1. one third (32%) of all sexual assaults reported to law enforcement in the U.S. between 1991 and 1996 were perpetrated against children 12 years of age and younger;

2. juveniles were the large majority of the victims of forcible fondling (84%), forcible sodomy (79%), and sexual assault with an object (75%);

3. however, juveniles were the victims in less than half (46%) of forcible rapes; but,

4. in each sexual assault category except forcible rape, children below the age of 12 were about half of all victims;

5. with respect to the gender of the child victims of sexual assaults:

    a. nearly all forcible rapes (99%) involved a female victim,
    b. females were the large majority of victims in incidents of sexual assault with an object (87%) and forcible fondling (82%),
    c. males were the majority of victims of forcible sodomy (54%),
    d. in general, across all specific offense categories, the proportion of female victims increased with the age of the victim.

[21] *Child Sexual Assault* refers to any sexual act directed against a person younger than 18 years of age, forcibly and/or against that person's will; or not forcibly or against the person's will where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of his/her temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity. Child sexual assault includes: forcible rape, forcible sodomy, sexual assault with an object, and forcible fondling (National Incident-Based Reporting System [NIBRS] as cited in Snyder 2000:13).

[22] The NIBRS collects detailed data on crimes reported to law enforcement agencies in selected states only. NIBRS data for 1991 through 1996 included data from 12 states: Alabama, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, North Dakota, South Carolina, Utah, Virginia, and Vermont. The data reported for these years contain detailed information on more than 1.1 million incidents of violence, including violent crimes committed against children of all ages (DoJ, 1999:29).

[23] The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) does not interview persons below the age of 12 years with the result that little is known about crimes against these young juveniles (DoJ, 1999:29). Thus, the NIBRS, rather than the NCVS, is the more comprehensive system of reported crimes, including sexual crimes, committed against persons of all ages, including those committed against children and youth.

6. A greater percentage of juvenile sexual assault victims were male (18%) than were adult sexual assault victims (4%):

    a. males were 15% of the juvenile victims of sexual assault with an object, 20% of the juvenile victims of forcible fondling, and 59% of the juvenile victims of forcible sodomy,

    b. for victims under age 12, the male proportions were even greater: sexual assault with an object (19%), forcible fondling (26%), and forcible sodomy (64%);

7. Based on the NIBRS data, the year in a male's life when he is most likely to be the victim of sexual assault is age 4. Bt age 17 a male's risk of victimization has been cut by a factor of 5;

8. A female's year of greatest risk is age 14:

    a. a female's risk of sexual victimization drops to half the peak level by age 17 and to a fifth of the peak level by age 27,

    b. at his peak victimization age of 4, a male's risk of sexual assault victimization is just half that of females of the same age,

    c. in the later juvenile years (ages 14-17), the female victimization rates are at least 10 times greater than the male rates for similar age groups;

9. Most (70%) of the sexual assaults reported to law enforcement occurred in the residence of the victim; however, less than two-thirds (64%) of forcible rapes occurred in a residence, particularly in situations in which females (69%) rather than males (77%) were the victims.

Snyder (2000:4-10) provides an equally disturbing picture of the perpetrators of sexual assaults against children:

1. nearly all of the offenders in sexual assaults reported to law enforcement were male (96%);

    a. female offenders were most common in assaults against victims under age 6; for these youngest victims, 12% of offenders were females, compared with 6% for victims ages 6-12 and 3% for victims ages 12-17,

    b. overall, 6% of the offenders who sexually assault juveniles were females;

2. 23% of all sexual assaults against children were committed by juveniles under the age of 18:

a. juveniles were a substantially smaller proportion of the offenders in forcible rapes (17%) than in sexual assaults with an object (23%), forcible fondling (27%), and incidents of forcible sodomy (36%),

b. 16% of juvenile offenders were under the age of 12 years,

c. 22% of child sexual assaults were perpetrated by young adults between the ages of 18 and 24 years;

d. 27% of all offenders were family members of their victims:

    i. the offenders of young victims were more likely than the offenders of older victims to be family members,

    ii. almost half (49%) of the offenders of victims under age 6 were family members, compared with 42% of the offenders who sexually assaulted juveniles ages 12-17,

    iii. overall, just 12% of the offenders who sexually assaulted adults were family members of the victims, compared with 34% of the offenders of juvenile victims.

Like child sexual abuse, sexual assault has a profound impact on children—both as children and as they mature into adults (Barnett, Manly & Cicchetti, 1993; Cevallos, 1998; Finkelhor & Brown, 1985; Gelles, 1994, 1998; Goldstein, 1987; Kilpatrick & Saunders, 1997; Silbert, 1989; Silbert & Pines, 1983, 1984; Straus & Gelles, 1988; Vittachi, 1989). On the basis of our interviews with children, law enforcement and human service professionals, we, too, can confirm that no child escapes unharmed from the physical or emotional trauma associated with sexual molestation.

C.2.d Child Sexual Abuse, Child Sexual Assault and the CSEC

The relationships between child sexual abuse, child sexual assault, CSE and the CSEC are direct, powerful and long-lasting. The evidence for these relationships is especially strong between child sexual victimization and teen *pregnancy* (Ireland & Widom, 1994; Smith & Thornberry, 1995; Widom, 1996; Widom & Kuhns, 1996), *substance abuse* (Ireland & Widom, 1994; Kelley, Thornberry & Smith, 1997), *HIV* and other *sexually transmitted diseases* (Bond et al., 1992; Johnson et al., 1996; Pyett & Warr, 1997; Rotheram-Borus et al., 1991) and *suicide* (Molnar et al., 1998). Strong links also exist between CSE and other forms of *interpersonal violence* (Gelles & Wolfner, 1994; Farber et al., 1984; Stiffman, 1989; Weiner, 1994; Weiner & Ruback, 1998), *adult prostitution* (Farley, 1998; Hofstede Commission, 1999; Silbert, 1982, 1989; Silbert & Pines, 1983, 1984), and subsequent involvement of exploited child victims in *adult criminal behavior*

(Kelley, Thornberry & Smith, 1997; Loeber & Farrington, 1998; Smith & Thornberry, 1995; Weiner & Wolfgang, 1989). And child sexual assault is a primary reason why children run away from home—the majority of whom are engage in prostitution to meet their subsistence needs (Earls & David, 1989; Farber, 1984; McCormack et al., 1987; Nadon et al., 1998; Rotheram-Borus et al., 1996; Seng, 1989; Stiffman, 1989; Widom & Kuhns, 1996).

Though the precise proportion of sexually abused and sexually assaulted children that turn to *juvenile prostitution* is unknown and could not be determined by the present investigation, we can confirm that a disproportionate number of the children we met in the course of our investigation acknowledged that they had been victims of physical or sexual abuse before they left home—ranging from 20% to 40% for girls and 10% to 30% for boys.

In a nationally representative sample of 12-18 year old "street" and "shelter" youth (N=528), Greene et al. found that *at least* 28% of street youth and 10% of shelter youth admitted to having participated in "survival sex" since leaving home.[24]

> …the odds of engaging in survival sex were increased for youths who had been victimized, those who had participated in criminal behaviors, those who had attempted suicide, those who had had STD, and those who had been pregnant. Survival sex was strongly associated with all recent substance use indicators and with lifetime injection drug use…These findings add to the growing literature indicating that family assault, including physical assault, is a strong correlate of high risk sexual behavior among adolescents (Greene, 1999:1408-1409).

In a study a population of street youth in St. Louis, Stiffman (1989:420) found that nearly half of 291 homeless youth between the ages of 12 and 18 years using shelter services reported having been physically (44%) or sexually (10%) assaulted prior to running away from home. In a study of 775 street youth between the ages of 12 and 19 years in Denver, New York City and San Francisco, Molnar (1998) found that 61% of the girls (N=167/272) and 19% of the boys (N=96/503) reported having been sexually abused before leaving home. Recurrent familial abuse, including sexual assault, was cited by both boys and girls in the Molnar study as the primary reason for leaving home.

The cases of "Jenny," "Sara," "Carrie" and "Amy" illustrate the relationship we can confirm to exist between child sexual assault and juvenile prostitution for many of the youth we met.[25] These cases also illustrate the nexus that frequently exists between child sexual victimization, mental illness and substance abuse. Child poverty is a dominant feature in two of the four cases but significant family dysfunction is a central feature in all four. The cases of Sara, Carrie and Amy document several of the well known na-

[24] In arriving at these percentages, however, Greene acknowledges that her estimates are probably quite low--especially for boys who rarely acknowledge the extent of their involvement in non-heterosexual sexual behavior (which constitutes the bulk of the sexual services provided by street boys to adult male "customers").

[25] The cases summarized in this section were prepared specifically for the project by Rev. Pam Vessels and Jayne Bopp, MPH of the Life Foundation (Honolulu HI) and the staff of The Paul and Lisa Program (Essex CT).

tional and international trafficking patterns (often referred to as "tracks" or "circuits") traveled by sexually exploited children.

"Jenny"
Jenny was born and raised in Hawai'i to a working class family. She is of Portuguese decent and was raised in a single parent home by her father. History of assault is unknown although by the age of 12 she had run away about a dozen times. After running away again she went to her friend "Mary's" house in Waimanalo (on the island of Oahu). There, Mary's mother pimped both Jenny and her own daughter. At the age of 12 Jenny's virginity was sold to an off duty police officer for $600. Mary's mother put ads in the *Penny Saver* advertising the girls. Mary's mother introduced both girls to *ice*; by age 13, Jenny was a complete addict. Between the ages of 12-14 Jenny worked at four different hostess bars including the Magazine Girl. Jenny reported that the owners always knew before hand when the Liquor Commission or Vice were coming and would make her put on her clothes and leave during those visits.

The Life Foundation met Jenny through a local youth outreach project. A trick she had been staying with brought her to the project's medical clinic because she had severe abdominal pain. Jenny was diagnosed with an advanced case of pelvic inflammatory disease (PID) and was told she needed to be hospitalized. Jenny begged the nurse practitioner not to contact her father, whose permission was needed for the hospitalization. Not knowing what to do the nurse practitioner contacted one of the Foundation's senior staff members who took Jenny in and later became her foster mother. Jenny subsequently was accepted into a local high school and did well for about 4 months. Eventually she ran away again and got back into drugs. Today her whereabouts are unknown.

"Sara"
Sara was born in Canada to an upper middle class, Caucasian, family. The details of her history of sexual assault are unknown. At age 13 she became pregnant and had a baby that, subsequently, was raised by her parents. At 14 she ran away and got hooked up with a pimp in Vancouver. Her pimp sent her all over to work including Seattle, Salt Lake, Las Vegas, Houston, Pasadena, San Francisco, and eventually Honolulu. While in Honolulu Sara was sent to Japan two times to work. The first time was for three months and the second time for about two months. While there she was "given" to someone else and worked in a hostess bar type setting. Between trips to Japan Sara worked in Honolulu, Las Vegas and Canada. At age 23 Sara left her pimp and returned to Canada. She got pregnant again and had her second child. Today Sara is living with her family, working as a secretary and bartender and raising both her kids.

"Carrie and Amy"
Carrie and Amy's mother was from Scotland; she married a U.S. GI and came to Hawai'i. Their parents divorced when they were 10 and 11 years old. Their mother starting drinking heavily after the divorce, became homeless and lived on the beach in Wai`anae. Carrie and Amy were sent to a group home at ages 13 and 14 but would run away on the weekends to be with their mother on the beach. Carrie started working at Wendy's when she was 16. A pimp would come to the restaurant and flirt with her. Eventually the pimp found their mother and asked if he could have her daughters. In exchange he would give the mother food and shelter.

She accepted. The pimp trafficked the girls between San Francisco and Hawai`i. By the time Carrie was 19 she had had 6 abortions and one child. Both she and Amy, age 18, were alcoholics. Today the sisters are in their early 20's. Carrie has two kids. Amy has had 5 abortions and PID. Both are drug addicts and homeless.

C.2.e The Impact of Child Sexual Abuse and Child Sexual Assault On Adult Survivors

As suggested by the above cases, the impact of child sexual victimization on youth as they mature into adults can be profound. Shame and secrecy prevent many adults from acknowledging their sexual exploitation as children to others--including to intimate partners. The inability to share these experiences with others can diminish substantially the quality of relationships that are possible between adult survivors of CSE and their partners.

From the handful of studies that have been done of the prevalence of sexual exploitation of adults as children, we do know that rates of *acknowledged* childhood victimization ranges from 0% to 16% for men and 3% to 27% for women (Finkelhor et al., 1990; Finkelhor & Dziuba-Featherman, 1994; Kilpatrick et al., 1992; Moore et al., 1992; Resnick et al., 1993; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998; Wilnack et al., 1997). The first nationally representative study of the prevalence of sexual assaults among adults as children--*the National Comorbidity Study (CMS), 1990-1992*--placed the percentage of adults between the ages of 15 and 54 in the general population who were sexually molested as children at 13.5% for women and 2.5% for men (Molnar et al., 2001:753). Investigators associated with the CMS caution, though, that considerable under-reporting of child sexual assault occurs in the adult population, especially among males who, out of a sense of shame and fear of stigma, are less likely to acknowledge sexual assault experiences than women (Widom & Morris, 1997). By contrast, little evidence exists that either adult men or women over-report their child sexual assault experiences (Molnar et al., 2001).

All prior investigations concur that the socio-emotional consequences on adults of childhood sexual assault are profound (Mullen, 1996). Diagnostic data collected as part of the CMS found, for example, that adults who acknowledged sexual victimization as children experienced serious mood, anxiety and substance abuse disorders more often than adults who reported no sexual victimization experiences (Molnar, 2001:755). As summarized in Exhibit 3.3 women victims of childhood sexual abuse were diagnosed more often with: 1) depression (39%); 2) post-traumatic stress disorder (39%); 3) alcohol problems (34%); 4) drug problems (28%); 5) social phobia (24%); and 6) simple phobia (22%). Men victims of childhood sexual abuse were diagnosed more often with: 1) alcohol problems (58%); 2) drug problems (41%); 3) alcohol dependence (39%); 4) depression (30%); 5) post-traumatic stress disorder (29%); 6) drug dependence (27%); and 7) severe alcohol dependence (20%).

Exhibit 3.3
Associations Between Child Sexual Assault and Onset of Lifetime Psychiatric Disorders

	Females With Disorder			Males With Disorder		
	Did Not Report CSA %	Reported CSA %	Increased Risk of Psychiatric Diagnosis For Female Victims of CSA %	Did Not Report CSA %	Reported CSA %	Increased Risk of Psychiatric Diagnosis for Male Victims of CSA %
Sexual Assault As Children Mood Disorder	19.2	39.3	207	11.4	30.3	266
Anxiety Disorder	7.7	15.8	205	4.4	3.4	77
Substance Disorder	18.2	33.9	186	37.0	57.7	156
Any Disorder	48.9	78.0	160	51.1	82.2	161

*Based on Retrospective reports of first incidents prior to age 18.
Data Source: Molnar et al., 2001:755.

With respect to that minority of adult victims of child sexual assault that enter prostitution, Gurisik (1997) made the following poignant observation:

> Prostitution is used by these women (and men) as an antidote against depression and pain that stems from being used as a debased sex object but never being loved or valued. This antidote works only briefly. When its initial anti-depressant effect wears off, it becomes soul-destroying in its own right. Instead of alleviating depression, it exacerbates the sense of despair and hopelessness.

The cases of "Linda" and "Tim" add additional insights into Gurisik's observations and our own findings. Both cases also illustrate the complex law enforcement, health, human service, employment and continuity-of-care challenges posed by clinical cases of adult survivors of child sexual assault.

> "Linda"
> Linda came from a middle-class, Caucasian, family in Seattle. She was sexually assaulted on a daily basis by a neighbor from ages 9 to 14. Linda ran away from home at age 14 and one day while walking down the street from Jack-in-the Box she was kidnapped by 6 men. They drugged her, beat her, and took her to a house where they tied her to a bed and each proceeded to rape her vaginally then anally. That same evening she was taken to a mansion and sold to a pimp. She engaged in street prostitution and escort services in Oregon, Washington, and California until she came to Hawaii. At age 15 she had one abortion. At age 18 she had to have a complete hysterectomy due to all the damage done by constant STD infections. At 19 she almost died from severe bowel and in-

testinal obstruction due to internal damage caused by anal rapes, beatings, and STDs. Linda subsequently became heavily addicted to injection narcotics and worked in Chinatown.

Today Linda is in her early 30's, she has AIDS, still struggles with her opiate addiction, and is 100% physically and emotionally disabled.

"Tim"
Born on Maui of Hawaiian descent, Tim was repeatedly sexually molested and raped by his *Kumu Hula* (hula teacher) between the ages of 9 and13. He became a prostitute at the age of 17 and worked escort services on Maui. Tim became seriously addicted to alcohol and cocaine. At one point a trick bought him his own small business but Tim lost it as a result of his addiction. Tim eventually left prostitution, got married and had a child. After his 4 year old son was killed by a drunk driver the marriage dissolved and Tim returned to drugs and sex work. Today Tim has been sober for 6 years but returned to prostitution 2 years ago.

C.2.f Child Sexual Abuse, Child Sexual Assault and Crimes of Violence By Adult Survivors

A 1991 study of violent sex offenders incarcerated in State prisons conducted by Greenfeld (1997:23-25) identified the following relationships between adult sexual offenders and CSE:

- rapists serving time in State prisons were less likely to have conviction histories of violence than other incarcerated violent offenders; however, they were substantially more likely to have had histories of convictions for violent sex offenses;

- imprisoned sex offenders, while accounting for about 20% of all violent offenders, accounted for about 66% of all violent offenders with prior histories of sex offenses;

- sexual assault offenders were substantially more likely than other categories of offenders to report having experienced physical or sexual abuse while growing up (about 35%); however, two-thirds of sexual assault offenders reported they had never been physically or sexually abused as children;

- sexual assault offenders were 3 times more likely than those serving time for rape to have had a male victim (15.2% vs. 5.5%); both categories of violent sex offenders, however, reported that the majority of their victims had been female—85% and 95%, respectively;

- the victims of sexual assault, like the offenders, were more likely to have been Caucasian (76%);

  - violent sex offenders with single victims reported that, two-thirds of their victims had been under the age of 18,
  - about 4-in-10 rapists reported their victim had been a child,
  - 8–out-of-10 sexual assaulters said their victim had been less than 18 years old;

- victims of sexual assault were the youngest victims among those persons described by incarcerated violent State prisoners:

  - the median age of victims of imprisoned sexual assaulters was less than 13 years,
  - the median age of rape victims was about 22 years;

- while nearly half of all violent offenders committed the crime for which they had been imprisoned against a stranger (47%), only about 30% of rapists and 15% of sexual assaulters reported their victim had been a stranger to them;

- sexual assaulters (38%) were about 3 times as likely as violent offenders (13%) and twice as likely as rapists (20%) to report that the victim had been a member of their family; for 1 in 4 imprisoned sexual assaulters, the victim had been their own child or stepchild; and

- 24% of those serving time for rape and 19% of those serving time for sexual assault had been on probation or parole at the time of the offense.

C.3. Individual/Internal Factors

Interviews with child victims of sexual exploitation living on the streets of America's cities often were difficult. Many of these children suffer from low self esteem and others are obviously depressed or are struggling with other illnesses. Most were using various combinations of drugs and some few even justified the impossibility of their situation on the basis of their self-perceived complicity in the events that took them to the streets, e.g., by "allowing" themselves to be sexually victimized at home, becoming dependent on drugs, failing in school. Many appeared to be in possession of only minimal social skills as well, e.g., being able to sustain a focused conversation, communicating without talking over others, able to work with others toward a shared outcome. A minority of these young people also appeared to be suffering from more severe mental illnesses, albeit the precise nature of these illnesses could not be assessed given the quantity of drugs many were consuming.

As noted by other investigators (Molnar, 1998), also common in these interviews was the sense that many of these young people felt comparatively little control over either their current lives or those that they might live in the future. Very few, for example, talked about returning either to their families or school and fewer still spoke realistically about job or career plans that could help them exit street life. Not surprisingly, none of the youth we interviewed reported be-

ing able to save money and only a few could identify specific persons or agencies to which they could, in time, turn for assistance in leaving the streets. Instead, nearly all of the youth we interviewed were focused on meeting their day-to-day, often hour-to-hour, survival needs.

Hence, poor self esteem, external locus of control, the lack of a future orientation, drug dependency, and the presence of moderate to severe mental illnesses were common among the sexually exploited street children we interviewed. One of the many additional tragedies that characterizes the context within which many of these children are struggling is the absence of comprehensive services to which many of these children feel they can turn.

D. Pathways Into CSE and the CSEC

Children do not just "wander" into prostitution or pornography (Deisher et al., 1982). Rather, the process is a complex one and invariably requires the involvement of adults—as initiators of sex with children, as recruiters into pornography and prostitution and, in time, as pimps, traffickers and sexual "customers." Typically, other children are involved in the recruitment process as well--especially same age and gender youth in possession of outward signs of being "successful" in their victimization--nice clothes, pretty jewelry, beepers and cell phones, easy access to drugs, a network of adult friends who take them to "grown up" places (e.g., night clubs, bars, on trips) and adults who "protect" them from harm by others.

For children in their own homes these peers are usually school mates; for children living on the streets these peers typically are "agents" of adults who reward "peer recruiters" with money, drugs and other things of value for each child they bring into the "stable." Bus and train stations, shopping malls, downtown tourist sites, university districts, shelters and other social agencies serving homeless youth are the places frequented by peer recruiters in their search for "fresh meat." And given the poverty of homeless youth, and desperateness of their living situations, they easily are seduced into doing whatever is required of them to obtain money, security, a place to live, and protection--including pornography and prostitution.

Once recruited into pornography and prostitution, youth enter a complex criminal world. In the case of girls most acquire pimps who promise them money, nice clothes, a clean and safe place to sleep and, not infrequently, some measure of affection and even love. Boys create different kinds of social relationships—they become part of a small groups that share the expenses of cheap motel rooms, contribute to the cost of maintaining a car or van by which they transport themselves across the country, or become members of subgroups of "grass heads" and other drug users who meet regularly on street corners and even in different cities. For both sexually exploited boys and girls, the need for peer-based social attachments is real--even if the price of these attachments sometimes involves recurrent sexual and financial exploitation.

Some children, but nearly always girls, become part of larger collectives of youth that are trafficked across the country and, in a few cases, outside the U.S to other economically advanced countries (e.g., Canada, Japan, Korea, England, and Germany).

Boys tend to remain at home in the U.S. and only rarely are trafficked to other countries. But owing to the nature of the sexual services provided by boys--95% of which is oral sex to men--boys experience a profound sense of shame about what they do. As a result, few would discuss with us the specifics

of their sexual encounters indicating, instead, that they were able to keep some measure of control over these experiences (and their psyches) by refusing to participate in certain types of sexual acts, e.g., mostly anal intercourse. At a certain point, many boys redefine themselves as "hustlers" and "escorts," rather than "prostitutes" in order to deal both with their own sense of shame and with the omnipresent stigma they experience in their travels (Adams, 1998).

The immaturity of street children combined with their poverty, lack of educational credentials, and little or no marketable work experiences reinforce the exploitation to which boys and girls alike are exposed (Exhibit 3.12). Dependency on drugs mixed with an illusionary notion that somehow they are free and in control of their lives add further to their exploitation. So, too, do the fleeting, often trouble prone relationships that sexually exploited children develop with other street youth. Few of these children feel unmolested by their experiences and fewer still acquire a sense of trust with that majority of adults that populate their world—pimps, traffickers, customers.

E. More Common and Less Common Forms of CSE and the CSEC

CSE takes many forms—pornography, prostitution, trafficking. Exhibit 3.4 identifies the more and less common forms of CSE that we encountered in the course of our investigation

Exhibit 3.4
More and Less Common Forms of CSE

More Common	Details
Sexual Molestation of both boys and girls by acquaintances	• 49% of all sexual assaults against children are committed by persons known either to the child or the child's family—teachers, coaches, physicians, scout leaders, neighbors (DoJ, 2000b)
Sexual Molestation of both boys and girls by family members	• 47% of all sexual assaults against children are committed by members of the child's own family—father, step-father, uncles, and older siblings (Araji, 1997; DoJ, 2000b; O'Brien, 1991)
Pornography	• Children are both the subjects and victims of pornography • Street children frequently exchange participation in pornography for food, clothing, shelter, money, and other items of value. • More than 6.5 million children with regular internet access are exposed to unwanted sexual materials annually. More than 1.7 million of these young people report considerable distress over exposure to these materials (Finkelhor, 2000)
For boys, gay sex	• At least 95% of all the commercial sex engaged in by boys is provided to adult males • Many of the adult male sexual exploiters of boys are married men with children
For girls, modeling, stripping, topless and lap dancing	• Modeling, nude dancing, lap dancing and similar sexually provocative activities frequently are used to lure girls into prostitution • At a minimum, these activities serve as the basis for involving girls in pornography
For girls, sex as a contribution to gang economy	• At least 25% of girls who are members of gangs perform sexual services for other gang members or to the general public • These sexual services are considered part of the girl's contribution

More Common	Details
	to the gang's life as a collective to the gang's economy
For girls, pimp-controlled prostitution—including street prostitution and prostitution organized through escort and massage services	• 55% of street girls engaged in formal prostitution about 75% of which is pimp controlled • 45% of street girls engage in prostitution which, in only about 25% of situations, is controlled by pimps • Pimp-controlled juvenile prostitution is closely associated with: escort and massage services; private dancing, drinking and photographic clubs; major sporting and recreational events; major sporting and cultural events; conventions; and selected tourist destinations • Pimp-controlled juvenile prostitution exists side by side with adult prostitution—often on the same streets and along the same tracks followed by adults involved in prostitution
For boys, entrepreneurial pornography and prostitution	• A larger percentage of boys report engaging in commercial sex for money and pleasure more often than girls • A large percentage of older boys involved in commercial sex think of themselves as "hustlers" rather than as prostitutes • Like girls, boys also exchange sex for money and other things of value to them—e.g., drugs, alcohol, a place to sleep, transportation • A disproportionate number of boys involved in commercial sex, about 25%-35%, self identify as sexual minorities, e.g., as gay, bisexual, or as transgender/transsexual
Less Common	
Participation in nationally organized crime networks	• About 20% of children we encountered in this study were being trafficked nationally by organized criminal units using well established prostitution tracks • Trafficking is expensive and children are required to pay their traffickers for the services received—e.g., transportation, false identity papers, a place to live, jobs • Children are trafficked into, and within, the U.S. by a variety of private and public means—e.g., cars, buses, vans, trucks, planes • Most trafficked children have available to them a variety of false identity papers for use in case of arrest • The majority of nationally trafficked children both use drugs and engage in drug sales
Participation in international organized crime networks	• Only about 10% of the children we encountered are trafficked internationally • Some children who are citizens of the U.S. are trafficked outside of the U.S.—mostly to other economically advanced countries located in Europe and Asia • Most internationally trafficked children are the citizens of developing countries located in Asia, Africa, Central and South America, and Central and Eastern Europe • International trafficking in children is highly lucrative—a single trafficked child can earn a trafficker as much as $30,000 or more in trafficking fees • International trafficking in children also is highly complex and requires the involvement of a wide range of functionaries—including recruiters, trainers, purveyors of false documents, trans-

More Common	Details
	porters, money collectors, enforcers
Servitude and indenturing	• Many children who enter the country illegally are forced into servitude by their traffickers • Child servitude includes working in sweat shops, restaurants, and hotels for virtually no wages, performing sexual services for money, panhandling or attempting to sell items of little economic value • Children in servitude frequently are required to repay their trafficking debts through commercial pornography and prostitution • In many cases, trafficked children also are required to serve as "mules" in transporting illicit drugs either into or across the U.S., or both

F. Social, Emotional, Health, and Other Risks to Sexually Exploited Children

Sexually exploited children are exposed to a broad range of social, emotional, health and other risks. In identifying these risks, a distinction must be made between sexually exploited children living in their own homes and sexually exploited children who have left home—either as runaways or thrownaways. The challenges confronting both groups of children are enormous, but differ.

F.1 Risks to Sexually Exploited Children in Their Own Homes

Sexually exploited children living in their own homes are at serious risk of re-exploitation--often over a period of many years. These risks are especially high in families where the exploitation has not been detected and in which no external intervention by either law enforcement or child protective authorities has occurred. The risks to children of re-exploitation are especially high in families that move from city-to-city in order to avoid detection or, once detected, to evade law enforcement and child protection authorities.

Families characterized by high levels of domestic violence, drug use, serious mental illness, and sexual promiscuity are particularly dangerous to children sexually—but especially to post-pubescent girls who are targeted for exploitation by male family members (e.g., fathers, step-fathers, uncles, grandfathers, older siblings) (Araji, 1997; Becker et al., 1986; O'Brien, 1991), family acquaintances (e.g., neighbors, friends, coaches), and strangers (e.g., pimps and other recruiters of children for commercial sex). In the very worst situations, children in their own homes who are repeatedly victimized are in danger of other forms of violence as well—even to the point of being killed.

The cases of "Barbara" and "Deborah" illustrate the risks of recurrent CSE to which children living in their own homes are exposed. The cases also illustrate the relationship between child sexual assault, non-commercial CSE and the CSEC.

"Barbara"
Barbara was a Midwestern Caucasian teen with a shy polite manner. From the time she was 8 years old, family members and neighbors sexually abused her. At 11 her father remarried and Barbara and her brother were moved from the house to live in the barn. The sexual and physical abuse continued until Barbara ran away at the age of 14.

For more than three years she was trafficked from Kansas to New York City and prostituted on the streets. Her pimp often took her to Springfield, MA and into New Jersey locations when the New York scene was slow. During that time she often brought in more than $1,500 per night by engaging in sex with customers n the back of cars, in alleys and hallways and on the streets and was subjected to regular beating when she did not meet her quota. Barbara said, "My pimp kept promising me that some day I could stop, after he had enough money, and then we would get married. I wanted so badly to believe him. But he kept buying himself expensive jewelry, cars, furs, and a fancy condominium, and I had nothing except a room in a rundown apartment building."

With help from The Paul & Lisa Program, Barbara escaped the streets and rebuilt her life. She now lives on her own. She supports herself by working a full time job. She has gotten her GED, takes classes at a community college and continues to rebuild her life.

"Deborah"
Deborah is an 18-year-old native of Virginia. For more than 3 years, her pimp drove Deborah from Jersey City, NJ into New York City where she was worked as a prostitute. After experiencing her mother's suicide and desertion by her father, Barbara was sent to live with her uncle who repeatedly raped her. "It just seemed that wherever I went some guy in my family was raping me," she told Paul & Lisa outreach staff. Deborah was a marijuana and cocaine user. She said it helped ease the pain. She eventually left the streets, got married and had a child. The marriage ended in ruin and Deborah returned to prostitution working for escort services.

Early and effective intervention is needed to protect exploited children from repeated sexual assaults. These interventions may require the involvement of all family members and years of family supervision before cases can be closed. Short term and other "quick fixes" in dealing with sexually dysfunctional families offer no solution to the problems encountered by sexually exploited young people. Nor are piecemeal approaches to the complexities of family sexual assault acceptable solutions to the needs of the communities in which exploiting families and their victimized children live.

F.2 Risks to Sexually Exploited Runaway and Homeless Children and Youth

Children do not leave home voluntarily. Those who do are compelled to leave because of the recurrent abuse to which they have been subjected or because of what they perceive to be the increasing dangers of remaining in the home—family violence, serious mental illness, substance abuse, the arrival of a partner for a single parent. Most children have tried other options before making the decision to leave home—e.g., isolating themselves in remote spaces in the house, temporarily moving in with other family members, friends, or neighbors—but, when the decision to leave is finally reached, it is made with trepidation and fear…but also with the belief, certainly

hope, that life away from home will prove less hostile than that which exists in their own families.

Whatever optimism children bring with them to America's streets, once they arrive, their aspirations are quickly dashed against the walls of concrete and asphalt that greet them. For children and adults alike, America's streets are far more dangerous places to live than most could have imagined.

Our own research and that of others confirm that children living on America's streets are subject to an extraordinary range of social, emotional, physical, health and economic risks not experienced by other children. Poverty is rampant among street children (National Coalition for the Homeless. 1999d) as are hunger and malnutrition (McCarthy & Hagan, 1992). Illnesses caused by exposure to the weather, of eating garbage from restaurant dumpsters and from sleeping in pest and vermin infested areas are widespread. Sexually transmitted diseases also are higher among street youth and are especially high among those street youth who exchange sex for money, food, transportation and other basic survival needs (Exhibits 3.9 & 3.10; Johnson et al., 1996; Yates et al., 1991). Street youth also fall victim to violence inflicted by peers, pimps, "customers" and others (Silbert & Pines, 1981b, 1982; Whitbeck & Simons, 1990).

Also, street youth suffer disproportionately from serious mental illnesses. Nearly 66% of street youth studied in Seattle, for example, were diagnosed with disruptive behavior disorders, attention deficit disorders, mania, schizophrenia, or post traumatic stress syndrome (Exhibit 3.7). Clinical depression was found to be widespread among street youth in Seattle and San Francisco (Exhibits 3.7 and 3.11) as was the incidence of suicidal ideation and attempts among street youth in Denver, New York and San Francisco (Molnar et al., 1998)[26]--Exhibits 3.8 and 3.11. Stigma from community residents, harassment by local police and, owing to their age and out-of-state residency status, comparative neglect of the needs of street children by local human service agencies are among the challenges confronting street youth. Street youth also participate extensively in criminal activity (Yates et al., 1991)--drug use and sales, thefts, prostitution, scams--but the majority of these crimes are committed to obtain the resources required to meet their survival needs (Exhibits 3.10 and 3.11).

Not surprisingly, the self-esteem of many street youth is extremely low and is further compromised by the belief held by many of them that they can do little to change their present situation. The majority of these children feel trapped both by the impossible circumstances that took them to the streets initially and by the forces they *believe* prevent them from exiting street life (e.g., i.e., drug dependency, the absence of a high school diploma, no job skills, no permanent address, no references, and the general unavailability of non-exploitative adults who are willing to help them pursue new life goals).

The following case of "Sandy" is all too typical of what many children living on America's street's encounter.

---

[26] Suicidal ideation among street youth 12-19 years of age averaged 72% for females (N=195/272) and 51% for males (N=256/505) in these cities; actual suicide attempts average 48% of the females and 27% of the males (Molnar, 1998:218).

"Sandy"
Sandy, a 16-year-old Caucasian from upper New York State was thrown out of her home after her mother found marijuana in her book bag. Shocked, confused unsure where to go, she went to the area bus terminal. She was quickly picked up by a couple of pimps who trafficked her to New York City where they sold her to another pimp for $2,500 – Sandy received none of the money. Sandy was prostituted on the streets of New York City. She was a loner who wanted only to go home. Two years after her mother threw her out, a john – customer - murdered Sandy.

Exhibit 3.5 identifies the range of support services identified by the street children we interviewed needed to exit street life.

Exhibit 3.5
Alphabetical Listing of Support Services
Identified by Street Youth Needed to Exit Street Life

- assistance in dealing with harassment from local law enforcement authorities
- assistance in getting out from under the control of pimps, traffickers and others who hold the children in servitude
- chemical dependency treatment services
- child care
- clothing banks
- counseling and therapy
- drop-in centers where they can meet with peers, obtain information and get advice
- employment training
- family reunification services, but only when appropriate
- free emergency health services (for treatment of STDs and for injuries associated with street and sexual violence)
- legal services
- meals
- non-sexual relationships with caring adults
- short-term, transitional, and long-term housing
- specialized services for the racial and sexual minority subgroups within the population of homeless youth
    - gay and lesbian youth
    - transgender and transsexual youth
    - racial minorities
    - nationality minorities, esp. CSE trafficked into the U.S. from other countries
- street-based outreach services
- support and other forms of help in getting out of prostitution

Identified frequently by both law enforcement and human service personnel, but not emphasized by the youth with whom we met, was the need for a larger continuum of and more varied types of housing arrangements for street and other homeless youth. The need is particularly acute for middle- and long-term small group housing arrangements in situations that can provide children with some semblance of family life including opportunities: to be emotionally nourished by well qualified adults; to continue with their primary and/or secondary school educations; to participate in meaningful job training programs; to pursue effective drug and psychiatric treatment care; and, for some, assistance in raising their own children .

Comparatively few of the nation's local communities currently possess sufficient resources to establish a network of community-based housing for homeless and runaway youth, particularly for the large numbers of out-of-state youth that drift in and out of selected "destination cities" (e.g., Chicago, Miami,

New Orleans, Portland, San Francisco, Seattle). In any case, such a network is needed, especially for sexually exploited young people for whom a return to their family of origin either is not possible or inappropriate.

G. Categories of Sexually Exploited Children

Exhibit 1.1 identified nine categories of CSE that we initially anticipated encountering during the course of the study, i.e., *Child Sexual Abuse* (Types CSA-1 [rape and molestation] & CSA-2 [pornography]), *Child Pornography* (Types CP-1 [involving young children only], CP-2 [involving children and adults] & CP-3 [involving older children, i.e., juveniles with juveniles]), *Child Prostitution*, and children *trafficked* either *domestically* (T-1) or *internationally* (T-2) for sexual purposes. The purpose in developing this typology was three-fold: 1) to provide a measure of conceptual unity to a field of practice that currently is characterized by considerable conceptual confusion; 2) to serve as a basis for assessing the relative frequency, i.e., prevalence, of each form of CSE; and 3) to serve as a baseline against which future studies could measure national progress (or failure) in reducing the number of CSE cases.

Incomplete record keeping by major law enforcement, human service, educational and health authorities, however, made it impossible for us to test fully the power of the typology in capturing the range of CSE cases. Comparative inattention to CSE issues at the local level, combined with conceptual confusion regarding the nature and extent of CSE at the national level, has resulted in a severe underestimation of the number of CSE cases at all levels of law enforcement and human service. The fact that a large number of CSE cases cross jurisdictional boundaries and, often, competing systems of social care reduces the willingness of many local agencies to provide more than temporary assistance to out-of-state street children (agencies and clinics rarely are compensated adequately for services they provide to anonymous children without health cards of adult guarantors of payment). These issues are discussed more fully in Part VI of this report.

Thus, we turned to our 17-city field research findings for help in identifying categories of 17 sexually exploited children most familiar to local communities. Exhibit 3.6 identifies those 17 discrete categories of sexually vulnerable children we uncovered in the course of our investigation.

Exhibit 3.6
Categories of American Youth Victimized by Sexual Exploitation[27]

	Categories of Sexually Exploited Youth	Operational Definitions
Group A: Sexually Exploited Children Not Living in Their Own Homes		
1.	***Runaway Youth From Home***	Youth under the age of 18 years who absent themselves from home or place of residence without the permission of parents or legal guardians and who, as a result of running away, are prone to becoming victims of sexual exploitation
2.	***Runaway Youth From Insti-***	Youth under the age of 18 years who absent themselves without permis-

[27] The 17 categories of sexually exploited children listed here exclude the more than 105,000 children who annually are *substantiated* or *indicated* to be victims of child sexual assault and child sexual assault.

Categories of Sexually Exploited Youth		Operational Definitions
	tutions	sion from selected youth-serving institutions including: group foster homes, juvenile facilities, correctional institutions, hospitals or wards for the chronically will, mental hospitals, and other institutions
3.	***Thrownaway Youth***	Youth under the age of 18 years who either are abandoned or are forced to leave their homes by parents or guardians, and are not permitted to return and who, because of their vulnerable economic status, are prone to becoming victims of sexual exploitation
4.	***Homeless Children (Not Elsewhere Counted)***	Youth not counted under runaways or thrownaways who are homeless and who, because of their social and economic status are vulnerable to sexual exploitation
Group B: **Sexually Exploited Children Living in Their Own Homes**		
5.	***Children Ages 10-17 Living in the General Population***	Children between the ages of 10 and 17 years living in the general population who become victims of sexual exploitation
6.	***Children Ages 10-17 Living in Public Housing***	Children between the ages of 10 and 17 years living in public housing who become victims of sexual exploitation
Group C: **Other Groups of Sexually Exploited Children**		
7.	***Female Gang Members***	This group includes approximately 27,000 girls between the ages of 10 and 17 years who are members of identifiable gangs—some portion of whom become victims of sexual exploitation as a result of their gang membership
8.	***Transgender Street Youth***	A broad category of sexually exploited youth who identify themselves as members of the opposite sex to which they were born. This includes male>female, female>male, and youth born with the sex organs of both genders.
Group D: **The International Dimensions of CSE in the U.S.: U.S. Children and Youth Traveling Abroad and Foreign Children Traveling to the U.S. For Sexual Purposes**		
9.	***Foreign Children Ages 10-17 Brought Into the U.S. Legally Who Become Victims of Sexual Exploitation***	Includes all children brought into the U.S. legally as extended family members, as *au pairs* to the private households and to the business and diplomatic communities and, who, in due course, become victims of sexual exploitation
10.	***Foreign Children Ages 10-17 Brought Into the U.S. Illegally Who Become Victims of Sexual Exploitation***	Includes all children smuggled or otherwise brought into the U.S. illegally (often in economic or sexual servitude to their smugglers/traffickers)
11.	***Unaccompanied Minors Entering the U.S. On Their Own Who Become Victims of Sexual Exploitation***	Includes children who, on their own, enter the U.S. and become victims of sexual exploitation
12.	***Non-Immigrant Canadian and Mexican Children Ages 10-17 Crossing Into the U.S. For Sexual Purposes***	Includes all Canadian and Mexican youth who enter the U.S. on a more or less casual basis and who, while in the U.S., engage in sexually exploitative activities
13.	***U.S. Youth Ages 13-17 Living Within Driving Distance to a Mexican or Canadian City***	Includes American youth living in cities and towns in close proximity to Mexico or Canada who cross into these countries in pursuit of sex

	Categories of Sexually Exploited Youth	Operational Definitions
14.	***Non-Immigrant U.S. Youth Ages 13-17 Trafficked From the U.S. to Other Countries For Sexual Purposes***	Includes youth between the ages of 13 and 17 years who travel outside the U.S. to provide sexual services to the nationals of other countries
Group E: Children Exposed to On-Line Sexual Victimization (from Finkelhor et al., 2000)[28]		
15.	***Child Victims of Sexual Solicitations and Approaches Via the Internet***	Includes a percentage of children between the ages of 10 and 17 years who regularly surf the internet either at school or home
16.	***Child Victims of Unwanted Exposure to Sexual Materials Via the Internet***	Includes a percentage of children between the ages of 10 and 17 years who regularly surf the internet either at school or home
17.	***Child Victims of Sexual Harassment Via the Internet***	Includes a percentage of children between the ages of 10 and 17 years who regularly surf the internet either at school or home

G.1. Sexually Exploited Children Not Living in Their Own Homes

Runaway, thrownaway and homeless children are at the highest risk of sexual exploitation, especially its commercial forms--i.e., pornography, juvenile prostitution (Greene et al., 1999; Lowman, 1992; Seng, 1989; Silbert, 1984), and trafficking (Richard, 1999). These children also experience extraordinarily high levels of physical violence while living on the streets--violence inflicted by adult customers, pimps and older street youth who attempt to control younger youth or deprive them of money, drugs or other items of value (Greene et al., 1999; NCMEC, 1992:57; Silbert & Pines, 1981b, 1982; Whitbeck & Simons, 1990). Street children also are subject to repeated episodes of malnutrition (McCarthy & Hagan, 1992) and frequently suffer the ill effects of exposure to inclement weather and poor hygiene (Unger et al., 1998; Yates et al., 1991). Sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV, are widespread among youth who have been on the streets for extended periods of time (Bond et al., 1992; Johnson et al., 1996; Pennbridge, et al., 1992; Pyett & Warr, 1997; Rotheram-Borus, 1991). Further, extreme fear (McCarthy & Hagan, 1992) combined with suicidal ideation are common experiences among America's street youth (Molnar, 1998; Rotheram-Borus, 1993; Yates et al., 1991).

The perilous situations to which American street youth are exposed is compounded by a variety of factors: 1) their emotional immaturity; 2) the inability of these children to use former family, extended kinship, and other community networks while away from home (NCMEC, 1992; National Runaway Switchboard, 1998); 3) the high rates of familial and acquaintance sexual assault to which many have been subjected (Earls & David, 1989; Kaufman & Widom, 1999; Molnar et al., 1998; Stiffman, 1989; Whitbeck & Simons, 1990)--including when in foster care

[28] The "on-line" sexual victimization of children was not a formal part of the current investigation. However, the use of the internet by predators to elicit sex from children illustrates the continuum that exists between child sexual abuse, child sexual assaults and child sexual exploitation that very much is at the heart of this investigation. Hence, the data collected by Finkelhor and his colleagues on children exposed to on-line sexual victimization are reported here but their numbers are not included in our more focused estimates of the overall incidence of either CSE or the CSEC.

and group homes (Greene et al., 1999); 4) family drug dependency (Nadon et al., 1998); 5) their own drug dependency; 6) an inability to obtain legal employment; 7) the pervasive belief that they must do "whatever is necessary" to survive from one day to the next; 8) the omnipresent sexual predation to which these youth are exposed from both adults and older peers; and, 9) in the majority of American communities, the absence of comprehensive services targeted to the needs of street youth.

Official undercounting of the number of the runaway, thrownaway and otherwise homeless children who live in the shadows of America's large and medium-sized cities also compounds the problem of CSE--particularly through the denial of services to out-of-state children whose needs cross jurisdictional boundaries (U.S. Conference of Mayors, 2000).

G.2 Sexually Exploited Children Living in Their Own Homes

In addition to street children, the investigators also identified a remarkable number of children who become victims of sexual exploitation while living in their own homes. These children are grouped into two main categories: 1) children in the general population; and 2) children living in public housing (Lawrence, 1991; Lord, 1999). Local experts with whom we met placed the rate of sexual exploitation among children living in public housing at four times higher that of children living in the general population. For this reason, and given the different vulnerabilities that exist for children in public housing, sexually exploited children living in public housing merit a separate analysis.

Excluding the more than 105,000 substantiated or indicated cases of familial and acquaintance child sexual assault (NCCAN, 1996), sexually exploited children living in their own homes include: 1) children and youth who are sexually exploited to raise money to support their own or the drug habits of their parents, older siblings or boyfriends; 2) middle class children and youth who use commercial sex to raise money to buy more expensive clothing, jewelry and other consumer goods; 3) high school youth who engage in prostitution with their own peers; and 4) young and middle adolescent girls--who range in age from 11 to 16 years--with older boyfriends (often in their late 20s, 30s and even 40s) who are approved by the child's parent(s) inasmuch as the boyfriend contributes money, or other items of value to the household economy (including drugs).

"Trish" and "Susan" are typical of the many cases of sexual exploitation of children living in the general population that we encountered across the country. Their cases also illustrate the close linkage between juvenile prostitution, juvenile pornography, and trafficking in children.

> "Trish"
> Born in Hawai`i of Caucasian decent, Trish was raised by her alcoholic mother in Kailua (on the island of Oahu). As a child, a neighbor (whose family is well known in political circles) sexually assaulted her on a weekly basis. By the time Trish finished intermediate school she was addicted to alcohol. She left Hawai`i her junior year of high school and went to New York with a pornography ring. She eventually "hooked up" with an escort service that was also involved in distributing cocaine. The service encouraged her use of cocaine and eventually paid her in cocaine. She

became a serious injecting cocaine addict. After 13 years of sex work and substance assault Trish was diagnosed with AIDS. Shortly after her return home to Hawai`i Trish committed suicide.

"Susan"
Susan, a Caucasian female, was raised in foster care by a family headed by a single father in Kentucky from the age of eight. Her foster father was a minister and he sexually assaulted her on a regular basis. At age 15 she ran away and hitchhiked to Los Angeles where she met a man who offered her money and a place to sleep if she had sex with him. After that she began working the streets and hooked up with a pimp who physically and sexually assaulted her and introduced her to drugs and alcohol.

From the ages of 15 to 18, Susan worked all over California, Arizona and Nevada. At age 19 she woke up one morning in the Honolulu airport not knowing where she was or how she got there. She worked with a pimp in Honolulu for the next 4-5 years until her drug use escalated to the point that she couldn't prostitute any more. For the one year that Susan chose to work with a local agency serving homeless street youth she was sober, productive and even returned to school. However, Susan eventually was diagnosed with multiple personality disorder and suffered from severe chronic bladder problems. Today Susan is in her early 30's. She is severely mentally ill, a homeless street person, obese and a religious fanatic.

The investigators had not anticipated finding so many at-home youth who fall victims of sexual exploitation. Given the relative paucity of empirical literature on the subject, this phenomenon may be of recent origin in the U.S. or have simply remained in the shadows of its related forms—physical and sexual abuse and assault. In any case, substantial numbers of these children are to be found across the country and more attention must be given to their situations.

G.3. Other Groups of Sexually Exploited Children

Two additional groups of sexually exploited children were identified in this investigation: 1) female gang members; and 2) transgender street youth. Both of these populations are quite numerous and consist of multiple subgroups.

G.3.a Female Gang Members

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) estimates that approximately 841,000 youth were members of the nation's 26,000 gangs in 1999 (DoJ, 2000c). Of this number, approximately 8% of all gang members are female (N=67,000) of which we estimate 27,000 are 18 years of age or younger.

At the outset of the study we anticipated that we would be able to confirm that a substantial portion of girls affiliated with youth gangs (i.e., 50%-60% would be involved in sexually exploitative activities, and especially prostitution (Roane, 1999:23)). On the basis of our interviews with selected girls in gangs and with local police, though, we have not been able to confirm such a finding. Instead, the factors that result in the sexual ex-

ploitation of females *as a condition of their membership in gangs* are more varied than anticipated.

In general, we have learned that girls in gangs engage in many of the same criminal activities as do younger male members of gangs: 1) serving as lookouts for drug, theft and similar types of activities in which older male gang members engage; 2) functioning as "go betweens" in arranging small-scale drug deals; 3) occasionally, serving as "peace makers" with the female members of other nearby gangs with which male gang members are in conflict (Budnick & Shields-Fletcher, 1998; Esbensen et al., 1999; Moore & Hagedorn, 2001). In some gangs, girls also perform critical emotional functions for solitary male gang members and for the gang-as-a-whole (i.e., by providing social and emotional nurturance to gang members without families or girl friends of their own, by visiting injured gang members in hospitals, by attending funerals). And, yes, in many gangs girls do perform a broad range of sexual services for gang members, mostly for the alpha gang members, but for other gang members as well. And, yes, some girls in gangs do, indeed, engage in commercial sex as part of their contribution to the gang's economy. Based on our interviews, we estimate that approximately 1-in-3 to 1-in-4 of the girls affiliated with male dominated gangs engage in prostitution as part of their contribution to the gang's economy. Considerable variation occurs in female sex-for-money participation rates though, especially within ethnically organized gangs, e.g., prostitution is more common among female gang members of Native American and African American gangs than Hispanic, Caucasian or Asian gangs (Harris, 1994).

Thus, ethnicity is an important predictor of the roles that girls carry in male dominated gangs. In Native American gangs, for example, girl members reported that they were expected to be emotionally supportive of male members, including through the provision of sexual services. In African American and Hispanic gangs, females reported that their roles varied from that of leader of the gang to follower and that, in general, assertive sexual activity was supported by male gang members--if the activity did not disrupt current male-male relationships and resulted in income to the gang. Caucasian girls perform sexual services in gangs but mostly for the benefit of their boyfriend and other gang members. The situation appears to be the same for girls who are members of Asian organized gangs.

These patterns suggest that the sexual contribution of girls to gang life is extremely varied, especially with respect to the extent to which they offer sex-for-money services to the public. Surprisingly to this team of investigators was the fact that a large numbers of female gang members (much like male gang members) have children of their own—not all of whom have been fathered by male gang members. Thus, we agree with the conclusions reported recently by Moore and Hagedorn (2001), and previously reached by Joe & Chesney-Lind (1995), that additional research is needed to understand more fully the complex roles and contributions made by girls to gang life, especially girls in ethnically organized gangs.

G.3.b Transgender Youth

One of the first populations of sexually exploited youth encountered by the investigators in launching this study was transgender street youth, that is, youth born with sexual organs opposite to their gender of identification. Many of these youth were born male but identify as female. As the research progressed into our 17 city surveys we also encountered persons born female who identified as male and, in a few cases, some youth indicated they were born hermaphroditic, i.e., with both male and female sex organs. All of these youth were street youth and all of them were actively involved in the exchange of sex for money, drugs.

Every effort was made by the investigators to estimate the number of transgender street youth. Given the first generation nature of this project, however, the task turned out to be too difficult for us to complete--especially since the specialized health and human service agencies with which we consulted had no better sense of their numbers nationally than we (Green & Brinkin, 1994; Treichel & Zierman, 1999; Xavier, 2000). We are certain, however, that many transgender youth live on America's streets (Nemoto, 1999). These youth either have been forced out of their homes by parents and siblings or have left voluntarily to avoid the ridicule from school peers to which they were repeatedly subjected.

Transgender street youth live in a wide range of housing including shared motel and condominium spaces but, more typically, are taken to the apartments or hotel rooms of sexual predators on whom many of these youth depend for support. In Hawaii, we also found 15 transgender youth living with a "queen mother" who, in addition to providing housing, trained the youth in commercial sex practices and in selling drugs.

The espoused goal of many transgender youth is to raise sufficient money through pornography and prostitution to finance their hormone therapy and, in time, gender transformation surgeries. However, the investigators never encountered a single youth who was able to raise sufficient funds to pay for the latter. We did, though, encounter many youth who routinely were buying street-quality male or female sex hormones and, a few, who were under the care of qualified medical practitioners for treatment of violence inflicted injuries and sexually transmitted infections.

Though some, more exceptional, aspects of the following case of CSE are not typical of most transgender youth we encountered, the socio-emotional, runaway, drug, and employment challenges faced by "Cathy" is typical of many.

> **"**Cathy"
> Born of Hawaiian and Samoan decent, Cathy was born male, to a poor family in Hawai`i. From earliest memory her father, brothers, and uncles sexually assaulted her. Her family allowed, even promoted other family members and strangers to use her sexually. When Cathy did not cooperate with this sexual exploitation, she was locked in a closet. At age 12 Cathy ran away and began doing street prostitution as a female. She attended school as a boy during the day and worked in Chinatown as a female at night. Amazingly Cathy managed to graduate intermediate high schools even though she was homeless - staying with tricks and drug dealers, and a prostitute. No one at school knew her secret life.

During the summer of her junior year at age 16, and using a fake ID, Cathy went to New York, prostituted and had an underground sex change operation. She returned to Hawai`i and completed her senior year of high school as a female. Cathy remained a prostitute and became seriously addicted to drugs. She was arrested on drug charges at age 32, and sentenced to Drug Court. Cathy was diagnosed with multiple personality disorder, borderline personality, and homicidal impulses. She is under the care of a psychiatrist and has been sober for up to 1½ years at a time. She has been able to maintain legitimate employment and is able to function "normally" when she takes her psychiatric medications.

Part V contains an estimate of the number of transgender street youth we believe to exist in the U.S. The number reported, though, is only a beginning estimate. No pretense is made that the number reported in Exhibit 5.4 reflects the actual number of transgender street youth. Rather the number is included in the tables as a statistical place holder to suggest that a more refined study is needed of the number and service needs of these highly vulnerable youth (Clements-Nolle et al., 2001; DuRant et al., 1998; Nemoto et al., 1999).

G.4 U.S. Children Traveling Abroad and Foreign Children Traveling to the U.S. For Purposes of Sexual Exploitation

The investigators identified two clusters of youth involved in sexual exploitation at the international level: 1) American nationals who cross international borders for sexual purposes--mostly into Canada or Mexico; and 2) the nationals of other countries who enter the U.S. either legally or illegally—some portion of whom eventually become victims of sexual exploitation.

With respect to first group (i.e., age-dependent nationals of the U.S. who cross international borders for sex), the problem is particularly apparent among American youth who live in cities and towns within close proximity to Mexico. American youth are able to cross easily into Mexico and, while there, use the opportunity purchase cheaper drugs, alcohol, cigarettes and sex. This phenomenon also exists among American youth who travel with their parents, sometimes with older friends, to selected Mexican tourist destinations (e.g., Cancun, Cozumel, Acapulco), the Caribbean (esp. the Bahamas, Haiti and the Dominican Republic), and Central America (esp. Costa Rico and Uruguay).

With respect to the second group (i.e., age dependent foreign nationals who enter the U.S. legally or illegally and who subsequently are sexually exploited), project staff identified child victims from virtually all of the world's continents including developing Asia (Burma, Cambodia, China, India, the Philippines, Thailand), Africa (Benin, Nigeria, Sudan), Central and South America (Costa Rico, Honduras, Uruguay), Europe (Albania, Moldova), and from selected successor states to the former Soviet Union (especially the Ukraine and Russian Federation).

American minors involved in CSE--as exploiters or victims, or both--are quite visible and can be seen by even the most casual observer when visiting selected bars and clubs located in ma-

jor Mexican border cities (Johnson, 2001; Tijuana Police Department, 2000a, 2000b). Age-dependent American sex tourists to Canada are less visible but are concentrated in four Canadian cities—Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver and, to a lesser extent, Windsor (Dionne, 2001; Tremblay, 2001).

Sexually exploited children and youth who are the nationals of other countries, by contrast, are less visible and function only under the close supervision of their pimps, traffickers, and smugglers. Problems of language, culture, the absence of identity papers and brute physical force are used to control these youth. Highly negative experiences with police, human service and other authorities in their countries of origin also prevent the majority of these children from seeking assistance from law enforcement and human service agencies in the U.S. (Richard, 1999). Well-founded fears of reprisals against their families of origin, including threats of murder, are used to keep these sexually exploited children from seeking assistance from U.S. authorities.

G.5. Children Exposed to On-Line Sexual Victimization

Though not a formal part of the current investigation, use of the internet by sexual predators illustrates the continuum that exists between child sexual abuse, child sexual assault and child sexual exploitation that very much is at the heart of this investigation. Hence, the data collected by Finkelhor and his colleagues on children exposed to on-line sexual victimization are reported here but their numbers are not included in our more focused estimates of the incidence of either CSE or the CSEC.

In general, on-line sexual victimization of children is of recent origin and is associated with: 1) children's access to or ownership of personal computers—many of which are located in the child's own bedrooms; 2) the lack of supervision from parents and other adults of children on the internet; 3) the existence of a large number of adult predators who systematically seek out children using the internet (Park, 1999); 4) the reluctance of many children to share with their parents information concerning either the unsolicited sexual images to which they have been exposed or the sexual solicitations which they receive; and 5) the intentional solicitation by some children of friendships, in some cases sex, with persons they meet over the internet (Editors, 2000c; Egan, 2000).

On-line sexual victimization of American children appears to have reached epidemic proportions (Jesdanun, 2000). Finkelhor et al. (2000) estimate that in 1999: 1) 1-in-4 (25%) of the approximately 24 million children that accessed the internet on a regular basis in 1999[29] had experienced unwanted exposure to pictures of naked people or people having sex; 2) 1-in-5 (19%) of these children had received a sexual solicitation or approach of some type over the internet; and 3) 1-in-33 (3%) had received an aggressive sexual solicitation (from an adult who asked to meet them somewhere, called them on the telephone or sent them regular mail, money or gifts).

[29] "Regular internet uses" was defined as using the internet at least once a month for the past six months on a computer at home, a school, a library, someone else's home, or some other place (Finkelhor et al., 2000:41).

Overall, Finkelhor and his colleagues estimated that approximately 4.5 million youth (19% of all child internet users) were victims of unsolicited sexual exploitation in 1999.

Although considerable efforts currently are underway by law enforcement authorities to police sexual crimes committed against children via the internet,[30] substantial additional efforts are needed if the nation's children are to be protected from what appears to be growing numbers of egregious on-line sexual assaults (Hughes,1999; McConnell International, 2000).

G.6. Estimated Number of Sexually Exploited Youth in the U.S., December 2000

Part V identifies the number of youth that we estimate to have been victims of sexual exploitation in the U.S. as of December, 2000. These data include estimates for all 16 categories of children discussed above.

H. Characteristics of Sexually Exploited Youth

Every effort was made to identify at least the modal characteristics of sexually exploited children and youth. Inasmuch as it was not possible for us to undertake a complete census of all such children across the nation, we depended, instead, on encounter data with sexually exploited youth provided to us by various telephone hotlines serving runaway and homeless youth, youth outreach programs, youth drop-in centers, youth-focused street health clinics as well as shelters serving runaway and homeless youth. We also obtained additional data concerning the characteristics of these youth from interviews with sexually exploited children and from our focus group meetings with law and human service professional across the country. Thus, the picture of sexually exploited youth that follows is based on a variety of statistical and observational sources. In general, we believe this picture to be accurate, albeit more comprehensive surveys are needed.

H.1 Youth Callers to the National Runaway Switchboard (NRS)

The National Runaway Switchboard/Chicago (NRS) receives approximately 100,000 to 160,000 calls annually from runaway and homeless youth (54%), from family members of runaway and homeless youth (32%), and from other persons who are concerned about the welfare of particular youth (14%). As part of their service, the NRS collects demographic, runaway history and service need data from all callers to the hotline.

Of all youth callers to the NRS hotline in 2000 (NRS, 2000):

- 75% were female;
- 61% already had runaway from home;
- The length of runaway episode at the time of the call varied from:
  - 1-3 days: 45%,

[30] Particularly noteworthy are the establishment by the OJJDP of some 30 multi-jurisdictional *Internet Crimes Against Children Task Forces (ICAC)* and its highly effective *CyberTipline* (DoJ, 2001)

  - 4-7 days: 15%,
  - 1-4 weeks: 21%,
  - 1-6 months: 16%,
  - more than 6 months: 3%;
- 26% were youth in crisis;
- 8% were youth contemplating running away from home;
- 4% were thrownaway youth;
- 1% were homeless youth;
- The age of the callers to the NRS varied from:
  - Age 10 or younger: 1%,
  - Ages 11-13 years: 8%,
  - Ages 14-17 years: 85%,
  - Age 18 or older: 6%.

Overall, most callers to the NRS were girls between the ages of 14 and 17 who either already had left home or were seriously contemplating leaving home. Forty-five percent of youth callers sought help from the NRS almost immediately after leaving home and 60% did so within one week of running away. Family dynamics (36%), school (20%), peer pressures (13%), physical/sexual/emotional abuse (7%), mental health (5%) and substance abuse (4%) were the issues most frequently cited by these young people as their reason for leaving, or contemplating leaving, home.

H.2 Street Youth Served by Out Reach and Drop In Centers

A somewhat different picture of sexually vulnerable youth emerges from the analysis of encounter data provided by street outreach programs serving homeless youth. *Youth Care*, for example, is a major youth serving agency in Seattle. The program provides comprehensive outreach, drop-in (Orion House), therapeutic and residential services to sexually exploited and other vulnerable groups of youth in Seattle and Washington State. Exhibit 3.7 reports selected demographic and diagnostic data for the 364 individual youth served by Orion House between 1989 and 1994.

Exhibit 3.7
Selected Characteristics of Homeless Youth Serviced by YouthCare/Orion House, 1989-1994 (N=364)

Selected Characteristics	% Distribution
Age Range	
Range	13-21
Average	16.5
Gender	
Male	58
Female	42
Ethnicity	
African American	14
Asian/Pacific Islander	3
Caucasian	65

Selected Characteristics	% Distribution
Latino	5
Native American	6
Multiracial/Other	9
Sexual Histories	
% sexually active	92
Average age of first sex	
Boys	12.5
Girls	13.5
% of youth who had been sexually abused	
Boys	23
Girls	60
Family Characteristics	
% Parents with substance abuse problems	
Mothers	55
Fathers	52
% Parents with problems with the law	
Mothers	84
Fathers	70
% of youth in foster care at some time	33
% of foster care youth with 4 or more placements	14
% of youth saying their parents decided they should leave home or influenced their decision to leave	43
% of youth removed from their home by Child Protective Service authorities	18
% of youth who had been physically abused	51
Behavioral Health Status	
% of street youth diagnosed with a major psychiatric disorder	66
Type of diagnosed disorder (by gender):	
Dx: disruptive behavior disorder	M = 61%; F = 43
Dx: attention deficit disorder	M = 34%; F = 29
Dx: depressive disorder	M = 17%; F = 26
Dx: Mania or hypomania	M = 22%; F = 21
Dx: schizophrenia	M = 11%; F = 10
Dx: Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)	M = 1%;F = 9

Source: Project SHARP *Fact Sheet* (Seattle: Seattle Homeless Adolescent Research Project). Courtesy of Deborah Boyer, Youth Care.

The statistical picture of homeless youth conveyed in the Orion House data differs appreciably from that of youth callers to the National Runaway Switchboard. On average, youth served by Orion House are:

- Male (58%);
- Range in age from 13-21 years;
- Caucasian (65%), African American (14%), or Multi-Racial (9%);
- Sexually active (92%); the average age of first intercourse for boys was 12.5 years and for girls 13.5 years
- Have histories of child maltreatment:
    - 23% of boys and 60% of girls indicated that they had been sexually abused,
    - 51% indicated they had been physically abused;
- 18% indicated they had been removed from their home by Child Protective Service authorities: 14% indicated they had been placed in 4 or more foster care settings;
- More than 52% indicated their parents had a substance abuse problem;
- About 77% of the parents of these youth had problems with the law;
- 66% of these youth were diagnosed as having a major psychiatric disorder.

A statistical picture of street youth similar to that provided by Orion House was obtained from the *Larkin Street Youth Center* in San Francisco--another benchmark outreach agency serving homeless and street youth. The data summarized in Exhibit 3.8 reflect selected demographic and developmental characteristics of street youth served by the Center during the 1996/1997 program year (N=1,950).

Exhibit 3.8
Selected Characteristics of Youth Served by Larkin Street Youth Center, PY 1996/97

	(N=1,950) %
GENDER	
Male	60
Female	40
AGE DISTRIBUTION	
<13	2
14-15	13
16-17	33
18+	42
ETHNICITY	
African American	7
Caucasian	71
Hispanic	9
Native American	1
Asian/Pacific Islander	3
Multi-Racial/Other	9
SEXUAL IDENTITY	
Heterosexual	75
Lesbian, gay, bisexual, questioning	25
PLACE OF ORIGIN	

San Francisco	14
California (including SF)	26
Other States	53
Other Countries	7
ABUSE/SUICIDE HISTORIES	
Youth w/ histories of abuse/neglect	81
Youth had families unable or unwilling to take them home	70
Youth had a history of suicidal ideation or attempts	52
% youth engaging in sex exchanges, including prostitution	40%-60%

Source: Larkin Street Youth Center (San Francisco), 1999. Courtesy of Anne Stanton.

The modal characteristics of the San Francisco youth are very similar to those of youth served by Orion House in Seattle. Larkin Street youth are:

- Male (60%);
- Under age 18 (58%);
- Caucasian (71%), Hispanic (9%), African American (7%), Multi-Racial (9%);
- Self identified as heterosexual (75%), but a large minority identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual or questioning (25%);
- Residents of states other than California (60%); 7% of the youth served by the Center are citizens of other countries;
- Victims of abuse and/or neglect (81%);
- Children whose families are unable or unwilling to take them home (70%);
- Prone to suicidal ideation and suicide attempts (52%);
- Victims of commercial sexual exploitation—staff estimated that about 40%-60% of their youth engaged in sex exchanges to meet their survival needs.

H.3 Street Youth Served by Health Drop In Centers

The *Drop-In Center* of Tulane University (New Orleans) is one of the many free clinics we visited as part of our investigation. The Center collects a broad range of health and social data for the population of street and non-street youth they serve, including medical diagnostic data. The data summarized in Exhibit 3.9 are for 588 youth served by the Center between November 1, 1999 and July 31, 2000.

Exhibit 3.9
Selected Characteristics of Youth Served by Tulane University Health Drop In Center 11/1/99-7/31/00 (N=588)

	Total (%)	Males (%)	Females (%)
AGE			
13-14 years	2.0	0.3	1.7
15-19 years	36.1	12.6	23.5

	Total (%)	Males (%)	Females (%)
20-24 years	61.7	27.6	34.2
> 24 years	0	0	0
RACE			
Asian	0		
Black	35.5		
Caucasian	61.2		
Hispanic	1.7		
Other	1.0		
LIVING SITUATION			
Shelter	10.9		
Doubling (shared housing)	27.7		
Street	15.0		
Squat	13.3		
Couch Surfing	21.4		
Family/Friends	9.4		
Transitional	0.7		
Other	1.4		
MAJOR DIAGNOSIS			
Asymptomatic HIV	0.3		
Tuberculosis	0		
Syphilis & other venereal diseases	57.7		
Asthma	12.8		
Abnormal cervical finding	2.4		
Contact dermatitis and other	6.1		
Alcohol dependence	11.9		
Drug dependence	6.3		
Other serious mental disorders	16.0		
Contraception management	43.9		
Survival Sex Participation Rates (Estimated)			
Homeless	5%-10%		
Transients	75%-80%		

Source: Drop In Center of Tulane University (New Orleans), 2000. Courtesy of Edward Bonin.

In general, the statistical picture of youth served by the Tulane University Drop In Center is comparable to that we obtained for homeless youth in San Francisco and Seattle, albeit, and owing to the medical nature of the Center, some differences exist as well. Overall, though, the majority of youth served by the Center are:

- Female (59.5%);
- 38% were 19 years of age or younger ;
- Caucasian (61%) and African American (36%);
- Most shared living arrangements with others:
    - shared housing (28%),
    - couch surfing (21%),

  - squats (13%),
  - with family or friends (9%),
  - in transitional housing (2%),
  - 15% lived either on the streets of New Orleans or in temporary shelters (11%);
- Most sought treatment for:
  - sexually transmitted diseases (58%),
  - contraception management (44%),
  - serious mental illnesses (16%),
  - asthma (13%);
- Approximately 5%-10% of permanent residents of New Orleans using the Center vs. 75%-80% of transient youth in the community were assessed to be engaged in sex exchanges of various types to meet their survival needs.

Exhibit 3.10 reports selected demographic and diagnostic data for 124 youth served by the Haight Ashbury Free Clinics in San Francisco (1999).

Exhibit 3.10
Selected Characteristics of a Sample of Clients Served by Haight Ashbury Free Clinics at Two "Hang Out" Locations (N=124)

	Overall % **(N=124)**	**Golden Gate Park Youth %** **(N=65)**	**Market Street Youth %** **(N=59)**
Mean Age	20.9	20.3	21.5
% Male	67	65	70
ETHNICITY (%)			
Asian	3	6	0
Black	2	0	3
Latino/a	3	3	3
Native American	2	3	2
Caucasian	79	77	81
Mixed Heritage	9	11	7
Missing	2	0	3
EDUCATION			
% <high school	59	60	58
SEXUAL ACTIVITY (in last 30 days)			
Sexually Active	69		
Multiple Partners	29		
SELECTED MEDICAL CONDITION			
Abscess	33		
Staph	45		
Hepatitis A	26		
Hepatitis B	7		
Hepatitis C	15		

	Overall % (N=124)	Golden Gate Park Youth % (N=65)	Market Street Youth % (N=59)
Sexually transmitted diseases	25		
% Women Pregnant	53		
PRIMARY SOURCE OF INCOME IN LAST 30 DAYS			
Drug Sales		66	14
Panhandling		17	39
Stealing/Scams		2	15
Friends/Family		8	9
Welfare/SSI		2	12
Legal Employment		2	5
Prostitution		3	2
Other		2	5

Source: Haight Ashbury Free Clinics, 2000. Courtesy of Rachael McLean.

Haight Ashbury youth consist of more transients than the populations of street youth served by either the New Orleans Drop In Center or the Larkin Street Center. Haight Ashbury youth also have a higher incidence of communicable and drug-related infectious diseases than do youth served by the Tulane University Drop In Center.

H.4 Youth Served by Federally-Funded Shelters

Each year at least 55,000 homeless youth are served by a network of several hundred shelters that receive at least part of their financial support from federal sources.[31] These shelters are found in virtually every large and medium sized community across the country and each provides a broad range of emergency, therapeutic, transitional, and long-term services for out-of-home children and youth. For a variety of reasons, though, these shelters succeed in reaching only about 1 in 12 of the nation's runaway and homeless youth (Farrow, 1992).

Exhibit 3.11 provides detailed information concerning 940 youth served by nine federally funded shelters located in Northern Washington State (King County) which includes the city of Seattle. The data cover the period January 1-December 31, 1999 and were extracted from the Runaway and Homeless Youth Management Information System, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' mandated reporting system for federally funded agencies [RHYMIS, 2001]). These data provide a vivid regional picture of many of the many factors that contribute to homelessness and sexual vulnerability among the nation's youth.

Exhibit 3.11
Selected Characteristics of Youth Served By King County (Washington State) Shelters (N=9), 1/1/99-12/31/99

Selected Demographic Characteristics	% All Shelters (N= 9 Shelters, 940 Youth)
AGES	
<15	43
15	23
16	25
17	1
18+	6
GENDER	
Male	56
Female	44
RUNAWAY HISTORY	
Times youth ran away/thrown out in past year	24
Never	28
1-2	19
3-5	29
6 or more	
Number of nights away from home this time	50
1-7 nights	8
8-14 nights	5
15-21 nights	31
more than 21 nights	
YOUTH REPORTING THE FOLLOWING PROBLEMS:	
Emotional conflict at home	60
No parent figure	12
Parental drug problem	25
Youth drug problem	32
Sexual abuse by parent	7
Sexual abuse by other	12
Physical abuse by parent	25
Physical abuse by other	8
Neglect by parent/guardian	20
Domestic violence	13
Prostitution	3
Involvement with juvenile justice system	28

[31] RHYMIS reports a service population base of 70,000 clients but, in 1999, intake data information were filed for only 53,000 youth (RHYMIS, 2000).

Selected Demographic Characteristics	% All Shelters (N= 9 Shelters, 940 Youth)
Gang involvement	8
Number of times arrested:	
Never	41
1-2	27
3-4	11
5+	20
Other Problems:	
Language problems	1
Refugee/recent immigrant	2
Homeless	52
Depressed	27
Possibly suicidal	11
Family poverty	10
Parental unemployment	9

Source: RHYMIS data for King County, Washington, 2000.
Courtesy of Derek McKinney, United Indians of All Tribes.

Overall, the population of young people served by Washington State youth shelters consists primarily of:

- Males (56%);
- Children 15 years of age and younger (43%);
- Children with histories of multiple runaways (76%) with 50% remaining away from home for periods of one week or longer;
- Children with serious emotional conflicts at home (60%);
- Children without a suitable parental figure at home (12%);
- Children with a personal drug problem (32%) and parents with a drug problem (25%);
- Children who had been *sexually abused* by either a parent or someone else (19%);
- Children who had been *physically abuse* by a parent or someone else (33%);
- Children who had been *physically neglected* (20%);
- Children who had been *victims of domestic violence* (3%);
- Children who reported current involvement with the juvenile justice system (28%);
- Children who had been arrested more than once in the past (59%);
- Children with gang involvement (8%);
- Children with suicidal ideation or attempts (11%);
- Children who, at intake, acknowledged participating in sex exchanges (3%), *albeit staff estimate the true prevalence to be 60% to 75%.*

Exhibit 3.12 also is based on RHYMIS data these data reflect national, rather than regional, patterns for 47,000 youth (53,000 intakes) served by RHYMIS agencies between October 1, 1998 and September 30, 1999. These national data reflect patterns similar to those of the nine

reporting agencies located in Northern Washington state but some important differences were found as well.

Exhibit 3.12
Selected Data for the National Runaway and Homeless Youth Management Information System (RHYMIS), 10/1/98-9/30/99 (N=46,721 Youth and 52,799 Intakes)

Selected Demographic Characteristics	% Females	% Males	% Total
AGES (N=41,505)—88.8%			
<11	0.7	1.6	2.3
11-14	14.4	14.7	29.1
15-17	30.8	24.9	55.7
18 and older	5.6	6.1	11.7
GENDER (N=41,505)—88.8%	52.0	48.0	100.0
ETHNCITY (N=46,721)—100.0%			
Native American or Alaskan Native	3.0	3.1	3.1
Asian or Pacific Islander	2.3	2.1	2.2
Black, not of Hispanic Origin	23.9	23.8	23.9
Hispanic	13.2	13.4	13.3
Caucasian, Not of Hispanic Origin	57.6	57.5	57.6
SCHOOL STATUS AT INTAKE (N=41,505)—88.8%			
Attending School Regularly			50.4
Graduate High School			1.3
Competed GED			1.3
Attending School Irregularly/Extended Truancy			20.2
Dropped Out			9.9
Suspended			2.6
Expelled			1.7
School Not in Session			7.9
RUNAWAY STATUS AT INTAKE (N=42,675)—91.3%			
At home	43.4	46.6	44.9
Runaway	26.4	16.1	21.6
Thrownaway	4.8	5.2	5.0
Homeless	7.3	10.8	8.9
Juvenile Justice Placement	4.1	7.2	5.6
Child Welfare Placement	7.4	7.8	7.6
Other	6.4	6.1	6.3
[Average Number of Runaways]			[1.5]
HOUSEHOLD DYNAMICS ISSUES (N=34,071)—72.9%			
Relationship with father figure	49.2	50.7	49.9
Relationship with mother	76.0	69.6	73.2
Relationship with parent's partner	10.3	9.2	9.8
Relationship with other household member	15.7	15.6	15.6
No parental figure	3.3	4.0	3.6
Divorced family	15.3	15.7	15.5
Blended family	8.2	6.8	7.6

Selected Demographic Characteristics	% Females	% Males	% Total
PSYCHOLOGICAL ISSUES (N=24,919)—53.3%			
Youth depressed	64.0	52.6	59.1
Youth suicidal	19.0	11.0	15.6
Poor self image	47.8	42.5	45.5
Youth's sexuality/behavior	17.3	7.5	13.1
Youth's sexual orientation	2.2	2.0	2.1
Loss and grief issues of youth	25.7	25.9	25.8
Abandonment	22.4	24.3	23.2
Witnessed violent crime	9.0	13.1	10.8
Crime victim	10.7	8.5	9.8
Mental problem of family member	11.3	10.1	108
HEALTH ISSUES (N=6,741)—14.4%			
Youth has/suspects STD	11.5	4.2	9.1
Youth has/suspects HIV/AIDS	2.2	1.7	2.0
Pregnancy	28.0	n/a	20.1
Eating disorder	15.7	5.6	12.3
Youth physically challenged	2.4	5.0	3.2
Youth not appropriately using medication	10.6	17.3	12.9
Health problem of family member	22.6	34.7	26.6
Other chronic health problem of youth	14.9	23.8	17.9
Other current health problem of youth	15.4	22.5	17.8
PHYSICAL ABUSE/ASSAULT ISSUES (N=12,699)—27.2%			
By father figure	39.7	43.1	41.1
By mother figure	41.6	26.5	35.3
By parent's partner	9.3	9.2	9.3
By other household member	10.3	7.3	9.1
Domestic violence	13.8	16.8	15.1
Youth assaulting other	12.8	22.9	17.0
SEXUAL ABUSE/ASSAULT ISSUES (N=5,568)—11.9%			
By father figure	24.2	18.1	22.7
By mother figure	3.2	6.9	4.1
By parent's partner	10.3	5.4	9.1
By other household member	14.5	9.5	13.3
Youth assaulting other	2.8	16.4	6.1
EMOTIONAL ABUSE ISSUES (N=13,115)—28.1%			
By father figure	47.0	49.2	48.6
By mother figure	64.5	54.0	60.4
By parent's partner	10.8	10.3	10.6
By other household member	12.2	9.4	11.1
Youth Abusing household member	6.3	9.7	7.6
ALCOHOL and DRUG ABUSE ISSUES (N=14,647)—31.3%			
Substance abuse by family member	53.3	45.0	49.5
Substance abuse by youth	58.3	67.7	62.7
SOCIALIZATION ISSUES (N=15,618)—33.4%			
Lack of social skills	47.6	51.9	49.8
Problem with peers	55.4	51.5	53.5

Selected Demographic Characteristics	% Females	% Males	% Total
Violent youth behavior	29.5	41.0	35.3
Gang involvement	13.5	16.7	15.1
Cult involvement	1.6	1.1	1.3
Survival sex	4.6	1.3	2.9
Prostitution	2.8	0.4	1.6
Selling drugs	6.7	11.8	9.3
INVOLVEMENT W/ JUSTICE SYSTEM (N=14,105)—30.2%			
Youth charged with misdemeanor	41.2	48.8	45.4
Youth charged with felony	9.4	18.1	14.2
Alcohol or drug possession/distribution (youth)	10.0	13.8	12.1
Drug possession/distribution (parent figure)	3.8	3.6	3.7
Youth on probation/suspended sentence	18.4	23.5	21.2
Status offense	22.8	14.9	18.4
Use of guns/weapons	1.8	4.9	3.5
Youth on parole	1.2	2.0	1.6
Youth in need of supervision	18.9	17.3	18.0
Immigration/naturalization	0.9	3.7	2.4
SUICIDAL TENDENCIES (N=38,841)—83.1%			
Never attempted suicide	81.9	92.2	86.8
Attempted suicide	18.1	7.8	13.2

Source: Courtesy of Arlene Calabro, RHYMIS data manager (Fort Lauderdale FL).

Runaway and homeless youth served by federally funded shelters nationwide share the following characteristics:

- Most are female (52%);
- Most are between the ages of 11 and 17 years (85%) with the largest concentration in the 15-17 year age category (56%);
- The majority of runaway and homeless youth are Caucasians (58%), African Americans (24%), and Hispanics (13%);
- A disproportionate number of youth ran away from home directly to shelters (45%);
- a surprising number of runaway youth have fled foster care (8%) or juvenile justice placements (6%);
- Even though living outside their own homes, at intake 50% of runaway youth in shelters continued to attend school regularly;
- At intake, runaway youth indicated serious relationship problems with parents and parental figures:
    - 73% indicated they had a serious relationship problem with their mothers,
    - 50% indicated they had a serious relationship problem with their fathers,
    - 16% indicated they had a serious relationship problem with another household member,
    - 10% indicated they had a serious relationship problem with their parent's partner;
- 4% indicated they had no parental figure in their lives;

- At intake, 30% of runaway youth has serious issues with the juvenile justice system:
    - 45% of youth were charged with misdemeanors, 14% with felonies,
    - 24% of the boys and 18% of the girls were either on probation or had suspended sentences,
    - 23% of girls and 15% of the boys had outstanding status offense charges against them,
    - 5% of the boys and 2% of the girls had committed crimes involving the use of guns,
    - 10% of the girls and 14% of the boys were arrested in the past on drug possession or distribution charges,
    - 1% of the girls and 4% of the boys were involved in legal disputes with the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization service;
- At intake, 63% of runaway youth acknowledged they were using illegal drugs and 50% indicated their parents had serious substance abuse problems as well; rates of illicit drug use were only slightly higher for boys than girls, 68% vs. 58%;
- At intake, 59% of runaway youth at intake indicated feeling of depression with the highest incidence found among girls (64%):
    - 23% of runaway youth reported struggling with abandonment feelings,
    - 26% of runaway youth reported struggling with loss and grief issues;
- At intake, 82% of the girls reported suicidal ideation as did 92% of the boys;
- 18% of the girls and 8% of the boys reported that they had actually attempted suicide;
- At intake, poor self image was a common problem for most runaway youth (46%) with girls reporting low self image, on average, somewhat more often than boys, i.e., 48% vs. 43%;
- At intake, 12% of runaway girls and 4% of runaway boys believed they had a sexually transmitted disease that required treatment; only 2.0 of runaway youth using shelters, though, believed they had been exposed to HIV/AIDS;
- At intake, a large percentage of youth report being victims of child maltreatment:
    - 38% of girls and 43% of boys were *physically assaulted* by their fathers,
    - 42% of girls and 27% of boys were *physically assaulted* by their mothers,
    - 9% of both boys and girls were *physically assaulted* by parent's partner,
    - 10% of girls and 7% of boys were *physically assaulted* by other household member,
    - 13% of girls and 23% of boys acknowledged *physically assaulting* others,
    - 14% of girls and 17% of boys considered themselves to be *victims of domestic violence*,
    - 47% of girls and 49% of boys were *emotionally assaulted* by their fathers,
    - 65% of girls and 54% of boys were *emotionally assaulted* by their mothers,
    - 10% of both boys and girls were *emotionally assaulted* by parent's partner,
    - 12% of girls and 9% of boys were *emotionally assaulted* by other household member,
    - 6% of girls and 10% of boys acknowledged *emotionally assaulting* others;
- Sexual assaults were frequent among the population of youth served by federally funded shelters:
    - 24% of girls and 18% of boys were *sexually assaulted* by their fathers,
    - 3% of girls and 7% of boys were *sexually assaulted* by their mothers,

  - 10% of girls and 5% of boys were *sexually assaulted* by parent's partner,
  - 15% of girls and 10% of boys were *sexually assaulted* by other household member,
  - 3% of girls and 16% of boys acknowledged *sexually assaulting* others;
- At intake, only 5% of girls and 1% of boys served by shelters acknowledged participating in sexually exploitative behavior and, fewer still, acknowledge participation in prostitution (3% of girls and 0.4% of boys)—though shelter staff estimate the true prevalence to exceed 70%.

H.5 Race, Ethnicity, Social Class and the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

Considerable confusion exists concerning the contribution of race and ethnicity to the CSEC. Indeed, many studies of the subject report a higher incidence of CSEC for minority than non-minority children, especially for minority children residing in large urban areas. Indeed, the data reported by the nation's network of federally-supported shelters for runaway and homeless children (RHYMIS) indicate a higher incidence of minority children using these shelters (43% of shelter users vs. 28% of the U.S. population) vs. non-minority children (58% of shelter users vs. 72% of the U.S. population).

However, this study and others (Farrow, et al., 1992) have confirmed that only one-in-ten to one-in twelve of America's street children--the population at highest risk of the CSEC--actually use federally-funded shelters. The reasons for this comparative underutilization of shelters by the majority of street youth are complex but include: 1) a given child's past utilization of these services; 2) the child's inability or unwillingness to function within shelter rules; 3) the child's active drug use; 4) the child's sexual orientation; 5) shelter policies than favor females over males, staffing shortages; and 6) funding policies that require shelters to set aside a certain number of beds for particular populations of children (even if these beds go unused on a recurrent basis). Even in communities with children who are willing to use shelter beds, as many as 15%-25% of the available beds may regularly remain unused (Seattle-King County Coalition for the Homeless, 2000). Instead, sexually vulnerable children are left to sleep on the street, in cars and vans, in dumpsters and, for too many, with the sexually exploitative adults who provide them with a bed in exchange for sex.

Further, in discussing the "disproportionate representation" of minority group children among their service populations, many agencies serving CSEC use national rather than local demographic patterns in reaching the conclusion that minority youth are over-represented in their service population. African Americans and Hispanics, for example, make up 13% and 11% of the American population but, in many cities, their percentage share of the local population may be appreciably higher or lower than the national average, e.g., African Americans make up only 9% and 5% respectively of the populations of San Francisco and Seattle but 35% of the population of New Orleans. Thus, any conclusions concerning the under- or over-representation of particular racial-ethnic groups in the local populations of CSEC must be adjusted for the percentage share of various racial and ethnic groups in the local, rather than national, population.

The service utilization data reported in Exhibit 3.13 make clear that the majority of the CSEC served by outreach programs in **New Orleans** (36% African American and 2% Hispanic children in the service population vs. 35% and 5% in the local community) and **San Francisco** (approximately 5% African American and 6% Hispanic children in the service population vs. 9% and 19% in the local community) do not serve a disproportionate number of minority youth *relative to the number of these youth in these communities*. Of the communities for which detailed service statistics were collected, only in **Seattle** did we find a substantially higher proportion of minority youth being served by outreach programs, i.e., 14% African American, 6% Native American and 5% Hispanic children in the service population vs. 5%, 1.3% and 4% in the local community.

A disproportionate number of minority youth, however, also are being served by the nation's network of federally-funded RHYMIS agencies, i.e., 25% African American, 13% Hispanic and 3% Native American vs. 13%, 11% and 0.9% of these children in the general population, respectively (Exhibit 3.12). On average, the RHYMIS children tend to be younger than children served by community outreach programs, i.e., 31% are 14 years of age or younger vs. 15% of the youth served by the Larkin Youth Center (Exhibit 3.8) and less than 2% of the youth served by the Tulane Drop In Center (Exhibit 3.9). Also, a majority of children reached by the RHYMIS shelters are girls (52%) vs. community-based programs which tend to reach a larger percentage of boys, i.e., 60% of the service population of Larkin Youth Center (Exhibit 3.8) and 67% of population served by the Haight-Ashbury Free Clinics (Exhibit 3.10).

Thus, and consistent with our previous findings, the majority of youth involved in the CSEC we encountered in the course of this investigation were Caucasian (64%) rather than members of racial or ethnic minority groups (36%).

Further, and based on our interviews with some 210 child victims of the CSEC, the families of origin of the majority of youth we assessed to be working- and middle-class (76%), rather than poor (24%).

Exhibit 3.13

Racial-Ethnic Mix of Sexually Vulnerable Children and Youth Served by Selected Outreach Programs in Selected U.S. Focus Group Cities

POPULATIONS OF SELECTED METRO AREAS, 1997 (*Statistical Abstracts*, 2000: Exhibit 44)	Total U.S. Population	% Caucasian	% African American	% Native American, Eskimo, Aleut	% Asian & Pacific Islander	% Hispanic	% Multi-Racial/ Other
San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose CMSA	6,701,000	53.2	8.8	0.7	18.2	19.1	NA
Larkin Street Youth Center (Exhibit 3.8)	N= 1,950	71.0	7.0	1.0	3.0	9.0	9.0
Haight-Ashbury Free Clinics (Exhibit 3.10)	N= 124	79.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	9.0
Seattle-Tacoma-Bremerton WA CMSA	3,368,000	81.6	5.1	1.3	7.8	4.2	NA
Orion House Youth Drop In Center (Exhibit 3.7)	N= 364	65.0	14.0	6.0	3.0	5.0	6.0
New Orleans MSA	1,308,000	67.8	34.9	0.3	2.1	4.9	NA
Tulane University Drop In Center (Exhibit 3.9)	N= 588	61.2	35.5	0.0	0.0	1.7	1.0
National Data							NA
RHYMIS Agencies (Exhibit 3.12)	N= 46,721	57.6	23.9	3.1	2.2	13.3	NA
Homeless Youth (U.S. GAO Survey, 1989)[32]	273,000	60.0	25.0	NA	NA	15.0	NA
Runaway Youth (U.S. GAO Survey, 1989)	1,300,000	70.0	17.0	NA	NA	13.0	NA
Sample of Shelter Youth (Greene et al., 1999)	N=631 in 25 cities	31.0	41.0	NA	NA	NA	29.0
Sample of Street Youth (Greene et al., 1999)	N=528 in 10 cities	49.0	25.0	NA	NA	NA	26.0
Sample Total 1997 (Exhibit 2.4)	**82,493,000**						
Sample Average (Exhibit 2.4)		**61.2**	**14.2**	**0.7**	**10.1**	**23.8**	
U.S. Total 1997 (Exhibit 2.4)	**267,784,000**						
U.S. Average (Exhibit 2.4)		**71.8**	**12.6**	**0.9**	**3.7**	**10.7**	
Sample as % of U.S. Total (Exhibit 2.4)	**30.8**						

[32] As cited by the National Runaway Switchboard (1998:4).

H.6 Ages of First Intercourse and Entry Into Juvenile Prostitution

Average age of first intercourse for the children we interviewed was 12 years for the boys (N=63) and 13 years for the girls (N=107). The age range of entry into prostitution for the boys, including gay and transgender boys, was somewhat younger than that of the girls, i.e., 11-13 years vs. 12-14 years, respectively. The average age of first intercourse among minority boys and girls was younger than that of the non-minority youth we interviewed, i.e., 10-11 years of age for minority boys and 11-12 years of age for minority girls. These patterns are consistent with race-adjusted average ages for first intercourse (Abma et al., 1997; CDC, 2000; Ku et al., 1993; Zabin et al., 1986) and for entry into prostitution reported by other investigators (Boyer, 1993; Lowman, 1992; Nadon, 1998; Silbert, 1984).

I. Profiles of Child Sexual Exploiters

From our interviews with children and focus group meetings with law enforcement and human service professionals we have been able to identify a number of groups of persons who are closely associated with the SEC. While the membership of these groups consist primarily of men not all child sexual exploiters are men. Indeed, some sex crimes against children are committed by juveniles and women, especially sexual assaults against children in their own homes. The discussion that follows is divided into two parts: 1) the identification of sexual exploiters of children living in their own homes; and 2) the identification of sexual exploiters of runaway, thrownaway and otherwise homeless children. A third category of sexual exploiters of children, those more closely associated with the on-line sexual victimization of children, also will be discussed.

I.1. Sexual Exploiters of Children Living in Their Own Homes

As reported above, some 105,000 *substantiated* or *indicated* cases of child sexual assault occur in the U.S. each year (NCCAN, 1996). The bulk of these assaults are perpetrated against children 12 years of age or younger and nearly all (84%) occur in the privacy of the child's own home. Sadly, 96% of all child sexual assaults are perpetrated by persons known either to the child or the child's family-- 96% by acquaintances (e.g., neighbors, teachers, coaches, physicians), or by members of the child's own family (e.g., fathers, step-fathers, uncles, older siblings). Contrary to widely held belief, only a small number of substantiated child sexual assault are committed by strangers (DoJ, 2000b:29).

The NIBRS data summarized in Exhibit 3.14 reflect child sexual assault patterns for a sample of 1,000 "typical" cases for each of the three age groups. The patterns reported in the exhibit are comparable to those we observed in our own field work:

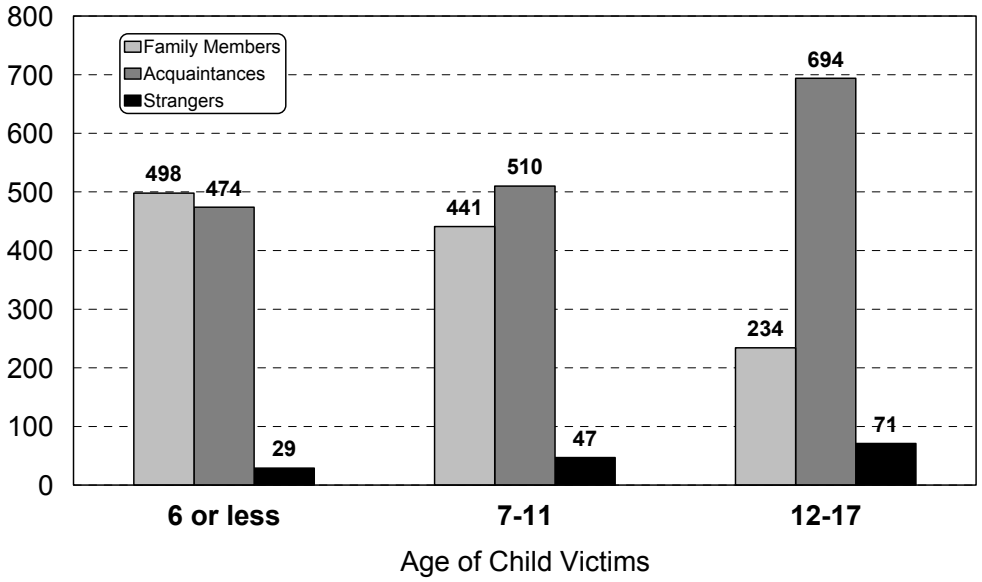
1. most sexual assaults against children in their own homes are committed by acquaintances, i.e., by friends of the family, neighbors, sport coaches, tutors (49%); the risk of sexual assault to children by acquaintances is high for all age groups but peaks as children enter puberty, i.e., 474/1000 incidents for children age 6 years and younger, 510/1000 incidents at ages 7-11 and 694/1000 incidents at ages 12-17;

2. family members--father, step-fathers, uncles, older siblings--commit 47% of all reported sexual assaults against children in their own homes; the risk of sexual assault to children by family members is highest when children are younger than 11 years of age (441/1000 incidents), but especially when children are younger than 6 years (498 /1000 incidents);

3. strangers commit fewer than 4% of all sexual assaults against children; though never at a high level vis-à-vis the number of sexual assaults committed against children by acquaintances and family members, the risk of child sexual assaults by strangers increases with child age from 29/1000 incidents for children ages 6 and younger, to 47/1000 incidents for children ages 7-11, to 71/1000 incidents for children 12-17 years.

Exhibit 3.14

Child Sexual Assaults by Child's Age & Relationship to Perpetrator Per 1,000 Typical Incidents Within Each Age Group, 1991-1996



Data Source: FBI National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) as cited in OJJDP, 2000: 29 [sex_assault_relationship_r1_010617]

I.1.a Ages of Perpetrators of Sexual Assaults Against Children Living In Their Own Homes

Exhibit 3.15 contains more detailed data concerning the ages of perpetrators of sex crimes against children 7 years of age and younger living in their own homes. These data also represent a sample of 1,000 "typical" cases of child sexual assault reported to the FBI between 1991 and 1996 (DoJ, 2000b:29). The data are particularly revealing concerning the role of other juveniles in the sexual victimization of very young children--a pattern confirmed by runaway children we interviewed.

1. Persons of all ages sexually assault children living in their own homes;

2. persons over the age of 18 commit somewhat more sexual assaults against children than do persons younger than 18 years (i.e., 572/1000 vs. 429/1000 incidents):

    a. perpetrators younger than 18 account for 43% of all reported sexual assaults committed against very young children,

    b. the majority of juvenile-initiated sexual assaults against very young children were committed by acquaintances rather than by members of the child family, albeit the incidence of juvenile family member-initiated sexual assaults against very young children also is high (i.e., 252/1000 incidents vs. 166/1000 incidents, respectively),

    c. juveniles unknown to either the child or the child's family (i.e., strangers, accounted for only 11/1000 incidents of sexual assault against very young children living in their own homes);

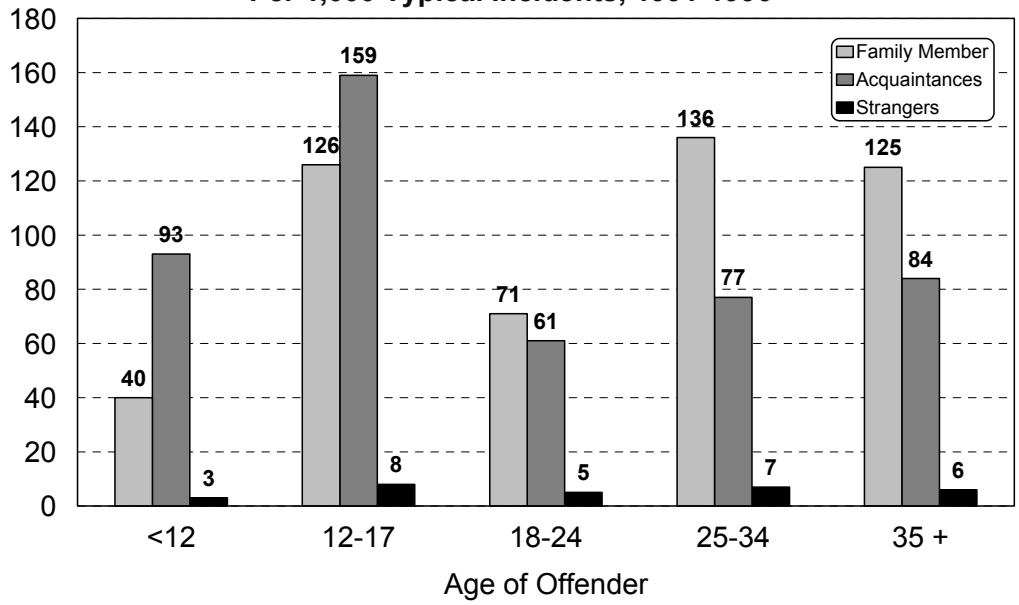
3. beginning at perpetrator age 18, sexual assaults against very young children living in their own homes are more likely to be committed by members of the child's own family (i.e., 332/572 (58%) vs. 222/572 (39%) vs.18/572 (3%) incidents, respectively):

    a. the risk to very young children of family-initiated sexual assaults by persons aged 18 years and older begins with family members between the ages of 18-24 years and peaks for family members between the ages of 25-34 years i.e., 71/137 (52%) and 136/220 (62%) incidents, respectively,

    b. the frequency of family-initiated sexual assaults of very young children declines only slightly among perpetrators older than 35 years, i.e., 125/215 (58%) incidents.

Exhibit 3.15

Sexual Assaults of Children Aged < 7 By Relationship of Child to Perpetrator Per 1,000 Typical Incidents, 1991-1996



Source: FBI National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) as cited in OJJDP, 2000: 29 [sex_assault_relat_chld6_offend_age_010617]

I.1.b. Relationship of Perpetrators of Child Maltreatment to Child Victims

A shockingly large number of American children living in their own homes are victims of maltreatment. In 1996, more than 2 million new cases--involving more than 3 million children--were added to the *National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System* (NCANDS) of the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN). On investigation, 35% of all cases reported to the NCANDS (N=700,000 cases / 1,050,000 children), including cases of child sexual abuse, were either *substantiated* or *indicated* (N=105,000).

The following demographic patterns characterize those 35% of cases in which child maltreatment was substantiated or indicated (as cited in DoJ, 2000b:45-46):

1. 52% of all child victims are female; female victims were three times more likely than males to experience sexual assault (16% vs. 5%);

2. 55% of victims are Caucasian, 28% are Black, 12% are Hispanic, and 5% are other races; Caucasian youth are two times more likely than Black youth to become victims of sexual assaults (13% vs. 7%);

3. 19% of victims are age 2 or younger, 52% are age 7 or younger, and 7% are age 16 or younger; older victims are more likely than younger victims to be physically (29% vs. 19%) or sexually assaulted (15% vs. 7%);

4. 80% of perpetrators of child maltreatment are parents of the victims;

5. an estimated 1,077 children die each year as a result of maltreatment:

    a. deaths arising from abuse and neglect occur most often among very young children,

    b. 3-in-4 abuse-related deaths (76%) occur to children younger than 4 years of age;

6. only about 16% of child victims of substantiated or indicated abuse cases are removed from their homes.

Exhibit 3.16 summarizes national data bearing on the gender of persons confirmed to have been perpetrators of child maltreatment (for 1996 as cited in DoJ, 2000b:46):

1. most abuse against children living in their own homes is committed by women (i.e., by the primary care giver of children (54%)); the proportion of child maltreatment involving a female perpetrator generally declined with victim age (DoJ, 2000b:47);

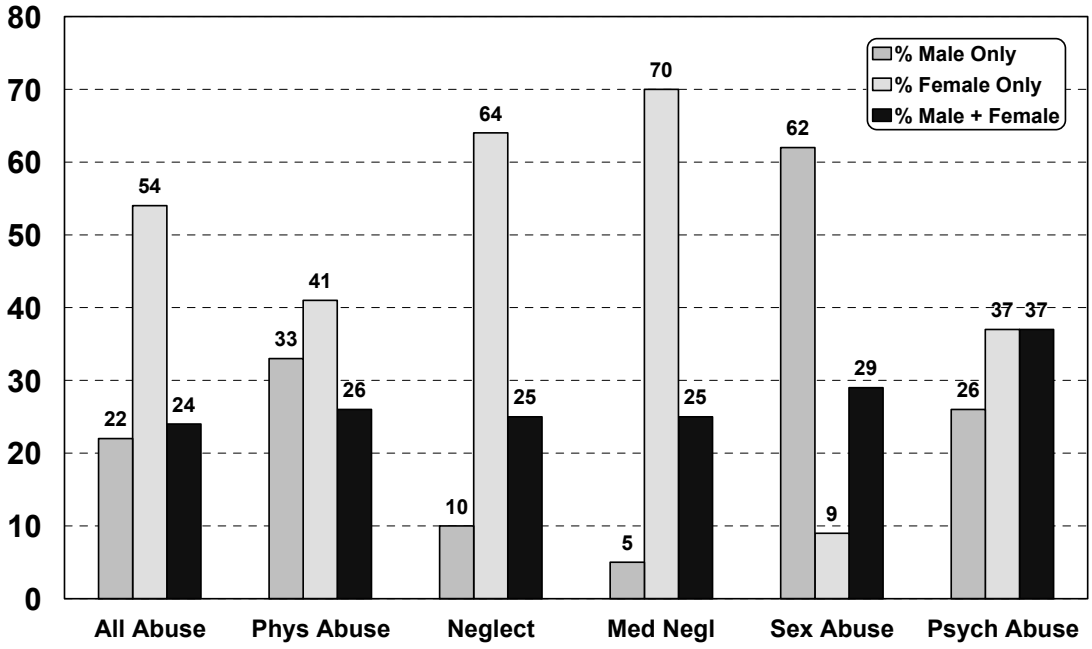
2. *males only* committed 62% of all sexual assaults against children living in their own homes;

3. *males and females acting together* were responsible for 29% of sexual assaults against children living in their own homes;

4. *women only* accounted for 9% of sexual assaults on children living in their own homes.

Exhibit 3.16

Child Maltreatment by Type of Abuse and Gender of Perpetrator, 1998



Source: USDHHS (1998) as cited in OJJDP, 2000: 46 [abuse_perpetrators_010617]

I.2 Sexual Predators of Children Not Living In Their Own Homes

In addition to substantiated sexual assaults against children living in their own homes,[33] our investigation also confirmed that hundreds of thousands of American children *living outside of their homes*--on the streets, in "squats," cheap motels, shelters, vans even dumpsters--fall victim to sexual exploitation each year. Many of these victims are quite young and many were victims of sexual exploitation before running away from home (Exhibit 3.12).

Based on our interviews with children and our focus group meetings with law enforcement and human service professionals, we have been able to identify the major categories of sexual exploiters of children not living in their own homes. The precise numbers of such exploiters nationally could not be determined by this investigation but, for certain, their demographic and psychosexual histories are quite varied (Davidson, 1996). Even so, we can confirm that sexual exploiters of children include: 1) pedophiles; 2) transient males including members of the military, truck drivers, seasonal workers, conventioneers and sex tourists, among others; 3) "opportunistic" exploiters (i.e., persons who will sexually abuse whoever is available for sex including children (Hughes, 2000a)); 4) pimps; 5) traffickers; and 6) other juveniles.

I.2.a Pedophiles

Pedophiles are adults whose sexual desires and arousal fantasies culminate in sexual acts with pre-pubescent children of the same or opposite sex. The precise number of pedophiles in the U.S. is unknown and, based on our initial field work, will require a separate study of its own (Briere & Runtz, 1989; Goldstein, 1999; Lanning, 1992; Prentky, Knight & Lee, 1997) but we have encountered many in the course of our investigation. Sadly, children on the streets know the methods by which these molesters operate even better than we. What we do know, though, is that America's streets contain many thousands of men who constantly are scanning the streets for newly arrived children—especially for pre-pubescent and pubescent boys (Tremblay, 2001). Many are quite bold in the approaches they use to solicit children but, typically, most offer the child "friendship," food, money, clothing, videogames, a place to shower as a way of luring the child into their home (or car). We have seen such persons circling youth shelters and drop-in centers in Fort Lauderdale, Honolulu, Miami, Philadelphia, San Diego and Seattle in their search for vulnerable children. We also have learned from exploited children in Florida and California that as inducements for sex potential molesters even offer children introductions to recording or video producers. Invitations to children to live in the molester's apartment, condominium, or house also are common and, indeed, some children reported having lived with such men.

These superficially "nice guys," sometimes to the point of being saccharin, exercise great patience and psychological skill in stalking their victims (Lanning, 1992). They also tend to be quite methodological in keeping records of their sexual encounters and some even retain physical evidence of their encounters--pornographic photographs, soiled underwear, strands of pubic hair (Goldstein, 1999). Children who we interviewed have told us that, on occasion, some molesters have shown them photo albums or videos containing the pictures of previous child victims.

[33] Comparatively few of these children are involved in sexually exploitative activities of a commercial nature. In any case, none of these children are counted among the cases of CSEC reported in Exhibits 5-2 to 5-5.

Obviously, considerable additional work is needed to understand more fully the complex psychosocial and psychiatric dynamics that inform all three groups of child sexual molesters. We have undertaken such work on the social networks used by 60 pedophiles to identify vulnerable children in Montreal (Tremblay, 2001), but more work is needed.

Pedophiles constitute a significant threat to homeless children that take to America's streets each year (Hanson & Bussiere, 1998; Seto & Barbaree, 1999). Adult molesters of children and youth, though, are not to be confused with that middle mass of adult sexual exploiters of children that we refer to as "opportunistic exploiters."

I.2.b Transient Males

The U.S. has a large population of transient males (i.e., men who either are not attached to sexual partners or who, owing to the traveling nature of their work, are away from home for extended time periods, for example, as seasonal workers, salesmen, truck drivers). Single men in America's military forces make up the nation's largest concentration of sexually unattached transient men. But conventioneers, tourists and other groups of men—many of whom are married with children of their own (see Exhibit 3.18)—not infrequently think of themselves as "unattached" during long absences from home.

We have met such men seeking sex from children in massage parlors, from escort services, and in the bars and clubs where homeless children dance nude, engage in lap dancing and perform other sexual services for money. Such men also pursue sex with children from the relative safety and anonymity of their cars while circling public parks, playgrounds, tourist sites and other places where street youth are to be found.

As a group, transient male sexual exploiters of children are young and old, tall and short, thin and fat, well educated and not, and are equally as likely to come from middle America as well as from the nation's coastal cities. Evidenced by the clothes they wear, the cars they drive, and the prices they are willing to pay for sex with children many appear to have large amounts of discretionary income; others appear to be just getting by. The majority of these men are highly verbal; others seem capable of giving voice to little more than expletives. All are focused on a single goal—finding their next child victim. The fact that some of these men are fathers themselves, and that many of their victims approximate the ages of their own children, appears to matter not at all.

Five groups of transient sexual exploiters of children were particularly in evidence in the 17 cities were visited: 1) military personnel; 2) truck drivers; 3) seasonal workers; 4) conventioneers; and 5) sex tourists.

I.2.b.1 The Military and CSE

Members of military criminal investigative units with which the investigators met, denied knowledge of any extensive involvement on the part of servicemen in the SEC. At best, selected investigative units would acknowledge the occurrence of individual cases of CSE (including cases involving prostitution and electronic pornography) but cautioned against generalizing those cases to the military in general. And, yet, from our conversations with sexually exploited children and local law enforcement, human service and community leaders, we learned that children are regularly exploited sexually by members of the military in these communities. Indeed, in Hawaii local officials indicated that "the military are our biggest problem" vis-à-vis child pornography and prostitution.

Our assessment is that some percentage of military personnel engage regularly in CSE living in the communities that surround military bases. Such practices have been documented among military personnel stationed outside the U.S. (Sturdevant et al., 1992; Yoon, 1997) and we can confirm that they occur within the U.S. as well (Brock & Thistlewaite, 1996; Daranciang, 2001; Sturdevant, 1995). The problem is especially pronounced where: 1) substantial concentrations of military personnel are found; 2) a large percentage of these personnel are sexually "unattached"; 3) the communities that surround military bases are poor; and 4) law enforcement (both in the community and on the military bases) is comparatively lax.

We also have found that the risk of military personnel sexually exploiting children is greater among younger personnel whose ages most closely approximate those of the exploited children (i.e., 19-21 year old men "doing it" to 13-15 year old girls and boys). This situation is especially problematic in jurisdictions where the age of sexual consent for youth is low—currently set at age 14 in Hawaii.

We also have found a number of situations in which "older" military personnel—men in their 30s and 40s—regularly exploit children associated with brothels located near large military bases. These children frequently are mixed in with adult women engaged in prostitution and, typically, the older military personnel sexually exploit both the women and children in these brothels. A disproportionate number of these older men are married, many have children of their own, albeit some may be temporarily separated from their families.

Overall, child victims and local officials have identified the following types of CSE among military personnel in the U.S.:

- the use by military personnel of government owned computers and internet access to collect and, in turn, exchange pornography;

- the use by military personnel of government issued computers and internet access to solicit and, in some cases, transmit live sex acts involving children and adults;

- the use by military personnel of government issued computers and internet access to arrange sexual liaisons with underage youth residing in the local community—described by one enlisted man as being "as easy as ordering a pizza";

- the use by military personnel of government housing both on and off base as places to cohabitate with minors; and

- owing to the severe poverty that characterizes the communities that surround many military bases, on-going sexual relationships between children and military personnel—often with the consent of the parents (in exchange for financial contributions from the man toward the family's household economy [e.g., rent, food, drugs]).

Separate studies, and much fuller cooperation from military criminal investigative units, are needed to determine the true prevalence of CSE among military personnel. Such studies urgently are needed given the tensions that exist in some communities related to this issue (e.g., Honolulu, Miami, San Diego).

I.2.b.2 Truck Drivers and the SEC

Long haul truck drivers frequently are away from home for extended time periods. As a result, some percentage of these men turn to prostitution to satisfy their sexual desires, including to sex with children. Sexually exploited children have told us, and we have seen for ourselves, that some long haul truck drivers exchange transportation for sex with both adults and children.

Much of the exploitation that has been described to us occurs in the sleeping compartments of driver's trucks, some takes place in the "trucker" motels located along busy highways, and much is centered around the business complexes that cater specifically to truckers. Many children, including boys, reported being required to perform sexual services for truck drivers in exchange for inter-city transportation.

I.2.b.3. Seasonal Workers and CSE

Evidence exists that seasonal workers in the agricultural and construction sectors sexually exploit children (U. S. DoL, 1995, 1996; Ugarte, 2001). Some of these children travel along with the workers, others are found in nearby communities. Often, these workers are foreign nationals with limited language and job skills. As a result, many of the children they exploit also are poor and, usually, share the same mother language as the exploiters (Contreras, 1998).

We cannot estimate the number of such children in the U.S. at the present time. We know from our partners in San Diego, however, that there are at least 130 Mexican and Central American children engaged in street-

level prostitution frequented by seasonal workers in that community (Ugarte, 2001). We have received similar reports from partner organizations in Texas and Florida and, hence, we believe that the numbers of such children are probably large. More targeted studies of the prevalence studies of CSE by seasonal workers also are needed.

I.2.b.4. Conventioneers and CSE

Opportunities for engaging in commercial sex long have existed in America's convention and "sun and sand" cities, i.e., Honolulu, Las Vegas (Patton, 1997; Strow, 1999), Los Angeles, Miami, San Diego, and San Francisco. Other convention cities also are also "resource rich" with easily accessible commercial sex services--Atlanta (Pilcher, 2000), Detroit (Wilson, 1997), New York, Philadelphia (Bleyer, 2000) and Seattle.

A casual stroll or drive down the main streets of most of these cities is all that is needed for a man to attract the attention of a women (or man) offering "companionship." Even a less than discrete inquiry to a local taxi driver, bell hop or waiter in a tourist restaurant usually will result in detailed information concerning where a visitor might go "to have a good time." For those too embarrassed to ask others for such information there are, of course, the yellow pages of local phone books which contain many pages of sexually provocative ads for "adult entertainment," "escort," "massage" and other types of "hands-on" personal services that serve as covers for prostitution.[34] And, then, too, there are the many "alternative" newspapers, brochures and flyers that are available from the street corners of most convention cities--the contents of at least one third of which are ads for nightclubs, topless bars, strip joints and "personal ads" addressed to persons wishing to "connect" with someone locally.

Given all of the choices presented to visitors for purchasing sex, to be truly alone in one of America's convention cities requires an active choice. With a high level of certainty, and relative anonymity, one can be sexually entertained in these cities in a variety of ways—all suited to the customer's particular preferences.

Increasingly, juveniles have joined the ranks of adult purveyors of sexual services in America's convention and tourist cities. We estimate that at least 1-out-of-3 persons involved in street-level prostitution in the nation's convention and tourist cities is under the age of 18 years. Based on our interviews with sexually exploited children, we believe further that the proportion of youth engaged in prostitution behind closed doors to be even higher--perhaps as high as 50% in these cities. These juveniles—both boys and girls—solicit sex on the street, engage in lap dancing and other forms of erotic dancing in night clubs, work as escorts and masseuses for organized sex services, and engage in the full spectrum of sexual activities performed by their adults. Often, the ages of these children are masked behind heavy makeup

[34] The yellow page directories of Las Vegas, New Orleans and Seattle, for example, contain approximately 100, 6, and 9 pages of these ads, respectively.

and sexually provocative clothing, but their youthfulness easily is recognized—especially when their clothes are removed.

The children and professionals we interviewed have told us that convention cities are destinations to which children travel to earn "the really big bucks." Drugs are more plentiful in these cities as are large numbers of other similarly situated young people. Children have told us, too, that law enforcement in these cities, is comparatively "relaxed" vis-à-vis juvenile prostitution that occurs behind the closed doors of hotel rooms and in the back rooms of night clubs, bars. Children also indicate that their convention customers tend to be "more appreciative" than adult customers in non-convention cities by giving bigger tips, entertaining the children more expensively (with meals, floor shows, clothing) and, on occasion, are more willing to listen to the children's personal stories.

Some of the interviewed children also indicated that the conventioneers who purchase sex from children prefer increasingly younger, less sexually experienced, children and that such children can expect to receive even higher fees for their services. In response, some youth have recruited younger girls (and boys) into prostitution—most drawn from the steady flow of homeless children who travel to these destinations on a daily basis.

The number of adults who seek out and sexually exploit young people in convention and "sun and sand" cities cannot be determined with great precision. Too much secrecy and money is associated with these activities for a full accounting to take place. We can, though, confirm that this form of CSE is widespread and, based on what children and professionals in these communities have indicated, is increasing. We also can confirm that most of the street level and behind "closed doors" prostitution in these cities is controlled by adult pimps and crime rings.

I.2.b.5 American Sex Tourists and CSE

Cases of children being sexually exploited by American tourists to other countries are plentiful in the public media and little additional documentation of its existence is needed here.[35] We can confirm that the following groups of adults and juveniles engage in the CSEC in foreign destinations:

- pedophiles who travel outside of the U.S. to manufacture pornography involving children and, in the process, to engage in sex with these children (Roche, 1999);

- pedophiles who travel outside the U.S. and subsequently "import" children for sexual purposes who are the nationals of other countries into the U.S. (Editors, 2000a; Garner, 2000; Tremblay, 2001; Williams, 1999; YAPI, 1998);

[35] See Klain (1999) for a comprehensive summary of the domestic and international legal responses to the prostitution of children through child-sex tourism.

- American adults who travel to major tourist destinations both within and outside the U.S. and engage in sex with children located in these communities (Adams, 1999; Editors, 1997; French, 1992; Gray, 2000; Katz, 1997; McArthur, 1999; Roche, 1999; Scott & Ross, 2000; Shortt, 1998);

- American youth who travel to major tourist destinations both within and outside the U.S. engage in sex with children located in these communities (Shortt, 1998); and

- American adults who operate international sex tourism businesses either in the U.S. or abroad—typically organized around both pornography and prostitution (Casa Alianza, 1999b; Casa Alianza, 2000b; Katz, 1997; Reuters, 1998, 1999).

The small number of prosecutions to date of American sex tourists engaging in the sexual exploitation of children in other countries is nothing short of scandalous, especially given the large number of such tourist that we and others know to exist. Police, human service and child advocacy authorities in the Dominican Republic (French, 1992; Silvestre et al., 1992; Unicef/Dominican Republic, 1998), Mexico (Azaola, 2001), Costa Rica (Casa Alianza, 2000b), Honduras (Casa Alianza, 1999) and elsewhere have indicated to us that the problem with American nationals traveling to their countries for sex with children is "substantial" but, again, neither they nor we can provide objective estimates of their numbers.

I.3 "Opportunistic" Exploiters

During the course of our field research we encountered many "opportunistic customers" of children for sex. The majority of these persons were men (75%), but a distinct minority were other juveniles (20%) and women (5%). With the exception of the juveniles interviewed, most of these sexual exploiters of children did not indicate a sexual preference for children but, rather, said they had sex with children because "they were available." These persons would have engaged in sex with persons other than children. Thus, we refer to this group of child sexual exploiters as "opportunistic exploiters" (i.e., persons who are willing to exploit children sexually "if the price is right" and the risks of doing so are perceived to be within acceptable limits of not getting caught and of not contracting sexual diseases).

The lyrics from a popular hip-hop song performed by Shawn Lov and Neff Star, *Sick-Twisted*, illustrate not only the erosion of collective values in American society--including public norms that seek to protect children from sexual assault--but the intensity with which many opportunistic sexual exploiters pursue their child and adult victims (Exhibit 3.17).

Exhibit 3.17

Excerpts from "Sick – Twisted"

Chorus 1:

Baby do you want to go to bed with me
I'm a Sick Twisted Son of a Bitch
I drug you, then I'll make you give head to me
I'm a Sick Twisted Son of a Bitch
I don't give a shit if she's 8 or 80
I'm a Sick Twisted Son of a Bitch
As long as she got a pussy whole, it all will be gravy
I'm a Sick Twisted Son of a Bitch

Verse 2:

Life ain't shit but pussy, heaven and money
But as far as pussy goes, I like 11 to 20
It's the perfect ripe age
Right after the seventh grade
When she's nice and innocent, and easily swayed
I pick her up at school and tell the desk I'm her father
Take her little ass back to the crib and I knock her
Hose her down, wash all her clothes, then the feeding
Give her a roll a paper towels to help her stop the bleeding
Sorry little lady, I don't mean to be misleading
I told you that I love you, and you won't catch me cheating
But I got to fuck your Mommie, when I'm dropping you off
Just so she won't get suspicious that I'm knocking you off
Do you got a little sister that's as pretty as you
If you do, I guess I wouldn't mind putting it through
What she's only 9, sounds like a winner
Run along and tell your Mommie that I'll be staying for dinner

Written and performed by Shawn Lov and Neff Star

Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE), a benchmark nongovernmental organization serving prostituted women and children in the San Francisco, provided us with the most complete statistical picture of the male segment of these opportunistic exploiters. This picture is summarized in Exhibit 3.18, which contains selected demographic and socio-sexual data for approximately 229 men who were first time arrestees for sexual solicitation in 1999. All of these men had been required to pay a court fine of $500 and to participate in a prostitution re-education program referred to as the "John School." The data are quite revealing (and sobering) inasmuch as this population of adult male child exploiters cut across all educational, income and occupational sectors of society.

Exhibit 3.18
Selected Characteristics of "John School" Participants--
First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP),
San Francisco, 1999 (N=229)

Demographic Characteristics	%
AGE (N=224)	
18-24	9.4
25-29	21.8
30-34	17.8
35-39	20.5
40-44	14.3
45-54	14.3
55+	1.7
ETHNICITY (N=227)	
Caucasian	57.5
Latino	18.1
Asian American	15.9
African American	4.8
Native American	0.9
Other	2.6
EDUCATION (N=227)	
Less than High School	10.6
High School/GED	16.3
Trade School Certificate	4.8
Some College	20.7
College/Advanced Graduate School	47.6
EMPLOYMENT STATUS (N=229)	
Full Time	78.2
Part Time	5.7
Sometimes	7.4
Unemployed	8.7
ANNUAL INCOME (N=223)	
None	4.5
<10K/year	9.0
10-14k	7.6
15-19k	8.1
20-29k	16.1
30+k	54.7
SEXUAL ORIENTATION (N=226)	
Straight	97.3
Bisexual	1.3

Demographic Characteristics	%
Other	1.3
Gay	0.0
MARITAL STATUS AT TIME OF ARREST (N=224)	
Single	42.9
Married	33.5
Divorced	8.0
Separated	6.7
Serious Relationship	8.9
EVER HAD PRIOR SEX WITH PROSTITUTES (N=177)	
Never	39.0
Last 3 months	32.3
Last 12 months	47.9
Ever in lifetime	61.0

Source: SAGE (Standing Against Global Exploitation), 2000.
Courtesy of Norma Hotaling.

- 42% were either married or involved in a serious relationship
- 48% had either a college or other advanced degree
- 78% were employed full time
- 55% had personal incomes in excess of $30,000 per year
- 97% identified themselves as being "straight";
- 70% were younger than 40 years of age
- 61% indicated that they had had prior lifetime sexual experiences with prostitutes

This picture of adult men who sexually exploit women and children is remarkably similar to that given to us by the national sample of children we interviewed. What is not known from the SAGE data, however, is the extent to which the men participating in the John School have children of their own, or the proximity in age of their children to the "John's" child victims. We also don't know the extent to which men participating in the John School ever have been accused of sexually molesting their own children.

I.4 Other Juveniles and CSE

Many of the children and the professionals with whom we met indicated a high percentage of ***CSE*** by other juveniles. We already have documented this type of exploitation for children living in their own homes, but we also can confirm that children on the street also are sexually victimized by same age peers. We also can confirm that large numbers of youth living in U.S. cities and towns that border Mexico and Canada cross into these countries and, while there, consume cheaper drugs and alcohol and, not infrequently, sexually exploit juvenile nationals of these countries (Exhibit M.5).

Based on our evidence, the following groups of American youth are most likely to sexually victimize other youth:

1. youth living with their own families who purchase or exchange sex with their own peers—usually with peers attending the same junior and senior high schools;

2. youth living with their own families who either purchase, or exchange sex with street, homeless, and other transient youth in their community;

3. youth living with their own families in cities and towns within close proximity to Mexico (Arizona, California, New Mexico, Texas) and Canada (Michigan, New York, Washington) and who cross into these countries in the pursuit of cheap drugs, alcohol and sex (Zarembo, 2001);

4. youth on vacation or attending major sporting, recreational or cultural events that take place in cities other than their own but especially in cities where both juvenile and adult prostitution are pervasive, e.g., Las Vegas, Miami, New Orleans, New York, San Francisco, Seattle; and

5. youth on vacation in selected national and international tourist destinations where juvenile and adult prostitution are pervasive in Mexico (e.g., Cancun, Cozumel, Acapulco), the Caribbean (e.g., the Bahamas, Dominican Republic) and Central America (e.g., Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras).

We also have learned from our child informants that commercial sex with other anonymous youth can be as prone to violence as commercial sex with anonymous adults--especially in situations in which drugs and alcohol are commingled with the sex.

I.5 Pimps and CSE

Pimps make many and regular demands for sex from the girls and women under their control. Our experience is that nearly all pimps are male, most were either African American or Hispanic, and their ages ranged from 16 to the mid-50s. We even meet one pimp in Las Vegas who, at age 16, indicated that he had a "stable" of three girls he was managing—and with one he already had a child. None of the pimps we met were married but nearly all indicated that they had children of their own—most laughed at the question indicating they assumed that they had fathered "a lot" of children but had no knowledge of either how many or their whereabouts.

Pimps use a variety of methods to recruit young girls (Giobbe, 1993). The most common approach is for the pimp to befriend a homeless child, express affection for the child and spend what appears to the child be to lavish sums of money buying the child clothes, jewelry, meals, video games, and the like. Sex between the pimp and child is taken for granted. In time, the pimp uses the child's emotional (and by now financial) dependency to persuade the child into selling sex for money (all of which is turned over to the pimp). In time, the arrangement becomes less emotional and more contractual as the pimp demands that the child produce some minimum amount of money daily (the amount of which varies from a few hundred dollars to several thousand dollars a day depending on locale and what other prostitutes in the same community are earning). Not infrequently, the pimp will father a child with the girl(s) in his stable so as to deepen his control over them—typically such infants are removed from the child and given over to someone in the pimp's extended family to raise. Pimps also seek to control children by designating another girl in the stable as a "favorite," thereby, creating jealousy between the girls and keeping them distant from one another.

Physical and emotional violence are routine elements in pimp-controlled child sexual relationships. Children report being beaten by their pimps two or more times a week but especially when they fail to achieve their financial quota or when they demand to keep a larger share of their earnings. In many situations, the girls are forbidden to return home to the pimp until their financial quota has been met, which, from time to time, can involve one or more days of on-street or in-hotel solicitations.

Though not typical in some respects, "BG" and "Tony" are illustrative of the type of "street pimps" we encountered in the course of our field work. The levels of violence and degradation, including physical branding (Harris, 1999), used by pimps to maintain power over juveniles is all too typical (Farley et al., 1998; Parker, 1998).

> "BG"
> BG is an African-American male in his 50's. He has been a pimp all of his working life. He traffics girls between Los Angeles, Seattle, Honolulu and Vancouver. He mostly recruits young girls in Vancouver, brings them to Hawaii and keeps all of their papers so they can't leave. He drugs them; hand cuffs them and then makes them have sex with his dog. He photographs these sex acts and then uses the photos as blackmail, threatening to send them to magazines or family members. Other methods of controlling the girls include: locking them in a bathroom and making them drink water from the toilet and eat out of dog food bowls; and walking up and down the "track/strip" while his girls are working - with the dog he makes them have sex with.

> "Tony"
> Tony is a 50-year-old African-American male who owns several legitimate businesses in Las Vegas. He recruits young girls and young professional women. He recruits young homeless girls from the Las Vegas area and sends them to Honolulu to work. One of the girls we (the Life Foundation) worked with was 15 and was forced by Tony to raise one of his children. He had taken the child away from another one of his prostitutes as punishment for her drug use. Tony is reported to traffic girls between Nevada, California, New York, the Bahamas, France, and South America.

Our field experiences suggest that child-related pimp "culture" is organized along the following lines:

1. most pimps manage only 1-3 girls at a time;

2. at least 50% of the pimps we encountered and, based on what children have told us, operate strictly at the local level, i.e., they are not organized and are not tied into larger criminal networks (Harris, 1999; Koch, 1996; McPhee, 1999);

3. at least 25% of pimps we encountered were tied into city-wide crime rings:

    a. their funding varied from very little to substantial,

    b. many engage in drug sales along with either juvenile or adult prostitution, or both,

    c. most are constantly on the look out for new recruits;

4. about 15% of the pimps we encountered were tied into regional or nationwide networks:

    a. they are well financed--earning large sums of money from both prostitution and drug sales (Ha, 1999; Scott, 1999),

    b. they are well organized and their many partners can communicate easily with one another (Swickard, 1999),

    c. they have well established tracks and safe houses in many states (Scott, 1999, 2000; Sunde, 2000),

    d. they have a well defined subculture of their own that includes the making of videos about the subculture (e.g., *Pimps Up, Ho's Down: The Director's Cut; Hookers at the Point*), organizing and participating in balls (Dowling, 2000) and national meetings held annually either in Las Vegas or Chicago—and giving and receiving national "awards" such as "Mack of the Year" (Baer, 1999),

    e. they use a wide range of electronic tools to conduct their businesses (e.g., e-mail, cell phones, fax machines),

    f. many provide other services in support of their prostitution businesses—including the recruitment, selection, indoctrination and movement of new girls, and

    g. some assist in the location and discipline of girls who attempt to escape from other pimps who form part of the regional circuit;

5. approximately 10% of pimps in the U.S. are tied into international sex crime networks;

6. through these networks, pimps participate actively in the international trafficking of children--including American children and children who are nationals of other countries, and

7. typically, this fourth tier of pimps are part of the international drug networks and frequently use children both as "mules" in moving drugs into and across the U.S.

Given the highly secretive environment within which the third and fourth tiers of pimps operate, more careful studies are needed of their organizational patterns. Such studies, though, require a higher level of law enforcement involvement than was possible in the current investigation.

I.6 Traffickers and CSE

Traffickers also sexually exploit both the women and children they are trafficking. Such exploitation is particularly common among children from developing countries who have little money up front to cover the cost of being trafficked (e.g., for transportation, housing, fraudulent documents, etc.). In some cases, trafficked children reported being forced to engage in sex with their traffickers even when the child—or the child's family—has agreed to pay traffickers for the services they provide (nearly always out of the income earned by the children). Some children reported being sexually assaulted by the other levels of trafficking functionaries (e.g., transporters, guides, enforcers, purveyors of stolen or fake identity documents, and debt collectors).

The physical and emotional dangers to which trafficked children are exposed are enormous. Very few children are able to resist the sexual pressures placed on them by their traffickers and, nearly always, these children feel deceived, betrayed and victimized by the persons they most entrusted to bring them to a place of safety.

J. The Role of Organized Crime CSE and the CSEC

A variety of levels of organized crime are involved in CSE and the CSEC each of which derives enormous profit from their exploitation. The extent of organized crime's involvement in any given activity, though, is dependent upon: 1) the age of the children involved; 2) the nationality of these children; and 3) the profit potential associated with the each type of exploitative activity. Overall, we have learned that organized crime's involvement in CSE constitutes another service provided by these groups as part of their "portfolio" of services, e.g., adult prostitution, drugs, and money laundering.

In general, organized crime units tend not to be involved with children younger than 9 years of age—not out of a sense of morality but because such young children are "too difficult" or "too hot" to handle. The exception to this pattern is the use of very young children as subjects of pornography—particularly if the children are foreign born. Our informants have denied using children under the age of 10 years as prostitutes, albeit such cases have been identified in the public media.

Children and youth older than 12 years are prime targets for sexual exploitation by organized crime units. Most of these children are recruited from runaway and homeless youth. Most are recruited by same sex peers but many adults—including women—also recruit children for organized prostitution (Claffey & Siemaszko, 1997; Hohl, 2000; McPhee, 1999; Scott, 1999). As incentives for recruiting new children, peers often are promised financial rewards, nice clothes, a good place to live and, always, protection from the violence to which homeless and street routinely are exposed. The majority of children associated with organized criminal units have liberal access to drugs and other substances that increase their dependency on the crime unit. Not infrequently, the children of girls who become pregnant are removed and raised either by members of the organizer's extended family or by others within the criminal network. Once taken away from their mothers, these babies are used to exert even more greater control over the prostituted youth.

K. Domestic and International Trafficking in Children for Sexual Purposes

Trafficking in human beings is not a new problem for the U.S. Indeed, the country's earliest economy depended on the importation of hundreds of thousands of slaves from West Africa to plow the fields and harvest the products produced in the American South. Waves of Irish, Italians, Poles, Germans,

Scandinavians and others were brought to the country's Northeastern and mid-Western states as "indentured servants" who, through contracted labor, reimbursed their sponsors for the cost of transportation, food, housing, job placement, and so on. Other immigrants were admitted to the U.S. for the purpose of building the country's infrastructure, e.g., road and highway networks, laying railroad tracks, digging subways, building irrigation and electrification networks, rebuilding America's squalid cities, and more. Millions of Chinese, Japanese and other Asians were admitted to the Western states where, in the main, they were used as cheap labor in helping to develop the region's emerging agricultural sectors. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how the country's Westward Expansion and the great public building projects that paralleled the Industrial Revolution would have been possible without the influx of what, over time, was to become tens of millions of impoverished immigrants who worked under deplorable conditions for which they were paid little more than subsistence wages.

What is different about migration to the U.S. today, particularly migration in the form of trafficking, is that trafficked persons enter the country illegally. They possess neither passports nor visas, and none have letters of invitations or promises of dignified employment on their arrival. Few can walk the nation's streets without fear of apprehension and fewer still are able to seek employment with businesses that require legal proof of their right to be in the U.S.

Instead, the vast majority of people who are trafficked to the U.S. enter the country illegally (e.g., on foot, by car or van, by boat or ship and, occasionally, by plane (Budapest Group, 1999)). For many, their movement across international borders is facilitated by sophisticated networks of organized criminals that provide them with all the support needed to enter the U.S. safely (i.e., identity papers, guides, safe houses, temporary employment). In exchange for such services, trafficked persons are required to pay their handlers trafficking fees ranging from a few hundred to as much as $40,000 (Botti, 2000; Koh, 1999). Those who are unable to pay the cost of trafficking services up front must agree to work for the traffickers in some form of involuntary servitude (Dunham, 2001), for example, as waitresses in restaurants and bars, as hotel maids, as domestic, as child care and elder care attendants and, often, are prostituted (Hughes, 2000b; Hughes & Roche, 1999; Lederer, 2001). Traffickers are relentless in their insistence on being paid their trafficking fees and, as necessary, use fear, physical violence and even murder (Editors, 2001) to keep their "property" under control. Threats also are made against the family of origin of persons who attempt to runaway—threats which traffickers have within their power to actualize.

K.1 Sexually Exploited Foreign Children

Children are among the persons being trafficked into the U.S. (ECPAT, 1996b; Richard, 1999; U.S. Department of State, 2001). And like the mostly young women who make up the vast majority of trafficked persons, children are forced to engage in degrading labor as part of the "price of admission" to the U.S. in effect, performing the 3-D (dirty, difficult and dangerous) jobs that many American workers avoid. For many children, the price of admission to the U.S. also includes sexual exploitation--both at the hands of their traffickers and, in a short space of time, by numerous sexual exploiters (Barnitz, 1998).

We have met such children in the course of our investigation and understand all too well the impossibility of their struggle. Their struggles, indeed, are difficult and are compounded by the high level of secrecy that surrounds child trafficking. Their difficulties also are compounded by the reality that all are illegal entrants in the U.S. and, therefore, are perceived as part criminal and part victim.

K.2 Countries of Origin of Sexually Exploited Foreign Children

Exhibit 3.19 identifies the regions and countries of origin of foreign trafficked children we met in the course of our investigation. The exhibit also identifies the focus group cities in which children from these countries were encountered, albeit, and like trafficked adults, these children are moved about quickly from one city to the next in order to avoid detection.

In every case the countries identified in the exhibit are those from which at least six children could be identified—either by the children themselves or, more typically, by law enforcement or human service personnel caring for children who had been apprehended. In virtually every case, the information that appears here has been corroborated by at least two independent sources. In some very few instances, single sources are cited. Contrary, then, to the common qualitative and journalistic two-independent-sources reporting standard, we have elected, nonetheless, to report selected single-source information. The first-generation nature of our work makes it imperative that factual information be laid out for review and debated as a tool for advancing our knowledge of the CSEC. The same rule applied to the later discussion of trafficking gateways and staging "hubs."

Exhibit 3.19
Regions and Countries of Origin of Sexually Exploited Trafficked Foreign Children in the U.S., 2000

World Region	Country of Origin	Focus Group Cities In Which Children Were Found
ASIA-OCEANIA		
	Australia	Honolulu, New Orleans
	Burma	Chicago, New York
	Cambodia	Honolulu, New Orleans, San Francisco, Seattle
	Hong Kong	Honolulu, New York, Seattle
	India	Berkeley, Chicago, New York, San Jose
	Japan	Honolulu
	Korea	Detroit, Honolulu, New York, San Francisco
	Laos	Honolulu, Los Angeles
	People's Republic of China	Detroit, Honolulu, Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Seattle
	Philippines	Honolulu, Los Angeles, Miami, New York, Philadelphia, San Diego, Seattle
	Sri Lanka	Chicago, Los Angeles
	Taiwan	Honolulu, New York, San Francisco
	Vietnam	Chicago, Honolulu, New York, New Orleans
AFRICA		
	Benin	Seattle
	Burkina Faso	Seattle
	Cameroon	New York, Seattle
	Eritrea	New York, Seattle
	Ethiopia	New York, Seattle
	Ghana	New York, Seattle
	Nigeria	Seattle
	Somalia	Chicago
	Sudan	Chicago
CENTRAL and SOUTH AMERICA		
	Belize	San Diego

World Region	Country of Origin	Focus Group Cities In Which Children Were Found
	Colombia	Chicago, El Paso, San Diego
	Costa Rica	El Paso, San Diego
	El Salvador	El Paso, Chicago
	Guatemala	Chicago, El Paso, New York
	Honduras	Chicago, El Paso, Miami
	Nicaragua	Chicago, El Paso, San Diego, Los Angeles
CARIBBEAN		
	Dominican Republic	Fort Lauderdale, Homestead (FL), Miami, New York
	Haiti	Fort Lauderdale, Homestead (FL), Miami, New York
	Jamaica	Miami, New York
NORTH AMERICA		
	Canada	Chicago, Honolulu, Las Vegas, Los Angeles, Miami, New Orleans, New York, Seattle
	Mexico	Chicago, Detroit, Honolulu, Los Angeles, Miami, New York, Philadelphia, San Antonio, San Diego, San Francisco, Seattle
EASTERN EUROPE		
	Bosnia	Chicago, New York
	Byelorussia	Chicago, Seattle
	Czech Republic	Honolulu, New York
	Hungary	Los Angeles (via Mexico), New York
	Poland	Chicago, Honolulu, New York
	Russian Federation	Chicago, Honolulu, Los Angeles (via Mexico), New York, Seattle
	Ukraine	Baltimore, Los Angeles (via Mexico), New York, Seattle

K.3 International Gateways Used to Traffic Sexually Exploited Children to the U.S.

Exhibit 3.20 identifies the international gateways used to traffic children from their country of origin to the U.S. In general, the gateways identified in the exhibit are the last port used by traffickers to gain entry for their children into the U.S. Prior to passing through the last gateway, typically, children have traveled great distances, across several countries, and have been transported using a wide range of vehicles. These gateways are, as one might surmise, not exhaustive. They reflect our first attempt at laying out departure and arrival hubs but are certainly subject to later expansion and revision.

One 15-year old Ukrainian girl we met in Seattle, for example, was trafficked by private car from her small village outside Kiev to downtown Kiev where she was taken by bus to St. Petersburg (Russian Federation). From there she was trafficked by train to the Moscow from where she departed by plane to Frankfurt (Germany). A train again was used to transport her from Frankfurt to Paris (France) where she was placed on a plane to Montreal (Canada). Over a period of several weeks, a variety of cars and vans were used to transport her across Canada to Vancouver and, eventually, into Portland and Seattle where we met her. She did not enter the U.S. at an established border crossing but rather, and with three other girls and their traffickers, walked across from Canada to the U.S. where a private van awaited them. At no time, was this young women in possession of a passport or visa that would identify her as a person who could enter the U.S. legally.

The information summarized in Exhibit 3.20, then, is accurate as of the time we were doing interviews with children, traffickers, and local law enforcement and human service personnel. Our experience is that trafficking patterns, including the gateways used to enter the U.S., change rapidly in response to changing surveillance patterns. Even so, many alternative gateways exist by which traffickers easily can move children into the country--especially from Canada.

Exhibit 3.20
International Gateways Used to Traffick Sexually Exploited Foreign Children To the U.S.[36]

Region/Country of Origin	Major Departing Gateways to the U.S.	Arrival Gateways in the U.S.
ASIA-OCEANIA		
Australia	Sydney Brisbane	Honolulu, Los Angeles, San Francisco
Cambodia	Bangkok, Hong Kong	Seattle
Hong Kong	Hong Kong via Vancouver or Montreal	Chicago, New York, Portland, San Francisco, Seattle, Washington DC
Korea	Seoul	Detroit (via Toronto), Los Angeles, San Francisco
People's Republic of China	Hong Kong, Toronto, Vancouver	Chicago, New York (via boat, plane, vans)
Philippines	Hong Kong	Los Angeles, New York, Seattle
Taiwan		Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco
AFRICA		
Ghana	Amsterdam, Brussels, Frankfurt, Paris	New York, Seattle
Nigeria	Amsterdam, Brussels, Frankfurt, Paris	New York, Seattle
CENTRAL and SOUTH AMERICA		
Belize	Mexico City	Miami
Colombia	Mexico City	Miami
Costa Rica	Mexico City	Fort Lauderdale, Miami
Guatemala	Mexico City	Miami
Honduras	Mexico City	Miami
Jamaica	Kingston	Miami, New York
CARIBBEAN		
Dominican Republic	By boat or ship via Puerto Rico Santa Domingo	Miami, New York
Haiti	By boat via Puerto Rico Port au Prince	Miami, New York
NORTH AMERICA		
Canada	Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Windsor	Chicago, Honolulu, Las Vegas, Los Angeles, Miami, New Orleans, New York, Seattle
Mexico	Ciudad Juarez, Mexico City, Tijuana	El Paso, Los Angeles, Miami, New York, Orlando, San Diego
EASTERN EUROPE		

[36] Departure and arrival gateways to and into the U.S. could not be determined for all groups of children. The data reported in this exhibit reflects what we could confirm from interviews with trafficked children and/or local law enforcement and human service officials.

Region/Country of Origin	Major Departing Gateways to the U.S.	Arrival Gateways in the U.S.
Russian Federation	Brussels, Frankfurt, Paris	Chicago, New York, San Francisco
Ukraine	Brussels, Frankfurt, Paris	Chicago, New York, San Francisco

Trafficked children almost always traveled with at least one other child and, always, were accompanied by a supervising adult. Many scams were used to gain access for these children into the U.S. (i.e., children accompanying a pregnant women who claimed the children were her own, a man and women traveling together with unrelated children that they claimed to be their own).

K.4 Routes Used to Traffic Foreign Children In The U.S.

Exhibit 3.21 identifies some of the major routes that we were able to identify used by traffickers in moving sexually exploited foreign children across the U.S. Not coincidentally, these routes are the same as those used by domestically trafficked American youth (both voluntarily and involuntarily) and overlap appreciably with major drug trafficking routes (McCarthy, 1999; Shannon & Padgett, 1999).

The "hub cities" identified in the exhibit refer to major regional "staging areas" often used by traffickers to meet, collect children, arrange transportation, housing and other needs and, finally, disburse children along well trodden tracks within the region.

Exhibit 3.21
Routes Used in the Trafficking of Sexually Exploited Domestic and Foreign Children Across the U.S., 2000

Major U.S. Region	Hub City(ies)	Cities Typically Included in the Trafficking Circuit
North Eastern U.S.	Baltimore New York	Philadelphia, Baltimore, Detroit, Chicago, Miami, Las Vegas
Central and Mid-Western U.S.	Chicago Detroit	Las Vegas, Minneapolis, Omaha, St. Louis
Southern and South Central U.S.	El Paso Miami New Orleans	Atlanta, Dallas-Fort Worth, El Paso, Miami, Nashville, Las Vegas; extends into Mexico as well: Ciudad Juarez
Western U.S	Las Vegas Los Angeles Phoenix	Honolulu, Las Vegas, Miami, New Orleans, Portland, Reno, San Francisco, San Diego, Seattle; extends into Canada as well: Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver
North Western U.S.	San Francisco Seattle	Honolulu, New Orleans, Las Vegas, Portland, Vancouver, Yakima; extends into Canada as well: Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver

K.5 Traffickers of Sexually Exploited Children in the U.S

The vast majority of homeless and street children that travel the nation's highways and back roads do so voluntarily and are not part any national or international trafficking networks. The majority of these children do engage in prostitution (at least 70%) and most also use drugs to deal both with the problems that took them to the streets in the first place and the new problems they encounter once they arrive. As we shall see in Part VI these children number in the hundreds of thousands annually.

A percentage of homeless and street children, though, are trafficked and are part of national and international trafficking networks (about 10% -15% of all homeless and street children nationally). These children consist of both U.S. nationals who are trafficked within and outside the U.S. (mostly to other economically advanced countries in Asia and Europe) and the child nationals of other countries. This latter population of children either walk into the U.S. under their own power (mostly from Central America and Mexico via Tijuana, El Paso and other border area "gateways') or are smuggled into the U.S. by sophisticated networks of organized traffickers (from developing Asia, Africa and Latin America).

We have met all of the types of children just described in the course of our research. We also have met some of their traffickers and we have discussed at length with each the methods used to recruit and subsequently move children into and across the U.S. We also have had similar conversations with law enforcement and human service authorities that care for trafficked children that have been apprehended. Thus, the discussion that follows reflects what we have learned from trafficked children and from our own field observations.

K.5.a Organizers of Trafficking in Children for Sexual Purposes

Exhibit 3.22 identifies the major types of individuals and groups that are involved in organizing sexual trafficking of both foreign and American children. In addition to describing the general characteristics of these persons and groups, the exhibit also contains case-specific citations[37] from the public media that illustrate the methods used by these persons and groups to recruit and control children they have trafficked.

Exhibit 3.22
Organizers of Trafficking in Children For Sexual Purposes[38]

Categories	Operational Definitions	Examples in the U.S. of Trafficking Involving Children
Amateur Traffickers	People who provide a single service needed by migrants such as transport for crossing a border or locating employers in the destina-	• Women arrested for luring two teens from Wisconsin and Vermont to Chicago for prostitution—*The Daily Southtown* 11/1/00 • Vancouver police find 11 year old prostitute who was abducted from a shopping mall in Portland, Oregon and taken to Vancouver, *Ca-*

[37] In some cases, more than one type of trafficking organizer or functionary is evident; hence, the same media case may appear under more than one heading in Exhibits 3.20 and 3.21. Also, the headlines of some stories do not always reflect the more comprehensive nature of the cases reported and, again, every effort has been made to associate specific cases reported in the public media under all appropriate headings.

[38] This typology was developed by Graycar (1999).

Categories	Operational Definitions	Examples in the U.S. of Trafficking Involving Children
	tion country willing to engage them despite the illegal entry. Some of these small operators, especially in the border areas, are only occasional traffickers. For example, they take migrants on board their vessels against payment, depart from secluded coastal areas in one country and unload people clandestinely in the territory of the other country.	Portland, Oregon and taken to Vancouver, *Canadian Broadcasting* Corporation 2/27/01 • Teacher in child sex sting sentenced for importing Mexican boys to Denver for sex, *Denver Rocky Mountain* News 7/22/00 • Ovel "Rico" Blackwell arrested for running an $800 per day juvenile prostitution ring in Oakland CA…some from out of county and as young as 13- and 14-year old---*Alameda Times-Star* 9/25/99 • Man and his teenage accomplish were arrested and charged with coercing a 13-year-old chronic runaway from Brooklyn into prostituting herself in East Flatbush—*New York Daily News* 8/30/99 • 17-year Mexican mother tells of being recruited for prostitution as part of an international child prostitution ring (in Long Beach CA)—*Los Angeles Times* 7/2/99 • A judge ordered Connie Behymer to stand trail for selling two daughters from Oklahoma City—ages 6 and 4--into prostitution in Las Vegas—*Las Vegas Review Journal* 3/11/98 • Three East Little Havana (Miami) residents arrested for their role in luring nine 15-year old girls (two of them pregnant) into a child prostitution ring—*The Miami Herald* 3/1/98 • Bellingham pair arrested, charged with White Slavery—*Seattle Times* 12/19/97 • Women nabbed for using girls aged 6 and 9 as prostitutes…all from out-of-state—*Las Vegas Sun* 9/20/96
Small Groups Of Organized Criminals	Groups that specialize in leading migrants from one country to another, using well-known routes with a higher level of specialization than amateurs but in a less professional and complex manner than international networks.	• Six men have been convicted of operating a prostitution ring that prosecutors said stretched across nearly half the country and a Canadian province—*Associated Press* 3/29/00 • The son of a jailed Berkeley CA landlord, Vijay Lakireddy, was being sought last night by federal authorities investigation an alleged scheme to smuggle girls from India for forced labor and sexual exploitation—*San Francisco Chronicle* 1/22/00 • Six men who admitted forcing 17 women and girls into a prostitution-slavery ring have been ordered to pay a total of $1 million to the victims—*New York Times* 4/19/99:A14 • Sixteen indicted in Florida for luring young Mexican women into prostitution ring—*United Press International* 4/23/98

Categories	Operational Definitions	Examples in the U.S. of Trafficking Involving Children
National and International Trafficking Networks	Trafficking groups respond to the whole spectrum of needs of illegal migrants, including the provision of fraudulent or genuine documents (stolen or altered) and the arrangement of accommodation and support in transit countries. One of the main characteristics of these networks is flexibility in the reaction to new, unforeseen situations, because they have members located along the trafficking routes. The routes are often well-tested by other transnational criminal activities such as drug trafficking.	• 7,898 from 39 nations held in anti-smuggling raids—*Washington Post* 6/28/01:A02 • From poverty to prosperity with at a stop at prostitution (Thailand, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and other cities)—*Philadelphia Inquirer* 10/22/00:1ff. • Asian prostitution rings on rise: Brothels are spreading beyond major U.S. cities—*Las Vegas Sun* 9/25/00 • CIA finds that as many as 100,000 foreign women and children, some as young as 9 years of age, in bondage in US. Most are recruited under false premises from Thailand, Vietnam, China, Mexico, Russia and the Czech Republic—*Reuters* 4/1/00; *New York Times* 4/2/00:1ff. • Thirteen charged in gang importing prostitutes, *Washington Post* 8/21/99:A03 • FBI busts prostitution ring (Evans family)—15 accused of running 24-state operation since 1982 (involving more than 50 women and children)--*Associated Press* 8/13/99 • Multi-state ring held more than 20 runaways from across the U.S. for sex—*Detroit Free Press* 3/20/99 • Thirteen Korean and Thai women arraigned in prostitution case. Authorities will be combing through 30 boxes of documents in an effort to trace the operations up through the ranks and target the people profiting from the businesses—*Philadelphia Inquirer* 10/9/98. • Sex, lies and money: An 11-month investigation uncovers an Asian sex-slave ring (in Toronto with US connections)—*Maclean's* 9/22/97 • Sex slavery, Thailand to New York: Thousands of indentured Asian prostitutes may be in the U.S.—*New York Times* 9/11/95:B1

K.5.b *Trafficking Functionaries*

Exhibit 3.23 identifies the types of trafficking functionaries that are required to move large numbers of sexually exploited domestic and foreign children across the U.S. for sexual purposes. The functionaries work for the trafficking organizers and those contributions to the trafficking process are both highly specialized and limited. Most functionaries have little sense of either the nature or extent of the total trafficking process in which they are involved.

As with the previous exhibit, Exhibit 3.23 contains case-specific citations from the public media that illustrate the methods used by these persons and groups to recruit, promote and control the children they are trafficking.

Exhibit 3.23
Trafficking Functionaries

Categories	Operational Definitions	Examples of Traffickers Involved in the Movement of Women and Children for Sexual Purposes in the U.S.
Arrangers/ Investors	Persons who invest money in the trafficking operation and oversees the whole criminal organization and its activities. These persons are rarely, if ever, known to the lower levels of employees and to the migrants being trafficked. An organizational pyramid structure insulates the arranger, who stands back and is not easily connected with the commission of specific criminal offenses.	• Yu Sheng and Sheng Ding, Chinese nationals, stood mute when a U.S. District Court in Seattle sentenced them to two years in federal prison…for their involvement in smuggling 12 Chinese nationals into the U.S. The aliens had been confined inside sealed shipping containers and were required to pay the smugglers as much as $60,000 each—Mercyhurst 6/3/00 • Thirteen charged in gang importing prostitutes. A Chinese gang, the snakeheads, force women to repay trafficking "contracts" worth $30,000 to $40,000 each...Some brothels in which these women work gross an average of $1.5 million over a 2.5 year period--*Washington Post* 8/21/99:A03
Recruiters	Persons who works as middlemen between the arranger and the customers of the criminal enterprise. Recruiters are responsible for finding and mobilizing potential migrants and collecting their payments. The recruiters that work in the country of departure are usually not informed about the precise trafficking passage. They get paid for casual jobs only and not on a permanent basis. Investigations show that in many cases the recruiters come from the same region as the migrants and frequently they are members of the same culture and are well-respected people within the local community.	• Man smuggles Mexican 14-year old into the U.S. through Texas to Orlando under pretext of working in the hotel industry. In fact, she was raped by one of "the many bosses" responsible for the operation, beaten, and forced into prostitution—testimony of Rosa before the *U.S. Foreign Relations Committee* 4/4/00 • CIA finds modern U.S. slavery…some as young as 9 years…The report describes case after case of foreign women (and children) who answered advertisements for jobs in the U.S. as au pairs, sales clerks, secretaries or waitresses but found, once they arrived, that the jobs did not exist—*Philadelphia Inquirer* 4/3/00:A6. • Girl 12 "adopted" by pimp and forced to work as prostitute on streets of Waikiki HI—*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*
Transporters	Persons in charge of assisting the migrants in leaving the country of origin by whatever means (land, air, sea). Transporters in the destination country bring undocumented immigrants from an airport, seaport or coast to the big cities. The transport-	• Dominican immigration officials uncovered a child trafficking ring that operated at the Santa Domingo airport which, in many cases, used pregnant women as "covers" to transport Dominican children into the U.S. and Puerto Rico. Ring operators collected between $10,000 and $12,000 for each child they managed to slip illegally into the

Categories	Operational Definitions	Examples of Traffickers Involved in the Movement of Women and Children for Sexual Purposes in the U.S.
	providers and operators have to be technically sophisticated to change their operations in reaction to law enforcement and coastal surveillance activities. Transporters usually do not get inside information on the criminal organizations and structures. They stay in touch with the organization through intermediaries who contact them casually.	U.S.—*Agencia EFE S.A.* 6/25/00 • Thai boy caught up in fight against sex trafficking—at age 2 brought into the U.S. along with a man and a woman…the latter destined to be a sex slave somewhere in America. The boy was a human decoy, designed to make them look like a family on holiday—*Washington Post* 5/15/00 • Thirteen charged in gang importing prostitutes. Chinese gang, the snakeheads, force women to repay trafficking "contracts" worth $30,000 to $40,000 each. Women shuttled around the country to brothels in CA, TX, PA, OH, IL, FL, NV, AZ, CO IN, TN, KY and DC. Some brothels grossed an average of $1.5 million over a 2.5 year period--*Washington Post* 8/21/99:A03
Corrupt Public Officials, i.e., "bribable" protectors	Traffickers have to pay government officials to obtain travel documents for their customers. Law enforcement authorities in many transit countries have been found to accept bribes to enable migrants to enter and exit countries illegally. The corruptees individually or collectively protect the criminal organization through assault of their position, status, privileges and other violations of law.	• Two British immigration officers at Gatwick International Airport and a lawyer made thousands of dollars smuggling dozens of illegal immigrants to Great Britain (and beyond). They charged up to $5,400 for each document--*UK News Summary* 6/7/00 • Sex slavery is an ugly link to peace effort in Kosovo…Ironically, the same peacekeepers and international officers sent to administer and police the province are the trade's best clients—*Philadelphia Inquirer* 5/28/00
Informers	For trafficking operations, it is necessary to have systems of information-gathering on border surveillance, immigration and transit procedures and regulations, asylum systems, law enforcement activities. The accumulated knowledge is then used to the best advantage of the criminal organization. In some cases it was found that information-gathering resided in a core group of informers who managed the information flow and had access to well-organized and centralized communications systems through sophisticated technology.	
Guides and Crew Members	Guides are responsible for moving illegal migrants from one transit point to the other or by	• Dominican immigration officials uncovered a child trafficking ring that operated at the Santa Domingo airport which, in many

Categories	Operational Definitions	Examples of Traffickers Involved in the Movement of Women and Children for Sexual Purposes in the U.S.
	helping the migrants to enter another country by sea or air. Crew members are people employed by the traffickers to charter trafficking vessels and accompany migrants throughout the illegal passages.	cases, used pregnant women as "covers" to transport Dominican children into the U.S. and Puerto Rico…Pregnant women were used as covers, traveling along with the children, their travel and destination fares paid—*Agencia EFE S.A.* 6/25/00 • Thai boy caught up in fight against sex trafficking—at age 2 brought into the U.S. along with a man and a woman…the latter destined to be a sex slave somewhere in America. The boy was a human decoy, designed to make them look like a family on holiday—*Washington Post* 5/15/00: A02
Enforcers	Often themselves illegal migrants, enforcers are primarily responsible for policing staff and migrants and for maintaining order, often involving the use of violence.	• Dead Vermont girl allegedly linked to New York sex ring, *Associated* Press 1/31/01 • Unless they were accompanied by guards, the women (owned by gangs that imported women as prostitutes) were not allowed even to run errands—*Washington Post* 8/21/99:A03 • To pay off her ticket and arrange for her visa, she (a woman trafficked from Thailand to the US) was expected to have sex with more than 300 men. She would be held captive behind locked doors of a Chinatown brothel where she was know by a number rather than her name. Bars covered the window and buzzer-operated gates controlled the doors—*New York Times* 9/11/95:B1.
Supporting Personnel and Specialists	These persons consist mostly of local people in transit points who support the organization by providing accommodation and other assistance to illegal migrants. Traffickers also depend on skilled individuals who provide specialized products and services to the criminal organization. These individuals are usually paid for casual duties only and do not share a continuing commitment to the group.	Individual children interviewed provided a long list of the types of support personnel they encountered in the course of being trafficked from the country of origin to the U.S.: 1. Taxi drivers 2. Chaperones 3. Operators of "safe houses," including family homes 4. Persons who prepared false or stolen documents 5. "Coyotes" who crossed into the U.S. with the children at strategic border points 6. Persons who provided children with housing and, sometimes, jobs as domestics or in restaurants or bars on their arrival in the U.S. 7. Persons who introduced the children to the persons who either bought the children or owned their contract Illustrative of the depth, complexity and violence associated with these drug and human traf-

Categories	Operational Definitions	Examples of Traffickers Involved in the Movement of Women and Children for Sexual Purposes in the U.S.
		ficking networks are the following stories: • 7,898 from 39 nations held in anti-smuggling raids, *Washington Post* 6/38/01:A02 • Drug bloodshed threatens to flow over border, *USA Today* 3/15/00:29A ff. • Coming to America: The long, harsh odyssey of a Chinese illegal smuggled from Fujian province to New Jersey, *Time* 2000 • Valley of death: How arrogance and violence bread a massive drug–war slaughter, *Time* 12/13/99 • American, Mexicans charged in child trafficking, *Associated Press* 3/12/99
Debt Collectors	Persons based in the destination country who are responsible for collecting the trafficking fees.	• Thirteen charged in gang importing prostitutes. Chinese gang, the snakeheads, force women to repay trafficking "contracts" worth $30,000 to $40,000 each--*Washington Post* 8/21/99:A03
Money Movers	Persons who are expert at laundering the proceeds of crime, disguising their origin through a string of transactions or investing them in legitimate businesses.	

K.6 Final Thoughts on Trafficking

Trafficking in human being is a despicable activity that degrades both those being trafficked and those doing the trafficking. And yet, the Congressional Research Service estimates that at least one million women and children are trafficked worldwide each year—at least 50,000 of whom are trafficked into the U.S. (Richard, 1999). Many of these persons are trafficked under virtual slave-like conditions and others are forced into patterns of servitude from which escape is all but impossible. All of these persons are moved around the world illegally. Trafficking is rapidly becoming one of the most lucrative businesses engaged in by national and international crime rings.

Our own investigation has confirmed the existence of large numbers of trafficked foreign children within our own borders. The majority of these children work as domestics in private homes while others clean up restaurant kitchens and work in the laundry rooms of cheap hotels. Other children, though, become victims of sexual exploitation and--like many trafficked young women from poor or socially chaotic countries are forced into prostitution. The traffickers care little about the welfare of the children under their control--only about the large (but sometimes quite meager) sums of money that can be extracted from the families of these children in the form of trafficking fees and the income these children earn from involuntary servitude, including prostitution.

Much of our trafficking data has been gathered in a fragmented way. Many law enforcement officers are aware of some of these patterns, mainly at the local level via their investigations and forensic work. Human service workers (especially outreach staff) also are aware of these patterns through anecdote and hearsay, also as they apply to their own location and cases. What is sorely needed, we think, is a comprehensive intelligence infrastructure that tracks these patterns closely for purposes of national, regional and international strategic planning.

There are many subtle but profound connections between the trafficking patterns (e.g., departure/intermediate/destination points, functionaries, mode of organization connecting the functionaries) described above with respect to their potential for curbing trafficking. Law enforcement is quite aware of these issues in respect to other related criminal activities (i.e., smuggling, drug trafficking, arms trafficking). The diverse structures and dynamics of trafficking organizations require equally structured and dynamic counter responses. Different structures, as well as the different points in those structures, demand the development of suitable counter pressure points. Ways to chart and track these organizations and to then link them to different CSEC trafficking patterns and counter responses is a full time enterprise. A centralized intelligence gathering, analysis, and dissemination entity can play a pivotal role in designing such responses. We will return to the need for an intelligence infrastructure of this type in our recommendations.

Clearly, and to underscore one unmistakable conclusion, the data just reported should serve as yet another alarm for focusing more national attention on the plight of trafficked children--the least visible population of sexually exploited children and youth (Miko & Park, 2000; U.S. Department of State, 2000).

PART IV:

"OFFICIALLY" REPORTED CASES OF SEXUALLY EXPLOITED (CSE, SEC) AND COMMERCIALLY SEXUALLY EXPLOITED CHILDREN (CSEC) IN THE U.S., 1999

"OFFICIALLY" REPORTED CASES OF CSE, 1999

A. Introduction

At the outset of the study we sought to identify the number of sexually exploited children and youth that had been "officially" reported to law enforcement and human service authorities. Our reasons for doing so were two-fold. First, we wanted to establish a baseline against which our own, more focused, findings could be compared. Second, we wanted to identify the number, ages and other characteristics of known victims of child sexual abuse and child sexual assault in order to minimize as much as possible the duplicate counting of other forms of CSE and the CSEC that most concerned us, which are not well known to law enforcement and human service authorities.

We were fortunate in that members of our International Advisory Group were in possession of much of the available data. The *Fraud, Child Exploitation and Asset Forfeiture Group* of the U.S. Postal Inspection Service, for example, was particularly helpful in identifying the number of cases nationally that involved child pornography (Smith, 2001). The *Crimes Against Children Unit* of the Federal Bureau of Investigation provided us with critical data concerning the number of children victimized by a range of sexual crimes (e.g., rape, sexual assaults) and the *National Center for Missing and Exploited Children* was helpful in identifying, among other aspects of child exploitation, the dimensions of the increasing menace of internet and other sex crimes against children (Davidson & Loken, 1987; Finkelhor et al., 2000; Klain, 1999; NCMEC, 1998). Critical data concerning the number of runaway and homeless youth in America were obtained from the *Family and Youth Services Bureau* of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (RHYMIS, 2001), the *National Coalition for the Homeless* (NCH, 1999c,d), the *National Runaway Switchboard* (NRS, 2000), the Federal Bureau of Investigation's *National Incident-Based Reporting System* (DoJ, 2000b) and the U.S. Conference of Mayors (U.S. Conference of Mayors, 2000). A 1999 report issued by the U.S. State Department's *Bureau of Intelligence and Research* (Richard, 1999) provided us with a foundation for determining the prevalence of domestic and international trafficking in children for sexual purposes. Much of the data obtained from these sources already have been reported in Part III and will not be repeated here.

B. "Official" vs. "Actual" Data

After integrating the data collected from the above sources, one very powerful truth became clear to us, i.e., no single agency or organization possessed a comprehensive picture concerning: 1) the number of sexually exploited children in the U.S.; 2) the number of at-home vs. runaway, thrownaway and otherwise homeless youth victimized by sexual exploitation; 3) the number of American youth involved in commercial sexual activity (e.g., pornography, prostitution, working as escorts, strippers, or dancers in bars); 4) the number of American and non-American youth being trafficked across the U.S. for sexual purposes; or 5) the involvement of local, national or international crime units in the above crimes against children. Instead, each organization possessed a piece of the puzzle that was needed to see the total picture but most of the pieces either were missing or buried deep in irretrievable case and administrative data sets.

The National Runaway Switchboard, for example, responds to approximately 100,000 to 160,000 calls to its national hotline each year (NRS, 2000). In 1998 it received about 100,000 calls--only 54% of which were placed by runaway children (N=54,000). And yet, we knew from data provided by the Missing Persons Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that each year more than

900,000 persons are reported missing--at least 80% of whom are youth under the age of 18 years (N=720,000). Thus, the vast majority of children who runaway from or otherwise leave for a sufficiently long time to be designated as missing do not seek assistance from the NRS.

Similarly, the nation's network of federally-funded shelters for runaway and homeless youth served fewer than 53,000 youth in 1999 (RHYMIS, 2001)--only about 1-in-12 reported runaway youth. Some of these shelters even experience problems of "excess capacity"--even in communities where homeless children can be found sleeping on the streets, in squats, cars and vans, and even in dumpsters (Seattle-King County Coalition for the Homeless, 2000). Further, the mandated intake data filed by these agencies with the Runaway and Homeless Youth Management Information System (RHYMIS) indicated that fewer than 700 of the children served by them in 1999 "had issues" related to prostitution--barely 2.3% of the total (2.9% of girls and 1.6% of boys). Not a single study we reviewed of prostitution patterns among street and homeless youth projected, or even came close to projecting, such a low prevalence of CSE among those youth (Greene et al., 1999; Johnston et al., 1996; Kaufman & Widom, 1999; Molnar et al., 2001; Stiffman, 1989). Obviously, and certainly at the point of intake into a shelter, interviewers are reluctant to ask children about either the nature or extent of their involvement in CSE practicing, in effect, a "don't ask, don't tell" policy.

Nor did local or federal arrest records of juveniles for sexual offenses add to our understanding of the prevalence of CSE nationwide. As reported in Exhibit 4.1, for example, only 1,300 juveniles were arrested in 1999 for *prostitution and commercial vice*--mostly girls (54%), over the age of 15 (86%). An additional 17,000 youth were arrested for *other types of sex offenses* (which exclude forcible rape and prostitution)--most of whom were boys (92%) with a median age of 15 years. And yet despite these juvenile arrest rates, we knew from our beginning interviews with street youth that: 1) the majority of these youth engaged (ranging from 40% to 70%), at least occasionally, in prostitution to meet their basic needs; and 2) the population of street youth engaging in prostitution was almost equally divided between boys and girls.

As in the past, current juvenile arrest rates continue to reflect the disproportionate involvement of girls in prostitution and boys in "other types of sexual offenses." Though no doubt correct *in so far as they go*, these arrest patterns largely fail to count that majority of street girls and boys who engage in a broad range of sexually exploitative activities to meet their daily needs (e.g., for food, shelter, transportation, drugs)"--even in communities where law enforcement authorities regularly come across large numbers of local and transient youth involved in such practices, e.g., Chicago, Los Angeles, Miami-Dade County, Honolulu, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, San Diego, San Francisco, Seattle. Thus, an enormous gap exists between the number of "officially reported" cases of youth involved in a wide array of sexual offenses and their actual numbers. This "dark figure," known well to social scientists of the many disciplines concerned with CSE, needs to be illuminated without relent. Prudent public dialogue and informed political discourse depend crucially on having plausible estimates of this dark number. In the most crude sense, rational, strategic planning and policy require "numbers," if only to attach dollar amounts to rival strategies for responding to the CSEC.

Exhibit 4.1
Juvenile Arrests, 1999

The number of juvenile arrests in 1999—2.5 million—was 9% below the 1995 level, and juvenile arrests for violent crime dropped 23%

Most Serious Offense	1999 Estimated Number of Juvenile Arrests	Percent of Total Juvenile Arrests		Percent Change		
		Female	Under Age 15	1990–99	1995–99	1998–99
Total	**2,468,800**	**27%**	**32%**	**11%**	**–9%**	**–8%**
Crime Index total	645,400	27	38	–20	–24	–10
Violent Crime Index	103,900	17	33	–5	–23	–8
Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter	1,400	8	12	–55	–56	–31
Forcible rape	5,000	2	38	–13	–11	–9
Robbery	28,000	9	26	–16	–39	–14
Aggravated assault	69,600	22	36	4	–13	–5
Property Crime Index	541,500	29	39	–23	–24	–11
Burglary	101,000	11	38	–32	–23	–15
Larceny-theft	380,500	36	40	–15	–23	–10
Motor vehicle theft	50,800	16	26	–49	–35	–5
Arson	9,200	11	67	9	–19	1
Nonindex						
Other assaults	237,300	30	43	48	2	–3
Forgery and counterfeiting	7,000	37	13	–7	–16	–5
Fraud	13,100	29	22	10	16	11
Embezzlement	1,700	48	6	63	47	10
Stolen property (buying, receiving, possessing)	29,100	13	27	–37	–38	–17
Vandalism	119,500	12	44	–9	–20	–9
Weapons (carrying, possessing, etc.)	42,500	9	32	–4	–27	–7
Prostitution and commercialized vice	1,300	54	14	–25	–10	–16
Sex offenses (except forcible rape and prostitution)	16,600	8	51	0	9	1
Drug abuse violations	198,400	14	16	132	1	–4
Gambling	1,200	4	11	3	–49	–22
Offenses against the family and children	10,100	38	35	143	16	–13
Driving under the influence	23,000	17	3	0	36	–1
Liquor law violations	165,700	31	10	9	31	–3
Drunkenness	21,700	20	13	–20	–5	–9
Disorderly conduct	176,200	28	37	46	–3	–9
Vagrancy	2,400	19	20	–44	–35	–22
All other offenses (except traffic)	434,100	25	28	42	3	–8
Suspicion	1,900	22	29	–62	–18	17
Curfew and loitering	170,000	30	28	113	9	–14
Runaways	150,700	59	39	–14	–28	–12

- In 1999, there were an estimated 1,400 juvenile arrests for murder. Between 1995 and 1999, juvenile arrests for murder declined 56%.
- Females accounted for 22% of juvenile arrests for aggravated assault and 30% of arrests for simple (i.e., other) assaults. Females represented more than half (59%) of all juveniles arrested for running away from home.
- In the 10-year period between 1990 and 1999, there were substantial declines in the number of juvenile arrests for murder (55%), burglary (32%), and motor vehicle theft (49%) and major increases in arrests for simple (other) assaults (48%), drug abuse violations (132%), and curfew violations (113%).

Data source: *Crime in the United States 1999* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2000), tables 29 (revised), 32, 34, 36, 38, and 40. Arrest estimates were developed by the National Center for Juvenile Justice.

Source: DoJ, 2000d.

C. Sample Surveys of CSE

In an effort to obtain better estimates of the true prevalence and incidence of CSE in the U.S., we conducted our own national surveys of local, state, county and national organizations responsible for serving sexually exploited youth and their families. The methodology used to conduct these surveys has been described fully in Part III. The instruments used in these surveys are reprinted in Appendix 1. Q1A (Appendix 1.E) was completed by local, county, state and national child protection and law enforcement agencies. Q1B (Appendix 1F) was completed by local shelters for runaway and homeless youth that received at least part of their financial support from federal sources. The majority of the results obtained from these national surveys are summarized in Part VI.

In addition to the national surveys, and employing the same instruments used in the national survey, we also conducted more in depth studies of the number of CSE cases in the states and cities previously identified as being targeted for special analysis (Exhibit 2.3). The results obtained from that survey are reported in Exhibit 4.2.

D. Partial Estimate of CSE Cases in U.S. Focus Group Communities, 1999

Exhibit 4.2 summarizes our findings from the survey of selected GOs and NGOs serving sexually exploited children in our target states and cities. Detailed statistical data concerning the prevalence of CSE were obtained from 18 communities in or proximate to our focus group cities located in 8 states. In all, a total of 1,202 CSE cases were identified by these organizations as having received some form of service in 1999. Perplexingly, the 1,202 cases are substantially higher than that previously reported by them to local, state or national data gathering entities. Although these data can legitimately be qualified with respect to their representativeness, they nonetheless raise critical questions needing further study and elaboration.

Several patterns emerge from the data provided by these focus group communities that are particularly relevant to our search for better estimates of the numbers and types of CSE cases nationally:

1. The majority of CSE cases served by organizations in our focus group communities in 1999 involved *child pornography* (742/1202 cases = (62%)):

    a. CSE cases involving child pornography were equally as likely to be cases in which children were the subjects of pornography or cases in which children had been involuntary exposed to pornography (either to child pornography or to adult pornography, or both)--370 and 372, respectively for a total of 742 cases;

    b. the vast majority of cases (682/742 = 92%) involving child pornography were concentrated in just three states, California, Texas, and New York--California (304/742 cases = 41%), Texas (228/742 cases = 31%) and New York (150/742 cases = 20%);

    c. 74% of all cases involving child pornography were reported by governmental rather than nongovernmental organizations (549/742 cases);

    d. the majority of cases involving child pornography reported by government agencies involved children exposed involuntarily to child or adult pornography (61%) (335/549 cases); and

e. the majority of cases involving child pornography reported by nongovernmental organizations also involved children exposed involuntarily to child or adult pornography (82%) (158/193 cases),

    i. Child pornography cases served by nongovernmental organizations were disproportionately concentrated in California (132/193 cases = 69%).

2. Cases involving juvenile prostitution or "survival sex" accounted for only 38% of the 1,202 cases identified by organizations in our focus group communities (460/1202 cases):

    a. most cases of juvenile prostitution (38%) involved "survival sex"—(175/460 cases);

    b. 18% of cases involving juvenile prostitution involved children participating in *sex rings organized by local pimps* (84/460 cases);

    c. 22% of cases involving juvenile prostitution involved children participating in *sex rings organized at the national level* (102/460 cases); and

    d. 22% of youth involved in prostitution (99/460 cases) were seeking to earn money *not for survival but to purchase "luxury" items* (i.e., nicer clothing, jewelry, electronic gear or to support their drug habits).

3. The vast majority of children engaged in "survival sex" or prostitution were *youth not living in their own homes* (361/460 cases = 78%).

4. The majority of youth engaging in prostitution *while living at home* were concentrated in just two of our focus group states (i.e., New York (60/99 cases = 61%) and California (30/99 cases = 30%).

Exhibit 4.2

Number and Type of CSEC Cases Reported for 1999 by Selected Organizations in Focus Group States and Cities

Focus Group State/City	Total of All Types of CSEC N Cases	Agency Type	Pornography Subjects N Cases	Involuntary Pornography Exposure N Cases	Children at Home—In Prostitution to Get Luxuries N Cases	Street Children Engaged in Prostitution N Cases	Children in Sex Rings Run by Local Pimps N Cases	Children in Sex Rings Run by National Entities N Cases
California (CA)								
Alameda	193	RHYMIS	33	116	15	17	12	0
Martinez	9	County Law Enforcement	0	3	0	2	2	2
Martinez	55	RHYMIS	0	16	5	24	10	0
Riverside	1	County Law Enforcement	0	1	0	0	0	0
San Bernadino	145	Municipal Law Enforcement	10	125	10	0	0	0
San Jose	3	RHYMIS	0	0	0	3	0	0
Illinois (IL)								
Waukegan	12	Prosecutors	8	4	0	0	0	0
Chicago	5	US Post Office	0	5	0	0	0	0
Indiana (IN)								
Gary	2	RHYMIS	1	1	0	0	0	0
Louisiana (LA)								
New Orleans	6	Municipal Law Enforcement	3	3	0	0	0	0
Minnesota (MI)								
Bloomfield Hills	21	RHYMIS	0	0	0	21	0	0
Mt. Clemens	2	RHYMIS	1	0	0	1	0	0
New Jersey (NJ)								
Bridgewater	9	RHYMIS	0	0	0	9	0	0
Hackensack	14	Prosecutors	4	10	0	0	0	0
Mt. Holly	57	RHYMIS	0	20	8	29	0	0
New York (NY)								
New York	400	Municipal Law Enforcement	60	60	60	60	60	100

Focus Group State/City	Total of All Types of CSEC N Cases	Agency Type	Pornography Subjects N Cases	Involuntary Pornography Exposure N Cases	Children at Home—In Prostitution to Get Luxuries N Cases	Street Children Engaged in Prostitution N Cases	Children in Sex Rings Run by Local Pimps N Cases	Children in Sex Rings Run by National Entities N Cases
New York	30	US Post Office	30	0	0	0	0	0
Texas (TX)								
Dallas	9	RHYMIS	0	0	0	9	0	0
Dallas	200	US Customs	200	0	0	0	0	0
El Paso	5	RHYMIS	0	5	0	0	0	0
El Paso	9	US Customs	8	0	1	0	0	0
San Antonio	15	Municipal Law Enforcement	12	3	0	0	0	0
Total CSE Cases in Selected Focus Group States and Cites N (%)	1202 100.0%		370 30.8	372 30.9	99 8.2	175 14.6	84 7.0	102 8.5

E. Partial Estimate of CSE Cases At the National Level, 1999

Our national sample survey of selected organizations serving sexually exploited children in communities with populations larger than 500,000 resulted in the confirmation of 3,171 active cases of CSE served by these organizations in 1999 (Exhibit 4.3). The number of CSE cases identified by these organizations was substantially higher than the number previously reported by all such organizations (i.e., those that responded to this survey and those that did not) to either mandated reporting systems (e.g., RHYMIS) or to national incident-based data collection systems.

A number of patterns concerning the true prevalence of CSE in the U.S. emerge from analysis of the national data summarized in Exhibit 4.3:

1. Of those CSE cases involving child pornography, the majority involved children who were involuntarily exposed to child or adult pornography, or to both (862/1539 cases = 56%):

    a. the majority of cases involving child pornography were reported by governmental agencies (931/1,539) = 60%), but

    b. nongovernmental agencies also were involved in child pornography cases (608/1539 cases = 40%,

        i. the majority of cases involving child pornography in which nongovernmental agencies were involved also were cases of children that had been exposed involuntarily to either child or adult pornography, or to both (457/608cases = 75%).

2. An alarming 44% of CSE cases involving child pornography involved children who had been the subjects of pornography(677/1539 cases).

3. Of the CSE prostitution cases:

    a. 25% of the cases involved children who had been engaged in prostitution *while living at home* (224/901 cases),

    b. 59% of the cases involved children who had been engaged in prostitution as part of *sex rings run by local pimps*(532/901 cases), and

    c. 16% of the cases involved children who had been engaged in prostitution as part of *sex rings run by national entities* (145/901 cases).

4. Most CSE cases involving either juvenile prostitution or "survival sex" were served by nongovernmental rather than by governmental agencies (1271/1632 cases = 78%):

5. Nongovernmental agencies also served the majority of CSE cases involving children engaged in prostitution organized by sex rings run by local pimps (448/532 cases = 84%).

6. To the extent they were reported being involved in juvenile prostitution at all272/1632 cases = 17%--local and state governmental agencies concentrated their efforts on cases associated with national (75%) and local (16%) sex rings (84/532 cases and 109/145 cases, respectively) rather than on prostitution to get luxuries; and

7. Federal agencies were the least likely to report involvement with CSE cases associated with juvenile prostitution (1/1632 cases), which would be expected given that local authorities typically have jurisdiction over such cases; however, astonishingly, federal agencies also were least likely to report involvement with CSE cases involving prostitution organized by sex rings operating at the national level(0/145 cases!).

F. Prevalence Issues

A number of critical questions are raised by the preceding analysis with respect to the true prevalence of CSE in the U.S.:

1. Why do official data gathering and reporting sources so seriously underestimate the true prevalence of CSE in the U.S? Is it, for example, because of lack of sensitivity to the issue, lack of understanding of how to conceptualize CSE, the absence of policies for dealing with CSE cases, the absence of more sophisticated law enforcement and human service data systems that can communicate with one another, or problems with coding juvenile sexual offenses?

2. Why is it that local law enforcement and human service agencies appear to go out of their way not to apprehend and, subsequently, undercount the number of sexually exploited youth in their communities, but especially youth involved in prostitution? Is it, for example, the lack of adequate resources for intervening effectively with these youth (e.g., personnel, money juvenile detention facilities, the availability of referral services), the transient nature of many of the youth that enter local communities, or the sense of unease that some officials have shared with us concerning youth?

3. What do law enforcement and human service agencies apparently find more attractive about intervening in child pornography cases than cases involving juvenile prostitution? Is it, for example, the younger average age of child victims of pornography, perceptions of a higher level of choice exercised by youth involved in prostitution, a belief that professional intervention in child pornography can make a bigger difference, the belief that juvenile prostitution--like its adult counterpart, is an "unsolvable" problem, or the view held by some law enforcement personnel that juvenile prostitution--again like its adult counterpart—is a victimless crime?

4. What are the social-political-economic factors that inhibit higher levels of official involvement in what clearly is a more pervasive national problem with CSE than suggested by official data? Is it, for example, the nature of funding or reimbursement streams, cross-jurisdictional issues, and/or the absence of coordinating mechanisms for dealing with interstate and international cases, that serve as disincentives for local law enforcement and human service agencies becoming more involved in all types of CSE cases, but especially cases associated with juvenile prostitution?

5. What are the legal factors that inhibit higher levels of official involvement in what clearly is a more pervasive national problem with CSE than that suggested by official data? Is it, for example, the absence of effective laws (including curfew laws) for dealing with youth, age-of-sexual-consent issues, the high level of secrecy within which most cases of CSE occurs, cross-jurisdictional issues, the absence of coordinating mechanism at the local, state and national

level for dealing with CSE cases, caseload size and priorities of U.S. attorneys and other prosecutorial personnel, or forensics issues?

Exhibit 4.3

Number of CSEC Cases Reported for 1999 by Agency Type and Type of CSEC Case

Agency Type	Total of All Types of CSEC by Agency Type N Cases (N Agencies)	Pornography Subjects N Cases (N Agencies)	Involuntary Pornography Exposure N Cases (N Agencies)	Children at Home In Prostitution to Get Luxuries N Cases (N Agencies)	Street Children Engaged in Prostitution N Cases (N Agencies)	Children in Sex Rings Run by Local Pimps N Cases (N Agencies)	Children in Sex Rings Run by National Entities N Cases (N Agencies)
Governmental Agencies							
Local							
Municipal Law Enforcement	799 (10)	168 (8)	308 (9)	70 (2)	77 (4)	75 (3)	101 (2)
County Law Enforcement	26 (6)	11 (3)	7 (3)	1 (1)	3 (2)	2 (1)	2 (1)
Prosecutors	205 (7)	94 (7)	85 (7)	7 (2)	9 (3)	4 (2)	6 (1)
Local/State							
Public Defender	3 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (1)	0 (1)
Corrections	1 (1)	1 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
State							
Child Welfare	10 (1)	10 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Federal							
Federal Defender	4 (1)	4 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
U.S. Customs	209 (2)	208 (2)	0 (0)	1 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
U.S. Postal	35 (2)	30 (2)	5 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Subtotal Governmental (GO) Agencies	1292 (31)	526 (25)	405 (20)	79 (6)	89 (9)	84 (7)	109 (2)
	100.0%	40.7	31.3	6.1	6.9	6.5	8.4
Subtotal Nongovernmental (RHYMIS) Agencies	1879 (33)	151 (16)	457 (15)	145 (13)	642 (27)	448 (9)	36 (2)
	100.0%	8.0	24.3	7.7	32.2	23.8	2.0
Total CSEC Cases Across All Agency Types	3171 (64)	677 (41)	862 (35)	224 (19)	731 (36)	532 (16)	145 (4)
	100.0%	21.3	27.2	7.1	23.1	16.8	4.6
Total CSEC Cases Across All Agency Types	3171 (64)	1539		1632			
	100.0%	48.5		51.5			

6. What accounts for the overwhelming federal absence from cases of juvenile prostitution that clearly are interstate sometimes international--in nature, including prostitution organized by sex rings operating at the national level?

7. Because of the interstate, sometimes international, nature of most cases involving child pornography, to what extent are those large numbers of cases of child pornography being handled by local human service agencies--608/1539--coordinated with local, state and national law enforcement authorities?

Beginning answers to at least some of these questions will be discussed in Part VI which, in addition to reporting the major results of our national surveys, also discusses national preparedness for responding to the needs of sexually exploited children. But first, Part V identifies our assessment of the prevalence of CSE in the U.S. as of December, 2000.

PART V:

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF

CHILDREN AT RISK OF COMMERICAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION:

United States, 2000

(Revised 2/20/02)

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF
CHILDREN AT RISK OF COMMERICAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION:
United States, 2000

A. Introduction

In the course of our work, we identified 17 discrete categories of children and youth in the U.S. at special risk of sexual exploitation. These categories include "runaway," "throwaway," and "homeless" children and youth as well as children and youth who engage in *commercial* sexual exploitation while living in their own homes, i.e., high school students who perform sexual services for their peers, sexual minorities, female members of youth gangs, juveniles living in or near U.S. border cities and who cross into Canada and Mexico for sexual purposes. These 17 categories also include three categories of youth whom other investigators have identified as becoming victims of on-line sexual victimization each year (Finkelhor et al., 2000). The persons identified in these 17 categories, however, do not include the more than 300,000 American children and youth who annually become victims of child sexual assaults in their own homes (National Center for Child Abuse and Neglect, 1996; OJJDP, 2000), albeit we can confirm that a disproportionate percentage of child victims of sexual assaults are among the children included in our categories of *commercially* sexually exploited children and youth (Brannigan & Van Brunschot, 1997; Dembo et al., 1992; Farley & Kelly, 2000; Goldstein, 1999; Kilpatrick & Saunders, 1997; McClanahan, et al. 1999; Mullen, et al. 1996; Prentky, et al., 1997; Rotheram-Borus, et al. 1996; Simons & Whitbeck, 1991; Widom & Kuhns, 1996).

The estimates calculated below focus on the number of youths annually who are *potentially* involved in a diverse and comprehensive array of activities associated with the CSEC.

B. Groups of Sexually Exploited Children

Exhibit 5.1 identifies the five groups and 17 categories of American children and youth confirmed by this investigation to be at disproportionately high risk of sexual exploitation, including at risk of *commercial* sexual exploitation. One can think of these groups as "feeders" or pathways into CSEC. As such, they help to define conceptually discrete but often practically overlapping factors that heighten the chances that a child will become a victim of the CSEC. These children include:

Group A:	Sexually Exploited Children Not Living in Their Own Homes
Group B:	Sexually Exploited Children Living in Their Own Homes
Group C:	Other Groups of Sexually Exploited Children
Group D:	The International Dimensions of the Sexual Exploitation (SEC) and the Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSEC) of American Children in the U.S. and American Children Traveling Abroad

Group E: Children Exposed to On-Line Sexual Victimization (Finkelhor et al., 2000) [39]

These groups have been created to reflect three important features: 1) conceptual proximity; 2) order of magnitude; and 3) types of study designs needed to understand them more fully. Groups A through D represent, in general, progressively smaller counts. First, our field and survey research suggest that runaway/thrownaway/homeless youth, youth residing in their own homes, youth who are members of gangs, transgender youth and border-crossing youth share "within" group characteristics that accentuate "between" group contrasts. That is, the members of each group are more alike conceptually than unlike conceptually. Second, with the exception of Group E (On-Line Sexual Victimization), the groups are arrayed in decreasing order of magnitude. Third, and in extension of the second point, the rank order suggests, from a research-design perspective, that, as a general rule, national probability samples might be a good starting point for inquiring further about Groups A and B but smaller targeted samples, meshed with intensive field research, might be more productive for Groups C and D. With respect to Groups A and B, national probability samples can begin to ascertain the numbers of children not living at home to establish the number of such at-risk children, although, obviously, because these children are not at home, it is not thereby possible also to inquire about their CSEC activities directly from them. One can, though, ask youth who are at home how often and for what lengths of time they were not at home and, during these periods, whether they have been involved in one or another of the various types of CSE to capitalize on their in-home status as a source of relevant information. The types of CSE and CSEC identified in these exhibits is based loosely on the typology identified in Exhibit 1.1.

[39] The children are grouped in listed in order of the frequency with which we encountered children in each group with the exception of Group E for which data are reprinted from Finkelhor et al., 2000.

Exhibit 5.1
Categories of American Youth Victimized by Sexual Exploitation[40]

Group A: ***Sexually Exploited Children Not Living in Their Own Homes***		
1.	Runaway Youth (From Home)	
2.	Runaway Youth (From Group Foster Homes, Juvenile and Other Institutions)	
3.	Thrownaway Youth	
4.	Homeless Children (Not Elsewhere Counted)	
Group B: ***Sexually Exploited Children Living in Their Own Homes***		
5.	Children Ages 10-17 Living in the General Population	
6.	Children Ages 10-17 Living in Public Housing	
Group C: ***Other Groups of Sexually Exploited Children***		
7.	Female Gang Members	
8.	Transgender Street Youth	
Group D: ***The International Dimensions of Child Sexual Exploitation in the U.S.: U.S. Children and Youth Traveling Abroad and Foreign Children Traveling to the U.S. For Sexual Purposes***		
9.	Foreign Children Ages 10-17 Brought Into the U.S. *Legally* And Become Victims of Sexual Exploitation	
10.	Foreign Children Ages 10-17 Brought Into the U.S. *Illegally* And Become Victims of Sexual Exploitation	
11.	Unaccompanied Minors Entering the U.S. On Their Own and Become Victims of Sexual Exploitation	
12.	Non-Immigrant Canadian and Mexican Children Ages 10-17 Crossing Into the U.S. For Sexual Purposes	
13.	U.S. Youth Ages 13-17 Living Within Driving Distance to a Mexican or Canadian City	
14.	Non-Immigrant U.S. Youth Ages 13-17 Trafficked From the U.S. to Other Countries For Sexual Purposes	
Group E: ***Children Exposed to On-Line Sexual Victimization***		
15.	Child Victims of Sexual Solicitations and Approaches Via the Internet	
16.	Child Victims of Unwanted Exposure to Sexual Materials Via the Internet	
17.	Child Victims of Sexual Harassment Via the Internet	

C. Estimated Number of Sexually Exploited Children in the U.S. (December, 2000)

Reliable estimates of the number of commercially sexually exploited children in the United States do *not* exist. This is due to: 1) the highly secretive and illegal nature of the CSEC; 2) gross under-reporting of known cases of the CSEC by law enforcement and human service authorities; 3) the absence of national or local registries of confirmed cases of the CSEC; 4) the absence of national and local prevalence studies of the CSEC; and 5) widespread societal disbelief concerning the nature, extent and severity of the CSEC within the United States.

[40] The 17 categories of sexually exploited children listed here exclude the more than 105,000 children who annually are *substantiated* or *indicated* to be victims of child sexual abuse and child sexual assault (NCCAN, 1996).

One of the principal objectives of the present study was to place some reasonable though tentative parameters around the magnitude of the contemporary CSEC phenomenon in the United States. Previous estimates of the number of such cases ranged from a low of 300,000 (ECPAT, 1996b) to a high of as many as 1,000,000 cases (Goldman & Wheeler, 1986). Neither estimate, though, was based on empirically-derived evidence, and both assertions have been widely criticized as lacking scientific merit. Thus, the present investigation was initiated in the absence of reliable baseline data against which our own findings could even be compared, but that is the nature and burden of first-generation research. In effect, we needed to assemble the best available evidence from a broad range of sources--including our own original data collection--in order to begin to place the CSEC phenomenon in sharper perspective. This is precisely what we did. The results of that effort are summarized in Exhibits 5.2 to 5.5. The summary can best be thought of, we think, as exploratory and suggestive. We expect, however, that whatever second-generation research follows from this work appropriately will take a more confirmatory posture.

In general, the estimates reported in Exhibits 5.2 to 5.5 reflect what we believe to the number of children in the United States "at risk" of commercial sexual exploitation, i.e., children who because of their unique circumstances as runaways, thrownaways, victims of physical or sexual abuse, users of psychotropic drugs, members of sexual minority groups, illegally trafficked children, children who cross international borders in search of cheap drugs and sex, and other illicit fare, are at special risk of sexual exploitation. The numbers presented in these exhibits do not, therefore, reflect the actual number of cases of the CSEC in the United States but, rather, what we estimate to be the number of children "at risk" of commercial sexual exploitation. A different type of study from ours--one that uses a different methodology and a higher investment of resources--is needed to carry out a national prevalence and incidence survey that could produce an actual headcount of the number of identifiable commercially sexually exploited children in the United States and the frequency with which they engage in such behaviors. Even so, we do believe the numbers reported in these exhibits are helpful in: 1) identifying the discrete feeders or subgroups of children who are at the greatest risk of commercial sexual exploitation; 2) identifying discrete feeders or subgroups of children not previously associated by both experts and the public with the CSEC; and 3) suggesting a "plausible range" within which the actual number of children who become victims of commercial sexual exploitation on an annual basis may fall.

The estimates summarized on Exhibits 5.2 to 5.5 were derived from the following sources:

1. the published work of other investigators on subjects that bear directly on national estimates of the number of child victims of the CSEC including national incidence studies of runaway and thrownaway children (Finkelhor et al., 1990) and other groups of homeless children (U.S. Mayor's Conference, 2000; National Coalition For the Homeless, 1999d);

2. utilization patterns of national agencies serving runaway, thrownaway and other groups of homeless children and youth (National Runaway Switchboard, 1998, 2000; RHYMIS, 2001);

3. national (Greene et al., 1999), regional and city-specific studies of the sex-for-money practices of "street" and "shelter" youth (Bond et al., 1992; Hofstede, 1999; Kral et al., 1997; Lucas & Hackett, 1995; McCarthy & Hagan, 1992; Molnar et al., 1998; Pyett & Warr, 1997; Robertson, 1996; Snell, 1995; Spangenberg, 2001; Stiffman, 1989; Whitbeck & Simons, 1990; Widom & Kuhns, 1996; Yates et al., 1991);

4. regional and local surveys of the sex-for-money practices of particular subgroups of youth this study confirmed to be at very high risk of commercial sexual exploitation, e.g., sexual minority youth, youth living in poverty and youth addicted to drugs and other substances (Cates, 1992; Clements-Noll et al., 2001; Dembo et al., 1992; Durant, 1998; Kruks, 1991; Rotheram-Borus et al., 1992, 1996; Savin-Williams, 1994; Silbert & Pines, 1982);

5. sex-for-money data obtained from our own field research in 17 American cities which involved extensive meetings with some 800 law enforcement and human service professionals caring for sexually exploited youth and more than 200 child victims of commercial sexual exploitation.

A Cautionary Note

We have made every effort to reflect our reliance on the diversity of findings contained in these many reports in our own estimates of the number of children at risk of commercial sexual exploitation. In every case, we have chosen to be as conservative as possible in our estimates of the number of children at *risk* of sexual exploitation. Accordingly, these exhibits report three risk levels for the CSEC for each of 14 categories of children (Columns E-G, "High," "Medium," and "Low" Scenarios) and uses a running summation of the CSEC Groups, Rows A-D) to arrive at a bounded continuum of overall estimates: 1) a "high estimate" which reflects what we believe conservatively to be 100% of the children at risk of commercial sexual exploitation in the United States as of December, 2000 (Row 14, Column E, N = 325,575 cases) but which we know to be suspect for reasons that led to our "medium" and "low" estimates; 2) a "medium estimate" which discounts the high estimate by 12% so as to allow for *some duplicate* counting of children in more than one risk category (Row 14, Column F, N = 286,506 cases); and 3) a "low estimate" which discounts the high estimate by 25% so as to reduce, as much as possible, *any duplicate* counting that may have occurred of some children in more than one risk category (Row 14, Column G, N = 244,181 cases).

Even for the very lowest calculation, more than 244,000 children are estimated to have been at *risk* of commercial sexual exploitation during the calendar year ending December, 2000. These estimates are striking especially when placed in the context of other types of social risks to which children and youth in the United States are exposed (Exhibit 5.7).

Finally, at the time of completing work on this report, a new study of the incidence of runaway and thrownaway children in the United States (NISMART 2) was nearing completion (Hanson, 2000). Inasmuch as 60% of all the children we estimate to be at risk of commercial sexual exploitation fall within the runaway and thrownaway categories (Rows 1, 2 and 3 of Exhibit 5.2), the findings from this updated national incidence study of runaway and thrownaway children—*but not, directly, of children involved in commercial sexual exploita-*

tion— is expected to have a significant impact on our estimates of the number of children at risk of commercial sexual exploitation. Preliminary discussions with investigators associated with NISMART-2 suggest that the number of runaway and thrownaway children may have declined by as much as 30%-40% between 1988 and 2000—a finding that would be consistent with recent reports of other types of violent sexual risks to which children are exposed (Jones & Finkelhor, 2001).

NISMART-2 also may contain other information that is important regarding the plausibility of our inferences concerning the risk of commercial sexual exploitation for children in the U.S. including the degree to which runaway, throwaway and institutionalized populations overlap (i.e., are duplicates), travel patterns from rural and suburban areas of children (recall, our magnitude estimates of the CSEC risk are from urban field-research sites), duration of time away from home, shelter utilization versus staying on the street, among other things. As reported in the notes section to the Exhibit 5.2, once the data from NISMART-2 become available to us we will, in turn, adjust the estimates reported in Exhibit 5.2 through 5.5 to reflect the more current national runaway and thrownaway trends as well to reflect these other considerations. We expect that once these corrections are made, the number of children we estimate to be potential victims of the CSEC on an annual basis will decline sharply.

Exhibit 5.2

Group A: Children At Risk of Commercial Sexual Exploitation Not Living in Their own Homes

		Column A	*Column B*	*Column C*	*Column D*	*Column E*	*Column F*	*Column G*
					Running Totals			
	Categories of American Youth at Risk of Sexual Exploitation 1999-2000	***Estimated Population Size (1)*** **1999-2000**	***% Youth Population Away From Home 1 Week or Longer (2)*** **N / (%) 1999-2000**	***% Youth at Risk (3)*** **1999-2000**	***Estimated Number of Children at Risk of CSEC (4)*** **1999-2000**	***High Scenario (Column D * 100%)*** **1999-2000**	***Medium Scenario (Column D * 88%)*** **1999-2000**	***Low Scenario (Column D * 75%)*** **1999-2000**
1.	***Runaway Youth From Home (5)*** *Youth ages 10-17 who have been away from home 1 week or longer*	523,000	183,050 35%	(30% of Shelter Youth) + (70% of Street Youth)	121,911	121,911	107,282	91,433
2.	***Runaway Youth From Group Foster Homes, Juvenile and Other Institutions (6)*** *Youth ages 10-17 who have been away from home 1 week or longer*	60,000	10,200 17%	(30% of Shelter Youth) + (70% of Street Youth)	6,793	128,704	113,260	96,528
3.	***Throwaway Youth (7)*** *Youth ages 10-17 who have been away from home 1 week or longer*	149,000	77,480 52%	(70% of Street Youth) + (70% of Street Youth)	51,602	180,306	158,669	135,230
4.	***Homeless Youth (8)*** *Youth ages 10-17 (NEC) who have been away from home 1 week or longer*	42,000	42,000 100%	(30% of Shelter Youth) + (70% of Street Youth)	27,972	208,278	183,285	156,209
	Subtotal Group A (1 + 2 + 3 + 4)	774,000	312,730		208,278			

Exhibit 5.3
Group B: Children at Risk of Commercial Sexual Exploitation Living in Their own Homes

		Column A	*Column B*	*Column C*	*Column D*	*Column E*	*Column F*	*Column G*
						Running Totals		
	Categories of American Youth at Risk of Sexual Exploitation **1999-2000**	***Estimated Population Size (1)*** **1999-2000**	***% Youth Population Away From Home 1 Week or Longer (% / N)*** **1999-2000**	***% Youth at Risk (2)*** **1999-2000**	***Estimated Number of Children at Risk of CSEC (3)*** **1999-2000**	***High Scenario (Column D * 100%)*** **1999-2000**	***Medium Scenario (Column D * 88%)*** **1999-2000**	***Low Scenario (Column D * 75%)*** **1999-2000**
5.	***Children Ages 10-17 Living in the General Pop (9)***	29,006,162	NA	0.25%	72,621	280,899	247,191	210,674
6.	***Children Ages 10-17 Living in Public Housing (10)***	444,000	NA	1.0%	4,447	285,346	251,105	214,010
	Subtotal Group B (5 + 6)	29,450,162			77,068			

Exhibit 5.4

Group C: Other Groups of Groups of Children At Risk of Commercial Sexual Exploitation

		Column A	*Column B*	*Column C*	*Column D*	*Column E*	*Column F*	*Column G*
						Running Totals		
	Categories of American Youth at Risk of Sexual Exploitation 1999-2000	***Estimated Population Size (1)*** **1999-2000**	***% Youth Population Away From Home 1 Week or Longer*** **(% / N) 1999-2000**	***% Youth at Risk (2)*** **1999-2000**	***Estimated Number of Children at Risk of CSEC (3)*** **1999-2000**	***High Scenario (Column D * 100%)*** **1999-2000**	***Medium Scenario (Column D * 88%)*** **1999-2000**	***Low Scenario (Column D * 75%)*** **1999-2000**
7.	***Female Gang Members (11)***	27,000	NA	25%	5,400	290,746	255,857	218,060
8.	***Transgender Street Youth (12)***	3,000	NA	100%	3,000	293,746	258,497	220,310
	Subtotal Group C (7 + 8)	30,000			8,400			

Exhibit 5.5

Group D: The International Dimensions of The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the United States

		Column A	*Column B*	*Column C*	*Column D*	*Column E*	*Column F*	*Column G*
						Running Totals		
	Categories of American Youth at Risk of Sexual Exploitation 1999-2000	***Estimated Population Size (1)*** **1999-2000**	***% Youth Population Away From Home 1 Week or Longer*** **(% / N) 1999-2000**	***% Youth at Risk (2)*** **1999-2000**	***Estimated Number of Children at Risk of CSEC (3)*** **1999-2000**	***High Scenario (Column D * 100%)*** **1999-2000**	***Medium Scenario (Column D * 88%)*** **1999-2000**	***Low Scenario (Column D * 75%)*** **1999-2000**
9.	***Foreign Children Ages 10-17 Who are Brought Into the U.S. Legally But Who Become Victims of Sexual Exploitation (13)***	3,000	NA	100%	3,000	296,746	261,137	222,560
10.	***Foreign Children Ages 10-17 Who Are Brought Into the U.S. Illegally And Who Become Victims of Sexual Exploitation (14)***	17,000	NA	50%	8,500	305,246	268,617	228,935
11.	***Unaccompanied Minors Entering the U.S. On Their Own Who Become Victims of Sexual Exploitation (15)***	10,000	NA	25%	2,500	307,746	270,817	230,810
12.	***Non-Immigrant Canadian and Mexican Children Ages 10-17 Who Cross Into the U.S. For Sexual Purposes (16)***	2,500	NA	100%	2,500	310,246	273,017	232,685

		Column A	*Column B*	*Column C*	*Column D*	*Column E*	*Column F*	*Column G*
						Running Totals		
	Categories of American Youth at Risk of Sexual Exploitation 1999-2000	***Estimated Population Size (1)*** **1999-2000**	***% Youth Population Away From Home 1 Week or Longer*** **(% / N) 1999-2000**	***% Youth at Risk (2)*** **1999-2000**	***Estimated Number of Children at Risk of CSEC (3)*** **1999-2000**	***High Scenario (Column D * 100%)*** **1999-2000**	***Medium Scenario (Column D * 88%)*** **1999-2000**	***Low Scenario (Column D * 75%)*** **1999-2000**
	poses (16)							
13.	***U.S. Youth Ages 13-17 Who Live Within Driving Distance to a Mexican or Canadian City and Engage in the Sexual Exploitation of Foreign Youth (17)***	2,781,000	NA	0.5%	14,329	324,575	285,626	243,431
14.	***Non-Immigrant U.S. Youth Ages 13-17 Who Are Trafficked From the U.S. to Other Countries For Sexual Purposes (18)***	1,000	NA	100%	1,000	325,575	286,506	244,181
	Subtotal Group D (9+10+11+12+13 + 14)	2,814,500			31,829			

Exhibit 5.6

Group E: Children Exposed to On-Line Sexual Victimization (Finkelhor et al., 2000)

		Column A	*Column B*	*Column C*	*Column D*[41]	*Column F*
	Categories of American Youth at Risk of Sexual Exploitation **2000/2001**	***% of Regular Internet Users 2000/2001***	***% Youth at Risk 2000/2001***	***Estimated Number Of Internet Cases 2000/2001***	***High Scenario (Column C * 100%) 2000/2001***	***Low Scenario (Column C * 75%) 2000/2001***
15	***Number of Child Victims of Sexual Solicitations and Approaches (19)***					
	Any	19%	17%-21%	4,990,000	4,990,000	4,050,000
	Distressing	5%	4%-6%	1,450,000	1,450,000	930,000
	Aggressive	3%	2%-4%	910,000	910,000	510,000
16.	***Number of Child Victims of Unwanted Exposure to Sexual Materials (20)***					
	Any	25%	23%-27%	6,470,000	6,470,000	5,430,000
	Distressing	6%	5%-7%	1,720,000	1,720,000	1,140,000
17.	***Number of Child Victims of Sexual Harassment (21)***					
	Any	6%	5%-7%	1,720,000	1,720,000	1,140,000
	Distressing	2%	1%-3%	650,000	650,000	310,000

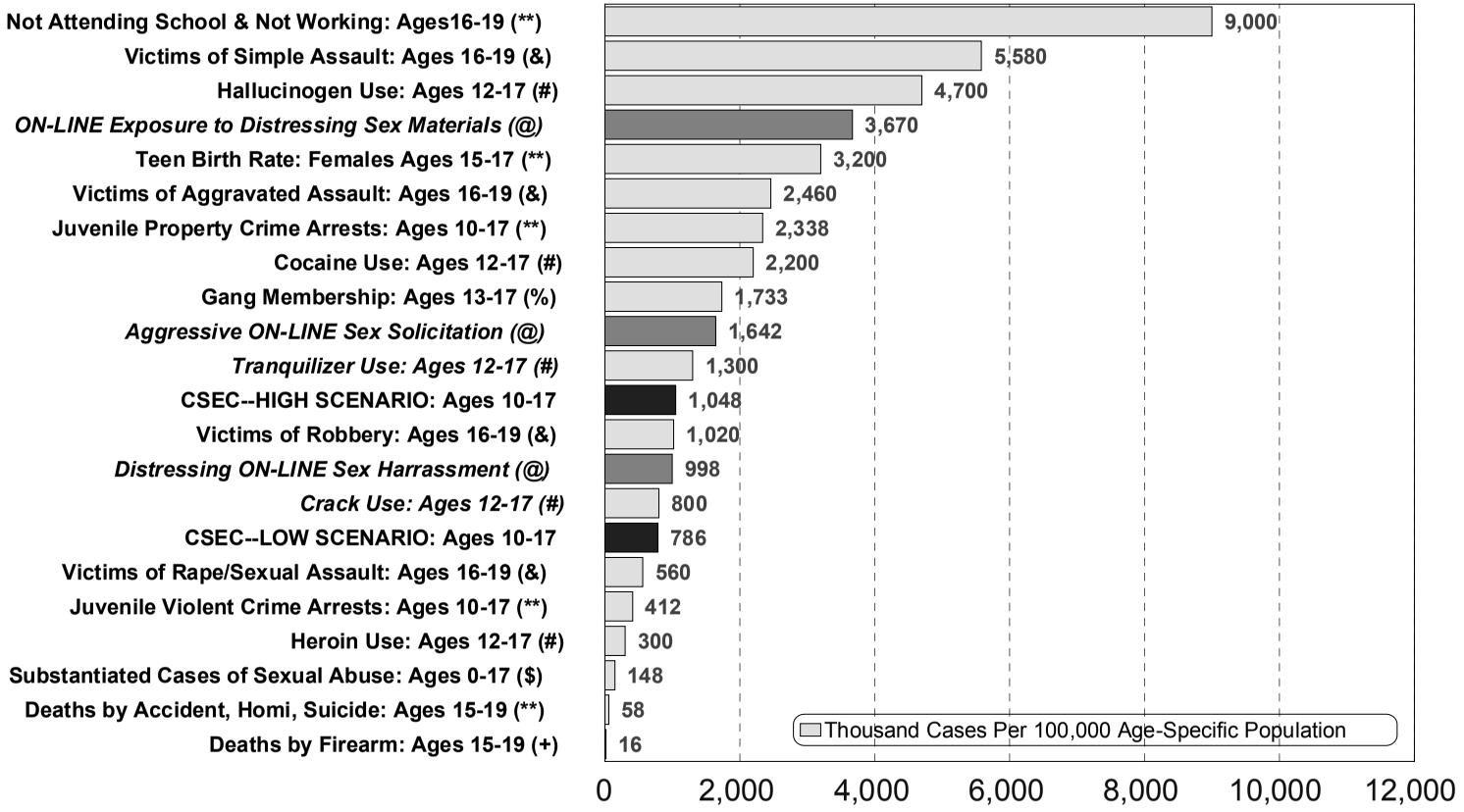
[41] No medium scenario for children exposed to on-line sexual victimization was provided by Finkelhor et al.

D. Child Sexual Exploitation In Comparison With Other Social Risks to Which American Children and Youth Are Exposed

Exhibit 5.7 places the risk of child sexual exploitation, including exploitation via unsolicited materials sent to children via the internet, in the context of other major social risks to which American youth are exposed, including truancy, pregnancy, drug use, violence, and homicide, among others. The raw number of incidents associated with each type of risk are standardized" in the form of "thousand cases per 100,000 age-specific population." The summary data contained in this exhibit present a convincing, and disturbing, picture of the large numbers of American children and youth who, each year, become victims of sexual exploitation. To these numbers must be added the additional 300,000 children who are victims of sexual assaults, mostly by acquaintances and relatives in the privacy of the child's own home! The estimated levels of CSEC fall squarely amid the levels of other forms of child vulnerability and harm that have attracted the attention of our nation's public, politicians, policy makers and planners. It is time, then, that the CSEC be added to the list of child distress that is currently on the nation's domestic and international agenda. It is also time that the CSEC be added to the agenda of other nations in the international community.

Exhibit 5.7

Comparative Social Risk Levels: U.S. Youth, 1997-2000



Sources: $=Jones & Finkelhor, 2000; **=Kids Count, 2000; #=USDHHS, 1998; +=USDHSS, 2000; &=USDOJ, 2000a; U.S. DoJ, 2000c; @=Finkelhor, 2000 (low scenario for youth ages 10-17 with access to the internet).

E. Methodological Notes For Exhibits 5.2 to 5.6

1. All national, state and city population statistics were obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau (2001a, 2001b, 2001c).

2. The percentages of runaway and thrownaway children away from home for 1 week or longer reported in rows 1-4 of Column B are based on incidence rates reported in NISMART-1 (Finkelhor, 1990). These estimates will be revised when data from NISMART-2 are reported in early 2002 (Hanson, 2000).

3. In a nationally representative sample of runaway and homeless youth, Greene et al. (1999) found that only about 8.5% of runaway and homeless youth were residing in shelters; the vast majority of runaway and homeless children (91.5%) were living on the street. Greene et al. estimated the incidence of "survival sex" among runaway and homeless children to range from 8.5% to 27.5%%, albeit Greene recognized their estimates to be low. Our field research, indicated that, among runaway and homeless youth, approximately 30% of shelter youth and 70% of street youth engaged in prostitution in order to meet their daily needs for food, shelter, drugs and the like.

4. Because of the shame associated with participating in prostitution, comparatively few youth initially acknowledge their involvement in such activities. Staff serving these youth, though, quickly acquire knowledge of the means used by youth to support themselves on the streets--including participation in prostitution.

   The estimates identified in Column D are based on the following sets of evidence: a) the estimated population size of each category of children at risk of sexual exploitation; b) perceived "magnitude estimates" of prostitution patterns among runaway and homeless youth provided by professional personnel working with these children; and c) field interviews with 200 runaway and homeless children in each of the 17 U.S. cities visited as part of this investigation. While we would have preferred, of course, to have acquired "hard" data about CSEC prevalence and incidence directly from the children themselves, we were forced to rely upon the expert judgment—i.e., magnitude estimates—of professionals about these patterns, for instance, the comparative risk of CSEC in the "general population" versus "public housing." We understand that these judgments are not representative, in the statistical-sampling sense of the term. For example, the judgments were obtained from human service and criminal justice experts providing care to sexually exploited children in the *17 urban* locales that were visited as part of our field research (which, we might add, cover about a third of the U.S. population). Nonetheless, the professionally derived magnitude estimates provide a baseline for both immediate discussion and debate as well as for future refutation or confirmation through the empirical evidence that we anticipate will be generated.

Estimated CSEC Cases =

f [(estimated number of children away from home for 1 week or longer [using NISMART-1 estimates] * current housing situation (using Greene et al. estimates of 8.5% of runaway and homeless youth living in shelters and 91.5% living on the street) * (associated child prostitution prevalence rates controlling for place of current residence--using Estes derived magnitude estimates obtained through field research)]

Where:

CSE and CSEC trends among *runaways from home* gone for home for 1 week or longer =
[((183,050 * 8.5%) * 30%) + ((183,050 * 91.5%) * 70%))] = 121,911

CSE and CSEC trends among *runaways from institutions* gone for home for 1 week or longer =
[((10,200 * 8.5%) * 30%) + ((10,200 * 91.5%) * 70%))] = 6,793

CSE and CSEC trends among *thrownaways* gone for home for 1 week or longer =
[((77,480 * 8.5%) * 30%) + ((77,480 * 91.5%) * 70%))] = 51,602

CSE and CSEC trends *among homeless youth (not elsewhere counted)* gone for home for 1 week or longer =
[((42,000 * 8.5%) * 30%) + ((42,000 * 91.5%) * 70%))] = 27,972

5. "Runaway" youth are persons under 18 years of age who absent themselves from home or place of residence without the permission of parents or legal guardians (National Runaway Switchboard, 1998:3). The estimates of runaway children reported in this table are for 1999 (Exhibits Appendix M.1c and M.2) and are based on runaway prevalence rates reported for youth aged 10-17 years in NISMART-1 (Finkelhor et al., 1990).

6. Included in this category are youth residing in group quarters and leave those quarters without permission, e.g., group foster homes, correctional institutions, detention centers, hospitals and wards for the chronically ill, mental hospitals or wards, juvenile institutions, and other institutions (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2001d).

   NISMART-1 attempted to measure the number of runaway youth from selected juvenile institutions but, owing to a variety of conceptual and methodological problems, recognized that they missed the majority of such youth (Finkelhor et al., 1990:121). Given the increasing numbers of children that live in group quarters today, we increased the partial estimate of 12,800 incidents reported by the NISMART-1 to 60,000 cases—a number that we and others working with runaway and homeless children judge to more accurately reflect the higher incidence of runaways among youth living in group quarters.

7. "Thrownaway" youth are persons under 18 years of age who either are abandoned or are forced to leave their homes by parents or guardians and are not permitted to return (OJJDP, 2000:3). The estimates of thrownaway children reported in this table are for 1999 (Exhibits Appendix M.1c and M.2) and are based on thrownaway prevalence rates for youth aged 10-17 years reported in NISMART-1 (Finkelhor et al., 1990).

8. In addition to runaway and thrownaway youth, a substantial number of American youth become homeless as a result of family poverty, family dysfunction, or serious mental illnesses (National Coalition for the Homeless, 1999a,b,c,d). Some portion of these youth eventually are separated from their families and are forced to live on the streets (Shinn & Weitzman, 1996). The U.S. Conference of Mayors (2000) estimates that approximately 7% of the homeless population of U.S. cities consists of "unaccompanied youth" under the age of 18 years ((N=140,000). Thus, and using N=140,000 as the base, and allowing for some duplicate counting of runaway and thrownaway youth, the investigators--along with the staff of outreach agencies that provide emergency services to homeless youth--estimate that approximately 50% of the "unaccompanied youth" population of U.S. cities *are homeless for reasons other than running away or being thrownaway*, i.e., about 70,000 children and youth. Of this number, the staff of emergency services estimated that approximately 75% of the homeless children known to them were between the ages of 10 and 17 years (N=56,000). Care staff and field interviews indicated that the risk of sexual exploitation for non-runaway and non-thrownaway children to be the same as that of runaway and thrownaway street youth.

9. Field research uncovered a large number of children engaging in prostitution and other "sex exchanges" while living at home. The motivations for engaging in such exchanges varied for different groups of youth. Overall, in comparison to other youth, youth living in low-income households used sex to contribute to the household economy or to support the drug habits of their parent(s) or other adults in the household. By contrast, more economically advantaged youth used sex exchanges to support their drug habits and/or to purchase more expensive clothing, jewelry, or other consumer items.

10. On average, child-serving professionals and community leaders identified the risk of the commercial sexual exploitation for children living in public housing as being four times higher than of children living in the general population. Thus, age-specific population estimates for children living in public housing were used for the CSEC risk estimates identified in this exhibit (also see Exhibit Appendix M.4).

11. Of the approximately 840,500 "youth" who were confirmed to be members of gangs in 1999 (N = 26,000 gangs), approximately 40% were juveniles 17 years of age or younger (N = 336,000) of which about 8.0% were females (OJJDP, 2000). Thus, we estimate that there were approximately 27,000 female juveniles 17 years of age or younger who were members of gangs in 1999 (OJJDP, 1999; 2000). Our estimate of the percentage of female gang members at risk of sexual exploitation is

adjusted downward by 75% to reflect the fact that the majority of girls are *not* required to perform sexual services in exchange for acquiring or retaining gang membership (Moore and Hagedorn, 2001).

12. Transgender street youth are one of the least studied populations of sexually exploited youth. Only a few studies exist that provide beginning estimates of their number (San Francisco Human Rights Commission, 1994; Xavier, 2000) but, unfortunately, even these studies do not provide estimates of the number of such youth living on the streets at the present time. However, and on the basis of both consultations with knowledgeable experts and transgender youth living on the streets, we have put a "place holder" number of 3,000 in the table, albeit their numbers across the country are believed to be much higher.

13. The majority of these children are brought into the U.S. as members of the sponsor's extended family. In the case of diplomats and international business executives, these youth are brought into the country to perform domestic or child-related services. As confirmed by a variety of cases reported in the public media, many of these children are sexually exploited either by their sponsor, by members of the sponsor's household, or by others in the sponsor's community (Charles, 2000; Editors, 2000a; Editors, 2000b).

14. The U.S. State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research estimates that approximately 45,000-50,000 "women and children" are smuggled into the U.S. annually (Richard, 1999). Based on our field interviews with sexually exploited children regarding age and international trafficking patterns, we estimate that at least 1/3 of these smuggled persons are 17 years of age or younger, i.e., 17,000 children. Again, and based on our interviews with sexually exploited children, we estimate that at least half of these children eventually become victims of commercial sexual exploitation as part of their trafficking experience.

15. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) detains approximately 5,000 unaccompanied children each year (Becker, 1998). These detainees reflect only a portion of the unaccompanied children that enter the U.S. illegally. Based on interviews with child advocates serving unaccompanied youth in selected cities, we estimate that approximately 33% of approximately 10,000 unaccompanied minors over the age of 10 years fall victims of sexual exploitation (i.e., the 5,000 INS detainees plus, conservatively, an estimated 5,000 youth not detained by the INS).

16. Many Canadian and Mexican children cross the border into the U.S. on a casual basis. Most return home the same day or within a few days of entering the U.S. A portion of these children are known to work in bars, clubs and other sexually oriented night spots located in the respective border communities. Younger children often are preyed upon by pedophiles while becoming involved in pornography or other sex exchanges (Azaola, 2001; Tremblay, 2001).

17. Youth living along or close to U.S. international borders frequently cross these borders in search of less expensive drugs, alcohol and, increasingly, sex. Though rarely apprehended by local police, media in both the U.S. and host countries are replete with stories of abuses committed by and against these youth. For discussions of the contextual nature of this problem see Johnson (2001) and Tijuana Police Department (2000a, 2000b). The assumptions used in arriving at our statistical estimates are summarized in Appendix M-5.

18. Our field research uncovered a surprising number of youth between the ages of 15 and 17 who reported being trafficked regularly from the U.S. to countries in East Asia (e.g., Japan, Korea, Taiwan) and Europe (e.g., Netherlands, Germany, United Kingdom). The majority of these youth already had had extensive exposure to the CSEC in the U.S. For some, but mostly girls, being trafficked internationally was perceived as a reward of sorts, for a "job well done" in the U.S. International trafficking of U.S. youth for sexual purposes, in virtually every case, is an organized event and is closely linked to both national and international crime organizations.

19-21. "Population at risk" estimates are based on prevalence of regular internet usage by youth ages 10-17 (Finkelhor et al., 2000:45).

PART VI:

NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS FOR RESPONDING TO THE NEEDS OF SEXUALLY EXPLOITED CHILDREN AND YOUTH

NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS FOR RESPONDING TO THE NEEDS OF SEXUALLY EXPLOITED CHILDREN AND YOUTH

A. Introduction

A central goal of this project was to identify and assess the adequacy of the existing network of law enforcement and human service systems for responding to the needs of sexually exploited children and their families. This was done via our integrated national stakeholder survey (Q1, Q2, and Q3) and involved several steps:

1. identification and analysis of the existing national network of law enforcement and human service organizations that provide direct services to sexually exploited children and their families (e.g., prevention, protection [emergency assistance], short- and long-term care (Q1));

2. identification and analysis of the existing national network of law enforcement and human service organizations that provide direct services to the adult "customers" of children for sexual purposes (e.g., identification, apprehension, prosecution (Q2 and Q3));

3. identification and analysis of the adequacy of existing law enforcement and human service systems in dealing with adult "traffickers" of children for sexual purposes (e.g., identification, apprehension and prosecution (Q2 and Q3));

4. identification and analysis of the existing national network of law enforcement and human service organizations that engage in planning, advocacy, research, and educational services on behalf of sexually exploited children and their families (Q1);

5. identification and analysis of existing national laws related to child pornography, juvenile prostitution, and international trafficking in children for sexual purposes; and,

6. identification and analysis of existing international agreements and declarations relating to child pornography, juvenile prostitution, and international trafficking in children for sexual purposes to which the U.S. is at least a signatory state.

B. National Stakeholder Survey (Q1, Q2, Q3)

Our goal in conducting the national stakeholder survey, as in conducting the study in its entirety, was as simple as it was challenging. We wanted to achieve what any first-generation researcher hopes to achieve—a first-cut mapping of uncharted territory that satisfies some basic requirements of both science and experience. At the most rudimentary level, the survey had to comport with what we had conjectured about the CSEC based upon prior related work, for example, on the wider issue of the sexual exploitation of children, as well as youth gangs, youth drug and street culture, child-labor exploitation, and runaway, thrownaway, and otherwise homeless youth.

We knew, for example, that the earliest research on these topics had confronted great difficulty in arriving at accurate estimates of their types and magnitudes (i.e., prevalence and incidence). Although the early estimates were difficult to establish, the groundbreaking studies in these areas had unearthed, one after the other, the tips of much more extensive and deeply entrenched problems. We

also knew that in every one of these areas, substantial problems of had been documented even at the earliest study stages, though the order of their magnitudes might be uncertain. These problems were of such proportions that any sensible person would have to acknowledge and begin confronting them even absent the more extensive and firmer convergent scientific evidence, both quantitative and qualitative, that was expected to and did follow. We apply the same standards and wisdom of experience to our own work. If we spy what appears to be a problem, even in our preliminary work, we take it very seriously, expecting that future work will validate our concern.

This section sketches for the CSEC for the first time the lay-of-the-land based upon our survey of governmental and non-governmental) stakeholder organizations. Consistent with the history of related areas, the survey illuminates a disturbing problem, in its substance and numbers, which has just begun to register on our nation's consciousness and that of our nearest national neighbors. Our local, state, and Federal governments do not appear for the most part to be ignoring or denying its existence, and there are signs that they are beginning to struggle to confront it in meaningful and substantive ways. Mostly, GOs are simply in the dark about the CSEC even when they are aware of its existence and investigate its parameters. Nonprofit agencies share the same obstacles. While these agencies are showing signs of attempting to grapple with the CSEC, they face formidable impediments of the most basic kinds, including the reporting and recording of information relevant to tracking and analyzing the CSEC in its extent and variety.

B.1 What Was Asked?

The GO and NGO stakeholder survey had two main thrusts. The first focused, of course, on the children. In this regard, the survey (what we have called, in abbreviation, "Q1," for Questionnaire 1 [Appendix 1.E]) inquired about a number of pressing child-centered topics:

- whether the agency had a working definition of CSEC and related policy and procedural manuals;
- the importance of the CSEC as an agency policy and service issue;
- how CSEC victims were identified;
- the importance of various factors in influencing the number of CSEC cases in the agency service area;
- how children became enmeshed in the CSEC; and
- the numbers and kinds of clients served within the most recent (1999) calendar year, including, of course, children involved in the CSEC.

Considered together, these questions tapped into issues central to painting an up-to-date national portrait of the dimensions of the CSEC and of GO and NGO responses to it.

The second thrust focused on traffickers and customers. In this regard, we crafted a composite survey that focused on both traffickers and customers (what we have called, in abbreviation, "Q2" and "Q3," for Questionnaires 2 and 3 [Appendix 1.F]). This survey inquired into the numbers and personal and criminal-history characteristics of child-sex traffickers and

customers. As it turned out, the GOs and NGOs were unable to respond to the Q2/Q3 survey with the requested detail. They either did not collect pertinent data or, if they did, could not retrieve it. For this reason, we do not discuss further this aspect of the stakeholder survey. The GO and NGO silence in these regards is frustrating and is testimony to the sad state of affairs with respect to GO and NGO capacities to respond to the CSEC. The origins of this silence and potential remedies are revisited in our section of recommendations.

B.2 Who Was Asked to Respond to the Survey?

B.2.a. The Sample Design

The child-victim survey (Q1) was mailed to both NGOs and GOs. With respect to the former group, 405 NGOs nationwide were sent surveys. The mailing list was acquired from Runaway and Homeless Youth Management System (RHYMIS) which lists agencies receiving financial support from the Department of Health and Human Services for providing youth street outreach and drop-in services. We restricted our mailing to these agencies, first and foremost, because the populations that they served very likely included many youths involved in the CSEC. In addition, and as a valuable expected by-product, we wanted to compare their survey responses to the information they provided about the CSEC to RHYMIS itself. We suspected that our more detailed response format would reveal more reported cases of the CSEC than is registered through the RHYMIS.

In order to bolster the number of surveys returned to us, we used a variety of well-known techniques (e.g., self-addressed, stamped return envelopes, faxing as a return option, follow up mailing, faxing, and calling requesting returns). Nonetheless, of the 405 NGOs contacted, only 89 (22%) returned surveys in which one or more questions had been answered and, owing to this comparatively (and surprising) low response rate, caution has been exercised in generalizing respondent findings to non-respondents (Exhibit 2.6).

Determining which agencies to include in the GO-Q1 sample was more daunting than designing the NGO sample described above, especially at the local jurisdictional level. For example, nationally there are more than 3,100 counties, to which one needs to add other municipal units and governmental arrangements. When one adds to the jurisdictional mix the types of relevant organizations (e.g., law enforcement, prosecutors, public defenders, corrections), the survey universe increases dramatically. We thought it sensible, therefore, to restrict our local survey in the following two ways: (1) to all areas with populations greater than 500,000 based upon population data from the 1990 Bureau of the Census and (2) to all 17 focus group cities. The joint selection rule led to the identification of 391 local organizations for mailing—municipal and county law enforcement, prosecutors, public defenders, and corrections. To this local mailing list, we added 88 state GOs and 246 Federal GOs.

Overall, 111 local, 28 state, and 41 Federal agencies—a total of 180— returned a Q1 survey in which one or more questions had been completed, for a return rate of 25% (Exhibit 2.6). The grand total of completed NGO- and GO-Q1 surveys was 269 (24%) (Exhibit 2.6).

Given the first-generation nature of this work, this survey response level was encouraging, especially as we learned, from the returned surveys themselves and from the city focus groups, the scant nature of the CSEC data compiled by these agencies, both GO and NGO. Although surveys arrived from every type of agency (Exhibit 2.6, columns 2 and 3) and from every region and area type (e.g., urban, suburban, and rural), we make no claim based upon this that the returns are "representative" as this term is commonly used within sampling theory. Nonetheless, the responses show a clear pattern in evidence of a substantial national problem, whether in the nation's heartland or in each of its corners. Although given the limitations of the survey, the problem cannot be cast here as nationally "representative," this in no way diminishes the fact that the survey underscores a national disfigurement and disgrace that urgently needs close and unrelenting attention.

B.2.b. Handling Unanswered Questions in the Returned Surveys

Although a Q1 survey might have been returned, that did not mean that all questions were answered. Consequently, whenever percentages were computed to represent the extent to which agencies affirmatively answered different questions, the denominator often shifted from one question to the next. Any time an agency failed to answer a question, we followed computational convention and counted that failure as a "missing value."

We wanted to see whether, after attempting to minimize the estimated magnitude of the CSEC, it still stood as a serious problem. Given our strategy of trying to minimize the size of the problem and of seeing the extent to which it resisted that effort, a consistent, conservative approach was to handle a missing value as a "no," if a yes/no question was asked, or as a "0," if a numerical question was asked. Because of the way percentages are computed, our procedure for handling missing values preserves the size of the numerator but adds to the denominator. There are but two possible results of this procedure: (1) the percentage remains as it is (there are no missing values for the question, so nothing is added to the denominator) or (2) the percentage is reduced (there is one or more missing values for the question, so something is added to the denominator).

It turns out that 180 GOs and 89 NGOs responded to at least one of the questions reviewed in this chapter. That sets the denominator for the GO survey at 180. For the NGO survey, the denominator is set at 89. After comparing the results using the variable denominator to the results using the constant one, it became clear that virtually all relationships remained intact. Consequently, despite the more conservative (lower) percentages produced, findings, interpretations, and conclusions were consonant across the approaches.

B.3 What Did They Say?

B.3.a What Types of Direct Services do GOs and NGOs Provide?

When compared to one another, the kinds of direct services provided by the GOs and NGOs that are relevant to the CSEC are, expectedly and understandably, virtual mir-

ror images (Exhibits 6.1 and 6.11). [42] Direct services provided by more than 50% of the GOs are mainly law enforcement and related professional training: law enforcement (77%), investigation/forensics (69%), and professional training (52%). NGOs, on the other hand, concentrate on client services, including, housing/runaway shelter (85%), victim counseling/therapy (73%), psychosocial assessment (67%), public education (65%), and related professional training (61%).

The kind of divergence in services revealed by the survey can be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, specialized foci often mean specialized expertise. However, and this is where it can cut sharply, specialization tends to be least productive in an environment in which it is not meshed via complementary and supplemental expertise across different types of agencies. That, we are afraid, happens much too often with respect to the CSEC. GOs and NGOs are beginning to talk more frequently and cooperatively, but much more of this needs to occur.

B.3.b. What is the Scope of the GO and NGO Service Areas?

GO service areas, and, therefore, their operational foci, were mainly local, followed by state, regional, national, and other (which we interpret as international) (Exhibit 6.2). This was expected because, by the very structure of our sampling design, we tapped into many more local agencies than other types. Although local NGOs do not have to focus on local concerns and missions to the extent that local GOs must, most NGOs were in fact local in orientation (78%) (Exhibit 6.12). The local focus was followed, in descending order, by state, regional, and national service areas. Unlike the GOs, no NGO had an "other" service area.

The survey shows, then, that those service areas least often appearing—national and other (international)—are precisely the venues in which much CSEC occurs and in which much of it can potentially be checked. Trafficking patterns that we have uncovered across national and, within nations, state borders would suggest that both GOs and NGOs must expand, at a minimum, their geographical, if not jurisdictional, radii of interest. This can be done in a variety of ways, both informal (e.g., presentations, joint training, technical assistance) and formal (e.g., memoranda of understanding, joint operational task forces).

B.3.c. What is the Importance of the CSEC as a GO and NGO Policy or Service Issue?

Among the GOs, between 44% and 49% saw the CSEC as a policy issue for the years 1997 through 1999, but somewhat lower percentages saw it as a service issue (between 39% and 42%) for this same period (Exhibit 6.3). In contrast, fewer NGOs regarded the CSEC as a policy issue for the same three years (between 31% and 36%; Exhibit 6.13). However, nearly the same percentage of NGOs and GOs saw the CSEC as a service issue (between 36% and 40%) (Exhibits 6.3 and 6.13).

When numbers fall as they do here, at the mid-range, between 25% and 75% it is difficult to say whether the glass is half full or half empty. We tend to lean in the

[42] For formatting reasons, Exhibits 6.1 through 6.19 appear at the end of this chapter.

direction of half empty. The CSEC problem is so egregious in impact, whether one considers the individual child or the aggregation of affected children, that a mid-range of issue salience is not comforting. Simply put, far too many agencies, both GO and NGO, do not seem to know about or are in denial of the CSEC problem that confronts them everyday.

B.3.d To What Extent do GOs and NGOs have Working Definitions of the CSEC, and Related Policy and Procedural Manuals?

Overwhelmingly, few GOs and NGOs report having prepared such basic professional tools as working definitions of the CSEC or related policy and procedural manuals for handling such cases (Exhibits 6.5 and 6.6 and Exhibits 6.15 and 6.16). About one-in-five GOs (18%) and just one-in-twenty NGOs (6%) report having working definitions. Additionally, about one-in-five GOs (18%) and slightly more than one-in-ten NGOs (13%) report having policy and procedural manuals.

It is unclear why, despite the low overall activity of both GOs and NGOs with respect to working definitions and policy and procedural manuals, still a higher proportion of GOs than NGOs have drafted material so basic and useful at operational and agency levels. It is also unclear why so few of both types of agencies have made inroads in these regards when many more of both types have deemed the CSEC an important policy and service issue (Exhibits 6.3 and 6.13). Clearly, there is a significant and somewhat perplexing gap between the degree to which these agencies judge the CSEC to be a salient organizational issue and the degree to which they have acted in accordance with this judgment by developing operational procedures. The gap is unreasonable and must be addressed.

B.3.e What GO and NGO Training and Policy Approaches are Used for Dealing with the CSEC?

Overwhelmingly, GOs train and have policy approaches in areas relating to the law and activities relating to legal custody (Exhibit 6.7). Of the five training and policy approaches that were reported by 50% or more of the GOs, four are related to law and legal custody: (1) legal and forensic issues, (2) interviewing offenders/perpetrators for investigative purposes, (3) interviewing children for assessment/investigative purposes, (4) cultural sensitivity/diversity training, and (5) recognizing behavioral and physical and medical signs of child abuse. In contrast, the NGOs focused somewhat more on non-legal issues: (1) enhancing the direct identification of child abuse (i.e., recognizing behavioral and physical and medical signs of child abuse) and (2) improving the accuracy of such identification (i.e., cultural sensitivity and diversity training, child development) (Exhibit 6.17). Expectedly, then, GOs tended to mix legal and social service approaches more than NGOs, which focused more on social service aspects.

Linking these many complementary training and policy approaches within both GOs and NGOs would seem, on the face, to make the most sense. The gap within agency types could be reduced in a number of ways, for example, by encouraging GOs and NGOs to crosswalk their activity specialties to each other or by widening the range of activities within each type of agency.

B.3.f How Do GOs and NGOs Identify CSEC Cases?

Overwhelmingly, GOs and NGOs identified CSE victims in similar ways. More than half of both types of agencies reported that they identified CSE cases through traditional child abuse and neglect channels (i.e., identified by another victim or offender, parents or relatives, mandated reporter, victim self report, and anonymous report) (Exhibits 6.8 and 6.18). Identification by law enforcement shrinks in comparison (i.e., arrest of offender/perpetrator, missing child locator services, internet service provider referral, immigration investigation or referral). This finding with respect to law enforcement might be expected for NGOs but not for GOs.

The agency responses suggest, then, that traditional means of identification of CSE might well be productively expanded and enhanced with respect to the CSEC. They also suggest that law enforcement has a substantial way to go before it becomes a viable channel for identifying the CSEC, much as is so with regard to SEC.

B.3.g To What Extent do GOs and NGOs Identify Similar Factors in influencing the Number of CSEC Cases in Their Service Areas?

GOs and NGOs pointed to somewhat different factors as influencing the number of CSEC cases identified in their service areas (Exhibits 6.4 and 6.14). The top four factors cited by GOs included local law enforcement efforts, advocacy and awareness, Federal law enforcement efforts, and changes in legislation and public policy. Two of the top four factors cited by NGOs overlapped with the top factors cited by GOs: advocacy and awareness and local law enforcement efforts. However, in contrast to GOs, NGOs cited poverty and nightlife establishments as influencing the number of cases. NGOs focused somewhat more on the settings spawning the CSEC whereas GOs focused more on processes making the CSEC more visible. Put differently, GOs tended to focus on ways the CSEC is *detected*, whereas NGOs tended to focus on the ways the CSEC is *produced*. These two approaches are part and parcel of the very traditional missions of these agencies. The cultures that have evolved around those, mostly separate, missions need improved communication.

B.3.h What Types of CSEC Cases were Handled by GOs and NGOs in 1999?

Virtually all agencies, GO and NGO, were unable to report reliable, detailed incidence figures for the CSEC and related cases. Either they did not classify and collect data in a way pertinent to our requests or, if they did, it was not collected in an automated format, making it infeasible to compile the requested information on our behalf. Nonetheless, most agencies, though not responding with counts of cases (a *population-incidence* tabulation), indicated with a simple yes or no whether they had encountered one or another kind of the CSEC types within the designated year (an *agency-prevalence* tabulation).

As it turned out, substantial proportions of GOs and NGOs reported handling each kind of CSEC case in 1999 (Exhibits 6.9 and 6.19). For example,

- Pornography—Subjects: nearly 1-in-2 GOs and 1-in-3 NGOs handled children involved as subjects of pornography;

- Pornography—Involuntary Exposure: more than 2-in-5 GOs and NGOs handled children involuntarily exposed to pornography;

- Prostitution—about 1-in-4 GOs and 3-in-5 NGOs handled runaway or throwaway children who were involved in prostitution to meet survival needs;
- Live-at-Home Prostitution—about 1-in-5 GOs and 1-in-3 NGOs handled children who were living at home and engaging in prostitution to get luxuries;

- Prostitution Rings—Local Pimps: about 1-in-5 GOs and NGOs handled children who were involved in prostitution rings run by local pimps; and

- Prostitution Rings—National Group/Organization: 1-in-20 GOs and NGOs handled children who were involved in prostitution rings run by national groups or organizations.

By whatever standard one might apply, ranging from zero tolerance to a preponderance of agencies, GOs and NGOs are providing convincing and convergent testimony that they are encountering variations on a pernicious and invidious problem that has hardly begun to register or resonate publicly or politically. These numbers, along with other numbers and observations presented in this report, should begin turning up the volume and activity levels of organizational and political deafness and inertia.

B.4 Weaving the Bits and Pieces Together

What do these analytical fragments mean when taken together? Before addressing that, we quickly review below what was found.

First: The data underscore serious gaps in service areas of both GOs and NGOs. National and international areas, which are critical to international and subnational CSEC trafficking patterns, are least often represented. There are certainly NGOs that have such a scope, but it is disheartening to find that not one NGO funded in conjunction with the RHYMIS network that responded to the survey has such a mission. With closer scrutiny, we might find national and international aspects of these NGO's missions, perhaps in their practices rather than in formal mission statement, but that is still an open question.

Second: Few GOs and NGOs have begun to confront the CSEC in even the simplest terms. Hardly any have defined and then integrated their definitions into policies and procedures.

Third: GOs and NGOs have somewhat different training and policy approaches for dealing with the CSEC. However, their approaches are mostly complemen-

tary or supplemental and can potentially be harnessed to the overall advantage of both kinds of agencies.

Fourth: GOs and NGOs tend to identify cases of the CSEC in ways that have commonly been used to identify cases of the SEC. These mechanisms might be expanded and strengthened to concentrate on the CSEC by narrowing their focus on elements peculiar to the CSEC.

Fifth: GOs and NGOs seem to look at factors influencing the number of cases of the CSEC in their service areas in ways reflecting their agency lenses: GOs focus on behavioral detection whereas NGOs focus on behavioral causes. Both foci are critical to any meaningful approach to reducing the CSEC.

Sixth: Sizable numbers of both GOs and NGOs are coming face-to-face with the CSEC in all its forms. The agency-prevalence figures reported above are as alarming as they are disturbing and informative.

These patterns spotlight, at this point in this first-generation research, the tip of yet another iceberg. Unfortunately, as matters now stand, this iceberg is being examined in an unsystematic and fragmentary way, much like the apocryphal elephant and the blind men. However, our survey data indicates that, among those GOs and NGOs that responded, there is a critical mass of important activity taking place on several fronts that, if thoughtfully and aggressively coordinated, can only benefit the agencies serving youngsters mired in the CSEC and, by virtue of that, the youngsters themselves. That synergy can assist, we think, in combating the CSEC by applying pressure at a number of points at the entrances to the complex of pathways into it.

C. The National Legal Environment Relating to Child Pornography, Juvenile Prostitution, and International Trafficking in Children For Sexual Purposes

Appendix 1.G contains a summary of federal laws relating to child pornography, juvenile prostitution and international trafficking in children for sexual purposes. The appendix is current as of March, 2001. Exhibit 6.20 identifies the major Federal departments and agencies involved in the identification, apprehension and prosecution of adult exploiters of children for sexual purposes. In addition to Federal laws and law enforcement agencies there also exists, of course, a large and complex network of state and local laws and law enforcement systems that deal with child sexual abuse, child sexual assault, and child sexual exploitation. Space limitations prohibit us from reprinting summaries of state and local laws or descriptions of the varied law enforcement agencies that operate within the context of these laws. Such summaries are available, however, and can be obtained from Lederer (2001) and the National Center for Prosecution of Child Abuse (1998a,b).

Overall, Federal laws relating to child sexual exploitation have been strengthened considerably since 1994. As a result of these improvements, the investigators assess the existing network of Federal laws to be adequate for purposes of identifying, apprehending and prosecuting adult perpetrators of sexual crimes involving children. Existing laws relating to sexual crimes committed by U.S. citizens against children who are nationals of other countries also are judged to be more or less adequate as are the recently enacted laws relating to the international trafficking of children into the U.S. for sexual purposes. As illustrated by the data reported in Exhibit 6.21, however, state laws are far

less consistent with one another and, in general, provide fewer and less severe penalties for sexual crimes involving children.

At this time, the investigators judge the following to be the most urgent priorities confronting the Federal, state and local law enforcement communities:

1. fuller enforcement of existing Federal and state laws relating to CSA and CSE;

2. the provision of technical assistance and other incentives to states in helping them strengthen their existing child sexual exploitation laws, to develop new laws where needed, and to increase the penalties to adults who are found guilty of sex crimes against children (Exhibit 6.21);

3. increased cooperation between and among Federal law enforcement agencies dealing with child sexual exploitation matters;

4. heightened awareness of the seriousness of child sexual exploitation *and* increased action on the part of those departments and agencies of the Federal government that, to date, have remained comparatively passive on a range of child sexual exploitation issues that fall within their spheres of concern—especially the U.S. Departments of Commerce, Education and Transportation;

5. increased cooperation between and among the various levels of Federal, state and local law enforcement that operate within local communities;

6. increased cooperation between and among the various levels of Federal and state law enforcement that operate within and across state lines;

7. more frequent and progressively more sophisticated programs of continuing professional education on child sexual exploitation for local, state and Federal investigators, forensics specialists, prosecutors, and judges involved in child sexual exploitation cases;

8. the training of a larger group of interdisciplinary specialists and technical experts in all areas of child sexual exploitation;

9. the development of better integrated and more accessible cross-agency and cross-jurisdictional electronic data bases that record, track and provide more timely information on adults convicted of sex crimes against children;

10. the expansion of multijurisdictional *Task Forces on Child Sexual Exploitation* into every major Federal enforcement jurisdiction;

11. the decriminalization—and reduced re-victimization by law enforcement agencies--of children engaging in prostitution; and,

12. assigning the highest law enforcement priority to the apprehension, arrest and prosecution of adult producers and distributors of child pornography, pimps, customers, traffickers and others who benefit financially from the commercial sexual exploitation of children.

More will be said about each of these recommended priorities in the final part of this report.

Exhibit 6.20

Major Federal Investigative Departments, Agencies and Units Dealing With Child Sexual Exploitation

Major Department / Division	Major Departmental Subdivisions	Major Functions Related to CSE and the CSEC	Major CSEC-Related Initiatives

U.S. Department of Justice	• Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section*[43]
	• Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI)
	  o Office of Crimes Against Children (1997)*
	  o Child Abduction and Serial Killer Unit
	  o Morgan P. Hardiman Task Force on Missing and Exploited Children (1994)
	• Office for Victims of Crimes
	• Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP)
	  o National Center For State and Local Law Enforcement Training (via Fox Valley Technical College)
	  o Missing and Exploited Children's Program
	• U.S. Attorneys Office*
	• U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)*
	• U.S. National Central Bureau (INTERPOL)*
	• National Institute of Justice
		• Identification, apprehension, prosecution and imprisonment of adults engaged in CSE and the CSEC in all its forms, i.e., pornography, prostitution and trafficking (All investigative and prosecutorial agencies and bureaus)
		• Coordination of CSE and CSEC related activities at the federal level (Inter-Agency Task Force)
		• Coordination of federal efforts on behalf of victims of CSE and CSEC (Office of Victims of Crime Resource Center)
		• Training of state and local law enforcement officers
		• Research into the nature and causes of CSE and CSEC (National Institute of Justice)
			• *Innocent Images* (FBI)
			• International Alerts (INTERPOL)
			• Funds and oversees operation of *Local/Regional Task Forces on Sexual Exploitation of Children*
			• Research
			• Criminal prosecutions
			• Operates federal prison system
			• The *Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section* provides the following services to other federal agencies:
			  o Litigation support, including assistance to U.S. Attorney's Offices; legal research; legal assistance on child sexual exploitation
			  o Technical assistance
			  o Training for prosecutors and investigators on topics related to the CSEC

U.S. State Department	• Office of Children's Issues • Foreign Affairs, Trade and Defense Division (Trafficking)	• Intelligence Gathering (esp. in trafficking) • Research •	Provides services in two primary areas: • International parental abduc-

[43] Asterisks (*) indicate organizations and units with representation on the project's International Advisory Group (IAG).

Major Department / Division	Major Departmental Subdivisions	Major Functions Related to CSE and the CSEC	Major CSEC-Related Initiatives
	• Bureau of Intelligence and Research*	• Support services to U.S. citizens • Apprehension of illegal residents of the US • Coordination of efforts with other national governments	tion International adoptions • Also is heavily involved in reducing the level of international trafficking of women and children into the U.S. for servitude, including sexual servitude
U.S. Department of the Treasury	• U.S. Customs Service / Office of Investigations* • U.S. Secret Service/Forensics Division	• Identification, apprehension, and prosecution of adults engaged in the recruitment of illegal movement of people into and out of the U.S., including for purposes related to CSE and CSEC	• *Cyber Smuggling Unit* (internet predators) • Money laundering intelligence
U.S. Postal Service	• U.S. Postal Inspection Service / Office of Criminal Investigations*	• Identification and apprehension of adults using the U.S. mails and internet to transmit and/or exchange pornographic materials • Identification and apprehension of adults using the U.S. mail, internet and other electronic means that involve the U.S. mail to engage in the sexually predatory behavior toward children	• *Project Special Delivery*
U.S. Department of Defense	• Family Advocacy Programs • Legal Assistance Office • Military Criminal Investigative Organizations* o Naval Criminal Investigative Service o Army Criminal Investigative Division o Air Force Office of Special Investigations	• Prevention/ treatment of child and spouse abuse • Maintenance of central registry of reports of alleged spouse abuse and child abuse. Allegations of child sexual abuse are those that occur in out-of-home care settings, such as in child-care centers, family daycare homes, schools, or recreation programs • Point of contact for inquiries concerning the legal issues in the abduction of a child by a parent or other family member either on active duty with that Armed Service or accompanying such a Service member. • Legal assistance offices are the point of contact for the US State Dept. in cases of international abduction of the children of Service members	• Advocacy Program for inclusion in the central registry

Exhibit 6.21

States, including the District of Columbia, *Without* Statues Prohibiting Prostitution and Surrounding Activities (March, 2001)

PROSTI-TUTION	CUS-TOMERS	BROTH-ELS	PROCUR-ING	PROCUR-ING With COER-CION	PIMPING	PANDER-ING	SOLICIT-ING	LOITER-ING	PROFIT-ING	TRAF-FICKING
N = 5	N = 26	N = 3	N = 3	N = 4	N = 8	N = 9	N = 5	N = 30	N = 29	N = 26
AL	AL	NV	PA	NE	AZ	AL	ID	AK	AZ	AL
DC	AK	NH	TX	NH	MA	AK	IN	AZ	CA	AK
NV	AZ	TX	WI	PA	MN	IN	NE	CO	DC	AK
PA	DC			WI	NE	ME	OR	CN	ID	CA
RI	GA				NH	MN	VA	FL	IL	CO
	HI				PA	NH		GA	KS	CN
	IO				RI	PA		IL	LA	DE
	KY				WI	TX		IN	ME	DC
	LA					WY		IO	MD	GA
	MD							KS	MA	HI
	MS							ME	MN	IL
	NE							MD	MS	IN
	NV							MN	MO	IO
	NJ							MI	NE	KY
	NC							MT	NH	MA
	ND							NE	NC	MN
	OH							NH	OH	MO
	OK							NY	OR	NY
	PA							ND	PA	ND
	RI							OK	SC	OR
	SC							OR	SD	PA
	TX							PA	TN	TN
	VT							SC	TX	TX
	VA							TX	UT	WA
	WV							VT	VT	WI
	WY							VA	VA	WY
								WA	WV	
								WV	WI	
								WI	WY	
								WY		

Source: Lederer, 2001:Appendix

D. The International Protection Environment Relating to Child Pornography, Juvenile Prostitution, and International Trafficking in Children For Sexual Purposes

The U.S. has a long tradition of international cooperation on a broad range of matters relating to children, children's rights, child protection, and working to prevent child sexual exploitation. This tradition includes concern for children who are citizens of the U.S. as well as for children who are citizens of other countries.

Appendix 1.H summarizes the major international agreements, declarations and covenants relating to children into which the U.S. has entered either on a signatory basis or through action of the U.S. Senate, through formal ratification. The nature, range and depth of these agreements is impressive and, in all cases, they provide an international foundation on which the U.S. can build a more enriched environment for protecting children from sexual exploitation. These agreements also serve as a basis for national and international action in dealing with sexual crimes committed by U.S. citizens against children when traveling outside of the U.S..

E. National Planning, Advocacy, Research, and Educational Organizations Working to Protect Children From Sexual Exploitation

Exhibit 6.22 identifies the major national GOs and NGOs engaged in planning, advocacy, research and educational matters relating to child sexual exploitation. The list is not meant to be encyclopedic but, rather, to be suggestive of the range of organizations, professional groups, and other stakeholders that have committed themselves to working toward a safer environment for children. The list is quite extensive and represents nearly all levels of law enforcement and human service disciplines and agencies. And, the list of public and private organizations working on behalf of child protection at the national level continues to expand each year, albeit many of the smaller private organizations lack the financial resources needed to fully implement their commitments.

Exhibit 6.22
National Governmental and Nongovernmental Planning, Advocacy, Research, and Educational Organizations Working to Protect Children From Sexual Exploitation

Major Department/Division	Major Departmental Subdivisions	Functions	Major CSEC-Related Initiatives
NATIONAL GOVERNMENTAL DEPARTMENTS			
STATE, LOCAL, AND COMMUNITY GOVERNMENTAL UNITS			
NON-GOVERNMENTAL PLANNING, ADVOCACY, RESEARCH, EDUCATION AND GRANT-MAKING ORGANIZATIONS			
Local and National Non-Governmental Organizations: Legal Focused	• American Bar Association Center on Children and the Law (Washington DC) • National Center for the Prosecution of Child Abuse (Arlington VA) • The Protection Project (Washington DC)*	• Advocacy for improvements in children's lives through advances in law, justice, knowledge, practice, and public policy • Provision of training, technical assistance and publications regarding criminal justice issues pertaining to child abuse • Gathering and disseminating information regarding the national and international legislation protecting women and children from commercial sexual exploitation	• Journal: *Child Law Practice* • Publications • Training: SAFETY NET—Computer Facilitated Child Sexual Exploitation • Educational materials
National NGOs: Foundations and Other Grant-Making Organizations	• Annie Casey Foundation • Edna McConnell Clark Foundation • W.T. Grant Foundations • Fund for Nonviolence	All provide grants for either research on or service for CSE and CSEC, or both	• *Kids Count* • Project-specific grants and contracts
National and International NGOs: Advocacy and Service Focused	• Captive Daughters (Los Angeles) • Children of the Night (Los Angeles) • Covenant House (New York City)/Casa Alianza (Costa Rica)* • Letot Center (Dallas) • Paul and Lisa Program (Essex, CT)* • National Runaway	• Emergency Assistance to homeless, runaway and street youth • Victim protection • Family Unification/Reunification • Advocacy at the state and national levels	• Operate residential facilities for sexually vulnerable and exploited homeless, runaway and street youth • Provision of transitional housing services • Operate drop in centers, health clinics, food and clothing banks and provision of other emergency and concrete services • Drug treatment and rehabilitation • Education

Major Department/Division	Major Departmental Subdivisions	Functions	Major CSEC-Related Initiatives
	Switchboard (Chicago)* • Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE) (San Francisco)		• Job training • Psychiatric and other case services where possible and appropriate
National NGOs: Advocacy Focused	• Coalition Against Trafficking of Women (North Amherst MA) • End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT-USA) (New York City)* • Youth Advocate Program International (Washington)*	• Public education and awareness • Training • Research • Advocacy at the state, national and international levels	• Publications • Conferences • Legislatively focused advocacy
U.S. Department of Labor	• Division of Wages and Hours • Bureau of International Labor Affairs*[44] • International Child Labor Program* • National Administrative Office of the NAFTA*	• Holds responsibility for the administration and enforcement of over 180 federal statutes which include protecting workers' wages, health and safety, and employment rights; and promoting equal employment opportunity • International Child Labor Program's programs include continued research and reporting on international child labor, administering grants to organizations engaged in efforts to eliminate child labor, and working to raise public awareness and understanding of the child labor issue	• Funding to the International Labor Organization's International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor for international projects • Research • Publications • Public Education
U.S. Department of Health and Human Services	• Family and Youth Services Bureau (FYSB) • National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN) • National Center for Child Abuse and Neglect Clearinghouse (NCCANC)	Provides comprehensive support for a broad range of emergency and long-term care programs that service runaway and homeless children and youth	The FYSB finances six programs within the Department's Administration on Children, Youth and Families (ACYF): • The Basic Centers Program (BCP) • The Transitional Living Program for Homeless Youth (TLP) • The Street Outreach Program (SOP)

[44] Asterisks (*) indicate organizations and units with representation on the project's International Advisory Group (IAG).

Major Department/Division	Major Departmental Subdivisions	Functions	Major CSEC-Related Initiatives
			• The National Runaway Switchboard • The National Clearinghouse on Families and Youth (NCYF) • The Runaway and Homeless Youth Training and Technical Assistance System The DHHS also sponsors the Runaway and Homeless Youth Management Information System (RHYMIS) • Among other activities, the NCCANC maintains an electronic registry of all state laws and statutes pertaining to child abuse and neglect.
Cross-Departmental / Inter-Agency Task Forces	• Federal Agency Task Force For Missing and Exploited Children (DoJ) • Federal Child Exploitation Strike Force(s) • President's Inter-Agency Commission on Women	The goals of the Federal Agency Task Force on Missing and Exploited Children include: • Identify Federal resources that are available to aid and support missing and exploited children and their families. • Identify the needs of missing, abducted, and exploited children. • Identify agency needs regarding missing, abducted, and exploited children, including those relating to coordination, service delivery, re-sources, and concerns. • Identify needs and gaps in service, and develop appropriate responses to address service gaps. • Develop strategies and procedures for communicating with the public, and develop a strategy and plan for disseminating information. • Identify and develop products to further aid and support agencies and organizations involved in missing and exploited	• Child Pornography *Tipline* • Exploited Child Unit, NCMEC • Morgan P. Hardiman Task Force • Jimmy Rice Law Enforcement Training Center, NCMEC • Publication: *Child Sexual Exploitation: Improving Investigations and Protecting Victims* • INTERPOL Working Party on Offenses Against Minors

Major Department/Division	Major Departmental Subdivisions	Functions	Major CSEC-Related Initiatives
		children's issues. • Develop and disseminate information about the mission, goals, and activities of the Task Force and its member agencies.	
U.S. Department of Transportation	• Federal Aviation Administration • Federal Highway Administration • Federal Transit Administration • Maritime Administration	• Monitors the adequacy and safety of the country's complex system of land, air and sea transportation • Receives and acts on consumer complaints relating to all forms of public transportation	• Child safety programs • Coast Guard: Support for National Child Abuse Prevention Month through Family Advocacy Program
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development	• Housing • Community Planning/Development • Fair Housing/Equal Opportunity • Ginnie Mae	• Provides grants to states, local municipalities and private sector agencies and organizations for emergency shelters, transitional housing and other services required by the homeless (including drop in health services)	• Emergency Shelter Grants • Supportive Housing Demonstration Program • Publications
National NGOs: Information Gathering, Referral, Research, Education and Training Focused	• American Professional Society on the Abuse of Children (Chicago IL) • National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (Alexandria VA)* • National Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect (Washington DC) • National Clearinghouse on Runaway and Homeless Youth (Silver Spring MD) • National Resource Center for Youth Services (Tulsa OK) • National Resource Center on Child Maltreatment (Atlanta GA) • The Protection Project • Youth Advocate Program In-	• Recovery of Missing and Exploited Children • Public education • Advocacy on behalf of missing and exploited children at the national and international levels • Training of police and other law enforcement personnel in all aspects of CSE and CSEC	• CyberTipline • National and regional training of law enforcement, human service and others engaged in work with sexually exploited children and youth • Conferences • Publications • Selected research • Among other activities, the Protection Project maintains an electronic listing of the laws and statutes of most countries relating to child and adult sexual exploitation • The YAPI is a national and international NGO and, among its initiatives, it organized the U.S. NGO Consultation on CSEC in March 2001 and creation of the U.S. Campaign Against CSEC.

Major Department/Division	Major Departmental Subdivisions	Functions	Major CSEC-Related Initiatives
	ternational (YAPI)		
U.S. Department of Education	• Office of Elementary and Secondary Education • Safe and Drug Free Schools Program	Primarily prevention in focus with an emphasis on early identification, early intervention and general education concerning the dangers of drug use and violence among youth	The focus of the Safe and Drug Free Schools program is primarily prevention. The program provides funding to local communities to prevent drug use and violence.
State, Local, and Community Human Service Agencies	• State Departments of Health • State Departments of Public Welfare • Social Service Divisions • Child Protective Service Divisions • State Attorney's Office • Local (city and county) police departments	• Protect and promote health through prevention, science, and the assurance of quality health care delivery • Work through county children and youth agencies and the juvenile courts to provide an array of services to troubled children and their families • Strive to protect children under the age of 18 years whose lives or health are seriously jeopardized because of abusive acts or negligence • Identify risk/protective factors in home and community, and implement ways to reduce risk factors/promote protective factors for youth. Refer them to appropriate community resources • Conduct child abuse investigations, missing persons investigations and criminal investigations involving youth	• Toll-free Help Lines • Homeless Assistance Program • 24-hour Abuse Reporting Hotline • Family Crisis Intervention Program • Community and religious organization outreach initiatives to nonviolent offenders • Prevention/Diversion programs
State, Local, and Community Police and Justice Agencies	• State/County Departments of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency • State/County Juvenile and Adult Courts • State/Country Juvenile Probation Departments	• Provide supervision, secure and non-secure detention and a wide range of treatment and educational services for youths referred to the Juvenile Courts, and provide assistance or delinquency prevention services for at-risk youths through collaborative efforts with other public, private and community entities	• Community-Based Intervention (CBI) program provides youth with delinquency prevention and post detention services

The investigators judge that the growing child sexual protection movement represents an important and influential contribution to advancing the welfare of children. However, a number of problems confront this movement and must be resolved if it is to achieve its ambitious goals on behalf of sexually exploited children and their families.:

1. The activities of the separate NGOs are largely uncoordinated and not integrated. The lack of coordination contributes to a lack of communication between them and, in some communities, to duplication of effort.

2. Sharp ideological disagreements exist among the various NGOs concerning both the magnitude of child sexual exploitation in the U.S. and the appropriate courses of action that should be taken to address the situation.

3. Sharp ideological divisions also exist between NGOs advocating positions on behalf of adult women and men engaged in prostitution versus those seeking to extricate children from sexual exploitation. Some organizations would like to merge the issues confronting the two populations into a common agenda for action (e.g., dealing with male privilege, reorganizing the human service and justice systems dealing with youth) whereas others wish to keep the agenda for sexually exploited youth separate from issues affecting adults.

4. Nearly all CSE-focused NGOs are small and severely under-funded. Most compete with one another for the very limited resources that are available.

5. Though certain exceptions exist, in the main, sexually exploited boys, sexual minorities, street youth with serious mental illness, and difficult-to-handle street youth are underrepresented in the service populations of many CSE-focused NGOs.

GOs engaged in planning, research and advocacy on behalf of sexually exploited children experience many of the same organizational difficulties as those confronted by the private sector. Unlike the NGOs, though, public law enforcement and human service organizations cannot abandon their responsibilities for sexually exploited children *even if the proper mix of funding, staff, training and other resources are not in place*. The investigators assess the following to be among the most serious institutional problems confronting GOs as organizations as they seek to respond to the complex of needs presented by sexually exploited children and their families:

1. for most GOs, a lack of understanding concerning the nature, causes, dynamics and extent of child sexual exploitation at the local, state and national levels;

2. for most GOs, the absence of clear policies and procedures for dealing with child victims of sexual exploitation;

3. for nearly all GOs, inadequate numbers of staff for dealing with the complex social, psychological, legal and family issues associated with child sexual exploitation;

4. for nearly all GOs, the absence of staff trained in the subtleties of child sexual exploitation versus other forms of child sexual abuse—including child sexual assault;

5. for virtually all GOs, lack of integrated planning at the community level for identifying and responding to the growing incidence of child sexual exploitation;

6. for virtually all GOs, lack of coordination between the complex of local, county and state law enforcement, human service, and educational organizations on matters pertaining to child sexual exploitation;

7. inadequate constructs, concepts and data systems for monitoring changes in the incidence and nature of child sexual exploitation over time;

8. inadequate data systems for tracking and monitoring the activities of adults convicted of sex crimes against children;

9. for all but a few GOs, the absence of specialized care and treatment services for the child victims of sexual exploitation and their families.

Unlike the situation that exists for the majority of local and state agencies, the investigators found considerable expertise in dealing with child sexual exploitation at the Federal level. Especially noteworthy are the seminal contributions being made on behalf of sexually exploited children by the following federal departments and units:[45]

- U.S. Postal Inspection Service, Fraud, Child Exploitation and Asset Forfeiture Group, Office of Criminal Investigations
- U.S. Department of Justice, Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section, Criminal Division
- U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Crimes Against Children Unit
- U.S. Department of Justice, U.S. National Central Bureau (INTERPOL)
- U.S. Department of the Treasury, Cyber-Smuggling Center, U.S. Customs Service
- U.S. Department of State, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), Legal Division
- U.S. Department of Labor, International Child Labor Program
- U.S. Department of State, Center for Strategic Intelligence
- U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, Office of Policy Planning and Coordination
- The President's Interagency Council on Women

The *Child Exploitation Unit of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children* (NCMEC), which works closely with many of the Federal agencies listed above also deserves special

[45] The investigators recognize that it is problematic to list some organizations and not others. Even so, we assess those governmental units listed here to be highly effective in their efforts on behalf of sexually exploited children and youth.

recognition here. No private sector agency has more experience in dealing with the real life needs of sexually exploited runaway and homeless children than does the NCMEC. The Center's current efforts in dealing with electronic pornography and in providing CSE-related training to a wide range of police and investigative personnel are especially noteworthy.

The experience that exists at the Federal level, though, has not yet been transferred fully to GOs at the local and state level. The reasons for this are several and revolve around both resource and technical assistance issues:

1. the investigative, prosecutorial, training and research staffs of the majority of the Federal agencies cited above are painfully small relative to the magnitude of the national child sexual exploitation problem;

2. the financial resources available to these agencies to engage in outreach, including training and consultation, at the local level is severely restricted, especially with respect to travel;

3. the forensics capabilities of the majority of federal agencies is severely limited with the result that long delays occur between the receipt of documents and equipment and the completion of the analysis as possible evidence in criminal cases;

4. state-of-the-art forensic equipment, and training in the use of the equipment, continues to be an urgent need for the majority of Federal law enforcement personnel—especially in sexual crimes involving children as the subjects of pornography; and,

5. more comprehensive and regular training in all aspects of child sexual exploitation is urgently needed at the Federal level, but especially for persons who are heading major units and other initiatives that impact directly on the identification, apprehension and prosecution of adults committing sexual crimes against children.

Each of these concerns will be addressed more fully in the recommendations section of this report.

F. Best Practices in Protecting Children From Sexual Exploitation, Including Commercial Sexual Exploitation

Every effort was made throughout the project to identify agencies and organizations that illustrated "best practices" in their work with sexually exploited children and youth. The purpose of this effort was two-fold: 1) to acknowledge the important contributions being made by selected organizations to sexually exploited children and youth and 2) to identify programs that could be emulated by other organizations that wish to enhance the effectiveness of their programs. The following criteria were used to identify organizations with the "best practices" in serving sexually exploited children and youth:

1. an established history of service to sexually exploited and commercially sexually exploited children and youth;

2. a favorable assessment of the organization's services by other youth-serving organizations located in the same community;

3. a favorable assessment of the organization's services by child victims of sexual exploitation interviewed by the investigators;

4. the organization's own assessment of its effectiveness in serving sexually vulnerable children and youth; and,

5. at least one on-site visit by a member of the investigative team.

Exhibit 6.23 lists those organizations the investigators assess to illustrate "best practices" in serving sexually exploited children and youth. The list contains both GOs and NGOs as well as organizations that serve children nationally, at the local level, or both. The exhibit groups these organizations by the type(s) of service for which organizations were assessed to be most effective. More complete information concerning the mission, organizational structure, and programs of each organization is provided in Appendix 1.K, which also provides communications information. The investigators welcome communication from both mentioned agencies, to clarify or amplify our discussion, and from agencies not mentioned, for possible inclusion on future lists.

Exhibit 6.23

Agencies and Organizations Illustrative of Selected "Best Practices" Associated With Combating the Sexual Exploitation (SEC) and The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC)

Type of Assistance Provided	Illustrative Agencies and Organizations
Assistance to Unaccompanied Foreign Children	• Goodheart Alliance/Immigrant Rights Unit (Chicago)**[46] • Las Americas Refugee Asylum Project (El Paso)** • Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service/Children's Division(New York) http://www.lirs.org
Assistance to Youth Wishing to Leave Prostitution	• Emmaus House (Chicago) http://www.streets.org • Genesis House (Chicago) http://www.genesishouse.org • HIPS: Helping Individual Prostitutes Survive (Washington) http://www.hips.org • Paul and Lisa Program (Essex CT) http://www.paulandlisa.org • Sisters Offering Support (Hawaii) http://www.soshawaii.org/ • SAGE: Standing Against Global Exploitation (San Francisco) http://www.sageinc.org/ • YANA: You Are Never Alone (Baltimore) http://www.yanaplace.com
Comprehensive Services (Transitional Housing, Education and Job Training)	• Genesis House (Chicago) http://www.genesishouse.org • SAGE: Standing Against Global Exploitation (San Francisco) http://www.sageinc.org/
Curricula for Helping Juveniles Leave Prostitution	• Paul and Lisa Program http://www.paulandlisa.org • Sisters Offering Support (Hawaii) http://www.soshawaii.org/
Drug De-Tox Program For Street Youth	• Haight Asbury Free Clinics (San Francisco) http://www.hafci.org
Emergency Shelters For Youth	• Covenant House/Fort Lauderdale (Fort Lauderdale) http://www.covenanthousefl.org/ • Covenant House/New Orleans (New Orleans) http://www.covenanthouseno.org/no_main.htm • Larkin Street Youth Center (San Francisco) http://www.lsyc.org/ • The Night Ministry (Chicago) http://www.thenightministry.org/home.htm • The Store Front (San Diego) http://sdycs.org/programs/storefront.html • Voyage House (Philadelphia)**
HIV Education and Prevention Among Street Youth	• Ke Ola Mamo (Hawaii) http://hivinsite.ucsf.edu/prevention/grassroots_programs/2098.33cb.html • State of Hawaii/HIV Education Program**
Identification of Adult Perpetrators of On-Line Sexual Victimization of Children	• National Center for Missing and Exploited Children/Exploited Children's Unit http://www.missingkids.com • U.S. Customs Service http://www.customs.ustreas.gov/enforcem/enforcem.html • U.S. Postal Inspection Service http://www.usps.gov/websites/depart/inspect/kid-porn.htm
Investigation and Treatment of Child Sexual Abuse	• Clark County Sexual Abuse Investigative Team (SAINT)/Dept of Family and Youth Services (Las Vegas) http://www.co.clark.nv.us/FYS/CHHAVEN/saint.htm
Local Child Sexual Exploitation Units/ Task Forces on Child Sexual Exploitation	• El Paso Police Department/Crimes Against Children Unit)**

[46] Double asterisks (**) indicates that no electronic program description could be located at the time of preparing this document.

Type of Assistance Provided	Illustrative Agencies and Organizations
	• San Jose Police Department/ Bureau of Investigations/Child Exploitation Detail (San Jose)**
Outreach Health Services to Street Youth	• Drop-In Center (of Tulane University) (New Orleans)** • Forty Fifth Street Clinic (Seattle) http://www.nwrpca.org/healthcenters/detail.cfm?ID=5 • Haight Asbury Free Clinics (San Francisco) http://www.hafci.org • Kalihi Palama Health Center (Hawaii)** • Waikiki Health Center (Hawaii) http://www.waikikihealthcenter.org/
Outreach to Sexual Minority Youth	• American Friends Service/Committee Gay Liberation Project (Hawaii) • http://www.afsc.org/pdesc/pd344.htm • COLOURS, Inc. (Philadelphia)** • HIPS: Helping Individual Prostitutes Survive (Washington) http://www.hips.org • Ke Ola Mamo (Honolulu) http://hivinsite.ucsf.edu/prevention/grassroots_programs/2098.33cb.html • Life Foundation (Honolulu) http://www.lifefoundation.org • State of Hawaii/HIV Education Program** • Transgenesis (Chicago) http://www.transgenesis.org • University of Hawaii School of Medicine/Department of Adolescent Medicine (Honolulu)** • Whitman-Walker Clinic (Washington) http://www.wwc.org
Outreach to Street Youth	• New Horizons Ministries (Seattle) http://www.nhym.org • Street Links and Safe Links (of Seattle Children's Home) (Seattle) http://www.seattlechildrenshome.org/) • Genesis House (Chicago) http://www.genesishouse.org • Larkin Street Youth Center http://www.lsyc.org
Probation Services Serving Sexually Exploited Youth	• Las Vegas Metro Police Department/ Juvenile Probation/Prostitution Program (Las Vegas)**
"Re-Education" Programs for Adult Customers of Sex With Children	• John School/Las Vegas** • John School/San Francisco**
Targeting Pimps of Commercially Sexually Exploited Youth	• Las Vegas Metro Police Department/Operation STOP**
Telephone Assistance to Runaways	• National Runaway Switchboard (Chicago) http://www.nrscrisisline.org • Switchboard of Miami (Miami) http://www.switchboardmiami.org
Therapeutic Environments for Youth with Serious Emotional Disorders	• Children of the Night (Van Nuys CA http://www.childrenofthenight.org/main.html) • Girls and Boys Town of Nevada (Las Vegas) http://www.boystown.org/aboutus/locations/nevada.htm • Letot Center (Dallas) • McAlister Institute (San Diego) http://www.mcalisterinstitute/mcalister.htm
Training of Police and Human Service Professionals in the CSEC	• Dallas Police Department/Special Investigations Unit • Fox Valley Technical College (Appleton WI) • National Center for Missing and Exploited Children http://www.missingkids.com

Type of Assistance Provided	Illustrative Agencies and Organizations
	• National Training and Technical Assistance Center (Fairfax VA) • U.S. Customs Service/CyberSmuggling Unit • U.S. Postal Inspection Service
Transitional Housing and Services to Run-away Youth	• Juvenile Crisis Project (San Diego)** • Voyage House (Philadelphia)** • West Care (Las Vegas) • Youth Care (Seattle) http://www.youthcare.org

G. Gaps in the Existing Legal and Human Service Environments

Much of the information presented in this section of the report has confirmed the tentative, often piecemeal, way in which child sexual exploitation currently is being responded to by the nation's law enforcement and human service agencies. This is a profoundly serious situation given the large numbers of children who become victims of sexual exploitation each year and the long-term, often intractable, consequences of this exploitation both for children and society-as-a-whole.

Among others, this project has identified the following as the most serious threats to the national capacity for responding to the current epidemic of child sexual exploitation:

1. the absence of clear conceptual understandings of the nature, causes, dynamics and epidemiology of child sexual exploitation;

2. the absence of a clear understanding of the relationship that exists between child sexual abuse, child sexual assault, child sexual exploitation, and the *commercial* sexual exploitation of children;

3. an under-estimation on the part of human service agencies of the national and international dimensions of child sexual exploitation even when such agencies have out-of-state and out-of-country children in their care;

4. an under-estimation on the part of local and state police of the national dimensions of child sexual exploitation, albeit most recognize that at least some commercially sexually exploited children follow well established "business travel" routes ("tracks") in and around the U.S. and to and from the other countries;

5. an under-estimation on the part of local, state and Federal law enforcement authorities of the international dimensions of child sexual exploitation, including international trafficking in sexually exploited children and the use of some of these children to move drugs and money across international borders and within the U.S.;

6. an under-estimation on the part of local, state and Federal law enforcement authorities of the involvement of organized criminal units in the sale, trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of children;

7. a severe shortage of national and local experts across a broad spectrum of disciplines with specialized expertise in child sexual exploitation;

8. a severe shortage of qualified forensics personnel to collect and analyze electronic and other evidence associated with the sexual exploitation of children;

9. the continued existence of Federal, state and local data systems that: a) do not communicate with one another; b) are not accessible by most law enforcement or human service personnel; c) fail to report and, thereby, reflect the true and changing incidence of child sexual exploitation across the nation; and d) do not even have data fields that make the reporting of child sexual exploitation possible;

10. the continued widespread under-reporting of cases involving child sexual exploitation, especially commercial child sexual exploitation, by police and human service authorities;

11. the absence in the vast majority of human service agencies and law enforcement agencies of clear policies and procedures for intervening in cases of suspected or confirmed child sexual exploitation;

12. inadequate and incomplete training on the part of human service and police professionals in the psychosocial and legal aspects of child sexual exploitation and its remedies;

13. owing to lack of training and understanding of the causes and dynamics of child sexual exploitation, the persistence on the part of many law enforcement and human service professionals of negative attitudes toward children trapped in juvenile prostitution";

14. despite sometimes valiant efforts to the contrary, the lack of coordinated efforts at the Federal, state and local levels in dealing with the complex of planning and policy issues associated with child sexual exploitation;

15. the persistence of a "patchwork quilt" of Federal, state and local funding arrangements that make the provision of community-based services to runaway and homeless youth living on the nation's streets less effective and less efficient than that which is needed;

16. cultural insensitivity on the part of many human service and police professionals toward minority groups, including trafficked children, who are apprehended for engaging in commercial sexual exploitation;

17. widespread revulsion responses on the part of the human service and law enforcement personnel toward the large number of sexual minorities confirmed to be engaging in sexually exploitative behavior in the U.S. (e.g., gay, lesbian, bi-sexual and transgender youth);

18. the absence of "safe houses" and other supervised places to which sexually exploited children can "run" or otherwise seek help;

19. the absence of a national hotline dedicated specially to the needs of sexually exploited children and their families;

20. the absence of a national coalition of GOs and NGOs that can work together in developing and promoting a national agenda focused on the unique needs of sexually exploited children; and,

21. the absence of a national campaign that informs children, parents, teachers and the general public of the existence and dangers of child sexual exploitation.

H. A Sobering Picture

So far we have focused on the negatives—gaps, weaknesses, flaws in responses to the sexual exploitation of children, especially the commercial variants at both the sub-national and international levels. Although we are quite aware of the formidable drags on redirections of organizational policy, planning and priorities at all GO and NGO levels, we are also quite hopeful that spotlighting the problem in documents like the present one will propel at an accelerating pace desirable, meaningful change. Some thoughtful work has already begun. We anticipate that policy, planning and priorities will be reconfigured by recommendations that are practically feasible, politically defensible, and morally im-

pelled. That is what we have sought in enumerating these observations and in the recommendations made later in the report that are based upon them.

Exhibit 6.1

Governmental Agencies:
Type of Service Provided (N=180)

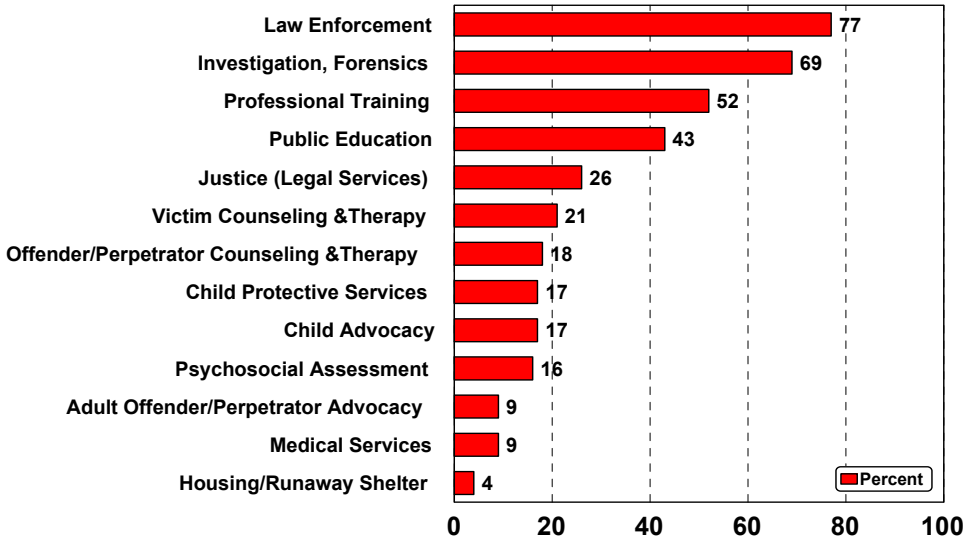


Exhibit 6.11

Nongoverntal Agencies:
Types of Direct Services Provided (N=89)

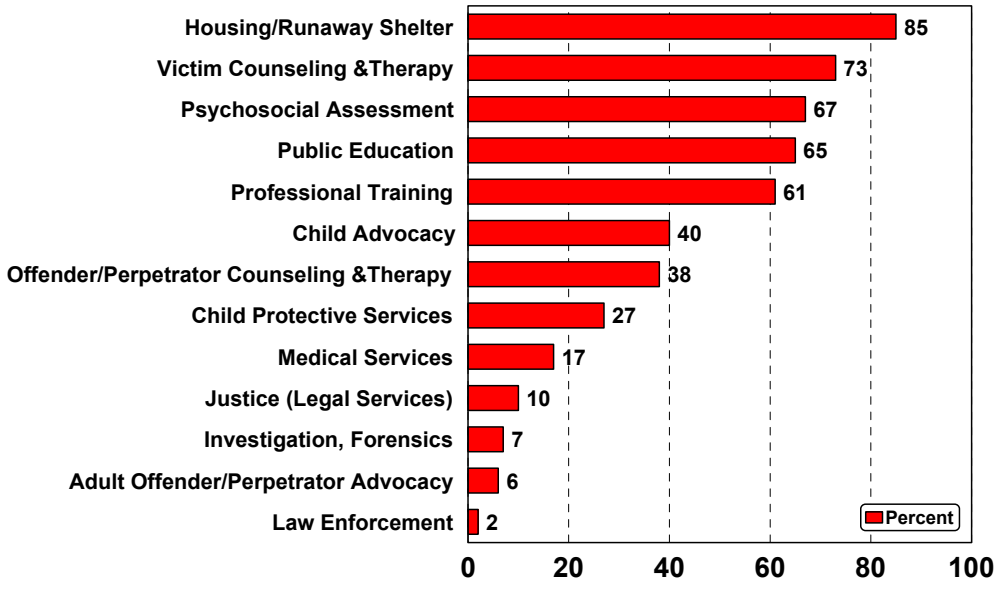


Exhibit 6.2

Governmental Agencies:
Geographic Area Served (N=180)

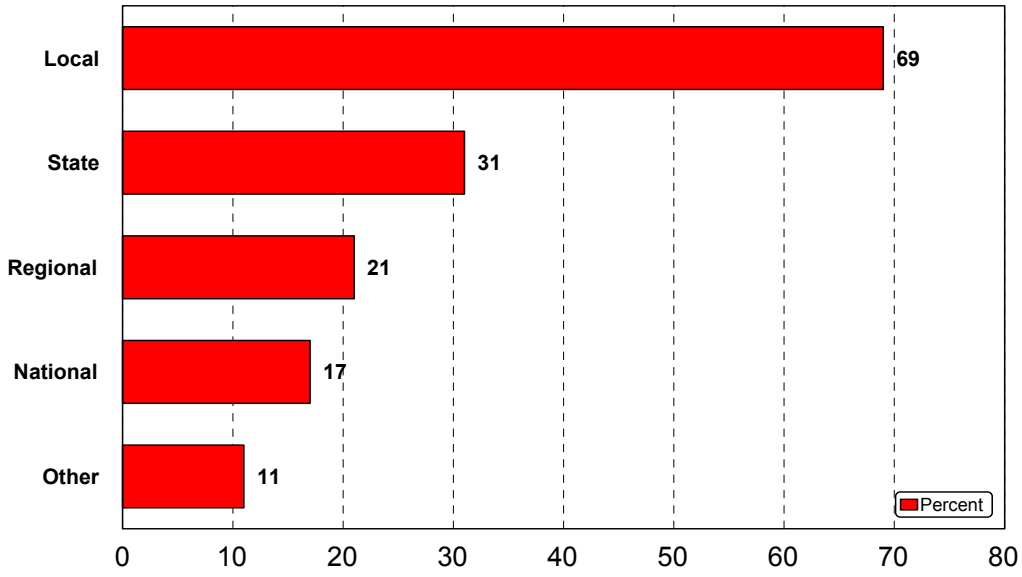


Exhibit 6.12

Nongovernmental Agencies:
Geographic Area Served (N=89)

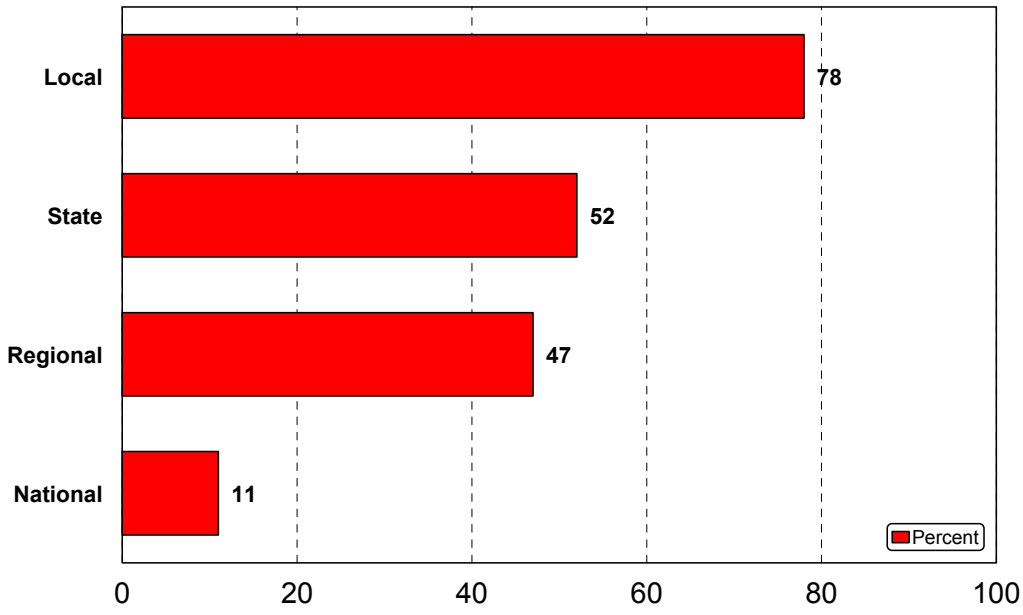
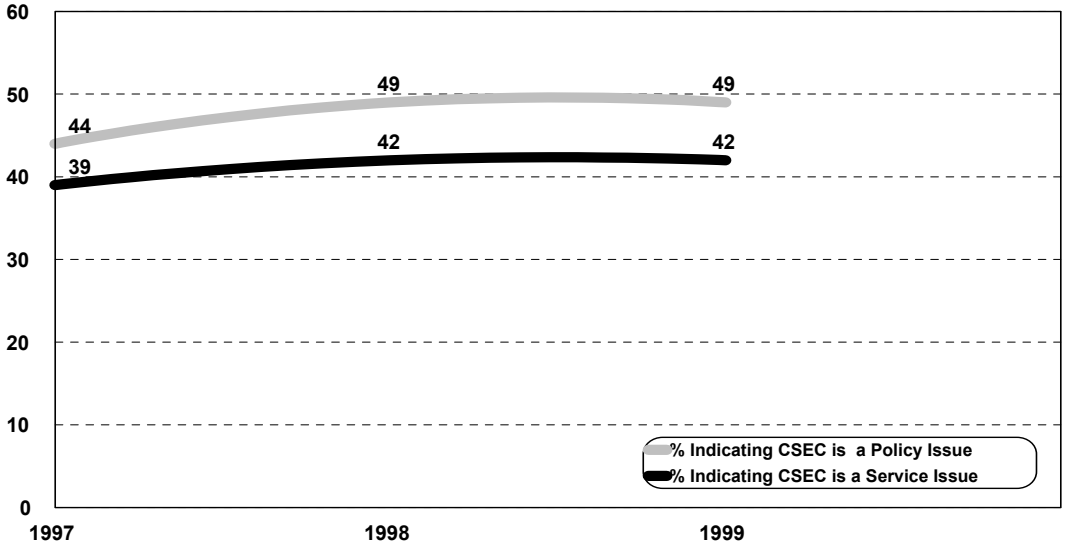


Exhibit 6.3

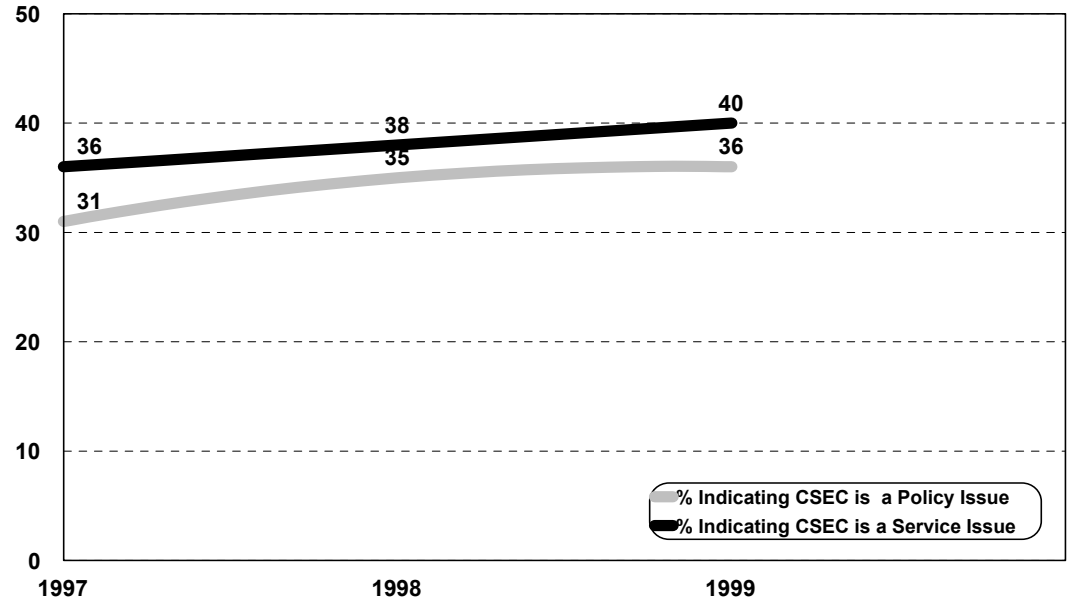
Governmental Agencies:
Importance of CSEC* (N=180)



*Percentage of agencies assigning either "most important" or "somewhat important" to the CSEC issue for the year indicated.

Exhibit 6.13

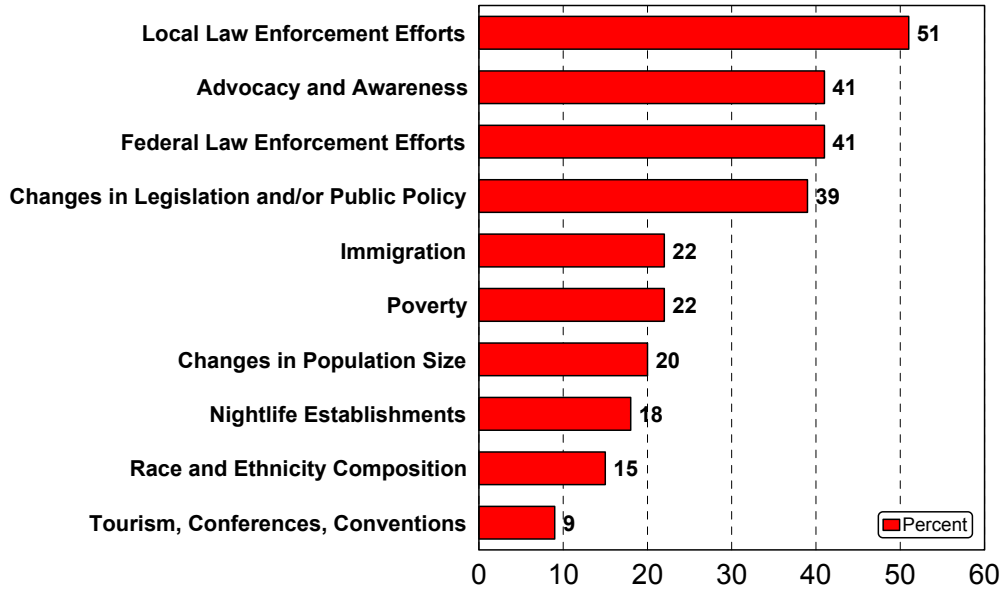
Nongovernmental Agencies:
Importance of CSEC* (N=89)



*Percentages of agencies assigning either "most important" or "somewhat important" to the CSEC issue for the year indicated.

Exhibit 6.4

Governmental Agencies:
Perceived Importance of Selected Factors in Contributing to the CSEC* (N=180)



*Percentage of agencies reporting CSEC is "most important" or "important" for that service area.

Exhibit 6.14

Nongovernmental Agencies:
Perceived Importance of Selected Factors In the CSEC (N=89)

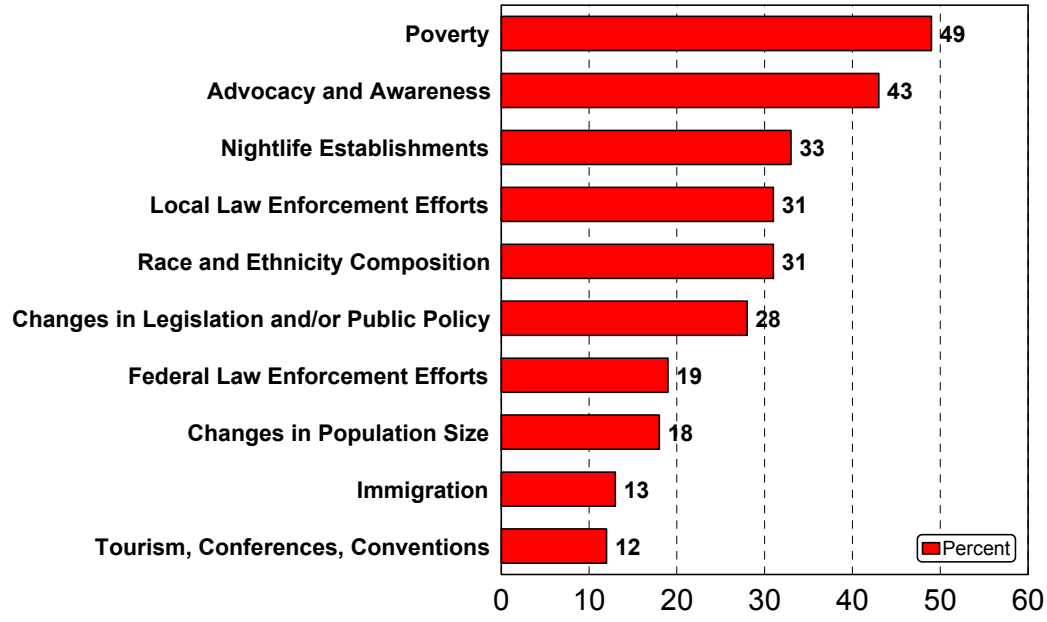


Exhibit 6.5

Governmental Agences:
Agencies With & Without a Working Defintion of the CSEC (N=180)

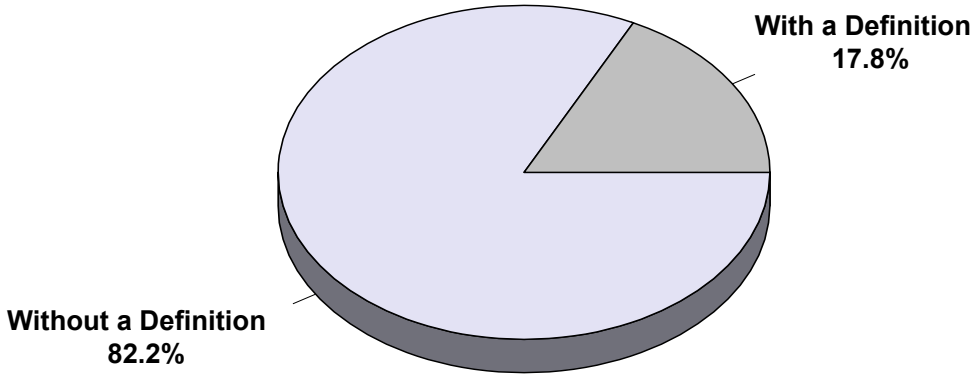


Exhibit 6.15

Nongovernmental Agences:
Agencies With & Without a Working Defintion of the CSEC (N=89)

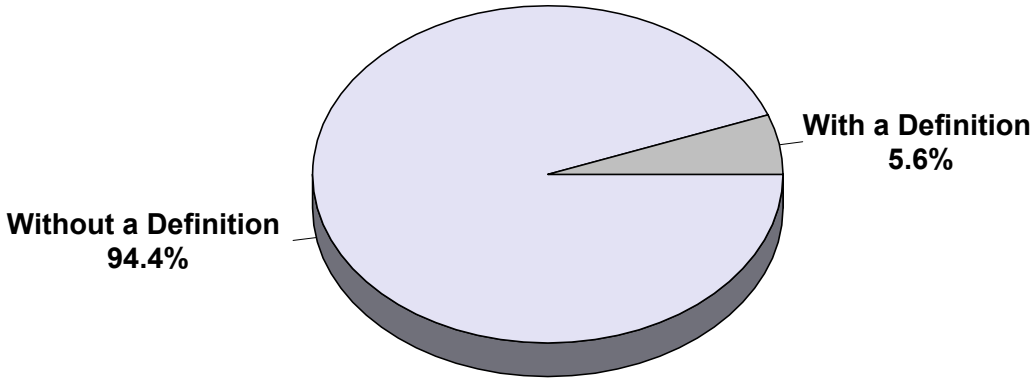


Exhibit 6.6

Governmental Agences:
Agencies With & Without Formal Procedures For Handling CSEC Cases (N=180)

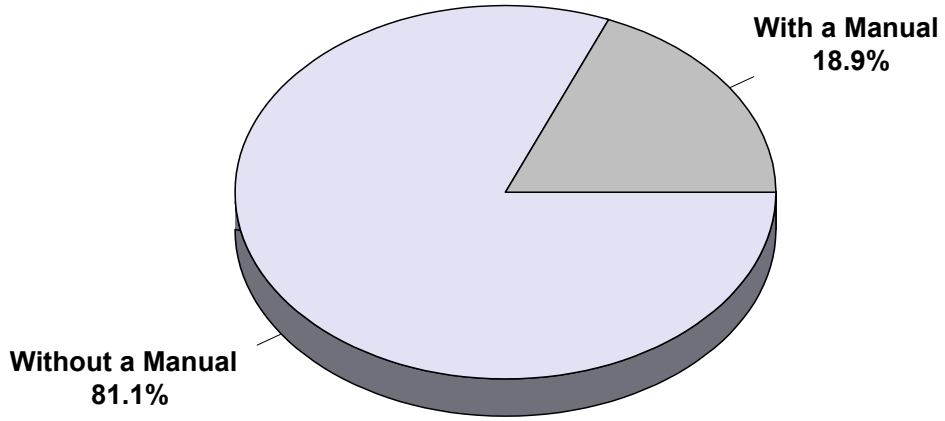


Exhibit 6.16

Nongovernmental Agences:
Agencies With & Without Formal Procedures For Handling CSEC Cases (N=89)

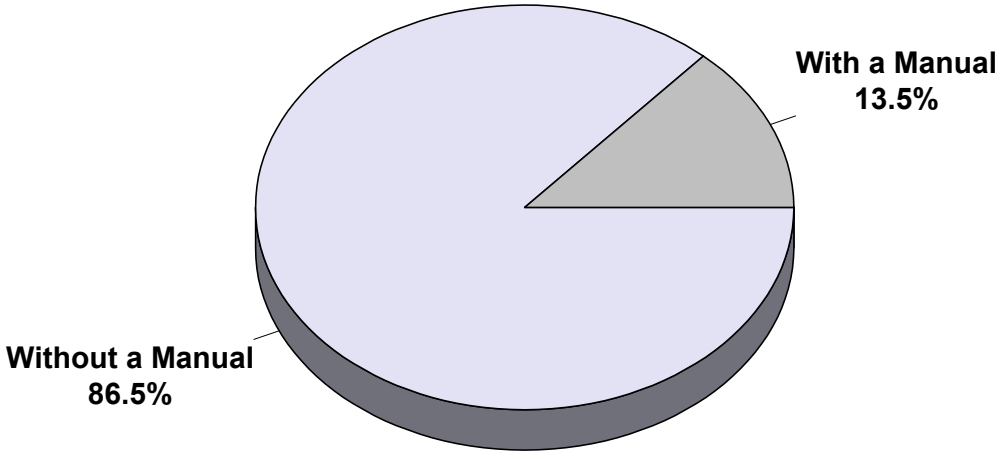
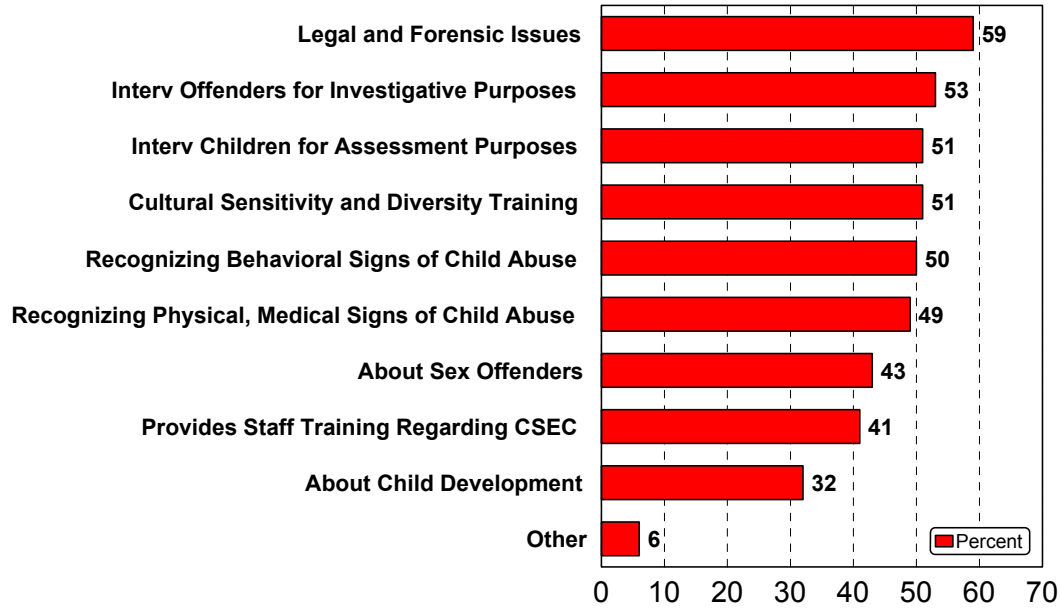


Exhibit 6.7

Governmental Agencies:
Agency Training and Policy Approaches* (N=180)



*Percentage of agencies reporting participation in the designated training and policy approaches.

Exhibit 6.17

Nongovernmental:
Agency Training and Policy Approaches (N=89)

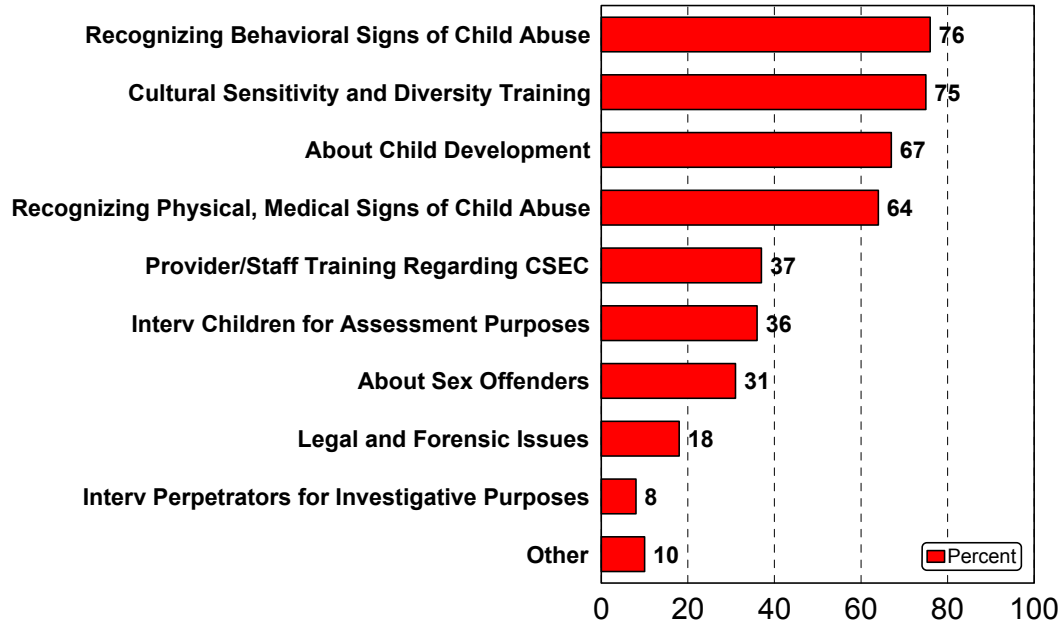


Exhibit 6.8

Governmental Agencies:
Methods for Identifying Victims of SEC (N=180)

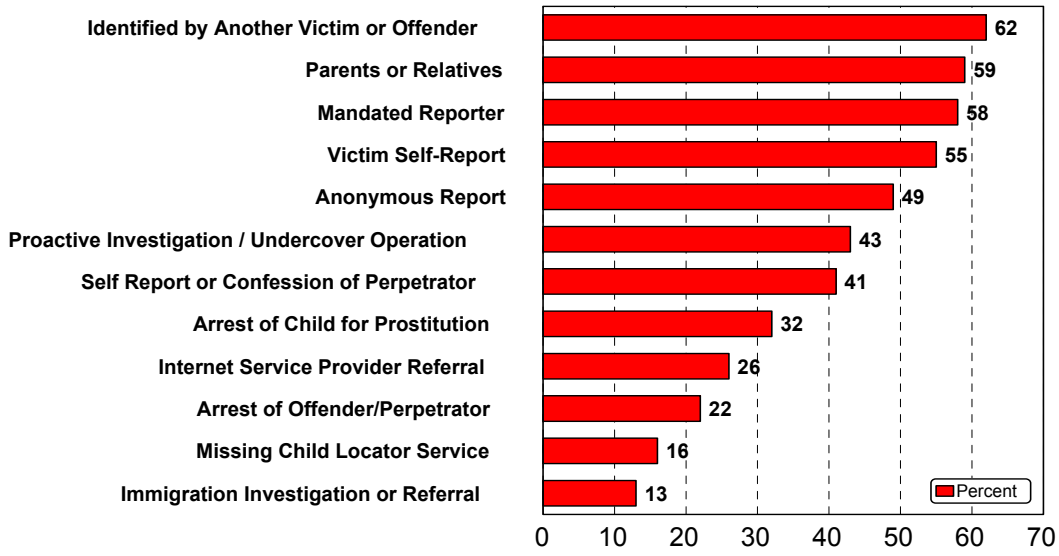


Exhibit 6.18

Nongovernmental Agencies:
Methods For Identifying Victims of SEC (N=89)

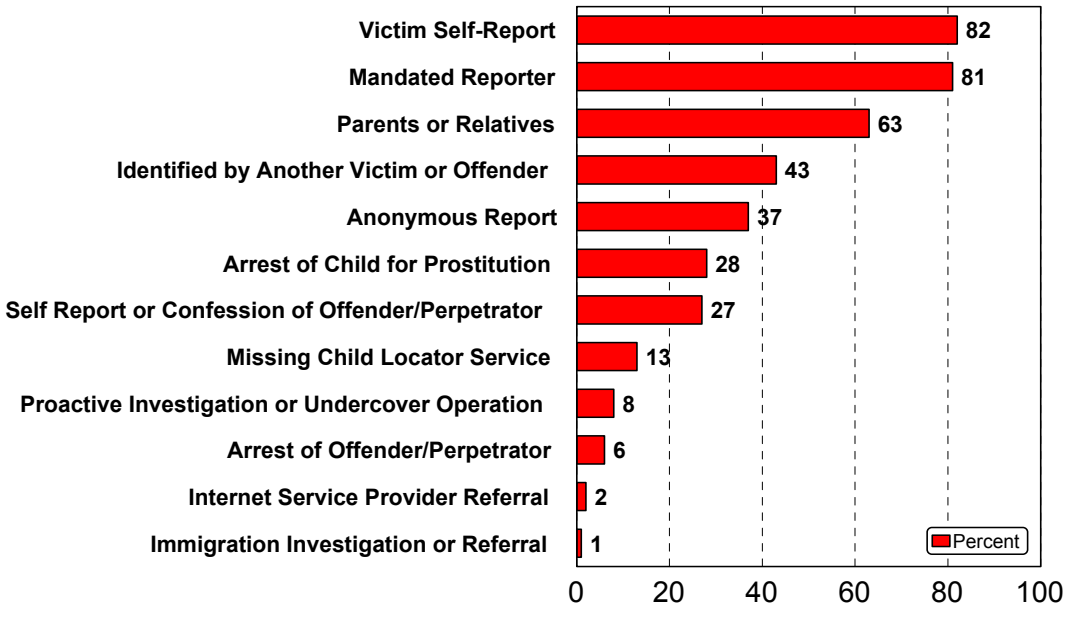
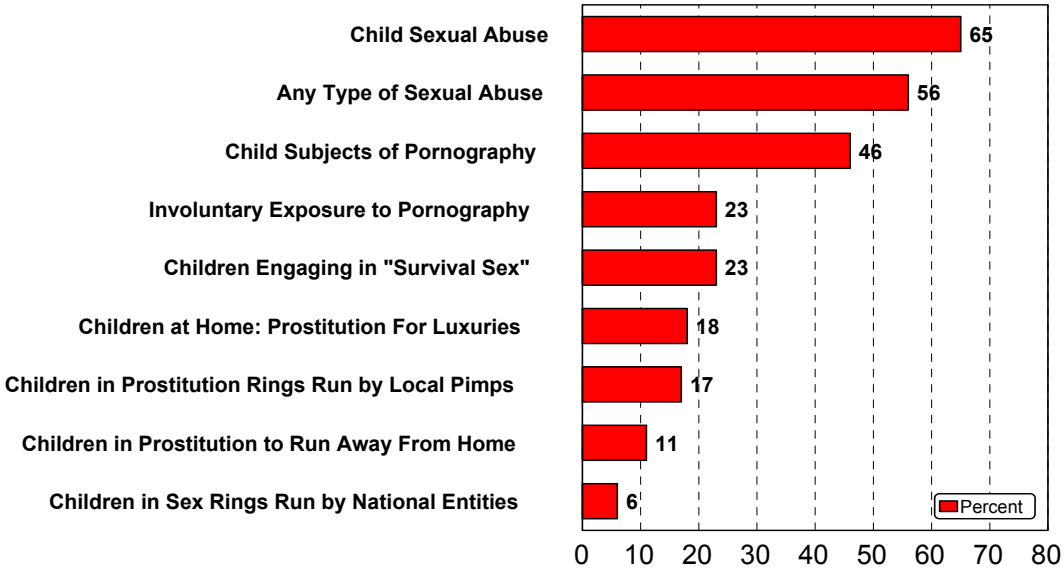


Exhibit 6.9

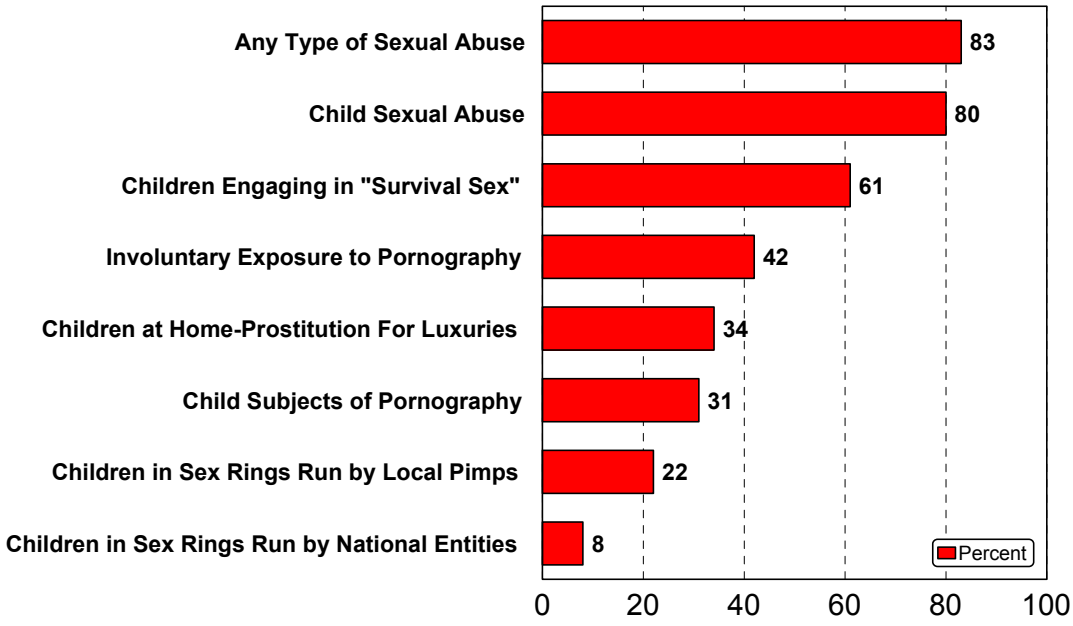
Governmental Agencies:
Types of CSEC Cases Served by Agency in 1999 (N=180)*



*Percentages represent the proportion of agencies identifying that they served at least one such case of the designated type.

Exhibit 6.19

Nongovernmental Agencies:
Types of CSEC Cases Served by Agency in 1999 (N=89)



PART VII:

RECOMMENDATIONS

RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Introduction

The 11 recommendations that follow were distilled from the many shared with us by the hundreds of children, and law enforcement and human service professionals with whom we met in the course of our investigation. They reflect prevention as the first priority, harm reduction as the second. Attention to gender issues as factors that contribute to CSE and the need for systematic public and professional education on CSE are the third and fourth priorities. Earlier identification and more intensive supervision of sexually offending adults and juveniles also are priorities as is the need for more in-depth research into other societal factors that contribute to CSE and the identification of those subgroups of children who are at the greatest risk of exploitation.

Realization of these recommended priorities will require a higher level of public policy focus, commitment and coherence than currently exists. Their realization also requires new human, fiscal and other resources to support the activities of Federal, state and local governments, service providers, planners, child advocacy organizations, researchers and others that are seeking to protect children from sexual exploitation. Only a comprehensive approach to the elimination of CSE can succeed.

Although the recommendations have been framed and listed in discrete sequence, they are mutually reinforcing; considered together they form an integrated plan of attack on CSE. They reflect our view concerning what is needed to remedy the most pernicious and recalcitrant manifestation of CSE—pornography, prostitution and trafficking in children for sexual purposes.

B. The Framework For An Integrated Plan of Action

Clearly, CSE is a complex and complicated phenomenon. Pathways into and out of CSE and CSEC are many and they are layered. Beyond the usual difficulties encountered when trying to unravel multiple, dense, causal relationships, CSE is, at its heart, a cluster of *commercial* activities, both in the formal—trafficking, smuggling, bogus contracts, financial payments—and wider meaning of that term—solicitations and exchanges. The commercial aspect of the CSEC creates a set of related sexually exploitative phenomena—prostitution, pornography, and trafficking—that promote an iron cage of control around the children enmeshed in them. The children possess commercial value, no matter how reprehensible the source of that value might be, and that strengthens the attachment of their purveyors to them. Add to the commercial mix the transnational aspect of trafficking—language and cultural barriers to extrication—and one confronts a potent phenomena that resists eradication. Superior counter force, comprising a combination of research- and law-enforcement-based knowledge of the CSEC's Achille's tendons, can nonetheless be mustered to roll back the tide of a still cresting set of CSEC phenomena.

We began our investigation into CSE with a commitment to help curb CSE. We have not veered from that initial commitment and, indeed, our resolve became even stronger as the investigation's findings began to emerge. Our research enterprise, then, has been in the service of this objective. Consequently, the way in which we depict what we have seen of the core structure of CSE is shaped by this fundamental commitment.

Exhibit N.1 (Appendix 1) frames the complex of relevant CSE relationships starting from the anchor point of reduction strategies. Following convention, reduction strategies (the boldfaced box)

can be broadly split into strategies of prevention (reduction activities launched before entry into the CSEC) and intervention (reduction activities launched after entry into the CSEC).

As we have wound our way through the CSEC thicket, we have found some fairly common ways of productively examining it from a reduction-based perspective. Pathways of entry into, continuation in, and exit from the CSEC involve a variety of micro- and macro-level *risks* and *causes* that are bracketed by individual attributes and cultural phenomena. In between these analytical bookends fall family relationships, peer interactions, school/educational processes, community connections, and social structure.

In view of the pivotal trafficking and transportation aspects of the CSEC—that is, the substantial human *mobility* that is at its center—across local, state, national, and regional borders and areas, from departure to arrival staging hubs, it is clear to us and others who have studied this problem that there must be a heavy concentration of *cooperation* among the main regulators of human mobility. These regulators comprise international, regional, national, and sub-national organizations. Standing together in cooperative efforts will be a key linchpin to denting the CSE trade. The possible forms of connection are many and varied, but the most critical ones include national and international statutory congruence, economic partnerships and incentives/disincentives, interagency cooperation (both GOs and NGOs), and technological sharing.

The capacity to set aside specific governmental and political interests on behalf of affected children and youth will be paramount to rolling back child sex-exploitation trafficking. However, many shocks and impediments to doing so continue to exist, many of which lurk at the national and international levels. These include social and economic upheavals (e.g., warfare, famine, economic impoverishment) and the entrenchment of the byproducts of such upheavals. Also, the brute fact that some governments may be complicit in the CSEC must be confronted, as difficult a challenge as that might be to overcome.

Governmental (e.g., criminal justice, human service) organizations are balanced by assorted nongovernmental organizations. These two organizational clusters will require some degree of *system integration* to substantially reduce the CSEC. System integration can consist of a range of formal and informal arrangements--including laws, regulations, partnerships, alliances, communication, technical assistance, and training, among others.

Cooperation and system integration cannot be fully realized absent a sufficient outlay of financial and human *resources*. Unless underwritten by adequate levels of financial and human capital, cooperation and system integration will remain inviting but empty visions.

In order to understand and harness information about the CSEC in the service of control and reduction strategies, systematic and sustained scientific *research* on the spectrum of risks and causes, cooperation, and system integration is urgently needed. Similarly, sustained research is needed on child prostitution and child pornography from the perspective of the CSEC, especially with respect to the intersection of its *commercial* and *international* aspects. This intersection raises some especially difficult social-control questions that require resolution. Equally vigorous research is needed on the extended relationships between the children caught in CSE and the succession of traffickers, customers, and pimps/procurers/promoters who use, abuse, and otherwise victimize these children. The products of our research will require, if they are to be of concrete value, mechanisms of dissemination and utilization. Put differently, in order to enhance the prospects for reducing the CSEC, there needs to be a seamless and forceful connection between the activities of knowledge creation, knowledge transmission, and knowledge application.

The diagrammatic depiction of CSE and the CSEC presented in Exhibit N.1 is shaped, then, by our unwavering inclination toward reduction strategies. Knowledge unfolds from both basic and applied purposes. In this instance, there is no more fundamental and defensible prism than that of research applied toward the end of curbing this shameful form of human misery.

C. Recommendations in Support of a National Strategy to Combat Child Sexual Exploitation (CSE) and the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC)

Recommendation #1. ***Protect the Children***

Children are the victims of sexual exploitation and only rarely can protect themselves against sexual assaults inflicted by trusted family members and other adults, especially when children themselves fail to recognize or give credence to the coercion and deception that accompanies CSE. Thus, efforts at protecting children from sexual exploitation must emphasize prevention as the first priority.

The findings obtained from this investigation underscore the importance of the following elements in a national strategy to prevent CSE and to protect children from its devastating consequences:

- A lead Federal agency, or consortium of such agencies, must be designated and given primary responsibility for protecting children from SEC;
- Sexually offending adults and juveniles, including "opportunistic" sexual exploiters of children, must be given the unequivocal message that "it is not okay" to sexually molest children;
- Children must be empowered to report incidents of illicit sexual contact between themselves and others to law enforcement and human service authorities;
- Local and state human service and law enforcement agencies must have access to the resources needed to investigate fully all reported cases of child sexual abuse and child sexual assault;
- Local and state human service and law enforcement agencies must have access to the resources needed to adequately supervise all cases of *substantiated* or *indicated* child sexual abuse over the long term;
- Local human service and law enforcement agencies must have the resources needed to assist runaway, thrownaway and homeless youth from becoming victims of CSE;
- Local human service and law enforcement agencies must have access to resources needed to serve transient runaway and homeless youth who enter their communities; and,
- States and other jurisdictions must have access to the resources needed to cooperate fully with one another in monitoring the presence, location and activities of convicted child sexual offenders.

Parents, schools, child advocacy organizations, and youth groups need to work together in the development and dissemination of messages related to the protection of children from sexual exploitation. Public media, but especially television networks and the movie and recording industries, share a heavy responsibility for disseminating age-appropriate and accurate messages concerning the nature, extent and seriousness of CSE in contemporary American society.

Recommendation #2. ***Target Adult Sexual Exploiters of Children For Punishment, Not the Children***

Sexually exploited children often are re-victimized by the very agencies that have been designed to assist them. This re-victimization takes several forms: 1) the treatment of sexually exploited children as *criminals* rather than as *victims* of sexual exploitation; 2) to the extent they occur at all, arrests of juveniles involved in prostitution rather than the pimps, traffickers, customers and other adults that benefit from the sexual exploitation of children; and 3) "benign neglect" by many agencies of the complex service needs of tens of thousands of runaway and homeless street youth that enter local communities as "transients."

We strongly recommend that the focus of law enforcement and human service agencies shift in the following ways:

- that local and state law enforcement agencies shift their priorities away from the apprehension of sexually involved street youth to the arrest, prosecution and punishment of adult perpetrators of sex crimes against children—pimps, traffickers and customers;

- that Federal law enforcement agencies become more involved in the identification and prosecution of adults involved in national sex crime rings that include child sex among their "portfolio" of services; and

- that appropriate mechanisms be found for local and state human service agencies to work more cooperatively with law enforcement authorities in the identification and apprehension of adults who commit sexual crimes against children.

Recommendation #3. ***Enforce More Fully Existing National and State Laws Relating to Child Sexual Exploitation***

This investigation has confirmed a pattern of "benign neglect" on the part of many law enforcement and human service agencies vis-à-vis the needs of sexually exploited children and youth. This pattern is reflected both in the comparatively low number of CSE cases currently being served by public agencies (relative to the large number of CSE cases this investigation has confirmed to exist) and the absence of written policies and procedures for dealing with CSE cases in all but a few agencies. The pattern prevails despite the existence of strong Federal, and usually state, laws designed to protect children from sexual exploitation.

We strongly recommend that the Federal government assume a leadership position in encouraging both its own agencies and those of state and local governments to implement fully all national and state laws pertaining to the protection of children from sexual exploitation. At a minimum, such interventions should encourage:

- all Federal agencies to develop strategic plans for implementing Federal laws related to the sexual exploitation of children that affect their mission;

- the creation of financial incentives to states and local governments for implementing all laws related to the sexual exploitation of children within their jurisdictions (e.g., planning grants); and,

- the development of a system of disincentives for use with governmental agencies that fail to comply with relevant laws pertaining to the sexual exploitation of children (e.g., withdrawal funds, reassignment of responsibilities to other agencies, court supervision, etc.).

Recommendation #4. ***Increase the Penalties Associated With Sexual Crimes Against Children***

While no one can forecast exactly the net impact of greater or enhanced criminal penalties in reducing CSE, there is an important logic for doing so. Penalty enhancement broadcasts the unmistakable message that CSE is a crime, not a viable, defensible personal choice. That is an important cultural and educational statement that seems atrophied in many places in the U.S., as well as in many foreign communities in which CSE is a brute fact of life (and saddening forced option).

Some persons involved in child trafficking were quite explicit about the "cost/benefit" ledger sheets they mentally drafted; on balance, involvement in the CSEC was judged to be more profitable and less risky than involvement in felony-level crimes.[47] This imbalance is an incentive to make one's illicit money from CSE rather than drugs or other felony crimes. While not all decisions to engage in one illicit crime rather than another are made quite so rationally, the existing statutory imbalance sends a powerful message to those involved or considering involvement in CSE. The message is one of legal and cultural hypocrisy. Putting both messages back on point will do no harm and, one hopes, substantial good.

For these reasons, we recommend:

- taking action to tip the balance toward making the current net of CSE-relevant statutes more consistent in severity with other acts of commensurate seriousness, like drug and arms trafficking; and,

- convening a multidisciplinary group of legal a advocacy experts to draft a model penal code to inform and shape CSE-related legislation, perhaps doing so under the auspices of the American Bar Association, which has sanctioned such initiatives in the past.

Recommendation #5. ***Support Local Communities in Their Efforts to Strengthen Local and State Laws Pertaining to Child Sexual Exploitation***

At the same time that work is done by governmental and nongovernmental groups to change the penalty structure and hierarchy of statutes pertaining to CSE, work also needs to be done in strengthening those statutes that already exist. There are two avenues of redress. One is simply to apply the law when it is violated. Infrequent statutory application breeds blindness if not contempt for its content and message. The second is to impose a more even, or uniform, level of legal sanction when the sanction is in fact invoked, regardless of the frequency of use. Perhaps the most viable modality for ad-

[47] Many CSE offenses, at least at the local level, trigger comparatively minor, misdemeanor (municipal) "jail" time in comparison to other related offenses, like drug trafficking or distribution, which can carry major, felony (state) "prison" time.

vancing this twin agenda is through advocacy and groups of victims acting on behalf of sexually exploited children.

Thus, we recommend the following:

- apply current statutes in a more consistent manner, doing so by taking steps to adopt sentencing guidelines, such as those used at the Federal level and in many states; and,

- develop sentencing guidelines for CSE by mounting a multi-state review of actual sentences meted out.

Recommendation #6. ***Establish a National Child Sexual Exploitation Intelligence Center (NCSEIC)***

This investigation has demonstrated the need for a full-time intelligence gathering and strategic planning apparatus for monitoring national trends related to CSE. To that end, we recommend that a *National Child Sexual Exploitation Intelligence Center* (NCSEIC) be established.

While uniquely focused on issues related to CSE, the goals and structure of the NCSEIC would be comparable to those of the National Drug Intelligence Center (NDIC): 1) to support national policy makers and law enforcement decision makers with strategic domestic CSE intelligence; 2) to support national counter CSE efforts; and 3) to conduct and report on a timely basis national, regional and state CSE threat assessments.

Collaborating agencies with the NCSEIC would include at least the following Federal departments and units in addition to the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children: the Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section of the U.S. Department of Justice, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the U.S. Customs Service, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Family and Youth Services Bureau of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), The U.S. National Central Bureau (INTERPOL), the U.S. Marshall's Service, the Office For Victims of Crime of the U.S. Department of Justice, the U.S. Postal Inspection Service, the Office of Children's Issues of the U.S. Department of State, the Forensic Services Division of the U.S. Treasury Department, the U.S. Department of Labor, the U.S Department of Transportation, the U.S. Department of Education, the U.S. Department of Commerce, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and the Criminal Investigative Divisions (CID) of the U.S. Department of Defense.

In addition to other responsibilities, the recommended functions of the NCSEIC would include:

- the development of a library of pornographic images that have been accepted by Federal and state courts as evidence of sexual crimes against children (for accessing by Federal prosecutors and others working in cooperation with Federal justice agencies);

- the conduct and dissemination of timely threat assessments of changing national, regional and state trends in CSE;

- the conduct and dissemination of timely threat assessments concerning the involvement of organized crime and other criminals in the commercial sexual exploitation of children; and,

- the promotion of continuing professional education of analysts, forensics specialists and others needed to carry out on-going threat assessments and strategic planning on matters pertaining to CSE.

Recommendation #7. ***Expand Federally Funded Multi-jurisdictional*** **Task Forces on Child Sexual Exploitation** ***Into All Major Federal and State Jurisdictions***

Federally-initiated multi-jurisdictional task forces on CSE have demonstrated great promise in the communities in which they are located (Whitcomb, 1995; Whitcomb & Eastin, 1998).[48] They have, for example, succeeded in several critical respects:

- sensitizing local communities to the dangers of sex crimes against children;
- promoting multi-jurisdictional cooperation in identifying, apprehending and prosecuting perpetrators of sex crimes against children;
- promoting new public-private partnerships in combating child pornography, juvenile prostitution, and trafficking in children for sexual purposes;
- strengthening local laws designed to protect children from sexual abuse, sexual assault and sexual exploitation; and,
- serving as focal points for promoting increasingly higher levels of public and continuing professional education concerning CSE both locally and nationally.

On the basis of their apparent effectiveness in combating sexual crimes against children, we recommend that Federally-funded *Multijurisdictional Task Forces on Child Sexual Exploitation* be established and systematically evaluated in all major Federal and state jurisdictions.

Recommendation #8. ***Expand Federally-Funded*** **Internet Crimes Against Child (ICAC)** ***Units Into All Major Federal and State Jurisdictions***

Federally-initiated *Internet Crimes Against Children* units have demonstrated great promise in the 30 communities in which they have been implemented.[49] They have succeeded, for example, in:

---

[48] The current number of these task forces is unknown and their names vary from one jurisdiction to another, i.e., *Sexual Assault and Exploitation Felony Enforcement Team* (SAFE), *Task Force on Child Sexual Exploitation*, etc. In all cases, these task forces are multi-jurisdictional and consist of a standing team of CSE experts who are representatives of federal, state and local law enforcement agencies. The task forces are dedicated to proactive and reactive investigation and prosecution of cases involving child sexual exploitation.

[49] In FY 2001, Congress appropriated $6.49 million for the Internet Crime Against Children (ICAC) Task Force Program for state and local law enforcement to continue specialized cyber units to investigate and prevent child sexual exploitation. The ICAC program encourages communities to develop regional, multi-jurisdictional, and multi-agency responses to Internet crimes. Since their inception in 1998, ICAC Task Forces have arrested 420 offenders, identified hundreds of investigative targets, seized 825 computers, provided training to 10,000 prose-

- sensitizing local communities to the dangers of internet sex crimes against children;

- promoting multi-jurisdictional cooperation in identifying, apprehending and prosecuting perpetrators of internet sex crimes against children;

- promoting new public-private partnerships in combating electronically promoted sex crimes against children, including partnerships with internet service providers (ISPs);

- strengthening local laws designed to protect children from involuntary exposure to electronic pornography, sexual solicitations and sexual harassment; and,

- serving as focal points in the promotion of increasingly higher levels of public and continuing professional education concerning CSE both locally and nationally.

On the basis of their apparent effectiveness in combating electronic sex crimes against children, we recommend that Federally-funded *Internet Crimes Against Children* units be established and systematically evaluated in all major Federal and state jurisdictions.

Recommendation #9. ***Enlarge the National Pool of Child Sexual Exploitation Experts and Specialists***

A serious shortage exists nationally in the number and types of specialists in CSE. These shortages are most apparent in the forensics area but also are manifest in judicial and prosecutorial agencies. An urgent need also exists for more social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, educators, physicians, lawyers, police officers, coroners and others with special expertise in CSE.

We recommend that the Federal government:

- expand significantly its current programs of continuing education focused on increasing the national pool of legal, correctional and human service professionals with specialized expertise in the nature, extent, dynamics and impact of sexual exploitation on children and their families;[50]

- promote increased attention to CSE content and practices in the curricula and training programs of all professional disciplines that share responsibility for assisting sexually exploited children and their families; and,

---

cutors and law enforcement officers, and reached thousands of children, parents, and educators with information about safe online practices for children and teenagers. With the addition of 20 new regional task forces in FY 2000, the ICAC program is now providing forensic, investigative, and prevention services in 31 States (OJJDP, 2001:47).

[50] Existing efforts include those sponsored by selected federal agencies for their own staff engaged in the investigation of CSE cases (e.g., U.S. Customs Service, U.S. Postal Inspection Service) and those provided by private organizations through contractual arrangements with the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention to other federal and private agencies--the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children and the Fox Valley Technical College (Connelly & Laney, 2001).

- promote increasingly higher levels of interdisciplinary education and cooperation in the field of CSE.

Recommendation #10. ***Promote Effective Public/Private Partnerships For Combating Child Sexual Exploitation***

A successful national campaign to combat CSE will require active participation and coordination of efforts between and among all public and private stakeholders committed to the prevention of CSE and to the protection of its victims. Among others, these stakeholders include:

- governmental agencies and units charged with leadership responsibility in combating CSE at the local, state and Federal levels;

- nongovernmental organizations and agencies that provide direct services to sexually exploited children and their families;

- associations and networks of sexually exploited children and youth;

- associations and networks of parents and guardians of sexually exploited runaway, throw-naway, homeless and otherwise missing children;

- nongovernmental organizations engaged in advocacy, research, and educational activities on behalf of sexually exploited children nationally and internationally;

- nongovernmental organizations engaged in advocacy, research, and educational activities on behalf of adult victims of domestic violence and CSE;

- primary and secondary school educators;

- businesses and other commercial organizations that profit from the commercial sexual exploi-tation of children (e.g., internet service providers, hotel/motel chains, transportation vendors, travel agencies);

- foundations and other public benefit fiduciary organizations that provide financial support to programs serving sexually exploited children and their families; and,

- representatives of the public media (including news print, television, radio, the film industry, etc.).

We recommend that the Federal government give programmatic and fiscal leadership to:

- the development of local, state and national councils (coalitions and task forces) of public and private stakeholders committed to the elimination of CSE;

- the development by these councils (coalitions and task forces) of multi-year strategic plans that include specific goals and timetables for measuring and reducing the prevalence of CSE within their communities; and,

- the development of nationally linked coordinating mechanisms whereby local and state strategic plans for the elimination of CSE can be integrated into a comprehensive national plan of action.

Recommendation #11 ***The Need For More Specialized Studies of Perpetrators of Child Sexual Exploitation and Their Victims***

The present investigation represents a unique "first generation" inquiry into the nature, extent, dynamics and seriousness of CSE in the U.S.. This investigation has uncovered many surprising, and unsettling, facts about the near epidemic nature of CSE in contemporary American society. We have reported these findings in considerable detail. Even so, much more needs to be understood about the causes and extent of CSE, especially among those sexually vulnerable populations of children and youth that are hidden from public view.

We recommend that additional research be undertaken in the following areas:

- understanding more fully those aspects of American collective life that appear to contribute directly to the CSEC—including changing societal values and mores; weakening family structures; the persistence of male dominance over females; the apparent unclarity on the part of many adults concerning the right of children not to be physically, emotionally or sexually violated;

- the development of more detailed profiles of adults who we have identified as either "transients" (i.e., military personnel, long haul truck drivers, conventioneers, members of motorcycle gangs, sex tourists) or "opportunistic" sexual exploiters of children—a significant number of whom are married men with children of their own;

- the development of more detailed profiles of juvenile sexual offenders (i.e., older siblings, neighbors, children of family acquaintances) who exploit younger children already are known to them;

- the development of more detailed profiles and modes of operation of "pimps" and others (both older juveniles and adults) who systematically promote the commercial sexual exploitation of juveniles;

- the development of more detailed profiles and modes of operation of national and international "traffickers" of children for sexual purposes;

- the nature and extent of the CSEC among youth who self identify as sexual minorities--including gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender youth;

- the nature and extent of the CSEC among girls in gangs, especially those in male-controlled gangs, ethnically organized gangs, and Native American tribal gangs;

- the nature and extent the CSEC among American youth who cross international borders (especially into Mexico) in pursuit of cheaper drugs, alcohol and sex with child nationals of those countries;

- the nature and extent of commercial sex among middle income and other comparatively "well-off" youth living in their own homes who prostitute themselves for money in order to purchase more expensive clothing, jewelry and drugs;

- the nature and extent of the CSEC among youth living in poverty, particularly those living in public housing;

- the international dimensions of the CSEC with a U.S. nexus, including American youth who are trafficked outside the U.S. for sexual purposes and the foreign age-dependent children and youth who are trafficked into the U.S.;

- the near- and long-term impact of sexual exploitation on children and youth as they mature into adults; and,

- cost (and profit) estimates associated with the CSEC.

The road ahead to protect America's children and youth from CSE and the CSEC is long, and success is uncertain. After having concluded this *first generation research* effort, however, what is clear to us is the need for collateral *first generation policy development* and *strategic planning* in dealing with CSE and the CSEC at the local, state, national, and, because of the great human mobility involved, international levels. These developments must engage the talents and resources of all those persons and organizations working to protect children from CSE and these efforts must be adequately financed. Nothing short of a comprehensive and well-coordinated approach to enhancing the nation's capacity for preventing and protecting children from the horrors of CSE will succeed.

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

A. Academic, Scholarly and Professional References

Abadinsky, Howard. 1994. Organized Crime. 4th Edition. (Chicago: Nelson-Hall).

Abma, J.C., A. Chandra, W.D. Mosher, L. Peterson & L. Piccinino. 1997. Fertility, family planning, and women's health: New data from the 1995 National Survey of Family Growth, Vital Health Statistics 23(19).

Allen, Donald M. 1980. Young male prostitutes: A psychosocial study, Archives of Sexual Behavior 9:399-426.

Alves, Pericles Gasparini & Cipollone, Diana Belinda. 1997. Curbing illicit trafficking in small arms and sensitive technologies: An action-oriented agenda, Disarmament, 20:61-78.

American Academy of Pediatrics. 1993. Investigation and review of unexpected infant and child deaths (RE9336). Pediatrics 92(5):734-36.

Annie E. Casey Foundation. 2000. Kids Count Online, 1990, 1997, 1999. [http://www.aecf.org/cgi-bin/kconli…ROFILES&FROMPAGE=PROFILE1&STATE=US]

Araji, Sharon K. 1997. Sexually Aggressive Children: Coming to Understand Them (Thousand Oaks CA: Sage).

Arey Doug. 1995. Gay males and sexual abuse, in Lisa Aronson Fontes (Ed.) Sexual Abuse in Nine North American Cultures (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage).

Azaola, Elena. 2001a. Stolen Childhood. Girl and Boy Victims of Sexual Exploitation in Mexico. (México DF: UNICEF).

Azaola, Elena. 2001b. The commercial sexual exploitation of children in Mexico, in Richard J. Estes and Neil A. Weiner (Editors). The Silent Emergency: The Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada and Mexico (Westport CT: Greenwood Publishing Group).

Bagley, Chris & Loretta Young. 1987. Juvenile prostitution and child sexual abuse: A controlled study, Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health 6:5-26.

Bales, Kevin. 1999. Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy (Berkeley: University of California Press).

Barnitz, Laura S.A. 1998. Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children: Youth Involved in Prostitution, Pornography, and Sex Trafficking. (Washington: Youth Advocate Program International).

Barr, C.W. 1996. Child Sex Trade: Battling a Scourge. (Boston MA: Christian Science Publishing).

Bauserman, Robert & Bruce Rind. 1997. Psychological correlates of male child and adolescent sexual experiences with adults: A review of the non-clinical literature, Archives of Sexual Behavior 26(2):105-141.

Beck, A. 1993. Survey of State Prison Inmates, 1991 (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics).

Becker, Jo. 1998. INS violates rights of detained children, Human Rights Watch (December 22).

Becker, Judith V., Jerry Cunningham-Rathner, Meg S. Kaplan. 1986. Adolescent sexual offenders: Demographics, criminal and sexual histories, and recommendations for reducing future offenses. Journal of Interpersonal Violence 1(4):431-445.

Bond, Lydia S., Rafael Mazin, Maria Victoria Jiminez. 1992. Street youth and AIDS, AIDS Education & Prevention (Fall):14-23 (supplement).

Botti, Anita. 2000. Remarks at the Opening of the ARIAT meeting (in Manila, Philippines). (Washington: U.S. State Department, International Information Programs).

Boyer, Debra. 1989. Male prostitution and homosexual identity, Journal of Homosexuality 17(1-2):151-184.

Boyer, Debra & David Fine. 1993. Sexual abuse as a factor in adolescent pregnancy and child maltreatment. Family Planning Perspectives 24(2).

Brannigan, Augustine & Erin Gibbs Van Brunschot. 1997. Youth prostitution and child sexual trauma, International Journal of Law & Psychiatry 20(3):337-354.

Bremner, Robert H. (Editor). 1970. Children and Youth in America : A Documentary History (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press).

Briere, John & Marsha Runtz. 1989. University males' sexual interest in children : Predicting potential indices of pedophilia in a nonforensic sample, Child Abuse & Neglect 13(1):65-75.

Briere, John, Lucy Berliner, Joanne Bulkley. 1996. APSAC Handbook on Child Maltreatment (Newbury Park: Sage).

Brock, Rita Nakashima & Susan Brooks Thistlethwaite. 1996. Casting Stones: Prostitution and Liberation in Asia and the U.S.. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress).

Brooks, Jennifer L., Elizabeth C. Hair & Martha J. Zaslow. 2001. Welfare reform's impact on adolescents: Early warning signs, Research Brief (Washington: Child Trends), July.

Budapest Group. 1999. The Relationship Between Organized Crime and Trafficking in Aliens (Austria: International Centre for Migration Policy Development).

Budnick, Kimberly J. & Ellen Shields-Fletcher. 1998. What about girls? OJJDP Fact Sheet #84 (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention).

Caldwell, Gillian, Steven Galster & Nadia Steinsor. 1997. Crime & Servitude: An Expose of the Traffic in Women for Prostitution from the Newly Independent States. (Moscow: Global Survival Network)

Casa Alianza. 1999a. Casa Alianza monitors internet network which is promoting child sex tourism in Honduras (April 21).

Casa Alianza. 1999b. Casa Alianza and Honduran police capture four Americans for pimping children, (April 18).

Casa Alianza. 2000a. UN Expert: Majority of international adoptions in Guatemala illegal, (March 31).

Casa Alianza. 2000b. Costa Rica moves to curb child prostitution (November 16).

Cates, Jim A. 1989. Adolescent male prostitution by choice, Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal 6(2):151-156.

Cates, Jim A. & Jeffrey Markley. 1992. Demographic, clinical and personality variables associated with male prostitution by choice, Adolescence 27(107):695-706.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). 2000. Youth Risk Behavior Trends: 1991-1999 (Silver Spring MD: Nation Center for Chronic Disease Prevention and Health Promotion).

Children's Defense Fund. 2000. The State of America's Children - Yearbook 2000. (Washington, DC: CDF).

Chin, K. 1990. Chinese Subculture and Criminality: Non-Traditional Crime Groups in America. (Westport, CT: Greenwood).

Chin, Kolin, Kelly, Robert J., Fagan, Jeffrey. 1993. Methodological Issues in Studying Chinese Gang Extortion. Gang Journal 1(2):25-36.

Clements-Nolle, Kristen, Rani Marx, Robert Guzman, & Mitchell Katz. 2001. HIV prevalence, risk behaviors, health care use, and mental health status of transgender persons: Implications for public health intervention, American Journal of Public Health 91(6):915-921.

Cohen & Moberg. 1999.

Cole, Joy. 1993. The child as victim of extra-familial sexual exploitation with reference to the characteristics and modus operandi of the offender: A victimological study. Dissertation Abstracts International 53(11): 4091-A-4092-A.

Connelly, Mark T. 1980. The Response to Prostitution in the Progressive Era (Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press).

Connelly, Helen & Ron Laney. 2001. Missing and exploited children's training program, OJJDP Fact Sheet (March), #06.

Cordasco, Francesco & Thomas M. Pitkin. 1981. The White Slave Trade and the Immigrants: A Chapter in American Social History (Detroit: Blaine Ethridge Books).

Cosner, Robert E., Weiner, Neil A., Huang, Vera. 1997. Knowingly False and Malicious Reporting of Child Abuse and Neglect in Pennsylvania: Critical Questions, Findings, and Recommendations. (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare: Office of Children, Youth, and Families).

Crewdson, John. 1983. The Tarnished Door: The New Immigrants and the Transformation of America (New York: Times Books).

Davidson, Howard & Gregory Loken. 1987. Child Pornography and Prostitution: Background and Analysis. (Arlington, Virginia: National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, pp. 66-68).

Davidson, Julia O'Connell. 1996. The sex exploiter, unpublished manuscript prepared for World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (Stockholm, 1996).

De Mause, Lloyd. 1991. The universality of incest, Journal of Psychohistory, 19(2):123-164.

Deisher, Robert, G. Robinson & D. Boyer. 1982. The adolescent female and male prostitute, Pediatric Ann. 11(10):819-825.

Dembo, Richard, Linda Williams, Werner Wothke, James Schmeidler & C. Hendricks Brown. 1992. The role of family factors, physical abuse, and sexual victimization experiences in high-risk youth's alcohol and other drug use and delinquency: A longitudinal model, Violence and Victims 7(3): 245-266.

Dietz, Park Elliot. 1983. Sex offenses: Behavioral aspects, in S.H. Kadish (Ed.) Encyclopedia of Crime and Justice (New York: Free Press).

Dionne, Pierre. 2001. The commercial sexual exploitation of children in Canada, Richard J. Estes & Neil A. Weiner (Editors). The Silent Emergency: The Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada and Mexico (Westport CT: Greenwood Publishing Group).

DuRant, R. et al. 1998. Victimization, use of violence, and drug use at school among male adolescents who engage in same sex sexual behavior, Journal of Pediatrics 133:113-118.

Durfee, Michael, George A. Gellert & Deanne Tilton-Durfee. 1992. Origins and clinical relevance of child death review teams, Journal of the American Medical Association 267(23):3172-75.

Earls, Christopher M. & Helene David. 1989. A psychosocial study of male prostitution, Archives of Sexual Behavior 18(5):401-419.

Editors. 1913. The Survey, Vol. 30. A substantial part of the volume focuses on the prevalence of commercialized vice in America's major cities.

Edwards, Sally M., Edwards, Terry D., Fields, Charles B., eds. 1995. Environmental Crime and Criminality. (New York: Garland Publishing).

Egley, Arlen. 2000. Highlights of the 1999 National Youth Gang Survey, 1999. (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention).

End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography, and the Trafficking of Children for Sexual Exploitation (ECPAT). 1996b. Europe and North America Regional Profile (issued by the World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, held in Stockholm, Sweden, August 1996, p.70.)

Ennew, Judith. 1986. The Sexual Exploitation of Children (New York: St. Martin's Press).

Ennew, Judith, Kusum Gopal, Janet Heeran, Heather Montgomery. 1996. Children and Prostitution: How Can We Measure and Monitor the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children?: Literature Review and Annotated Bibliography (New York: Unicef).

Esbensen, Finn-Aage, Elizabeth P. Deschenes & L. Thomas Winfree. 1999. Differences between gang girls and gang boys: Results from a multisite survey, Youth & Society 31(1):27-53.

Estes, Richard J. 1995. Social development trends in Africa: The need for a new development paradigm, Social Development Issues, 17(1):18-47.

Estes, Richard J. 1996. Social development trends in Latin America, 1970-1994: In the shadows of the 21st century, Social Development Issues, 18(1):25-52.

Estes, Richard J. 1996. Social development trends in Asia, 1970-1994: The challenges of a new century," Social Indicators Research, 37(2):119-148.

Estes, Richard J. 1997. Trends in European social development, 1970-1994, Social Indicators Research, 38(6):1-19.

Estes, Richard J. 1998a. Social development trends in the successor states to the former Soviet Union: The Search for a New Paradigm, Economies in Transition (Nagoya: United Nations Centre for Regional Development).

Estes, Richard J. 1998b. Trends in world social development, 1970-95: Development prospects for a new century, Journal of Developing Societies 14(1):1-29.

Estes, Richard J. & Neil A. Weiner (Editors). 2001. The Silent Emergency: The Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada and Mexico (Westport CT: Greenwood Publishing Group)—in preparation.

Farber, Edward D., Cecilia Kinast, W. Douglas, McCoard & Deborah. D. Falkner. 1984. Violence in families of adolescent runaways, Child Abuse & Neglect 8:295-299.

Farley, Melissa. 1998. Prostitution in five countries: Violence and post-traumatic stress disorder, Feminism & Psychology 8(4):405-426.

Farley, Melissa & Howard Barkan. 1998. Prostitution, violence against women, and post-traumatic stress disorder, Women and Health 27(3):37-49.

Farley, Melissa & Vanessa Kelly. 2000. Prostitution: A critical review of the medical and social science literature, Women and Criminal Justice 11(4).

Farrow, James A. 1992. Health and health needs of homeless and runaway youth: A position paper of the Society For Adolescent Medicine, Journal of Adolescent Medicine 13:717-726.

Faugier, Jean & Mary Sargent. 1997. Boyfriends, "pimps" and clients, in Scambler, Graham & Annette Scambler (Editors), Rethinking Prostitution: Purchasing Sex in the 1990s (London: Routledge).

Finkelhor, David, Gerald Hotaling, I. A. Lewis, & Christine Smith. 1990. Sexual abuse in a national survey of adult men and women: Prevalence, characteristics and risk factors, Child Abuse and Neglect 14:19-28.

Finkelhor, David & Jennifer Dziuba-Leatherman. 1994. Children as victims of violence: A national survey, Pediatrics 94:413-420.

Finkelhor, David & D. Ormrod. (in press). The Reporting of Crimes Against Children to Police and Other Authorities (Washington DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention).

Finkelhor, David, Gerald Hotaling & Andrea Sedlak. 1990. Missing, Abducted, Runaway, and Throwaway Children in America (NISMART)--First Report: Numbers and Characteristics, National Incidence Studies (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention).

Finkelhor, David, Kimberly Mitchell, Janis Wolak. 2000. Online Victimization: A Report on the Nation's Youth (Alexandria VA: National Center for Missing and Exploited Children).

Finn, P. 1997. Sex Offender Community Notification. (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice).

Flowers, R.B. 1994. Victimization and Exploitation of Women and Children: A Study of Physical, Mental and Sexual Maltreatment in the U.S.. (Jefferson NC: McFarland Co).

Freeman-Longo, R.E.. 1994. Nationwide Survey of Juvenile and Adult Sex Offender Treatment Programs and Models (Orwell VT: The Safer Society).

Friedman, Reena Sigman. 1994. These Are Our Children: Jewish Orphanages in the U.S., 1880-1925 (Hanover NH: Brandeis University Press).

Gelles, Richard J. & Wolfner, G.D. 1994. Sexual offending and victimization: A life course perspective. In Rossi, A.S. (Ed.), Sexuality Across the Life Course. (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press).

Gilmore, W.C. 1992. International Efforts to combat Money Laundering. (Cambridge: Grotius).

Giobbe, Evelina. 1993. An analysis of individual, institutional, and cultural pimping, Michigan Journal of Gender and Law 1(1):33-57.

Goldman, R. & V. Wheeler. 1986. Silent Shame: The Sexual Abuse of Children and Youth (Danville IL: The Interstate).

Goldstein, Seth L. 1999. The Sexual Exploitation of Children: A Practical Guide to Assessment, Investigation, and Intervention. Second Edition. (Boca Raton: CRC Press).

Graycar, Adam. 1999. Trafficking in human beings, unpublished paper presented at the International Conference on Migration, Culture and Crime (Israel).
[http://www.aic.gov.au/conferences/other/trafficking.html].

Green, J. & L. Brinkin. 1994. Investigation Into Discrimination Against Transgendered People (San Francisco: City and Country of San Francisco Human Rights Commission).

Greene, Jody M., Susan T. Ennett & Christopher Ringwalt. 1999. Prevalence and correlates of survival sex among runaway and homeless youth, American Journal of Public Health 89(9):1406-1409.

Greenfeld, Lawrence. 1997. Sex Offenses and Offenders: An Analysis of Data on Rape and Sexual Assault. (Washington: Dept. of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics), NCJ-163392.

Gurisik, U. E. 1997. Female prostitution, in Welldon, Estela V. & Cleo Van Velsen, eds. A Practical Guide to Forensic Psychotherapy (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers), pp. 182-187.

Hallums, Melanie R. 1997. Bolivia and coca: law, policy, and drug control, Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law, 30:817-62.

Hanson, Louise. 2000. Second Comprehensive Study of Missing Children. (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention).

Hanson, Karl & Monique T. Bussiere. 1998. Predicting relapse: A meta-analysis of sexual offender recidivism studies, Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology 66(2):348-362.

Harris, Mary G. 1994. Cholas: Mexican-American girls and gangs, Sex Roles: A Journal of Research 330(3-4):289-301.

Hazelhurst, Kayleen & Cameron Hazlehurst (Editors). 1998. Gangs and Youth Subcultures: International Explorations New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Hill, Kelly A. 2000. A moment I'll never forget, Newsletter of Sisters Offering Support (Honolulu), Winter, page 2.

Hofstede, Al. 1999. The Hofstede Committee Report: Juvenile Prostitution in Minnesota (Minneapolis).

Hood-Brown, Marcia. 1998. Trading for a place: Poor women and prostitution, Journal of Poverty 2(3):13-33.

Howell, James C. 1997. Gangs, OJJDP Fact Sheet #72 (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency).

Hughes, Donna & Claire Roche (Editors). 1999. Making the Harm Visible: Global Sexual Exploitation of Women and Girls (Kingston RI: Coalition Against Trafficking in Women).

Hughes, Donna. 1999. Pimps and Predators on the Internet: Globalizing the Sexual Exploitation of Women and Children (Kingston RI: Coalition Against Trafficking in Women).

Hughes, Donna M. 2000a. Men create the demand; women are the supply, unpublished lecture given at the Queen Sofia Center, Valencia (Spain), November.

Hughes, Donna M. 2000b. The "Natasha" trade—The transnational shadow market of trafficking in women, Journal of International Affairs (Spring).

Hunnicutt, Sandra. 2001. Nightmare on Main Street, unpublished paper presented at the Hastings School of Law, February 9.

Institute for Health Policy Studies. 1995. Street Youth at Risk for AIDS (San Francisco: University of California).

Institute of Psychological and Educational Research (IPER). 1990. Child Exploitation and Abuse: A Global Phenomenon. A report of the first Asian Conference on child sexual exploitation and abuse. (Calcutta: Sree Saraswaty Press).

International Bureau for Children's Rights (IBCR). 1997. Extraterritorial Legislation in Response to the International Dimension of Child Sexual Exploitation. (Montreal: IBCR).

International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL). 2000. International Crime Statistics. (St. Cloud, France: Interpol).

Ireland, Timothy & Cathy Spatz Widom. 1994. Childhood victimization and risk for alcohol and drug arrests. The International Journal of the Addictions 2(2):235–274.

Jaffe, Maureen & Sonia Rosen (Editors). 1996. Forced Labor: The Prostitution of Children (Upland: Diane Publishing Company).

Joe, Karen A. & Medea Chesney-Lind. 1995. 'Just every mother's angel': An analysis of gender and ethnic variations in youth gang membership, Gender & Society 9(4):408-431.

Johnson, Mark B. 2001. California Highway Patrol Quarterly Reports (Calverton MD: Pacific Institute for Research and Evaluation).

Johnson, Timothy P. Jeannie Aschkenasy, Mary Ruth Herbers & Stepehen A. Gillenwater. 1996. Self reported risk factors for AIDS among homeless youth, AIDS Education and Prevention 8(4):308-322.

Johnston, L.D., O'Malley, P.M. & J. G. Bachman. 1998. National Survey Results on Drug Use From the Monitoring the Future Study, 1975-1997 (Rockville MD: National Institutes of Health).

Jones, Lisa & David Finkelhor. 2001. The decline in child sexual abuse cases, OJJDP Bulletin (January).

Jones, Lisa & David Finkelhor. 2000. The Decline in Child Sexual Abuse Cases. (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention), Figure 1, p.2

Kaiser, G. 1994. "International Experiences with Different Strategies of Drug Policy," EuroCriminology, 7:3-29.

Kaufman, Jeanne G. & Cathy Spatz Widom. 1999. Childhood victimization, running away and delinquency, Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 36(4):347-370.

Kempadoo, Kamala & Jo Doezema (Editors). 1998. Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition (London: Routledge).

Kendall, Virginia. 1998. The lost child: Congress's inability to protect our teenagers, Northwestern University Law Review 92(4):1307-1316.

Kilias, M. et al. 1993. "Cross-Border Crime," European Journal of Criminal Policy and Research, 1:7-134.

Kilpatrick, Dean G. 1992. Rape in America: A Report to the Nation (Arlington VA: National Victim Center).

Kilpatrick, Dean & Benjamin Saunders. 1997. The prevalence and consequences of child victimization, Research Preview (of the NIJ), April, pp. 1-4.

Klain, Eva J. 1999. Prostitution of Children and Child-Sex Tourism: An Analysis of Domestic and International Responses (Arlington VA: National Center for Missing and Exploited Children).

Kral, Alex H. et al. 1997. Prevalence of sexual risk behavior and substance use among runaway and homeless adolescents in San Francisco, Denver and New York City, International Journal of STD & AIDS 109 ff.

Kruks, Gabe. 1991. Gay and lesbian homeless/street youth: Special issues and concerns, Journal of Adolescent Health 12:515-518.

Ku, L., F.L. Sonenstein & J.H. Pleck. 1993. Factors influencing first intercourse for teenage men, Public Health Reports 108(6):680-94.

Lane, Francis E. 1932. American Charities and the Child of the Immigrant: A Study of Typical Child Caring Institutions in New York and Massachusetts Between the Years 1845 and 1880 (Washington DC: Catholic University of America).

Langum, David J. 1994. Crossing Over the Line: Legislating Morality and the Mann Act (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

Lanning, Kenneth V. 1992. Child Molesters: A Behavioral Analysis for Law Enforcement Officers Investigating Cases of Child Sexual Exploitation. 3rd Edition. (Arlington VA: National Center for Missing and Exploited Children).

Lederer, Laura. 2001. Human Rights Report on Trafficking of Women and Children (Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies).

Lie, John.1996. Globalization and its discontents. Contemporary Sociology, 25(5):585-587.

Lindenmeyer, Kriste. 1997. A Right to Childhood: The U.S. Children's Bureau and Child Welfare (Urbana: University of Illinois Press).

Loeber, Rolf & Farrington, David (Eds.). 1998. Serious and violent juvenile offenders, Juvenile Justice Bulletin (May), pp. 1-8.

Longford, Michael. 1995. Family poverty and the exploitation of child labor, Law & Policy 17(4): 471-482.

Lowman, John. 1987. Taking young prostitutes seriously, Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology 24(1):99-116.

Lucas, B. M. & L. Hackettt. 1995. Street Youth: On Their Own in Indianapolis (Indianapolis IN: Health Foundation of Greater Indianapolis).

Luckenbill, David F. 1986. Deviant career mobility: The case of male prostitutes, Social Problems 33(4):284-297.

McCarthy, Bill & John Hagan. 1992. Surviving on the street: The experiences of homeless youth, Journal of Adolescent Research 7(4):412-430.

McClanahan, Susan F., Gary M. McClelland, Karen M. Abram & Linda A. F. Teplin. 1999. Pathways into prostitution among female jail detainees and their implications for mental health services, Psychiatric Services 50(12):1606-13.

McCormack, Arlene, Mark-David Janus & Ann W. Burgess. 1986. Runaway youths and sexual victimization: Gender differences in an adolescent runaway population, Child Abuse and Neglect 10(3):387-395.

McDonald, W. F. 1995. The globalization of criminology: The new frontier is the frontier, Transnational Organized Crime, 1:1-12.

McFarland, J. 1999. How to deal with transnational crimes and migration, unpublished paper presented at the 5th Kanazawa Symposium on Northeast Asia (June).

Miko, Francis T. & Grace J.H. Park. 2000. Trafficking in women and children: The U.S. and international response, Congressional Research Service Report #98-649-C (Washington: U.S. Department of State).

Molnar, Beth E., Starley B. Shade, Alex H. Kral, Robert E. Booth & John K. Watters. 1998. Suicidal behavior and sexual/physical abuse among street youth, Child Abuse and Neglect 22(3):213-222.

Molnar, Beth F, Stephen L. Buka & Ronald C. Kessler. 2001. Child sexual abuse and subsequent psychopathology: Results from the national comorbidity survey, American Journal of Public Health 91(5):753-760.

Moon, Katharine. 1997. Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in US-Korean Relations (New York: Columbia University Press).

Moore, K.A., C.W. Nord & J.L. Peterson. 1989. Non-voluntary sexual activity among adolescent, Family Planning Perspectives 21:110-114.

Moore, Joan & John Hagedorn. 2001. Female gangs: A focus on research, OJJDP: Juvenile Justice Bulletin (March, 2001), pp. 1-12.

Moore, John P. & Ivan L. Cook. 1999. Highlights of the 1998 National Youth Gang Survey (Washington: Dept. of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention).

Mueck, Marjorie A. 1992. Mother sold food, daughter sells her body: The cultural continuity of prostitution, Social Science Medicine 35(7).

Mullen, P. E., J. L. Martin, J.C. Anderson, S. E. Romans, G. P. Herbison. 1996. The long-term impact of the physical, emotional, and sexual abuse of children: A community study, Child Abuse and Neglect 20(1):7-20.

Munir, A B & Yasin, S. 1997. Commercial sexual exploitation (of children), Child Abuse Review 6(2):147-153.

Muntarbhorn, Vitit. 1996. Report of the Rapporteur-General on the World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (August).

Nadon, Susan M. Catherine Koverola & Eduard H. Schludermann. 1998. Antecedents to prostitution: Childhood victimization, Journal of Interpersonal Violence 13:206ff.

National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC). 1992. Female Juvenile Prostitution: Problem and Response (Arlington VA).

National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC). 1998. Child Prostitution. (http://www.missingchildren.com).

National Center for Prosecution of Child Abuse. 1998a. Child Abuse and Neglect State Statutes Series: Child Pornography, #30 (Alexandria VA: NCPCA).

National Center for Prosecution of Child Abuse. 1998b. Child Abuse and Neglect State Statutes Series: Child Prostitution, #31 (Alexandria VA: NCPCA).

National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect. 1996. The Third National Incidence Study of Child Abuse and Neglect (NIS-3) (Washington: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

National Coalition for the Homeless. 1999a. How many people experience homelessness? NCH Fact Sheet #2 (Washington: NCH).

National Coalition for the Homeless. 1999b. Who is homeless? NCH Fact Sheet #3 (Washington: NCH).

National Coalition for the Homeless. 1999c. Homeless families with children, NCH Fact Sheet #7 (Washington: NCH).

National Coalition for the Homeless. 1999d. Homeless youth, NCH Fact Sheet #11 (Washington: NCH).

National Network for Youth. 1998. Toolkit for Youth Workers: Fact Sheet—Runaway and Homeless Youth. (Washington: National Network for Youth).

National Runaway Switchboard. 2000. A Profile of NRS Caller, 1998 [http://www.nrscrisisline.org/stats.htm].

National Runaway Switchboard. 2000. A Profile of NRS Caller, 2000 [http://www.nrscrisisline.org/2000stat.asp].

National Youth Gang Center. 1999. 1996 National Youth Gang Survey: Summary (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention).

Nemoto, Tooru, D. Luke, L. Mamo, A. Ching & J. Patria. 1999. HIV risk behaviors among male-to-female transgenders in comparison with homosexual or bisexual males and heterosexual females, AIDS Care 11:297-312.

Odem, Mary E. 1995. Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the U.S., 1885-1920 (Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press).

O'Brien, M. 1991. Taking sibling incest seriously, in M.Q. Patton (Editor) Family Sexual Abuse (Newbury Park CA: Sage).

O'Connell Davidson, Julia. 1995. The anatomy of 'free choice' prostitution, Gender, Work & Organization 2(1):1-10.

O'Connor, Stephen. 2000. Orphan Trains (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company).

O' Grady, R. 1992. The Child and the Tourist (Bangkok: End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism [EPCAT]).

Packard Foundation. 1997. Children in Poverty: Executive Summary. (URL: http://www.futureofchildren.org/cap/exsum_17.htm).

Park, Michael Y. 1999. Marshals in cyberspace: Fight internet child molesters, Fox News (September 28).

Parker, Joe. 1998. How prostitution works http://www.prostitutionresearch.com/parker-how.html

Patton, Natalie. 1997. UNLV sociologists study sex trade in Silver State, Review Journal (October 12).

Perl, Rafael F. (Ed.). 1994. Drugs and Foreign Policy: A Critical Review. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press).

Pettman, Jan Jindy. 1997. Body politics: International sex tourism, Third World Quarterly 18(1):93-108.

Powers, Jane L. & Barbara Jaklitsch. 1989. Understanding Survivors of Abuse: Stories of Homeless and Runaway Adolescents (New York: The Free Press).

Prentky, Robert & Raymond A. Knight. 1993. Age of Onset of Sexual Assault: Criminal and Life History Correlates," in Sexual Aggression: Issues in Etiology, Assessment, and Treatment, eds. G.C.N. Hall, R. Hirschman, J.R. Graham & M.S. Zaragoza (Washington, DC: Taylor & Francis), pp. 43–62.

Prentky, Robert, Raymond Knight & Austin Lee. 1997. Child Sexual Molestation: Research Issues. (Washington: National Institute of Justice).

Pyett, Priscilla M. & Debra J.Warr, 1997. Vulnerability on the streets: Female sex workers and HIV risk, AIDS Care 9(5):539-547.

Remafedi, G. 1990. Fundamental issues in the care of homosexual youth, Medical Clinics of North America 74(5):1169-1179.

Reichert, Jennifer L. 1998. Most male felons victimized as children, study says, Trial 34(7):120ff.

Resnick, Heidi S., Dean G. Kilpatrick, Bonnie S. Dansky, Benjamin E. Saunders. 1993. Prevalence of civilian trauma and post-traumatic stress disorder in a representative national sample of women, Journal of Consulting Clinical Psychology 61:984-991.

Runaway and Homeless Youth Management Information System (RHYMIS). 2001. For a description of RHYMIS see http://www.acf.dhhs.gov/programs/fysb/rhypage/INDEX.htm.

Richard, Amy O'Neil. 1999. International Trafficking in Women to the U.S.: A Contemporary Manifestation of Slavery and Organized Crime. (Washington: U.S. State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research).

Righthand, S. & Welch, C. 2001. Juveniles Who Have Sexually Offended: A Review of the Professional Literature (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention).

Robertson, Marjorie. 1989. Homeless Youth in Hollywood: Patterns of Alcohol Use. (Berkeley CA).

Robertson, Marjorie. 1996. Homeless Youth on Their Own. (Berkeley CA: Alcohol Research Group).

Rotheram-Borus, Mary Jane, Cheryl Koopman, A. Anke. 1991. Homeless youth and HIV infection, American Psychologist 46(11):1188-1197.

Rotheram-Borus, Mary Jane, Heino Meyer-Bahlburg, Cheryl Koopman, Margaret Rosario. 1992. Lifetime sexual behaviors among predominately minority male runaways and gay/bisexual adolescents in New York City, AIDS Education and Prevention (Fall):34-42.

Rotheram-Borus, Mary Jane. 1993. Suicidal behavior and risk factors among runaway youth, American Journal of Psychiatry 150:103-107.

Rotheram-Borus, Mary Jane, Karen A. Mahler, Cheryl Koopman, Kris Langabeer. 1996. Sexual abuse history and associated multiple risk behavior in adolescent runaways, American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 66(3):390-400.

Save the Children. 1996. Kids for Hire. (London: Save the Children).

Savin-Williams, Ritch C. 1994. Verbal and physical abuse and stressors in the lives of lesbian, gay male and bisexual youths: Association with school problems, running away, substance abuse, prostitution and suicide, J of Consulting and Clinical Psychology 62(2):261-269.

Schloenhardt, A. 1999. The business of migration: Organized crime and illegal migration in Australia and the Asia-Pacific region, unpublished paper presented at the University of Adelaide Law School, May.

Seabrook, J. 1997. North-South Relations: The Sex Industry. (Third World Network Features).

Seattle-King County Coalition For the Homeless. 2000. It Takes More Than Shelter: Vacancies in Residential Programs For Homeless Youth (Seattle: City of Seattle Human Service Department, Division of Family and Youth Services).

Seto, Michael C. & Howard E. Barbareee. 1999. Psychopathology, treatment behavior, and sex offender recidivism, Journal of Interpersonal Violence 14(12):1235-1248.

Shinn, Marybeth & Beth Weitzman. 1996. Homeless families are different, in James Baumohl (Editor). Homeless in America (Phoenix: Oryx Press).

Seng, Magnus J. 1989. Child sexual abuse and adolescent prostitution: A comparative analysis, Adolescence 24(95):665-675.

Silbert, Mimi H. 1982. Prostitution and sexual assault: Summary of results, International Journal of Biosocial Research 3(2):69-71.

Silbert, Mimi H. 1989. The effects on juveniles of being used for pornography and prostitution, in Zillmann, Dolf & Jennings Bryant (Eds.). Pornography: Research Advances and Policy Considerations (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.), pp. 215-234.

Silbert, Mimi H., Ayala M. Pines. 1981a. Sexual child abuse as an antecedent to prostitution, Child Abuse & Neglect 5(4):407-411.

Silbert, Mimi H., Ayala M. Pines. 1981b. Occupational hazards of street prostitutes, Criminal Justice & Behavior 8(4):395-399.

Silbert, Mimi H., Ayala M. Pines. 1982. Victimization of street prostitutes, Victimology 7(1-4):122-133.

Silbert, Mimi H., Ayala M. Pines. 1983. Early sexual exploitation as an influence in prostitution, Social Work 28(4):285-289.

Silbert, Mimi H., Ayala M. Pines. 1984. Pornography and sexual abuse of women, Sex Roles 10(11-12):84, 857-868.

Silbert, Mimi H., Ayala M. Pines, Teri Lynch. 1982. Substance abuse and prostitution, Journal of Psychoactive Drugs. 14(3):193-197.

Silvestre, Emmanuel, Jaime Rijo & Huberto Bogaert. 1992. La Neo-Prostitucion Infantil en Republic Dominicana (Santo Domingo: Unicef).

Simons, Ronald & Les B. Whitbeck. 1991. Sexual abuse as a precursor to prostitution and victimization among adolescent and adult homeless women, Journal of Family Issues 12:361-379.

Skrobanek, Siripon, Nataya Boonpakdee & Chutima Jantateero. 1997. The Traffic in Women: Human Realities of the International Sex Trade (New York: Zed Books).

Smeeding, Timothy. 1997. Financial poverty in developed countries: The evidence from LIS. Luxembourg Income Study Working Paper #155, Center for Policy Research, the Maxwell School, Syracuse University.

Smith, Caroline & Terrence P. Thornberry. 1995. The relationship between childhood maltreatment and adolescent involvement in delinquency. Criminology 33(4):451–481.

Smith, Daniel S. 1997. Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the U.S., 1885-1920 (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press).

Smith, Raymond. 2001. Program Manager, U.S. Postal Inspection Service, Fraud, Child Exploitation and Asset Forfeiture Group, Office of Criminal Investigations. Personal communication.

Snell, Cudore L. 1995. Young Men in the Street: Help-Seeking Behavior of Young Male Prostitutes. (Westport CT: Praeger).

Snyder, Howard N. 2000. Sexual Assault of Young Children as Reported to Law Enforcement: Victim, Incident, and Offender Characteristics—A Statistical Report Using Data From the National Incident-Based Reporting System (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs).

Spangenberg, Mia. 2001. Prostituted youth in New York City: An overview, unpublished manuscript (March).

Stiffman, Arlene R. 1989. Physical and sexual abuse in runaway youths, Child Abuse and Neglect 13(3):417-426.

Sturdevant, Saundra Pollock & Brenda Stolfuz. 1992. Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia (New York: The New Press).

Sturdevant, Saundra. 1995. The U.S. Military and Sexual Violence Against Women, Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, 27(4):91-94.

Tate, Tim. 1990. Child Pornography (London: Metheun).

Tijuana Police Department. 2000a. Evolution over time of the number of Americans arrested in the vicinity of Avenida Revolución, by cause (photocopy).

Tijuana Police Department. 2000b. Number of Americans arrested in Tijuana from June 1998 to November 1999 by cause of arrest, Appendix 1 (Tijuana: Police Department).

Tjaden, P. & N. Thoennes. 1998. Prevalence, Incidence, and Consequences of Violence Against Women: Findings From the National Violence Against Women Survey (Washington: National Institute of Justice and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention).

Tjaden, P. & N. Thoennes. 1998. Stalking in America: Findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey. (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice).

Tobey, James A. 1925. The Children's Bureau: Its History, Activities and Organization (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press).

Treichel, Christa J. & Carol J. Zierman. 1999. Snapshots: Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Youth and Prostitution. (Minneapolis: Partnership for GLBT Youth).

Tremblay, Pierre. 2001. Social interactions Among Paedophiles: A sociological investigation, in Richard J. Estes & Neil A. Weiner (Editors). The Silent Emergency: The Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada and Mexico (Westport CT: Greenwood Publishing Group).

Ugarte, Marisa. 2001. Program manager, Runaway and Homeless Youth Service (Escondido CA). Personal communication.

Unger, Jennifer B. Michele D. Kipke, Thomas R. Simon, Christine Johnson, Susanne B. Montgomery, Ellen Iverson. 1998. Stress, coping, and social support among homeless youth, Journal of Adolescent Research 13(2):134-157.

United Nations. 1994a. Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography, (New York: U.N. General Assembly), Doc. E/CN.4/1994/84, January 14, 1994.

United Nations. 1994b. Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Children: Sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography: Note by the Secretary-General, (New York: U.N. General Assembly), Doc. A/49/478, October 5, 1994, p.29.

United Nations. 1995. World Situation With Regard to International Traffic in Minors. (Costa Rica: UN Latin American Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders).

United Nations. 1999. Global Programme Against Trafficking in Human Beings: An Outline for Action. (Vienna).

United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef). 2000. The State of the World's Children, 2000 (New York: Oxford University Press).

United Nations Children's Fund/Dominican Republic (Unicef/Dominican Republic). 1998. Proteccion contra la explotacion sexual y commercial, Frente a La Cumbre (Santo Domingo: Unicef), 7(29):1-2.

United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR). 1992. Rights of the Child: Sale of Children, Child Prostitution, and Child Pornography (New York: United Nations), E/CN.4/1994/84.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2000. Resident population estimates of the U.S. by age and sex: April 1, 1990 to July 1, 1999, with short-term project to March 1, 2000 (http://www.census.gov/population/estimates/nation/intfile2-1.txt).

U.S. Census Bureau. 2001a. Population Projections of the U.S. By Age, Sex, Race, Hispanic Origin and Nativity: 1999 to 2100.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2001b. Population Projections by State, 1995-2025.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2001c. Metropolitan Area Population Estimates, 1995-2001.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2001d. Group Quarters Population by Sex By Age by Group Quarters Type [75], Table PCT17 from: Census 2000 Summary File 1 (SF 1) 100-Percent Data.

U.S. Centers for Disease Control. 2001. Youth Risk Behavior Trends, 1999. [http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/ss4905a1.htm].

U.S. Conference of Mayors. 2000. A Status Report on Hunger and Homelessness in America's Cities, 2000 (Washington: U.S. Conference of Mayors).

U.S. Department of Commerce. 2000. Statistical Abstracts, 2000. (Washington: Bureau of Labor Statistics.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (USDHHS). 1995. Youth With Runaway, Throwaway, and Homeless Experiences: Prevalence Drug Use, and Other At-Risk Behaviors.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (USDHHS). 1997. National Evaluation of Runaway and Homeless Youth. (Rockville, MD: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration)

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (USDHHS). 1998. Household Survey on Drug Abuse: Population Estimates, 1997. (Rockville, MD: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration)

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (USDHHS). 2000. National Vital Statistics Reports, July 24. 48(11):18.

U.S. Department of Justice. 1993. Joint Investigations of Child Abuse. (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice).

U.S. Department of Justice (DoJ). 1996. Fiscal Year 1996 Missing and Exploited Children's Program Final Program Plan and Announcement of Discretionary Competitive Assistance Grant: Notice, Federal Register 61(240):65435-65438.

U.S. Department of Justice (DoJ). 1997a. Special Joint Report: Federal Agency Task Force for Missing and Exploited Children. (Washington**:** U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention**).**

U.S. Department of Justice (DoJ). 1997b. Federal Resources on Missing and Exploited Children: A Directory for Law Enforcement and Other Public and Private Agencies. (Washington**:** Federal Agency Task Force for Missing and Exploited Children**).**

U.S. Department of Justice (DoJ). 1998a. Notice of the Fiscal Year 1998 Missing and Exploited Children's Program: Proposed Program Plan and Announcement of Discretionary Competitive Grant Assistance. (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

U.S. Department of Justice (DoJ). 1998b. Notice of the Fiscal Year 1998 Missing and Exploited Children's Program; Proposed Program Plan and Announcement of Discretionary Competitive Assistance Grant: Notice, Federal Register 63(33):8537-8543.

U.S. Department of Justice (DoJ). 1999. Highlights of the 1998 National Youth Gang Survey. [OJJDP Fact Sheet #123]. (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP).

U.S. Department of Justice (DoJ). 2000a. Criminal Victimization in the U.S., 1997. (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2000), Table 3.

U.S. Department of Justice (DoJ). 2000b. Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 1999 National Report. (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention).

U.S. Department of Justice (DoJ). 2000c. Highlights of the 1999 National Youth Gang Survey. [OJJDP Fact Sheet #20]. (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP).

U.S. Department of Justice (DoJ). 2000d. Juvenile Arrests, 1999. (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP)).

U.S. Department of Justice (DoJ). 2001. 2001. Keeping children safe: OJJDP's child protection division, Juvenile Justice Bulletin (March).

U.S. Department of Labor (DoL). 1995**.** By the Sweat and Toil of Children: The Use of Child Labor in U.S. Agricultural Imports and Forced and Bonded Child Labor (Washington: DoL, Bureau of International Affairs).

U.S. Department of Labor (DoL). 1996. Forced labor: The Prostitution of Children. (Washington, DC: Bureau of International Labor Affairs).

U.S. Department of Labor (DoL). 1998. The National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, 1997 (Washington: Bureau of Labor Statistics).

U.S. Department of State. 2000. ARIAT Regional Action Plan Against Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (29-31 March).

U.S. Department of State. 2001. Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report (Washington: Department of State, Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs).

U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO). 1989. GAO Report on Homelessness (December).

Ventura, Stephanie J., Sally C. Curtin & M.S. Mathews. 2000. Variations in teenage birth rates, 1991-98: National and state trends, National Vital Statistics Reports (of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services) 48(6).

Vittachi, Anuradha. 1989. Stolen Childhood: In Search of the Rights of the Child (New York: Polity Press).

Weed, Thurlow. 1868. The run of female honor, in John F. Maguire (Editor) The Irish in America (London).

Weiner, Neil A. 1994. "The Probability and Timing of Rearrest for Serious Violent Crimes: Some Descriptive Patterns in Individual Arrest Histories and Their Policy Implications," in Cross-National Longitudinal Research on Human Development and Criminal Behavior, Weitekamp, Elmar G. M., and Kerner, Hans-Jurgen, (Eds.). (Kluwer Academic Publishers: Dordrecht, Boston,and London).

Weiner, Neil A. & R. Barry Ruback. 1995. Violent Interpersonal Behavior Social and Cultural Aspects. (New York: Springer).

Whitbeck, Les B. & Ronald L. Simons. 1990. Life on the streets: The victimization of runaway and homeless adolescents, Youth & Society 22(1):108-125.

Whitcomb, Debra. 1995. Child Sexual Exploitation: Improving Investigations and Protecting Victims—a Blueprint For Action (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office For Victims of Crime).

Whitcomb, Debra & Julie Eastin. 1998. Joining Forces Against Child Sexual Exploitation: Models For a Multijurisdictional Team Approach (Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office For Victims of Crime).

Widom, Cathy Spatz. 1996. The cycle of violence revisited, Research Preview (of the NIJ). Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Widom, Cathy Spatz. & Kuhns, Joseph B. 1996. Childhood Victimization and Subsequent Risk for Promiscuity, Prostitution, and Teenage Pregnancy: A Prospective Study, American Journal of Public Health, 86(11):1607-1612.

Widom, Cathy Spatz & Suzanne Morris. 1997. Accuracy of adult recollections of child victimization: Part II, Psychological Assessment 9:34-46.

Wijers, Marjan Lap-Chew, Lin. 1997. Trafficking in women, forced labor and slavery-like practices in marriage, domestic labour and prostitution: summary, Found Against Trafficking in Women (April).

Williams, Phil. 1995. Transnational criminal organizations: Strategic alliances, Washington Quarterly, 18:57-72.

Williams, Phil (Editor). 1999. Illegal Immigration and Commercial Sex: The New Slave Trade (London: Frank Cass Publishers).

Wilsnack, Sharon C., Nancy D. Vogeltanz, Albert D. Klassen, & T. Robert C. Harris. 1997. Childhood sexual abuse and women's substance abuse: National survey findings, Journal of Studies in Alcohol 58:264-271.

Woodiwiss, Michael. 1993. "Crime's Global Reach," in Frank Pearce & Michael Woodiwiss (Eds.), Global Crime Connections. (Houndsmills, UK: Macmillan).

World Health Organization (WHO). 1996. Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children: The Health and Psychological Dimensions (Geneva: WHO).

Wright, Richard T. & Scott H. Decker. 1994. Burglars on the Job: Street Life and Residential Break-Ins. (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press).

Xavier, Jessica. 2000. The Washington Transgender Needs Assessment Survey. (Washington: Us Helping Us).

Yates, Gary L., Richard G. MacKenzie, Julia Pennbridge, Avon Swofford. 1991. A risk profile comparison of homeless youth involved in prostitution and homeless youth not involved, Journal of Adolescent Health 12(7):545-548.

Yoon, Y. 1997. International Sexual Slavery. (Washington: CG Issue Overviews).

Youth Advocate Program International (YAPI). 1998. Children for Sale: Youth Involved in Prostitution, Pornography and Sex Trafficking (Washington DC: YAPI).

Youth Plus. 1995. Working With Street Children: Selected Case Studies from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. (Paris: International Catholic Child Bureau).

Zabin, L.S., E. A. Smith, M.B. Hirsch & J.B. Hardy. 1986. Ages of physical maturation and first intercourse in Black teenage males and females, Demography23(4):595-605.

B. Stories in the Public Media and Other Sources Concerning Child Sexual Exploitation Cited in This Report

Adams, David. 1999. Poverty's children exploited for sex, St. Petersburg Times (June 8):28.

Adams, Matt. 1998. Hustlers, Escorts, and Porn Stars: The Insider's Guide to Male Prostitution in America . Second Edition. (self published).

Baer, Deborah. 1999. Documenting the "Mack Daddies," APB Media (January 4).

Benjamin, Caren. 1998. Mother ordered to stand trial, Las Vegas Review-Journal (March 11).

Bleyer, Jennifer. 2000. Shaky start: Philly sex clubs lure GOP conventioneers, Sonoma County Independent (August 10-16).

Boye, R. 1996. Child sex tourism a booming business in poor countries, The Philippine Star (September 29).

Charles, Jacqueline. 2000. Author exposes Haiti child-slave system, Miami Herald (January 29).

Claffey, Mike & Corky Siemaszko. 1997. Movie exec busted on kid sex rap, New York Daily News (December 18).

Contreras, Russell. 1998. Partners for pay: Young women taxi-dance for dollars, at the price of innocence lost, Houston Press (October 22).

Daranciang, Nelson. 2001. 3 teens caught in prostitution sting: The youngest arrested is a 13-year old from Wahiawa, Honolulu Star Bulletin (June 20).

Dowling, Denise. 2000. Pimpin is hard work: Managers of flesh compete for pimp of the year at Chicago's annual Player's Ball, Salon (January 29).

Dunham, Will. 2001. World grapples with trade in humans: Rising globalization makes slave trade hard to stop, Reuters (September 9).

Editors. 1994. The covert arms trade, The Economist, 330:21-3.

Editors. 1997. Juvenile prostitution arrests increase: A consistent demand for sex from tourists and locals has led to more arrests of young girls, Las Vegas Review-Journal (October 25).

Editors. 2000a. Denver man accused of importing boys for sex, Chicago Sun-Times (February 26).

Editors. 1996. The flourishing business of slavery, The Economist (340(7984):43ff.

Editors. 2000b. Son of a jailed Berkeley CA landlord sought for scheme to smuggle girls from India for forced labor and sexual exploitation—San Francisco Chronicle (January 22).

Editors. 2000c. Teen, allegedly lured overseas, returns to Florida, Philadelphia Inquirer (February 7):2.

Editors. 2001a. Dead Vermont girl allegedly linked to New York sex ring, Associated Press (January 31).

Editors, 2001b. Vancouver police find 11-year old (American) prostitute, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation News (February 27).

Egan, Jennifer. 2000. Lonely gay teen seeking same: How Jeffrey found friendship, sex, heartache--and himself—online, The New York Times Magazine (December 10):110-117.

French, Howard W. 1992. For the world's brothels, Caribbean daughters, New York Times (April 20).

Garner, Joe. 2000. Teacher in child sex sting sentenced, Denver Rocky Mountain News (July 22).

Gray, Laurence. 2000. Cambodia: The dark side of tourism preys on children of Cambodia, Los Angeles Times (December 12).

Ha, Julie. 1999. Mexican girl tells of being recruited for prostitution: She is second immigrant to testify in trial of man accused of running Long Beach operation, Los Angeles Times (July 2).

Haq, Farquan. 1996. U.S. children: Street kids turn to sex to survive, Inter-Press Service (March 27).

Harris, Harry. 1999. Two charged in child prostitution ring case, Alameda Times-Star (September 25).

Hohl, Alice. 2000. Woman denies luring teenagers to prostitution, The Daily Southtown (November 1).

Jesdanum, Anick. 2000. Measuring internet sex addicts: Poll reveals 1 percent are compulsive, The Associated Press (February 29).

Katz, Nancie L. 1997. Sex tours abroad find U.S. market, The Boston Globe (June 15):E2.

Knight, Danielle. 1998. Labour Rights: Latin American children exploited on US farms (January 21), [URL: http://oneworld.org/ips2/jan98/usa.html].

Koch, Ed. 1996. Woman nabbed for using girls as prostitutes, Las Vegas Sun (September 20).

Koh, Harold Hongju. 1999. The global problem of trafficking in persons: Breaking the vicious cycle on "trafficking of women and children in the international sex trade," Testimony before the House Committee on International Relations, Washington DC, September 14, 1999.

Lawrence, Curtis. 1991. Crime surge: Thieves, prostitutes prey on elderly poor in CHA buildings, The Chicago Reporter (June).

Lederer, Laura. 1996. Poor children targets of sexual exploitation, National Catholic Reporter 33(5):11-12.

Lord, Ellen. 1999. Housing agency ignores repairs, residents say, Cincinnati Post (June 25).
McArthur, Douglas. 1999. Crackdown, The Globe and Mail (October 27):C8.

McCarthy, Terry. 1999. Coming to America: The long, harsh odyssey of a Chinese illegal smuggled from Fujian province to New Jersey, Time.

McConnell, Bruce (McConnell International). 2000. Most nations' laws lag on cybercrime, as cited by Reuters (December 6).

McPhee, Michele. 1999. Two are accused of making girl a prostitute, New York Daily News (August 30).

Pilcher, James. 2000. Sex in the city: Strip club take off in Atlanta, The Detroit News (January 26).

Reuters. 1998. Mexican faces vice ring charges in Florida, (February 25).

Reuters, 1999. Costa Rican sentenced in child prostitution ring (May 7).

Roane, Kit R. 1999. Gangs turn to new trade: Young prostitutes, New York Times July 11), p. 23.

Roche, Timothy. 1999. Tourists who prey on kids, Time (February 15):58.

Scott, David. 1999. FBI busts prostitution ring: 15 accused of running 24-state operation since 1982, Associated Press (August 13).

Scott, David. 2000. Men in prostitution ring convicted, Associated Press (March 29).

Scott, David & Brian Ross. 2000. The youngest victims: Child prostitution flourishes abroad, Americans share blame, ABC News Internet Ventures (December 8).

Shannon, Elaine & Tim Padgett. 1999. Valley of death: How arrogance bred a massive drug-war slaughter, Time (December 13).

Shortt, Tara. 1998. Childhood lost, The Georgia Straight (August 6-13):15-20.

Strow, David. 1999. Sex industry makes most of Comdex opportunities, Las Vegas Sun (November 17).

Sunde, Scott. 2000. Police say he is America's pimp—and should pay, Seattle Post-Inteligencer (January 29).

Swickard, Joe. 1999. Multistate ring held runaways for sex, FBI says, Detroit Free Press (March 20).

Thompson, Cheryl W. 2001. 7,898 from 39 nations held in anti-smuggling raids, Washington Post (June 28):A02.

Venezia, Todd. 2000. Cops call teen a sex peddler on pedals: Charge him with pimping girl, 13, from bike handlebars, AP News (March 15).

Wilson, Melinda. 1997. Liberal sex laws may give edge to Windsor casinos, The Detroit News (June 30).

Zarembo, Alan. 2001. My life as a teenage mule, Time (June 4): 24-25.

ABOUT THE INVESTIGATORS

Richard J. Estes is Professor of Social Work at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. He holds an A.B. degree from La Salle University in Philadelphia and graduate degrees in social work from the University of Pennsylvania (Master of Social Work) and the University of California at Berkeley (Doctor of Social Welfare). He also holds a post-master's Certificate in Psychiatric Social Work from the Menninger Foundation in Topeka, Kansas.

Dr. Estes' international activities have been extensive. Among other assignments, he has held visiting Professorships in Iran, Norway, the People's Republic of China, Morocco, Korea, Hawaii, Japan, Mongolia, the Russian Federation, Belgium, and elsewhere. Dr. Estes currently is a special consultant in social development to the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (Bangkok).

In the U.S., Dr. Estes is founding President of the Philadelphia Area Chapter of the Society for International Development (SID). He is a former president of the Group for the Advancement of Doctoral Education (GADE), and is a current member of the International Commission of the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE). At Penn, Dr. Estes is chair of the graduate concentration in Social and Economic Development (SED) as well as the university's Luce and Student Fulbright selections committees.

Dr. Estes has been the recipient of many awards and grants for his research on international social work and comparative social development including two Fulbright-Hays Senior Research Awards (Iran, 1978 and Norway, 1979) and a Distinguished Fulbright Scholar Award to Yonsei University in Seoul, Korea (1994). In 1992, he was elected "Social Worker of the Year" by the Pennsylvania Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers for his international activities. In 1996 he received the Alumni Recognition Award from the University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work. In 1997 he was awarded the prestigious "Distinguished Recent Contribution to Social Work Education Award" by the Council on Social Work Education, the International Rhoda G. Sarnat Prize of the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) and the "Best Article in *Social Indicators Research* Award of the International Society of Quality of Life Studies.

Dr. Estes' books include:

*At the Crossroads: Dilemmas in International Development (*Westport CT: Greenwood Press)—in preparation.

The Silent Emergency: The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada and Mexico [with Neil A. Weiner] (Westport CT: Praeger Publishers)—in preparation.

Social Development in Hong Kong: The Unfinished Agenda (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001)—in press.

Resources for Social and Economic Development: A Guide to the Scholarly Literature (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work, 1998).

Towards a Social Development Strategy for the ESCAP Region [with Edward Van Roy] (Bangkok: United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 1992) ST/ESCAP/1170.

Trends in World Social Development: The Social Progress of Nations, 1970-1987. (New York: Praeger, 1988).

The Social Progress of Nations. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1984).[Chinese edition published in 1989.]

Communications Information:

Dr. Richard Estes
University of Pennsylvania
School of Social Work
3701 Locust Walk
Philadelphia PA 19104-6214
Telephone: 215/898-5531; Fax: 215/593-2099; E-Mail: restes@ssw.upenn.edu

* * * * * * * * * *

Neil Alan Weiner received his M.A. and Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Pennsylvania and was a postdoctoral fellow at the Urban Systems Institute at Carnegie Mellon University. He was Senior Research Associate on the National Academy of Science's Panel on Understanding and Preventing Violent Behavior and was a Visiting Fellow at the U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

Dr. Weiner's research interests in criminal and juvenile justice focus on individual violent criminal careers, situations in which violence occurs and escalates, historical patterns in violent crime, classification and management of risk, evaluation of juvenile justice and child welfare/service programs and operations, disparities in death sentencing, criminological theory, public policy formulation and evaluation, and research methods. His book length publications include:

Violent Interpersonal Behavior Social and Cultural Aspects. (New York City, NY: Springer Publishing Company, 1995) [with R. Barry Ruback].

Violence in America: Patterns, Causes, and Public Policy. (San Diego, CA: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1990) [with Margaret A. Zahn and Rita J. Sagi].

Pathways to Criminal Violence. (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1989) [with Marvin E. Wolfgang].

Violent Crime, Violent Criminals. (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1989) [with Marvin E. Wolfgang].

Criminal Violence. Beverly Hills, (CA: Sage Publications, 1982) [with Marvin E. Wolfgang].

Dr. Weiner's current research project include:

- *Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico*, for the U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice (NIJ)
- *Gun Tracking Initiative—Firearms analysis System (FAS)*, for the Philadelphia Police De-

partment and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, funded by the Pennsylvania Commission on Crime and Delinquency (PCCD)

- *Safe Schools/Healthy Students (SS/HS)*, for the Philadelphia School District, funded by the US Department of Education
- *Performance Measurement and Management Implementation*, for the Philadelphia Division of Social Services (DSS)
- *Pennsylvania Weed and Seed (PAWS) Evaluation*, for the Pennsylvania Commission on Crime and Delinquency (PCCD)
- *New Jersey Homicide Severity Study*, for the New Jersey Office of the Public Defender
- *Health Insurance Enrollment in the Philadelphia School District*, for the Delaware Valley Healthcare Council (DVHC), funded by the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare (DPW)
- *Research Project on Non-toxic Aerosal Drug Detection Technology*, for the U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice (NIJ).

Communications Information:

Dr. Neil A. Weiner
University of Pennsylvania
Center for the Study of Youth Policy
4200 Pine Street, 3rd Floor
Philadelphia PA 19104-4090
Telephone: 215/898-2091; Fax: 215/593-2791; E-Mail: neilw@ssw.upenn.edu