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College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Elizabeth Cook

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Walden University
2017

Abstract

A Determinant of Child Sex Trafficking in Los Angeles County, California

by

Elizabeth Ann Cook

MS, Troy University, 2007

BS, Thomas Edison State University, 2001

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

May 2017

Abstract

In Los Angeles County, California, approximately 2,245 victims of child sex trafficking were identified between 1997 and 2012. Several authors believed that poverty was linked to child sex trafficking because it increased the vulnerability of victims. The purpose of this nonexperimental, correlational study was to explore the question of how poverty was related to child sex trafficking in Los Angeles County, California. Intersectionality from the third wave of feminist theory was used as the theoretical underpinning of this study. Using data from the United States Census Bureau and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, information was collected on 97 counties in the southwestern portion of the United States that had a minimum population of 100,000 people and at least 1 arrest of a minor for prostitution between the years of 1997 and 2012. Analysis of the nonnormal data through a Friedman test indicated that differences in the medians existed in the levels of the child sex trafficking variable, but follow up tests did not reveal the sources of the differences. Kendall's W test results indicated a lack of concordance, and Spearman's correlation did not indicate that a monotonic relationship existed between the variables when tested by year, except for 1998. These results failed to provide the evidence needed to reject the null hypothesis. The relationship between poverty and child sex trafficking at the county level could not be measured by income and through a portion of the victim population. Differing measurements of poverty, varying levels of analysis, and diverse applications of intersectionality may yield different results. Ultimately, this study was a first step, rather than a final step, in creating positive social change through increased knowledge and more effective policies against sex trafficking.

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Dedication

I dedicate this project to my husband, Lonnie, for his encouragement and leadership; to my boys, Jeremy and TJ, for inspiring me to do my best; to my mom, Barbara, for instilling in me a belief that I can do anything; and, to my sister, Susan, for always being there for me.

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I owe a debt of gratitude to Walden University for insisting that every capstone requirement include an element of positive social change and I pray to God that I never forget it. I also thank my committee members, Dr. Milen, Dr. Stallo, and Dr. Smith for their guidance and gentle pushes to do better.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

Child sex trafficking (CST) is a part of the larger sex trafficking industry, which grosses an estimated $99 billion per year worldwide (International Labour Organization, 2014). It is also a part of the underground commercial sex economy. Dank et al. (2014) from the Urban Institute reported that in each of the eight United States' cities involved in their study, the underground commercial sex economy grossed between $39.9 million to $290 million in 2007.

Since 2000 and passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, no less than 5,609 girls and boys under 18 years of age (minors) have been victims of CST in California, which is 46.11% of the total for the United States (Puzzanchera & Kang, 2014). Los Angeles County, California accounted for 1,970 victims, which is the highest of any county in the United States (Puzzanchera & Kang, 2014). Los Angeles has also been identified by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a "high intensity child prostitution area"(Federal Bureau of Investigation, n.d., p. 3). Los Angeles County, California is a destination location for CST.

Given the magnitude of the problem, the potential to create positive social change through this study is significant. Poverty is widely believed to be one of many characteristics or risk factors that make victims vulnerable to traffickers (Dodsworth, 2014; Edberg, Gies, Cohen, & May-Slater, 2014; Farley, Franzblau, & Kennedy, 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; S. George, 2012; Konstantopoulos et al., 2013; Menaker &

Miller, 2013; Pearce, 2014; Scarafia, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). Specifically, it limits the choices of the impoverished (Dodsworth, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014).

The link between poverty and CST is believed to be that it creates a "pool of potential trafficking victims" for traffickers to exploit (Jac-Kucharski, 2012, p. 152). At times, poverty pushes the impoverished towards survival sex (Dodsworth, 2014; Edberg et al., 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013). Homeless and runaway minors are driven toward survival sex to meet their basic needs (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Finklea, Fernandes-Alcantara, & Siskin, 2015; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; Hasselbarth, 2014; Ocen, 2015; Thorburn & de Haan, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). Mitigating vulnerabilities that traffickers use to exploit minors addresses the supply end of the equation by shrinking the potential pool of victims.

Background

The literature focuses on the victims of CST and on broadly identifying the determinants behind CST from a supply standpoint rather than from a geographical or demand point of view. This is reasonable given the serious impacts of CST on the victims. For example, victims of CST may be subjected to prolonged "physical, sexual and psychological abuse and violence, deprivation and torture, the forced use of substances, manipulation, economic exploitation and abusive working and living conditions" (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2008, p. 9). Minor victims, like adults, often experience both physical and mental health issues, including a host of problems like contracting sexually transmitted diseases, substance abuse, and posttraumatic stress disorder (Menaker & Miller, 2013; United Nations Office on Drugs

and Crime, 2008). Suicidal tendencies and anxiety are also common long after the trauma ends (Menaker & Miller, 2013; Rafferty, 2013; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2008). Many victims suffer from stunted physical growth, and other “attachment, developmental and social” issues (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2008, p. 9). Recovery is not certain, and many are victimized again (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2008).

Poverty, a source vulnerability for victims, is one determinant of CST identified in the literature (Dodsworth, 2014; Edberg et al., 2014; Farley et al., 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; S. George, 2012; Konstantopoulos et al., 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Pearce, 2014; Scarafia, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). It is directly related to having a pool of potential trafficking victims (Jac-Kucharski, 2012). Unfortunately, minors in the United States suffer disproportionately from poverty when compared with the rate of poverty among adults, which is 6% less (Hasselbarth, 2014). Poor economic conditions may push victims to take extraordinary risks through which they end up in the hands of traffickers (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Jac-Kucharski, 2012). The simple need to survive makes youth vulnerable to CST and, at times, drives them toward it (Edberg et al., 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013).

Presumably, a single vulnerability generally is not enough to explain how minors end up in the hands of traffickers. The intersectionality of several vulnerabilities, though, puts minors at a significantly greater risk of sexual exploitation by traffickers. Some authors like Butler (2015) have pointed to intersecting subordinating variables like race, gender, class, and age in explanation for why minorities are disproportionately

represented among prostitutes and for why they cannot escape the lifestyle. Other authors like Countryman-Roswurm and Bolin (2014) have pointed to the impact of previous abuse and runaway/homeless/street status as intersecting variables that explain how domestic minors get involved with prostitution. Other authors like Ocen (2015) have used a more expansive explanation and included several intersecting variables like race, gender, homelessness, and previous abuse, among others, in explanation for the phenomenon of minors in prostitution. With the exception of poverty, which is widely held out as a determinant of CST, other intersecting variables vary in the literature based on the specific theoretical perspective and viewpoint used by the author.

The *lover boy approach* is widely used by traffickers to exploit the vulnerabilities of minors (Rafferty, 2013; Scarafia, 2014). Vulnerabilities result from the intersection of several sources in an identity (Dicker, 2016). This is true for both foreign and domestic victims. Traffickers exploit victims through seduction (Edberg et al., 2014; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Rafferty, 2013; Scarafia, 2014). Professions of love offer another avenue for exploiting victims (E. R. George & Smith, 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Scarafia, 2014). Eventually, the relationship changes into one of trafficker and prostitute.

The gap in the knowledge addressed in this study relates to poverty as an independent variable and its associations to CST in Los Angeles, California. Poverty has been identified as a determinant of CST in several studies (Dodsworth, 2014; Edberg et al., 2014; Farley et al., 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; S. George, 2012; Konstantopoulos et al., 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Pearce, 2014; Scarafia, 2014;

Wilson & Butler, 2014). What is unknown is if poverty and CST are statistically correlated.

Problem Statement

There is a problem in Los Angeles County, California with CST. Despite efforts by policymakers, law enforcement officers, and human services workers, CST is still occurring. This problem has negatively impacted minor victims because they suffer both physical and psychological abuse with long-term impacts (Menaker & Miller, 2013; Rafferty, 2013; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2008). Poverty is one possible cause of this problem (Dodsworth, 2014; Edberg et al., 2014; Farley et al., 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; S. George, 2012; Konstantopoulos et al., 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Pearce, 2014; Scarafia, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014) and its role in ensuring that a vulnerable population exists (Jac-Kucharski, 2012). In order to address CST, it is necessary to know more about how it occurs in Los Angeles County, California. A quantitative study using correlation could help identify one determinant behind this phenomenon.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this quantitative, correlational study was to test poverty as a determinant for CST in Los Angeles County, California. The independent variable, poverty, was defined as a lack of income severe enough to create poverty status in a minor as determined by the United States Census Bureau. The dependent variable, CST in Los Angeles County, California, was defined as minors arrested for prostitution between 1997 and 2012. Both were measured as rates.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Intersectionality, a part of the third wave of feminist theory, supports the argument in several studies that poverty and CST are linked (Dodsworth, 2014; Edberg et al., 2014; Farley et al., 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; S. George, 2012; Konstantopoulos et al., 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Pearce, 2014; Scarafia, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). Intersectionality refers to the impacts of multiple sources of vulnerability in individual lives (Dicker, 2016). Authors like Butler (2015) and Countryman-Roswurm and Bolin (2014) identified specific variables they believed helped explain the link between poverty and CST based on their respective points of view. Others, like Ocen (2015), used a more inclusive approach.

The specific role of poverty as a source of vulnerability linked to CST in a given area was the focus in this study. Minors were chosen due to agreement in federal law, California state law, and in the literature that minor prostitutes involved in the commercial sexual economy are victims of CST (CA Office of the Attorney General, 2011; William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008, 2008). Los Angeles County, California was selected due to the high prevalence of CST in the area from 1997-2012.

Main Question: How does poverty relate to CST in Los Angeles County, California?

H_0: Poverty is not a source of vulnerability correlated to CST in Los Angeles County, California.

H_1: Poverty is a source of vulnerability correlated to CST in Los Angeles County, California.

Theoretical Framework of the Study

I used feminist theory, specifically intersectionality from the third wave, as the theoretical framework of this study. It was developed in separate writings by Walker and Findlen, and it was used to relate the lived experiences of women to the oppressions they face (Dicker, 2016). This theory indicates that the intersectionality of multiple vulnerabilities combine as oppressive forces in the identities of women (Dicker, 2016). The intersectionality of several vulnerabilities puts minors at a significantly greater risk of sexual exploitation by traffickers.

As applied to my study, this theory holds that I expect poverty to partially explain the prevalence of CST in Los Angeles County, California. It is one of many sources of vulnerability and facets of an identity in minors that others exploit. Poverty helps ensure that a potential pool of victims exists (Jac-Kucharski, 2012).

In contrast to second wave feminists and their focus on one locus of oppression, third wave feminists explore all of the different sources of vulnerability that combine in the personal lives of individual women as oppressive forces and influence their identities and experiences (Dicker, 2016). The focus on the experiences of individual women grew out of third world feminists and the need to account for variables related to specific cultures, economic conditions, and sexual norms (Dicker, 2016). Collectively, the individual experiences of women shed light on the complicated ways that vulnerabilities impact women as sources of oppression and alter their sense of identity (Dicker, 2016).

Third wave feminists also include other marginalized groups impacted by vulnerabilities to the point that it impacts their identities. For example, both a poor, gay, ethnic minority boy and a poorly educated, young, neglected girl are vulnerable albeit in different ways. Vulnerabilities of all kinds combine in the lives of individuals as oppressive forces (Dicker, 2016).

The subjective and individual nature of third wave feminism broadens the variables that can be used to understand how victims of CST end up in the hands of traffickers. Given that physical movement of the victim is not necessary like in the case of domestic minor sex trafficking, the intersection of multiple vulnerabilities may also shed light on how poverty relates to CST in areas like Los Angeles County, California. For example, in 2013, Konstantopoulos et al. conducted a qualitative comparative case study to determine why sex trafficking was occurring in eight cities around the world, how local health systems were responding to the problem, and what they could do differently. The eight cities were Los Angeles, London, New York, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, Kolkata, Mumbai, and Manila. Although it was not the focus of their study, they found that lack of income, among others, was a key determinant of sex trafficking in all eight locations (Konstantopoulos et al., 2013). If poverty is a vulnerability in impoverished people that impacts their identities and combines with other vulnerabilities to create oppressive forces that traffickers exploit, then this study could validate its role as both an explanation for how victims end up in the hands of traffickers and how some areas become hubs for CST. More detail about feminist theory is provided in Chapter 2.

Nature of the Study

The nature of this study was to quantitatively test the argument in several studies that poverty is a determinant of CST. Poverty was the independent variable, and CST was the dependent variable. Poverty data on Los Angeles County, California are available from the United States Bureau of the Census. Data on the rate of arrests of minor prostitutes are available from the Statistical Briefing Book of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency. The data were analyzed through correlation.

Definitions

Age of consent: "The age that a female is legally able to consent to sexual intercourse and/or to marriage. This may differ from state to state and some states have a legal age for males too" (The Law Dictionary, n.d., para. 1).

California Poverty Measure (CPM): "Sets poverty thresholds based on contemporary spending patterns on a core basket of necessities and adjusts those thresholds for geographic differences in the cost of housing. It also includes an expanded definition of family resources that includes post-tax income and in-kind benefits, and excludes necessary expenditures such as medical costs and work and child care expenses. The CPM additionally takes into account major changes in family structure (e.g., the rise in cohabitation) that affect who should be included in resource sharing units for the purpose of measuring poverty" (Wimer, Mattingly, Kimberlin, Danielson, & Bohn, 2012, p. 1).

Child prostitute: "Anyone under the age of 18 who is 'induced to perform' a commercial sexual act" (Rafferty, 2013, p. 560).

Child sex trafficking: “The recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act” when the person is under 18 years of age (Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2013, 2013, sec. 7102, para. 10).

Coercion: “Means – (A) threats of serious harm to or physical restraint against any person; (B) any scheme, plan, or pattern intended to cause a person to believe that failure to perform an act would result in serious harm to or physical restraint against any person; or (C) the abuse or threatened abuse of the legal process” (Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2013, 2013, sec. 7102 para. 3).

Commercial sex act: “Any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person” (Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2013, 2013, sec. 7102, para. 4).

Commercial sexual exploitation of a child: See child sex trafficking. These terms are interchangeable (Rafferty, 2013).

Customers: Also known as “solicitors, purchasers, buyers, or johns” that pay to have illegal commercial sex with minors (Finklea et al., 2015, p. 8).

Destination location: The place where the sexual exploitation of the minor will occur (Department of State, 2015).

Domestic minor sex trafficking: “The sexual exploitation of American children under the age of eighteen within the borders of the United States” (Tomes, 2013, p. 215).

Federal poverty threshold: “The cost of a minimum food diet multiplied by three to account for other family expenses” (United States Census Bureau, 2016b, para. 1).

Federal poverty measure: "A set of money income thresholds that vary by family size and composition to determine who is in poverty" (United States Census Bureau, 2016a, para. 1). The income thresholds are updated annually for inflation (United States Census Bureau, 2016a).

Feminist theory: "Feminism is a struggle to end sexist oppression. Therefore, it is necessarily a struggle to eradicate the ideology of domination that permeates Western culture on various levels, as well as a commitment to reorganizing society so that the self-development of people can take precedence over imperialism, economic expansion, and material desires" (Hooks as cited in Dicker 2016, p. 357).

Four Ps Protocol: Prevention, prosecution, protection, and partnership. President Clinton and his administration added prosecution to the tenets of prevention and protection from the Palermo Protocol by advocating for increased penalties for traffickers. Prevention, prosecution, and protection later become known as the three-Ps (McReynolds, 2008). In 2009, Secretary of State Hilary Clinton added a fourth P to the protocol: partnership (Department of State, n.d.; Dysart, 2013).

Human rights: A broad term that "include[s] civil, social, health, and political rights" (Tomes, 2013, p. 231).

Human trafficking: "A modern-day form of slavery involving the illegal trade of people for exploitation or commercial gain" (Department of Homeland Security, 2015, para. 1).

Identity: An understanding of self held on the individual and collective levels; based on the roots of the person (Dicker, 2016).

Intersectionality: A notion from the third wave of feminism that the roots of a person form axes of an identity (e.g., race, sexual orientation, class) that combine as forces of oppression (Dicker, 2016).

Johns: Also known as “solicitors, purchasers, buyers, or johns” that pay to have illegal commercial sex with minors (Finklea et al., 2015, p. 8). Also see customers.

Megacity: “Urban agglomerations” with at least 10 million people (Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2014, p. 9).

Oppression: The ideology of interlocking systems of domination (Dicker, 2016).

Palermo Protocol: Reference to the “Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime” (Department of State, 2015).

Pimp (see also “Trafficker”): “[Receives] cash or other benefits in exchange for the sexual use of an individual by another person” (Finklea et al., 2015, p. 3).

Prostitution and commercialized vice: “The unlawful promotion of or participation in sexual activities for profit, including attempts. To solicit customers or transport persons for prostitution purposes; to own, manage, or operate a dwelling or other establishment for the purpose of providing a place where prostitution is performed; or to otherwise assist or promote prostitution” (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, n.d.-a, para. 24).

Severe forms of trafficking in persons: “(A) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform

such act has not attained 18 years of age; or (B) the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery" (Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2013, 2013, sec. 7102, para. 9).

Sexual abuse: "Is unwanted sexual activity, with perpetrators using force, making threats or taking advantage of victims not able to give consent" (American Psychological Association, 2015, para. 1).

Sex trafficking: "The recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act" (Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2013, 2013, sec. 7102, para. 10). Sex trafficking includes prostitution, sex tourism, pornography, and other commercial sex services.

State of origin: When movement of the victim occurs, the state of origin refers to the state where the victim originated (Department of State, 2015).

Southwestern states in the United States: California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma.

Third wave of feminist theory: An aim "both to reform society and to alter its very foundations;" "a younger brand of feminism;" a demand for transforming "society's power relations by calling for an end to sexist, capitalistic domination;" a theory "to understand that women's lived experiences determine the oppressions they face" (Dicker, 2016, locs. 1937, 2282, 2345, and 2350).

Trafficker (see also "Pimp"): "[Receives] cash or other benefits in exchange for the sexual use of an individual by another person" (Finklea et al., 2015, p. 3).

Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000: The TVPA of 2000 is the seminal legislation on human trafficking in the United States (Finklea et al., 2015).

Urban Institute: A nongovernmental organization focused on "conduct[ing] sophisticated research to understand and solve real-world challenges in a rapidly urbanizing environment. . . . Urban Institute scholars blend academic rigor with on-the-ground collaboration, teaming with policymakers, community leaders, practitioners, and the private sector to diagnose problems and find solutions" ("The Urban Institute - about," n.d., para. 2).

Victim of a severe form of trafficking: "Means a person subject to an act or practice described in paragraph (9)", which refers to severe forms of trafficking in persons (Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2013, 2013, sec. 7102, para. 14).

Victim of trafficking: "Means a person subjected to an act or practice described in paragraph (9) or (10)", which refers to severe forms of trafficking in persons and sex trafficking (Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2013, 2013, sec. 7102, para. 15); .

Assumptions

One assumption of this study was that incidences of CST increase as the total population for an area increases. Los Angeles city, which is located in Los Angeles County, is a mega city with 3,928,864 people (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Another

assumption was that arrest rates of minors for prostitution under state law is one indicator of the frequency or prevalence of CST in the area based on federal law. The first assumption was necessary because very little data exist on why some locations are destination locations. It stands to reason that the more populous the city, the greater the likelihood that CST occurs there. The second assumption was meant to acknowledge that arrest rates of minors for prostitution are one indicator of the prevalence of CST in that location, but that an unknown number of other indicators also exist.

Scope and Delimitations

The scope of this study was limited to two potential sources of vulnerability believed to ensure that a potential pool of victims exist in a given location: poverty and age (being a minor). The intersectionality of several vulnerabilities impacts identities and creates oppressive forces in victims that traffickers exploit. There are many sources of vulnerability. Butler (2015) pointed to intersecting variables related to subordination like race, gender, class, and age to explain the link between minorities and prostitution. Countryman-Roswurm and Bolin (2014) pointed to the impact of intersecting variables including previous abuse and runaway/homeless/street status on minors to explain how domestic CST occurs. Ocen (2015) used a more expansive explanation by providing numerous intersecting variables related to CST.

Poverty was chosen as the independent variable in this study because it is very widely believed to be a key determinant of CST due to the vulnerability it creates in victims (Dodsworth, 2014; Edberg et al., 2014; Farley et al., 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; S. George, 2012; Konstantopoulos et al., 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013;

Pearce, 2014; Scarafia, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). Specifically, it is related to having a pool of potential victims for traffickers to exploit (Jac-Kucharski, 2012). Age was factored into both the independent and dependent variables by filtering both variables to only include minors.

A couple of delimitations exist in this study. The focus of this study was on Los Angeles County. It was selected due to the large number of arrests of minor prostitutes there between 1997 and 2012. It is a destination location for CST. However, more recent arrest statistics for minor prostitutes in Los Angeles County, California are not currently available. Of note, the results of this correlational study are not generalizable to other populations.

Few studies exist on the determinants of CST in a given area. In 2007, Bales conducted a worldwide study. He found several determinants behind why states are destination locations, but his results are excluded as being too far removed from the singular focus here on Los Angeles County, California.

All counties with a population of at least 100,000 residents and at least one arrest of a minor for prostitution between 1997 and 2012 from the southwestern portion of the United States were included as a part of the population. Given the small total population fitting these criteria, all counties that fit them were included in this study. Widening the population to counties in the southwestern portion of the United States varied the data, which increased confidence in the results. Using a percent normalized the data regarding of the population size in each county, which put them on par with Los Angeles County, California.

Limitations

One limitation of the study was that arrests of minor prostitutes do not represent the whole population of minor prostitutes/CST victims. The total number of CST victims in Los Angeles County is unknown. Another was that the arrest rates were confounded with several variables, including (a) specific levels of funding for law enforcement, (b) the political points of emphasis by lawmakers, and (c) the specific law enforcement activities in a particular area. To mitigate these limitations, data from this study were analyzed in groups: pre-2000 and post-2000 because the Trafficking Victims Protection Act was passed in 2000. Furthermore, the results of this correlational study are not generalizable to other populations but instead indicate that further research is warranted.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study was that by testing poverty for a correlation to CST, it advanced our knowledge about the vulnerabilities that ensure a pool of potential victims exists for traffickers to exploit. It established whether or not further research into poverty as a key determinant of CST is warranted. Given the lack of quantitative data on CST, a study designed to correlate poverty to CST provides a starting point for creating policies that effectively strengthen all four areas of the prevent, prosecute, protect, and partnership (4 Ps) protocol. This includes raising awareness about the correlation between poverty and CST, particularly among the poverty stricken, strengthening laws, prosecuting johns and traffickers, and providing targeted counseling to those already victimized.

Given the overwhelming support of the CASE Act of 2012, Californians are clearly serious about addressing CST. The CASE Act of 2012 passed with 81.1% of the voters casting ballots for the proposition, which was endorsed by both democrats and republicans and was financially backed by Facebook Chief Privacy Officer Chris Kelly (Almendrala, 2012). Passage of the CASE Act passed two milestones in California. First, it received more support than any other initiative in California history (CASE Act, 2012). Second, it was the first initiative to receive in excess of 10 million "for" votes (CASE Act, 2012).

There is a significant potential to create positive social change with this study. For example, if Los Angeles County starts a public instruction program highlighting the link between poverty and CST, it may alter current cultural norms regarding poverty. If successful, it could result in less tolerance or demand, which could deter future traffickers from entering the trade. It may also provide a model for other areas to follow.

Summary

The main question being considered in this study is about the association between poverty and CST in Los Angeles County, California. Poverty is widely believed to be one source of oppression, among many, that makes victims vulnerable to the traffickers and their tactics (Dodsworth, 2014; Edberg et al., 2014; Farley et al., 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; S. George, 2012; Konstantopoulos et al., 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Pearce, 2014; Scarafia, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). As described by Ocen (2015) "innocence, vulnerability, and dependence" attach to adolescence and form the basis behind why minors are unable to consent to sex (p. 1589). Traffickers step in to exploit

the “innocence, vulnerability, and dependence” of minors and fill the demand created by johns (Ocen, 2015, p. 1589). Given the sheer numbers of minor prostitutes arrested in Los Angeles County, California, CST is clearly an issue there. In light of the overwhelming support of the CASE Act of 2012 by Californians, it is not a well-tolerated issue. The results of this correlational study provide additional information on CST, which is information that can be used to prevent further victimization of minors in Los Angeles County, California.

In this chapter, I included several sections designed to explore varying aspects of CST including its application to today. The next chapter details current research beginning with the theoretical framework underpinning this study. The next section is on policies related to CST. The following section contains a review of policy issues, which is followed by a section on understanding CST. The final section before moving onto studies related to poverty is focused on CST victims. A review of studies related to the research questions follows the section on poverty and the chapter concludes with a summary.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

Los Angeles County, California has a problem with CST. Los Angeles has been identified by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a "high intensity child prostitution area" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, n.d., p. 3). Task forces identified 824 minor victims of sex trafficking from January 1, 2008, to June 30, 2010, which were reported in the Human Trafficking Reporting System (Finklea et al., 2015). The National Human Trafficking Resource Center run by the Polaris Project recorded 3,609 cases of sex trafficking in 2013, which were gleaned from information provided through 25,269 calls to the center. Calls were made from every state in the United States and the District of Columbia, with 13.8% of the 25,269 calls originating from California (National Human Trafficking Resource Center, 2013). Sex trafficking accounted for 69.23% of all human trafficking cases identified by the center in 2013 (National Human Trafficking Resource Center, 2013). However, the report did not specify how many of those cases were for CST. The center also recorded 1,638 total human trafficking cases involving minors, but it did not specify how many were for CST versus labor trafficking of a child (National Human Trafficking Resource Center, 2013). Given the large number of arrests of minor prostitutes from 1997 to 2012, Los Angeles County clearly has a problem with CST. However, the exact number of victims is unknown.

The purpose of this study was to determine if poverty and CST in Los Angeles County are correlated. Even though Los Angeles County is firmly established as a

destination location, research on CST in the area is scant. Given the issue of CST in Los Angeles, further analysis of the link between these two variables is warranted.

This chapter includes the literature search strategy, the theoretical foundation for the study, and several sections related to this study. These include a review of policy issues related to CST, understanding CST, a focus CST victims, poverty as a determinant of CST, a review of studies related to the research questions, and the summary and conclusion.

Literature Search Strategy

The Thoreau database in Walden's online library was the main database used because it casts the widest net. The key search terms used were *child sex trafficking, human trafficking, domestic minor sex trafficking, minor victims of sex crimes, financial instability, poverty, extreme poverty, sexual abuse and children, child sex trafficking and Los Angeles, poverty and oppression, poverty and prostitution, prostitution and Los Angeles, prostitution and California, child sex trafficking and California, the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, reauthorization and the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, Californians Against Sexual Exploitation Act, the underground commercial sex economy, johns, traffickers, sexual exploitation*, and *sex trafficking*. I did not specify the publication years and I captured articles from 2010 to today. However, I only used articles from 2012 to 2016 in this literature review. A review of this literature revealed several themes, which are outlined and discussed below.

Theoretical Framework

The third wave of feminist theory is the theoretical framework used to underpin this study. Walker and Findlen were among the first to write about intersectionality although many have credited it to Crenshaw in the early 1990s (Dicker, 2016; Few-Demo, 2014; Nash, 2014). Separately, Walker, Findlen, and Crenshaw wrote about intersectionality as a way to relate the lived experiences of women to the oppressions they face (Bastia, 2014; Dicker, 2016). A basic premise of intersectionality is that multiple vulnerabilities combine in the identities of women to create oppressive forces (Dicker, 2016).

Branching out from patriarchy as the singular focus of analysis used in the second wave of feminism, third wave feminists consider several sources of vulnerability and the ways they intersect in the personal lives of individual women (Dicker, 2016). Women from the third world brought about this focus because culture, economic conditions, and sexual norms differ globally, which cannot be ignored (Dicker, 2016). Oppressive forces impact women both individually and collectively in complicated ways that impact their sense of identity and their underlying vulnerabilities (Dicker, 2016).

There are four tenets of intersectionality: (a) “Social identities are neither exclusive nor discrete and this complexity may cause conflict among identities,” (b) “social identities are grounded in ideological and symbolic domains,” (c) “social identities and their ‘associated systems of representation’ are historically and contextually situated,” and (d) “although identities are embodied within individuals, these identities operate within and are affected by structures of power” (Few-Demo, 2014, p. 170).

Intersectionality has been heavily applied in feminist studies, particularly in ones involving women of color (Nash, 2014). Crenshaw used the metaphor of a traffic intersection to explain how discrimination occurs (as cited in Nash, 2014). The basic idea was that it takes more than one car to cause an accident (Nash, 2014). Race, gender, and class collide at the traffic intersection in ways unique to each woman, but with similar results (Nash, 2014). Since this original metaphor was given by Crenshaw, it has transformed as other sources of vulnerability have been added to the analysis (Nash, 2014).

Regardless of the metaphor used, the idea is that there are many, many sources of vulnerability that uniquely combine in the individual lives of the oppressed (Nash, 2014). They intersect in the lived experiences of the oppressed and together perpetuate their experiences both individually and collectively when the traits are shared like in the cases of race, class, and gender (Nash, 2014). Intersectionality provides depth and complexity to gender studies borne out as each potential variable is considered (Nash, 2014; Patil, 2013).

However, one critique of the application of intersectionality so far is that it is too narrowly focused on domestic, local sources of oppression, and that too much of the academic thought on it originates from the United States (Patil, 2013). Instead, the analysis should begin with global processes so that domestic, local sources of oppression can be understood within that context (Patil, 2013). Another critique revolves around the lack of a consistent methodology in intersectional analyses (Bastia, 2014; Few-Demo, 2014). Intersectional studies using quantitative methods are particularly problematic

because identifying independent variables is especially challenging (Few-Demo, 2014). In reality, independent variables overlap and interlock with other variables, which confound the results (Few-Demo, 2014). Also, each independent variable is viewed as an addition to the overall lived experiences of the women being studied when they are really more interactive in nature (Bastia, 2014; Few-Demo, 2014). Rather than being an analysis of 1+1+1 for each source of oppression (independent variable), they are more like the game Pick Up Sticks. It is hard to find one stick (independent variable) that is not touching or interacting with another stick.

Quantitative studies must be attempted though because oppression exists (Few-Demo, 2014). The categories, units of analysis, and theoretical bases must be explored (Few-Demo, 2014). To alleviate some of the issues in identifying independent variables, Few-Demo (2014) recommended putting groups of people at the center of the study, and that is the approach used in this study.

Ultimately, the third wave of feminism, specifically intersectionality, adds complexity and depth to the analysis of how victims of CST end up in the hands of traffickers. Testing poverty for statistical significance may help explain how it is related to CST in Los Angeles County. Poverty presumably is not the sole explanation, but rather exists together with other vulnerabilities.

Additional Intersectional Determinants

Presumably, poverty is only one source of vulnerability related to CST in Los Angeles. The literature has revealed several other potential sources of vulnerability, many

of which are identified in this study. Ultimately, the list of potential vulnerabilities established in the literature goes on, but one deserves special attention: the Internet.

Good Internet access is a determinant for CST (Pfitzer, 2013). Too often, parents serve as the traffickers by offering their children to johns over the Internet (Hasselbarth, 2014). Using the Internet increases anonymity between johns and traffickers, which reduces the risk for both parties (Musto & Boyd, 2014). It also extends the potential pool of johns, which is normally limited by ethnic group (Butler, 2015). Many times, victims are taken to hotel rooms to perform the sexual services purchased (Kalargyrou & Woods, 2015).

With the rise of the Internet, victims are often advertised by traffickers in much the same manner as other products (Kalargyrou & Woods, 2015). Johns purchase prostitutes like other products, meaning that they choose them based on specific qualities like age, gender, and race (Wilson & Butler, 2014). Lloyd (2011) equated such advertising as reminiscent of the slave auctions of old (Goyal, 2014).

Policies on CST

Federal

In the late 90s, President Clinton took up the specter for human trafficking and spearheaded an effort to pass legislation in the United States geared to prevent sex trafficking and protect victims (McReynolds, 2008). A similar effort was occurring at the same time in the United Nations. The result of both discourses was an institutionalized antitrafficking effort both in the United States through the passage of the Trafficking

Victims Protection Act of 2000 and globally through passage of the Palermo Protocol, which was also passed in 2000 (Kubasek & Herrera, 2015).

In the United States, President Clinton sought to identify ways to prevent human trafficking and to treat victims humanely (McReynolds, 2008). Focusing on the plight of foreign victims of sex trafficking, he pushed for a T visa, establishing humanitarian assistance (McReynolds, 2008). President Clinton and his administration added prosecution to the tenets of prevention and protection by advocating for increased penalties for traffickers. Prevention, prosecution, and protection later become known as the three-Ps (Kubasek & Herrera, 2015; McReynolds, 2008). In 2009, Secretary of State Hilary Clinton added a fourth P to the protocol: partnership (Department of State, n.d.; Dysart, 2013).

In response to President Clinton, several congressmen and congresswomen submitted bills (McReynolds, 2008). This began in mid-March of 1999 when Congresswoman Louise Slaughter (D-New York) and Senator Paul Wellstone (D-Minnesota) submitted matching bills titled the International Trafficking of Women and Children Victim Protection Act of 1999, which were H.R. 1238 and S. 600 respectively (Miko, 2003). Both failed (Miko, 2003). Also in 1999, Congressmen Christopher Smith (R-NJ) introduced H.R. 1356, the Freedom from Sexual Trafficking Act of 1999 (Miko, 2003). It made it to committee, but stalled there (Miko, 2003). Later that year, Congressman Sam Gejdenson (D-Connecticut) and Senator Paul Wellstone submitted another set of matching bills: H.R. 3154 and S. 1842, the Comprehensive Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act of 1999 (Miko, 2003). Again, neither advanced (Miko, 2003).

Congressmen Smith met with success with his second bill titled the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000, which he submitted in November of 1999. It passed the House and Senate mid-year of 2000, and President Clinton signed it into law on October 28, 2000, under the title the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (Miko, 2003). It is the seminal legislation on human trafficking in the United States (Finklea et al., 2015).

Since its passage, it has been reauthorized four times with changes geared toward institutionalizing funding, improving programs for victims, and increasing humanitarian aid (McReynolds, 2008). For example, in the 2003 Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act, Congress added civil remedies as a means for restitution for victims (Kubasek & Herrera, 2015; McReynolds, 2008). It also identified human trafficking as chargeable under the Racketeering Influenced Corrupt Organizations statute (Dysart, 2013; Kubasek & Herrera, 2015).

In 2005, revisions included an emphasis on addressing CST and creating programs for domestic victims (Finklea et al., 2015). The 2008 revision, which is also known as the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act, directed the United States attorney general to create a model state statute specifying that CST is a severe form of trafficking and that prosecution of minor victims for prostitution is prohibited. Instead, they should be referred for services. This revision was also noteworthy because it permitted victims to sue their traffickers, which increased both the criminal and civil liabilities of traffickers (E. R. George & Smith, 2013). Revisions made

in 2013 further specified the safe harbor provisions for victims of CST for the model state statute required in the 2008 Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act.

California

2006 was a prominent year for human trafficking legislation in California. The California Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2006 made human trafficking a felony, provided restitution and civil remedies for victims, made it a priority for the attorney general, established victim-caseworker privilege, and established an antitrafficking task force (California Office of the Attorney General, 2015). Separate legislation also enacted in 2006 required specific training for law enforcement personnel and special provisions for noncitizen human trafficking victims (California Office of the Attorney General, 2015). Since 2006, 24 additional pieces of legislation have been enacted in California addressing topics like the penalties for those purchasing sex from minors, asset forfeiture, civil nuisance abatement, victims resources, and various others like accountability of supply chains (California Office of the Attorney General, 2015). In California, however, 2012 was the landmark year for antisex trafficking legislation.

In 2012, Californians passed initiative Proposition 35, Section 6, titled Californians Against Sexual Exploitation (CASE) Act. It included six declarations and a three part purpose. The six declarations identified sexual exploitation, especially of minors, as a top issue, established human trafficking as modern day slavery and a human rights violation, clarified that minors are not legally capable of consenting to sexual acts, identified the Internet as a venue for trafficking, advocated for stronger laws against traffickers, and sought to strengthen sex offender registration requirements (CA Office of

the Attorney General, 2011). The three-pronged purpose of the proposition was to fight against human trafficking in California and ensure adequate punishments existed, to identify trafficking victims as victims rather than criminals, and to strengthen laws and enable better oversight of sex offenders and use of the Internet (CA Office of the Attorney General, 2011).

In 2012, the CASE Act passed with 81.1% of the voters casting ballots for the proposition, which was endorsed by both democrats and republicans and financially backed by Facebook Chief Privacy Officer Chris Kelly (Almendrala, 2012). Passage of the act passed two milestones in California. First, it received more support than any other initiative in California history (CASE Act, 2012). Second, it was the first initiative to receive in excess of 10 million "for" votes (CASE Act, 2012). Clearly, Californians are ungracious hosts of the sexual exploitation occurring in their state.

The combined impacts of the laws passed in California from 2006 to 2012 is that today, California Penal Code, Part 1, Title 8, Chapter 8, Section 236.1 clearly establishes human trafficking, including minors involved in commercial sex acts, as a violation of California state law. It provides fines of up to $500,000 and jail time from five years to life depending on the exact circumstances (State of California, 2012). It also names violations under 12 other California Codes as human trafficking, which closes off options to offenders to plead to nonhuman trafficking related charges.

Section 236.2 requires California law enforcement officers to diligently attempt to identify victims of human trafficking, which specifically includes "a minor who has engaged in a commercial sex act". Section 236.4 allows for additional fines of up to

$1,000,000 for persons convicted under Section 236.1 and earmarks the money for victims, nongovernmental organizations providing services, and to law enforcement agencies for prevention, protection, and rescue efforts (State of California, 2012). Section 236.7 allows for the forfeiture of assets, real or monetary, that were used to facilitate a commercial sex act involving a minor under 18 years of age (State of California, 2012). Finally, although CST is not a part of the municipal code for Los Angeles County, county Supervisors work to address the issue.

These laws indicate a rising awareness of CST in California as evidenced first by an increase in arrests of child prostitutes and then a decrease as those prostitutes were clearly identified as victims of CST instead. In the 1990s, arrests of child prostitutes steadily rose until 2000 and passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act. Afterward, it rose significantly and then declined significantly with the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008, which clarified child prostitutes as victims of CST under federal law. By 2012, the number of arrests of child prostitutes had fallen to 1994 and 1995 levels.

In contrast to California, Nevada, which is also located in the southwestern portion of the United States, has a long history of legal prostitution largely as a result of its mining past (Pierson, 2015). Unlike in California, prostitution is an accepted part of the landscape in Nevada. As can be expected with such a markedly different culture regarding prostitution between California and Nevada, sexual exploitation is much more narrowly understood in Nevada.

Prostitution officially became a legal activity in Nevada in 1971 and it is still a legal, albeit, heavily regulated service industry today (Ivie, 2013). However, it is limited to counties with 400,000 or fewer people (Carrasquillo, 2014). Despite this restriction, it is a 35 million dollar industry in Nevada (Carrasquillo, 2014).

However, sentiment about prostitution in Nevada is changing (Pierson, 2015). Legal prostitution has not made it immune to CST. Between 1994 and 2013, 2,377 CST victims were identified by law enforcement operating in Las Vegas (Pierson, 2015). The Information forwarded to the Federal Bureau of Investigation by Nevada indicates that 905 minors were arrested for prostitution between 2000 and 2012 (Puzzanchera & Kang, 2014). Prostitution is illegal in Las Vegas due to its population.

The impact of lobbyists are decreasing and the Nevada state legislature has implemented new laws to combat sex trafficking (Pierson, 2015). After much effort by groups like Nevadans for the Common Good, Assembly Bill 67, which was proposed by Attorney General Masto, unanimously passed the legislature and went into effect in 2013 (Nevada State Legislature, n.d.; NV Office of the Attorney General, 2015; Pierson, 2015). Assembly Bill 67 is the seminal antitrafficking legislation in Nevada. It made sex trafficking a crime, increased penalties for traffickers, vamped up resources for law enforcement, and firmly established minor victims as victims rather than prostitutes (Pierson, 2015).

Nevada has also passed legislation granting post-conviction relief for sex trafficking victims convicted of prostitution (Barnard, 2014). However, relief must be sought in a timely manner post-victimization (Larche, 2014). Interestingly, California

does not have a similar provision in its state statute. In Nevada, prostitution is legal in several counties and the culture is one of quiet acceptance. However, Nevadans have drawn a line in the sand regarding CST; minors are not for sale.

Policy Issues

Minors Cannot Consent to Sexual Acts

Under the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 and its reauthorizations, prostitutes under 18 years of age are unable to consent to sex, but under many state laws they are being prosecuted as prostitutes (Hall, 2014; Jordan, Patel, & Rapp, 2013; Ocen, 2015; Phillips, 2015). They are actually more likely to be prosecuted for prostitution than the buyer (E. R. George & Smith, 2013). As described by Ocen (2015) "innocence, vulnerability, and dependence" attach to adolescence and form the basis behind why minors are unable to consent to sex (p. 1589). Legally, it is irrelevant if the minors do not see themselves as victims (Rafferty, 2013).

Under the federal Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, children under the age of 18 involved in prostitution or other commercial sex acts are victims of CST even if coercion of the victim cannot be proven (Hall, 2014; Hurst, 2015). In these circumstances, pimps are prosecuted as traffickers (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011). This is an important distinction from sex trafficking of adults where coercion must be proven (Hall, 2014). The age of the prostitute should be determined before establishing if consent was given (Tomes, 2013). However, it is often very difficult, if not impossible, to determine the exact age of foreign sex trafficking victims (S. George, 2012). Nonetheless, if the prostitute is a minor then he or she is legally incapable of giving consent according

to federal law (E. R. George & Smith, 2013; Hall, 2014; Hasselbarth, 2014; Tomes, 2013). Under the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 and its reauthorizations, minors are still victims even when they have seemingly consented to sex or held themselves out as adults (Siskin, Fernandes-Alcantara, & Finklea, 2014). Arresting and convicting a minor for prostitution may even be unconstitutional in light of the protections provided in the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 and its reauthorizations (Hall, 2014). This stands to reason given that traffickers exert several forms of power over victims including physical, psychological, and cultural power that combine to form a mechanism for control (Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2012; Hall, 2014; Rafferty, 2013).

State laws, though, are mixed. For clarification, in 2013, 48 states and the District of Columbia, had laws criminalizing sex trafficking, but only 18 had safe harbor laws (Hasselbarth, 2014). These safe harbor laws were usually based on prohibiting prosecution of prostitutes below a specified age, however conditions often applied (Hasselbarth, 2014). At best, this resulted in a deferral of services and, at worst, resulted in complete denial of services. Differences in state law relate to the definitions used for being a “minor” and the age of consent (Hasselbarth, 2014). Differences also exist with regard to child pornography (Hasselbarth, 2014). The result is not only differences between states, but also, at times, within a state when the age of consent and statutes regarding prostitution are at odds with each other (Hasselbarth, 2014).

Low Levels of Convictions

The poor showing of convictions worldwide for traffickers and johns could exist due to a gap between codified laws and the impact of those laws in practice (Dijk & Mierlo, 2013). The complexity of legal cases where the victim has perpetrated a crime like prostitution or has some other issue like drug addiction negatively affects the attitudes of law enforcement and prosecutors, and otherwise impedes prosecution of traffickers and johns (Farrell, Owens, Colleen, & McDevitt, 2014; Pearce, 2014). Many times complicit activity by the minor leads to being misidentified as a criminal rather than a victim (E. R. George & Smith, 2013). Also, victims may refuse to testify against their traffickers, which is a necessity for putting together an effective case for prosecution, regardless of their lack of statutory requirement to do so (Farrell et al., 2014).

Implementing state level antitrafficking laws could boost the number of prosecutions related to trafficking cases (Hall, 2014). However, some concern exists among state prosecutors about the complexity of the cases and the resources needed to prosecute them (Farrell et al., 2014). Additionally, prosecutors can be cautious about pursing cases based on new criminal statutes (Farrell et al., 2014).

Given the seriousness of CST as a crime, penalties should be similar to those for kidnapping and sexual assault (Shoaps, 2013). Under the Trafficking Victims Protection Act and its reauthorizations, prison terms range from 10 years to life based on the age of the victim and the previous record of the perpetrator (Dysart, 2013). Prison terms for traffickers average out to 158 months (Tomes, 2013). Sweden took an aggressive

approach and actively pursued arresting johns, which resulted in a 40% increase in convictions in one year (Tomes, 2013).

This is not to say that nothing has been done to arrest and convict traffickers though. The Federal Bureau of Investigation's Innocence Lost National Initiative has resulted in 1500 convictions of traffickers since its inception (Phillips, 2015). Today, 66 task forces exist in the United States (Finklea et al., 2015). The Prosecutorial Remedies and Other Tools to End the Exploitation of Children Today (PROTECT) Act of 2003 highlighted CST as a sex offense (Phillips, 2015). Also, in 2012, the Violent Crimes Against Children section of the Federal Bureau of Investigation achieved 302 convictions for offenses related to CST (Finklea et al., 2015). Traffickers are wily though, and they often escape detection through a sophisticated network oriented toward avoiding areas with a high police presence (E. R. George & Smith, 2013).

Training for Law Enforcement

A lack of training for law enforcement officers to identify victims of CST helps explain why they continue to be charged and convicted as criminals (E. R. George & Smith, 2013; Hall, 2014; Kubasek & Herrera, 2015). Also, victim blaming responses by law enforcement help perpetuate CST (Pearce, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). If the trafficker is arrested along with the child, the likelihood of being considered a victim by law enforcement officers increases (Finklea et al., 2015).

Law enforcement officers need additional training to increase awareness about federal laws and the victim status of underage prostitutes (E. R. George & Smith, 2013; Tomes, 2013). Training is crucial to the proper identification of victims because they

often do not identify themselves as victims and they may hide their age from law enforcement officers (E. R. George & Smith, 2013; S. George, 2012). Boys, in particular, may see themselves as “hustlers” rather than as victims (Friedman, 2013, p. 11). State and local child welfare agency workers also need additional training to alleviate misperceptions that CST victims are a juvenile justice issue (Siskin et al., 2014).

More Treatment Facilities Are Needed for Victims

Too often victims of CST are treated as criminals and charged with prostitution or treated as delinquents and placed in juvenile detention centers (Finklea et al., 2015; Ocen, 2015; Wilson & Butler, 2014). This is partially perpetuated by a lack of treatment service facilities for victims that are not related to the criminal justice system (Finklea et al., 2015; Siskin et al., 2014). Boys, in particular, lack facilities for treatment and reintegration into society (Friedman, 2013). The few that exist are oriented toward female victims.

As a result, police officers feel that arresting minor prostitutes is the best option since juvenile detention facilities provide counseling (Finklea et al., 2015). However, counseling is based on the crimes committed, so counseling related to a drug or other nonprostitution offense is ineffective (Finklea et al., 2015). Victim treatment needs to be specifically oriented to the needs of victims rather than around the constraints of the juvenile justice system.

Understanding CST: Three Issues

Issues Related to Discourse

Several competing discourses exist to frame the problem of CST and the larger issue of sex trafficking. For example, explaining CST as an issue of slavery is racially disproportionate because it follows on with the white slavery movement (Butler, 2015). Explaining CST from an international perspective puts a focus on foreign victims when domestic victims also exist and probably make up the majority (Kalargyrou & Woods, 2015). Also, explaining CST only from the perspective of a victim is too restrictive and fails to account for the myriad ways that a youth could become involved in the CSE (Phillips, 2015). It also implies a complete lack of agency, which is too narrowly construed because the reality of sex work is much more complex (Monto, 2014). Explaining CST in terms of a business transaction glosses over the victimization of the youth involved and the violation of law by traffickers and johns, which in turn impacts the way society views the issue (Saewyc et al., 2013).

A potential solution to figuring out how to explain CST is to place the prostitute in the center of analyses and to establish our understanding from there (Goyal, 2014). The Trafficking Victims Protection Act clearly specifies that minors under 18 year of age involved in commercial sex acts are victims of a severe form of trafficking(Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2013, 2013). Following on with this idea, a human rights based discourse keeps the focus on the prostitute and addresses the core issue related to being a sex trafficking victim (Haddadin & Klímová-Alexander, 2013;

Rafferty, 2013; Scarafia, 2014). CST is firstly a human rights issue and secondly a criminal issue.

Definitional Issues

Definitional issues include both lacking a clear definition and having major differences between the definitions being used (Nawyn, Birdal, & Glogower, 2013). Definitions of CST that include terms like "sex" and "minor", both of which lack universally accepted definitions, cloud the meaning being conveyed. For example, a key element of the definition for CST provided in the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 is that the exploitation of the minor was for a sex act (Leary, 2014). What constitutes a sex act is not well articulated though (Leary, 2014). It can be narrowly construed as only including intercourse, or it could be broadly understood as including other types of exploitation like child pornography (Leary, 2014). Likewise, minor is another term without a universal definition (Hasselbarth, 2014). Not all states in the United States define a minor as someone less than 18 years of age. As a result, the meaning of 'exploiting a minor for a sex act' is unclear and can mean different things in different states. Definitions including the terms 'prostitution' and 'domestic minor sex trafficking' suffer from the same issues because neither has a universally accepted definition (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Hasselbarth, 2014).

In addition to ambiguities in legal definitions associated to terms like sex, minor, prostitution, and domestic minor sex trafficking, the terminology used by the media in relation to CST influence how it is perceived (Saewyc et al., 2013). Many terms used to describe victims like "prostitute" convey a sense of choice by the minor victim, which is

misleading (Menaker & Miller, 2013; Saewyc et al., 2013). Also, early on, "trafficking" was the imperative word indicating that movement of the victim was an important factor. Today, "child" is the imperative word due to the exploitation involved in CST regardless of whether movement of the victim occurred (E. R. George & Smith, 2013; Rafferty, 2013). In recognition of this, drafters of the 2003 Trafficking Victims Reauthorization Act expanded the criminal element of transporting a victim to include recruiting, harboring, and other acts related to trafficking (E. R. George & Smith, 2013). To avoid these issues, the terminology used to describe CST and domestic minor sex trafficking should foster a human rights approach with an emphasis on social services and a community centered response (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014).

Issues With Identifying Victims

Identifying victims of CST is problematic in the United States (Butler, 2015; Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Dess, 2013; Dysart, 2013; Farrell et al., 2014; S. George, 2012; Jordan et al., 2013; Scarafia, 2014; Shoaps, 2013). There is no stereotypical image of the 'average' victim (S. George, 2012). Victims also need counseling and treatment (Dess, 2013; Finklea et al., 2015). However, police and prosecutors are not often trained in employing interviewing techniques suitable for CST victims, and too few victim services organizations exist (Farrell et al., 2014).

Gender. Boys are often overlooked as potential victims of CST (Butler, 2015). One issue in identifying boys as victims of CST seems to be that there is less public concern about victimized boys (Butler, 2015). Also, cultural stigmas interfere with identification of boy victims of CST by law enforcement (Friedman, 2013). This is

partially due to the fact that they not usually arrested for prostitution, but for other offenses (Friedman, 2013).

Culturally, boys are viewed as being not vulnerable to CST and as not being pimped (Friedman, 2013). In Canada, cultural stereotypes are perpetuated by media reporting, which often fails to mention boys as potential victims of sexual exploitation (Saewyc et al., 2013). At times, boy victims of CST are viewed as being gay or transgendered, which is not well received in American society (Friedman, 2013). Additionally, boys often do not self identify as being victims (Friedman, 2013). Instead they see themselves as “hustlers” (Friedman, 2013, p. 11).

The perception that boys are not victims of CST is simply untrue. The exact number of boy victims of CST is not known relative to girl victims of CST, but it seems that underreporting of boy victims of CST is paramount (Friedman, 2013). Dank estimated that boys made up 53.5% of the population of minor prostitutes in her study (Pauli, 2014). Likewise, Saewyc (2013) found in his study involving 1,845 youth and young adults living in British Columbia, Canada that boys make up 50% of sexually exploited youth. Jones found much the same in the United States (Shoaps, 2013).

This is not always the case though. In England, of 1,065 victims identified through a data monitoring tool, only 8.6% were boys (Pearce, 2014). However, practitioners related to that study also feared that sexually exploited boys were being overlooked due to differences in how they experience sexual exploitation (Pearce, 2014). In Dank’s study, transgendered youth made of 4.5% and girls made up the rest (Pauli, 2014).

Racism and race. During the times of African slavery in America, black women were cast as being sexual and fertile arguably as a way to justify their sexual exploitation (Butler, 2015; Phillips, 2015). Black women slaves were commodities because they were capable of birthing more slaves (Butler, 2015; Phillips, 2015). Sexually dominating or raping them served to subjugate them as a black slave class (Butler, 2015; Phillips, 2015).

American slavery of black women resulted in a stereotype that black women are Jezebels (Butler, 2015; Phillips, 2015). Conversely, during the same time, white women were stereotyped as pure and chaste ladies (Butler, 2015). This perception is still evident today whenever the media depicts CST victims as "white and suburban" (Butler, 2015, p. 1495). Antitrafficking policies simply fail to address the intersection of race, gender, and class as sources of oppression and, therefore, vulnerability for black girls (Ocen, 2015). They exclude black girls from the normative, white victim standard (Phillips, 2015). However, several studies point to a different conclusion.

For example, in 2011, the U.S. Bureau for Justice Statistics reported that of 358 confirmed cases of CST between 2008 and 2010 most of the victims were black or Latino (Butler, 2015). In a study by Dank in 2011, black youth were estimated to account for 29% of the population of minor prostitutes (Pauli, 2014). Spangenberg found in her 2001 study that 87% of minor prostitutes in New York were either black or Latino (Butler, 2015). This trend holds true in California where in Alameda County minors referred to one community agency for sexual exploitation were overwhelming black (Butler, 2015). In Los Angeles, another study showed that black girls made up 3% of the population, but they accounted for 92% of the minors arrested for prostitution (Ocen, 2015).

The law enforcement approach in the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 and its reauthorizations fails to account for economic drivers related to race and class (Phillips, 2015). Minorities are simply “overrepresented in poverty stricken areas” (Hurst, 2015, p. 93). In Ocen’s (2015) view, for black girls, race, gender, and class intersect to undergird prosecution over protection by law enforcement. The oppression of black girls due to race and gender manifests itself in the perception that black girls are oversexed and immoral (Butler, 2015). Black girls are viewed simply as “less innocent and more adult” than their white counterparts, which results in discriminatory behavior towards them (Ocen, 2015, p. 1592). As a result, black girls are often overlooked as victims due to persistent narratives of black women as lacking innocence or somehow deserving their circumstances (external racism) (Butler, 2015; Phillips, 2015).

For minor girl black prostitutes, race and gender intersect as sources of oppression (Butler, 2015; Phillips, 2015). They are also dealing with the cumulative effects of “contending with multiple sources of disadvantage” associated to being both poor and a minority (Reid, 2014, p. 338). Structural inequities may push them toward survival sex and prostitution (Butler, 2015). Conversely, the protection expected by law enforcement is absent (Ocen, 2015). Finally, internalized racism, a sense of shame based on the beliefs associated to external racism, can result low self-esteem and in an increased vulnerability to trafficking (Hurst, 2015).

State of origin. The Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 focused on providing protections for foreign victims of human trafficking (Hasselbarth, 2014; Kubasek & Herrera, 2015). It did not specifically exclude domestic victims, but its

singular focus on foreign victims had the same effect as evidenced by the fact that states continued to prosecute minor victims of CST for prostitution (Hasselbarth, 2014). However, being scared, particularly young, female, and dirty or smelly increased the perception by law enforcement officers that the child was a victim rather than a criminal (Finklea et al., 2015).

The exact number of minors born in the United States that are involved in CST is unknown, but the numbers are believed to be quite large. According to Shared Hope International, approximately 100,000 domestic children are trafficked into the sex industry each year (E. R. George & Smith, 2013). The fact that the United States Department of State, which by its nature is focused on the international aspects of CST, heads up efforts to combat CST perpetuates the perception that most of the victims are foreign (Kubasek & Herrera, 2015).

Perceptions about the "foreign" nature of sex trafficking victims impede awareness regarding the huge issue of domestic minor sex trafficking. Most of the CST victims in the United States are from the United States and trafficked domestically (E. R. George & Smith, 2013). Foreign victims are more likely to be identified than domestic ones who are simply viewed as prostitutes (Kalargyrou & Woods, 2015). The result is fewer rights and social services for domestic minor sex trafficking victims due to their misidentification (Kalargyrou & Woods, 2015). Drafters of the 2005 Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act sought to address this issue by offering grants for domestic victims (Finklea et al., 2015). Drafters of the 2008 and 2013 Trafficking

Victims Protection Reauthorization Acts further clarified that domestic victims fall under the purview of the Acts (Hasselbarth, 2014).

Regardless, as long as the focus remains on foreign victims of CST, efforts will remain largely at the international level when state level laws need an equal amount of attention (Kubasek & Herrera, 2015). Several states now have laws regarding domestic minor sex trafficking, but there are major inconsistencies between them (Dysart, 2013; Hasselbarth, 2014; Kubasek & Herrera, 2015). One implication of inconsistencies in state laws is that domestic minor sex traffickers may relocate to states with more lenient or less developed laws against it (Dysart, 2013).

Stockholm syndrome and other trauma based bonds. Stockholm Syndrome or other trauma based bonds by victims often complicates investigations because there is a sense of loyalty between the victim and the trafficker (Dess, 2013; Dysart, 2014; Jordan et al., 2013; Tomes, 2013). It also makes identifying the prostitute as a victim very difficult. Likely, the victim will not self-identify as such.

Many victims view their pimps as their boyfriends or have other emotional attachments to them (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Dysart, 2014; Edberg et al., 2014; Musto & Boyd, 2014; Scarafia, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). In some victims, the attachment to the pimp is so strong it borders on worship (Wilson & Butler, 2014). To create a sense of loyalty, the trafficker manipulates the victim using coercive techniques that swing between extremes with love on one end and abuse on the other (Jordan et al., 2013). The relationship starts out as “loving” and once the victim is emotionally dependent on the trafficker abuse begins (Scarafia, 2014).

These victims may take steps like using fake identification to hide their true identities from law enforcement officers (Finklea et al., 2015). Other victims may distrust law enforcement (Scarafia, 2014). Fear of punishment from their traffickers is another obstacle for law enforcement to overcome (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Kubasek & Herrera, 2015; Scarafia, 2014). The result is a complicated mess of facts and perceptions that cloud the relationship between the trafficker and victim and the understanding by law enforcement of the crime(s) that have been committed (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014).

CST Victims: Impacts, Treatment, and Reintegration Into Society

Impacts

The impact of being a CST victim is severe and includes both physical and psychological consequences that can have long-term effects (Rafferty, 2013). Once removed from CST, victims have to recover from a host of physical injuries and mental abuses. Physically, victims report being beaten, starved, drugged, and sexually abused (Rafferty, 2013). Physically, the abuse impacts nearly every body system of victims (Richards, 2014). Victims often lack medical care and suffer from sexually transmitted diseases and other reproductive illnesses (Rafferty, 2013). If victims become pregnant they often suffer from forced abortions (Rafferty, 2013). However, many willingly undergo the procedure as well (Richards, 2014).

Mentally, victims are controlled, coerced, threatened, and, as a result, they live in fear (Cecchet & Thoburn, 2014; Rafferty, 2013). Once removed from CST, they lack appropriate support systems and suffer from systemic isolation often at their own hands

due to mistrusting others and guarding their behavior (Cecchet & Thoburn, 2014). In a study of sex trafficking victims in Nepal, the rate of depression was 100% after being removed from the sex trafficking situation although it was nearly as high in the trafficking victims that were not involved in sex work (Richards, 2014). The rate of depression in that group was 80% (Richards, 2014).

Besides physical injuries like broken bones, diseases, and malnutrition, victims often suffer post-traumatic stress syndrome and have thoughts of suicide, experience dizziness, have stomach issues, get the shakes, and have trouble sleeping (Rafferty, 2013). Depression, anxiety and substance abuse are often common in CST victims (Menaker & Miller, 2013). Ultimately, not enough victims show resiliency during the abuse and after it ends (Cecchet & Thoburn, 2014).

Treatment and Reintegration Into Society

Re-victimization is a problem that is less likely to occur when victims are removed from their situations via the collective action of a community (Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2012). Victims are often first identified by nongovernmental organizations that alert authorities (Kalargyrou & Woods, 2015). The community is an often overlooked component of tackling CST both before and after it occurs (Rafferty, 2013). Proper representation in political processes should result in new roles for victims that span the economic, cultural, and legal realms (Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2012). Notably, services should be equally available to all minor prostitutes regardless of gender (Pauli, 2014).

Psychoeducational groups are recommended for sex trafficking victims because they have provided good treatment results for victims in other situations involving sexual

abuse (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014). In particular, successes are noted in improving the cognitive, social, and interpersonal skills of victims as well as their self-esteem (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014). When combined with a sense of increased hope, which has also been noted, victims are more resilient in difficult situations (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014).

Other treatment options include contextualized trauma focused models, group and/or community based psychosocial interventions, and comprehensive treatment plans (Wilson & Butler, 2014). A strength based approach is also warranted (Dodsworth, 2014). In addition, treatment could focus on creating empowerment and resiliency among the victims (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Dodsworth, 2014).

Also, greater educational attainment provides resiliency against becoming a victim of sex trafficking, so educational opportunities should target the most vulnerable youth (Rafferty, 2013; Reid, 2014). Early intervention is key (Dodsworth, 2014). Changing cultural norms that oppress and/or disadvantage women should be addressed as well (Rafferty, 2013). This includes preconceived notions about prostitutes as deserving their fate or worse desiring it (Menaker & Miller, 2013). Ultimately, if poverty made the victim vulnerable to the tactics of traffickers, then resolving it is an important factor in remaining free from exploitation (Wilson & Butler, 2014).

Studies Related to Poverty

Poverty, at its core, is a “life condition” (Appio, Chambers, & Mao, 2013, p. 153). Experiences within this condition commonly include “inadequate housing, overcrowded schools, scarce employment opportunities, food insecurity, poor healthcare, and higher

rates of traumatic events" (Appio et al., 2013, p. 153). Poverty is a pathway to CST because it impedes the choices of those stricken by it (Farley et al., 2014; Pearce, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). Institutional barriers most evident in the educational, legal, and health sectors further marginalize the poor in what is essentially a "doubly oppressive" condition (Appio et al., 2013, p. 153). On one hand, the poor live without the opportunities available to people in other classes and, on the other hand, they are stigmatized as being lazy or somehow deserving of their situation (Appio et al., 2013). When life conditions, stigmatization, and a lack of power persist and intersect, they create a lower class of people within society (Appio et al., 2013).

Classes of poor people often experience "emotional distress, including disruptions in family, social, and romantic lives, social isolation, depression, anxiety, increased substance use, and posttraumatic stress" (Appio et al., 2013, p. 153). In practical terms, those suffering from poverty have few options available, and the ones that are available are often undesirable (Dodsworth, 2014).

Unfortunately, women suffer disproportionately from poverty on a global scale (Cecchet & Thoburn, 2014). The United Nations reports that two-thirds of the world's workforce is women, but they work for only ten% of the income earned around the world (Cecchet & Thoburn, 2014). In conjunction with institutionalized power structures, women around the world make up a class of oppressed people marked by less status, power, economic prowess, and demand (Cecchet & Thoburn, 2014). This 'life condition' then becomes a source of vulnerability to traffickers (Cecchet & Thoburn, 2014;

Petersen, 2015). As a result, poverty is a push factor for CST especially among black girls (Ocen, 2015; Phillips, 2015).

This section includes subsections on traffickers and johns because traffickers exploit vulnerabilities created by poverty and other sources of oppression in order the meet the demand of johns. The motivation of traffickers is easy to understand. They want to gain monetarily. This desire for monetary gain creates a strong argument for understanding CST as a commercial transaction. Johns create demand and traffickers fill that demand in order to make a profit. If this were a conversation about a popular pair of jeans or the hottest toy this season, there would not be much to talk about. The problem is that the demand by johns for sex with minors is very difficult to understand, and it results in the victimization of a minor, which is a human rights issue. Unfortunately, very little research exists on traffickers or johns. To date, the literature overwhelmingly addresses the victims.

Traffickers

Pimps use two main tactics to entrap victims (Richards, 2014). The first is finesse pimping, which is based on trickery and smooth talking (Richards, 2014). It is also known as the lover boy approach. The *lover boy approach* is widely used by traffickers to exploit the vulnerabilities of minors (Rafferty, 2013; Scarafia, 2014). Vulnerabilities result from the intersection of several sources (Dicker, 2016). Traffickers exploit victims through seduction (Edberg et al., 2014; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Rafferty, 2013; Scarafia, 2014). Professions of love offer another avenue for exploiting victims (E. R. George & Smith, 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Scarafia, 2014).

That is not to say that the “lover boy” phase lasts forever. The trafficker-prostitute relationship is built on both “interpersonal and romantic violence” (Cecchet & Thoburn, 2014, p. 489). The impact endures though. Many victims view their pimps as their boyfriends or have other emotional attachments to them (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Dysart, 2014; Edberg et al., 2014; Musto & Boyd, 2014; Scarafia, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). Traffickers specifically target victims with vulnerabilities like being poor (Wilson & Butler, 2014).

The second main tactic by traffickers is guerilla pimping (Richards, 2014). It is based on overt force and violence (Richards, 2014). Pimps use this approach on the poor, disabled, illiterate, and socially marginalized (Wilson & Butler, 2014).

The approaches used by traffickers for domestic minor sex trafficking are fundamentally different than those used for international CST (Cecchet & Thoburn, 2014). However, both sources of origin involve social engineering and/or brute force by traffickers, but in different contexts. In developing states, promises of a better life and abduction demonstrate both the differences and similarities.

Interestingly, recent research indicates that “race, nationality, gender, or even age” fail to create a profile of the typical sex trafficker (Butler, 2015, p. 1501). However, most are believed to be psychopathic (E. R. George & Smith, 2013). Many female traffickers used to be victims (Rafferty, 2013; Shoaps, 2013). This is important because identification of traffickers is essential to an effective prosecutorial program, and women are often overlooked as potential traffickers (Butler, 2015; Shoaps, 2013). Peer-on-peer recruiting is where a peer introduces another peer into a situation involving the

commercial sexual exploitation of a minor (Pearce, 2014). Presumably, this is an extension of the trafficker's influence over those under this control. It is also important to note that pimps are actually traffickers when they use minor prostitutes.

Johns

Johns are varied, but they are often reported to be male, around 30, married, and gainfully employed (Rafferty, 2013). They are so diverse, though, that identification of a useful profile is problematic (E. R. George & Smith, 2013). Regardless, they are the pull factor behind CST.

Besides a varied profile, it is also important to note that johns have varied motivations (Monto, 2014; Rafferty, 2013). They may want additional sexual partners, to have companionship, or to feel the thrill of doing something seedy (Monto, 2014). They may also want to avoid the commitment related to a traditional relationship (Monto, 2014). They may also feel peer pressure to buy sex or desire male bonding (Rafferty, 2013). Interestingly, the john/prostitute relationship coincides with the trafficker/prostitute relationship promoted by the trafficker (Cecchet & Thoburn, 2014). It seems to be a type of training process.

An extremely high demand by johns exists for minor prostitutes (Jordan et al., 2013; Wilson & Butler, 2014). Thirteen is the average age of minors being prostituted for the first time (Cecchet & Thoburn, 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; Scarafia, 2014). For girls, 12 to 14 is when they enter into prostitution (Dess, 2013). For boys and transgendered minors it is between 11 and 13 (Dess, 2013). Minor prostitutes are often sold between 10 and 15 times a day with only one day off each week (Jordan et al.,

2013). The number of times minor prostitutes are sold to johns surges to 45 times a day during high attendance events like major sporting events (Jordan et al., 2013).

Two factors relate to the increasing demand for minor prostitutes by johns (Vitale, 2012). The first one is that children are wanted for more aggressive sex due to their pliability (Vitale, 2012). The second one is that many johns believe younger prostitutes are less likely to carry sexually transmitted diseases like HIV or are otherwise healthier (Jordan et al., 2013; Scarafia, 2014; Vitale, 2012; Wilson & Butler, 2014).

Poverty in California

The federal measure of poverty for California is 16.4%, which is slightly more than the 15.6% poverty rate for the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). It is also more than all of the other states in the southwestern portion of the United States except for Arizona (18.2 %) and New Mexico (20.9%) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). However, poverty in California is calculated using the California Poverty Measure, which includes housing costs and transfer payments in the formula (Stober, 2013). In particular, the California Poverty Measure is designed to assess poverty at state and local levels and record changes over time, assess the impact of state and local policies aimed at reducing poverty, and to assess the impact of future proposals (Betson & Edin, n.d.). California has the highest poverty rate of all states in the United States (Grusky et al., 2015). In urban areas like Los Angeles, this is due to the extremely high cost of housing, educational disparities, and a large immigrant population, which is mostly poor (Grusky et al., 2015)

The 2010 United States Census showed that 33% of minors in California lived below the federal poverty line, but they only accounted for 25% of the total population in

California (Coughlin, 2013). In 2013, nearly half of all children living in California were near, at, or below the poverty line as calculated using the California Poverty Measure (Bohn, Danielson, & Bandy, 2015). The difference between the federal poverty measure and the California Poverty Measure was about 7.5%. Indications from the California Poverty Measure are that more people in California live in poverty due to the high cost of housing in particular (Bohn et al., 2015).

In 2013, poverty among minors was unequally distributed by race. Latino minors suffered the highest poverty rate with more than 32% living in poverty (Bohn et al., 2015). Black minors also had a high rate with 24% living in poverty (Bohn et al., 2015). Asian and white minors fared marginally better with poverty rates of slightly more than 15% and more than 12%, respectively (Bohn et al., 2015). The exact levels of minors living in poverty in each county in California differed, but Los Angeles County was remarkable because it housed more than 25% of all poor minors in California using the California Poverty Measure (Coughlin, 2013).

Poverty in Los Angeles

The federal poverty rate for Los Angeles city is 22.4% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). It is the fourth highest for major cities in the southwestern portion of the United States, which includes the cities of Los Angeles, San Diego, Las Vegas, Salt Lake City, Phoenix, Denver, Albuquerque, Houston, Dallas, and Oklahoma City. Dallas had the highest rate of poverty at 24.1%. Phoenix had the second highest rate of poverty at 23.2%, and Houston had the third highest with a poverty rate of 22.9% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). Surprisingly, San Diego, California, was the lowest with 15.8% (U.S.

Census Bureau, 2014). When adjusted to calculate the poverty level of minors living in those cities, the results remained essentially the same. Los Angeles was fourth highest with a poverty rate among minors at 32.6% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). Dallas had the highest rate of poverty for minors with 37.5% living in poverty (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). Again, the lowest rate belonged to San Diego with 21.2% of minors living in poverty (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014).

The poverty data for Los Angeles County, California, showed that concentrated poverty increased between 1990 and 2000 (Matsunaga, n.d.). South Los Angeles is renowned as a high poverty location and includes an area known as “Skid Row”. South Los Angeles was predominately a black ghetto until the early 1980s when the demographic began to change (Roussell, 2015). By mid-2000, South Los Angeles was approximately one-half Latino and, importantly, approximately one-third immigrant (Roussell, 2015). This shift toward migrant labor, which was less expensive, less likely to result in worker’s compensation claims, and less likely to result in lawsuits over work place conditions, pushed black workers out (Roussell, 2015). It also ushered in an informal economy including “day labor, prostitution, street food vending, and drug selling” (Roussell, 2015, p. 815). Much of the black migration during this time frame was to institutions for incarceration (Roussell, 2015). The rest endure unemployment rates at times as high as 30-40 % (Roussell, 2015). By the end of the Great Recession, “Skid Row” was three-fourth’s black (Roussell, 2015). Undesirable populations like the people on “Skid Row” create an “anti-community” subclass in South Los Angeles, which is

reinforced by the community based policing efforts by the Los Angeles Police Department (Roussell, 2015).

The push away from black workers helps explain why three-fourths of residents on “Skid Row” are black, but it only partially explains poverty in South Los Angeles (Roussell, 2015). Favoring Latino workers has two major impacts. The first one has already been mentioned. The second one is the perceived impact of remittances by Latinos to families in other countries, which leaves Latinos in South Los Angeles with less spending power (Roussell, 2015). Remittances also take money out of circulation in the community (Roussell, 2015).

Los Angeles is a “sanctuary city”, which indicates that immigration status is only considered in cases involving felony crimes (Roussell, 2015). In other words, being in the United States without a legal nonimmigrant or immigrant status is overlooked by police except in felony cases (Roussell, 2015). While not the intended goal, being a sanctuary city further explains the demographic shift that has occurred in South Los Angeles over the past 30 years. Increasing poverty, particularly in South Los Angeles, is a significant risk and important vulnerability when considering the increasing demand for minor prostitutes by johns.

Review Studies Related to the Research Questions

Poverty as a Determinant of CST

As a source of marginalization for an entire class of people, poverty is a major component of risk for commercial sexual exploitation of youth (Edberg et al., 2014; Reid, 2014). In fact, the majority of human trafficking victims come from poor communities

(Rafferty, 2013). Poverty at both the "family and community" levels serves as a pathway to prostitution for women because it increases their vulnerability (Wilson & Butler, 2014). A characteristic of domestic minor sex trafficking is that there seems to be an endless pool of victims (Sheinis, 2012).

Dysfunction, particularly in family units, is a natural consequence of persistent poverty and classism (Appio et al., 2013). Unsurprisingly, sexual abuse as a minor, often as a result of family dysfunction, is directly associated to becoming a sex trafficking victim (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Dess, 2013; Farley et al., 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; Hurst, 2015; Jordan et al., 2013; Kalargyrou & Woods, 2015; Konstantopoulos et al., 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Mir, 2013; Saewyc et al., 2013; Thorburn & de Haan, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). In one study, though, sexual violence was a predictor of CST while sexual abuse was not (Reid, 2014). However, that may have been due to high prevalence of sexual abuse in the study group (Reid, 2014). In short, being abused as a minor is believed to double the odds that the minor will enter into prostitution (Wilson & Butler, 2014).

Abused minors often run away from home, which increases their risk for becoming CST victims (Ali, Muhammad, & Abdullah, 2014). The same is true for black girls (Phillips, 2015). Abused minors often leave one abusive relationship for another (Thorburn & de Haan, 2014; Tomes, 2013). Runaway/homeless/street youth are likely to become CST victims (Sheinis, 2012). One study reported that 81% of runaway minors involved in the study suffered from physical abuse at home, and 50% experienced sexual abuse at home prior to running away (Ali et al., 2014).

Runaway/homeless/street girls are extremely vulnerable to traffickers (Mir, 2013; Ocen, 2015). Traffickers select victims based on their vulnerabilities and ability to easily control them, and run away minors that have been previously abused at home are among the most vulnerable and easily controlled (Ali et al., 2014). For this reason, traffickers target areas where they think they will find runaway/homeless/street youth (E. R. George & Smith, 2013). Run away youth are vulnerable to traffickers because they do not feel like they can go home, and they have few other options (Finklea et al., 2015).

Homelessness and associated poverty are driving factors for minors engaging in survival sex (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Finklea et al., 2015; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; Hasselbarth, 2014; Ocen, 2015; Thorburn & de Haan, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). This is especially true for black girls (Phillips, 2015). As the term “survival sex” suggests, prostitution is a means to an end with the end in question being mere survival. Minors engaging in survival sex are often “selling what may be their only possession” (Hasselbarth, 2014, p. 404). Traffickers step in and exploit vulnerabilities created by homelessness and poverty in order to meet the demand of johns.

Survival sex is a complicit act that complicates the victim narrative (Phillips, 2015). The practical implication of this complication is that victims are often charged as criminals instead, especially when the victims are black (Phillips, 2015). However, it is important to remember that minor prostitutes are “objects of acute harm” meaning that the harm being done is being done to the minor prostitutes (Dysart, 2014, p. 286).

Destination Location: Los Angeles

The Americas, along with many other places across the world, are destination locations for human trafficking including CST (Jac-Kucharski, 2012). Given the right demographics, like poverty and inequality, they are also states of origin or source. Before awareness of domestic minor sex trafficking existed, transporting the victim from the state of origin to the destination state was believed to be a major component in human 'trafficking' in all of its forms. Movement of the victim is no longer a necessary component in human trafficking (E. R. George & Smith, 2013; Rafferty, 2013). Geographical areas can all at once be locations of origin, transit, and destination.

In the words of Makatche, "[s]ex trafficking exists where vulnerability meets exploitation" (2013, p. 241). This requires three actors: victims and their underlying vulnerabilities; traffickers and their exploitive tactics; and, johns and their willingness to pay for sex with minors. Destination locations are important geographical areas to focus on because they are where the victims, traffickers, and johns converge. Destination locations are where the exploitive sexual act of the minor victim happens.

California is a natural destination location because of its international border, popularity with immigrant populations, and its robust ports and airports (S. George, 2012). Los Angeles County has the largest homeless population (91,000) of all metropolitan areas in the United States with an increasing amount of the approximately 8,000 to 11,000 homeless living in Skid Row being women and children (LA Chamber of Commerce, n.d.).

The Federal Bureau of Investigation arrest database puts to rest any question about the presence of CST in Los Angeles. From 2000 to 2012, the last year data is available, 1,970 minor prostitutes were arrested in Los Angeles County (Puzzanchera & Kang, 2014). This reflects a difference between the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 and its articulation of minor prostitutes as victims of CST and California state law. The passage of the California Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2006 signaled improved awareness of human trafficking in California, and it presumably explains why there were fewer arrests of minor prostitutes in each subsequent year except 2007. By the time the Californians Against Sexual Exploitation Act passed in 2012, the annual number of arrests of minor prostitutes dropped from 234 at its peak in 2007 to just 66 in 2012 (Puzzanchera & Kang, 2014).

To provide perspective, 1,970 arrests of minor prostitutes from 2000 to 2012 in Los Angeles County is 1,207 more than the next highest county, which is San Diego County (Puzzanchera & Kang, 2014). It is also more than any state in the United States, except California (Puzzanchera & Kang, 2014). Los Angeles County is clearly a destination location.

Los Angeles County's status as a destination location may be attributable to several demographic characteristics that ensure all three actors exist there. First, marked inequality is paramount. Using the California Poverty Measure both poverty and extreme poverty are widespread in Los Angeles County (Bohn et al., 2015; Coughlin, 2013). Second, Los Angeles County hosts a large immigrant population, which is presumably at least partially attributable to the status of Los Angeles city as a sanctuary city and the

proximity of Los Angeles County to the southern border of the United States. Third, it is an international travel hub. In 2015, 45.5 million people traveled to Los Angeles County (Discover Los Angeles, 2016). Over six million people traveled to Los Angeles County from foreign countries with the bulk of those visitors coming from Mexico, China, and Canada (Discover Los Angeles, 2016). Fourth, with more than 10 million residents and 15.3 million day visitors it is a megacity with an impressive economy (Discover Los Angeles, 2016). Measured as a country, its' economy would rank 20th globally (Discover Los Angeles, 2016). Fifth, cultural sexual objectification of women and girls exists perhaps due to part to the cultural influence of Hollywood, which is a part of Los Angeles County (see Konstantopoulos et al., 2013).

Inequality, poverty and extreme poverty, immigration, and being a travel hub all help ensure that a pool of victims exist in Los Angeles County. The cultural sexual objectification of women and girls helps promote having a population of johns. Johns ensure the presence of traffickers since they are the middlemen looking to profit from the demand of johns.

Summary and Conclusions

Advocates of intersectionality argue that vulnerabilities impact identity and, in combination, become oppressive forces (Dicker, 2016). In the context of this study, poverty is the vulnerability that impacts identity and becomes an oppressive force that others subsequently exploit. This is not to say that other sources of vulnerability do not exist, but rather that poverty is widely believed to be a determinant of CST (Dodsworth, 2014; Edberg et al., 2014; Farley et al., 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; S. George,

2012; Konstantopoulos et al., 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Pearce, 2014; Scarafia, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014).

CST is wrought with definitional issues associated to words like “sex” and “minor” both as a matter of law and as a matter of practice. In law, a lack of universal definitions clouds the issue. In practice, the media uses terms associated to CST with strong connotations, which influence how it is perceived (Saewyc et al., 2013).

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 is the seminal legislation on human trafficking in the United States (Finklea et al., 2015). It has been reauthorized four times with each reauthorization adding clarity to the original Act. It is important in this study because it clearly establishes a minor prostitute as a victim of CST rather than a criminal that should be prosecuted.

In California, the California Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2006 was the seminal legislation and in 2012 the CASE Act passed with an overwhelming amount of support signaling that CST is not acceptable in California (CASE Act, 2012). This same sentiment is also evident in the state of Nevada where, in some counties, prostitution is legal. In 2013, Assembly Bill 67 made sex trafficking a crime, which includes CST (Pierson, 2015).

Arguments surrounding prostitution involving adults does not extend to prostitution involving minors. A basis for the difference lies in the fact that minors cannot consent to sexual acts under federal law (Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, 2000). State laws vary, but they are slowly aligning with federal law on this issue.

Low levels of convictions worldwide exist in part due to complicit acts of the minors like drug abuse, which impede the ability of prosecutors to prosecute cases (Farrell et al., 2014; Pearce, 2014). Also, law enforcement attitudes impact if minor prostitutes are viewed as victims or criminals. Victim blaming responses by law enforcement, in particular, contribute to why CST persists (Pearce, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014).

Given the complicit acts of victims, heavily ingrained viewpoints by law enforcement, and the difficulty in prosecuting cases, it is no wonder that the discourse of CST is wrought with issues. ‘Slave’, ‘victim’, and ‘commodity’ all fall short of explaining the complexity inherent in CST. However, adopting a human rights based discourse keeps the focus on the prostitute and addresses the core issue related to being a sex trafficking victim (Haddadin & Klímová-Alexander, 2013; Rafferty, 2013; Scarafia, 2014).

The victim status of minor prostitutes is not easily identifiable in practice. A stereotypical or average victim does not exist (S. George, 2012). The “white and suburban” victim often portrayed in the media alludes to the idea that black girls are perceived as Jezebels (Butler, 2015, p. 1495). It excludes black girls from the normative, white victim standard (Phillips, 2015). Also, the original focus of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 on foreign victims contributed to the continued prosecution of domestic victims (Hasselbarth, 2014).

Additionally, the victims themselves may not identify as victims. For example, boys may see themselves as “hustlers” rather than as victims (Friedman, 2013, p. 11).

Stockholm Syndrome or other trauma based bonds may impede victim's willingness to participate in investigations (Dess, 2013; Dysart, 2014; Jordan et al., 2013; Tomes, 2013). Many victims view their pimps as their boyfriends or have other emotional attachments to them (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Dysart, 2014; Edberg et al., 2014; Musto & Boyd, 2014; Scarafia, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014).

Traffickers, on the other hand, use exploitive techniques like seduction to lure victims (Edberg et al., 2014; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Rafferty, 2013; Scarafia, 2014). They target victims with vulnerabilities like being poor (Wilson & Butler, 2014). Johns have varied motivations for being johns (Monto, 2014; Rafferty, 2013). Regardless, they create the demand that traffickers fill.

In cases where the victim status is identified, law enforcement often has few options for providing services. Few treatment facilities for victims exist that are not related to the criminal justice system (Finklea et al., 2015; Siskin et al., 2014). CST victims have to recover from both physical and psychological issues with long-term impacts (Rafferty, 2013). Psychoeducational groups seem appropriate given the treatment results achieved for victims in other situations involving sexual abuse (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014).

Poverty is a determinant of CST because it makes victims vulnerable (Dodsworth, 2014; Edberg et al., 2014; Farley et al., 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; S. George, 2012; Konstantopoulos et al., 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Pearce, 2014; Scarafia, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). It also promotes dysfunction particularly in family units (Appio et al., 2013). This dysfunction can take many shapes, but is directly related to

becoming a CST victim when it involves sexual abuse (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Dess, 2013; Farley et al., 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; Hurst, 2015; Jordan et al., 2013; Kalargyrou & Woods, 2015; Konstantopoulos et al., 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Mir, 2013; Saewyc et al., 2013; Thorburn & de Haan, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). Abused minors often run away from home, which increases their risk for becoming CST victims (Ali et al., 2014). Homelessness is a pathway to engaging in survival sex (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Finklea et al., 2015; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; Hasselbarth, 2014; Ocen, 2015; Thorburn & de Haan, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014).

Los Angeles County is not immune to poverty and, in fact, it has the largest homeless population (91,000) of all metropolitan areas in the United States with an increasing amount of the approximately 8,000 to 11,000 homeless living in Skid Row being women and children (LA Chamber of Commerce, n.d.). It also has the highest number of minor prostitutes arrested for prostitution between 2000 and 2012 of any county in the United States (Puzzanchera & Kang, 2014). It is, without doubt, a destination location for CST.

CST: Knowns and Unknowns

Several studies have focused on victims, the pathways to victimhood, the experiences related to that victimhood, pathways out of victimhood, and reintegration into society. Several determinants are believed to create vulnerabilities in potential victims that traffickers then exploit and poverty is chief among them. However, these

studies are overwhelmingly qualitative in nature. Very few studies address the traffickers or johns at all.

How This Study Fills a Gap in the Literature

This study is designed to quantitatively test the belief of several researchers that poverty is a major determinant of CST. Identifying Los Angeles as a destination location for CST through its arrest records is an important factor because it links the occurrence of CST to a specific, defined geographical location. It is not believed to occur there. It does occur there as defined by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 and later by California law. This is a first step in adding specificity and depth to discussions drawn from theoretical analysis or from estimates of estimates.

This Gap is Best Studied Through Correlation

Poverty is believed to be a major determinant of CST generally (Dodsworth, 2014; Edberg et al., 2014; Farley et al., 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; S. George, 2012; Konstantopoulos et al., 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Pearce, 2014; Scarafia, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). The goal here is to test poverty as an independent variable for a specific geographical location with a known problem of CST. Correlation is a good first step to establish an association between the two.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

The purpose of this quantitative study was to explore the relationship between poverty, the independent variable, and CST, the dependent variable. Being a minor, another source of vulnerability, was factored into both the independent and dependent variables. Poverty data were filtered to only include minors, and being a minor is a necessary component of CST.

Correlational studies are about establishing “that one phenomenon causes another” (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008, p. 93). By itself, correlation or covariance is insufficient to prove causality, but a lack of correlation can disprove a hypothesis (Campbell & Stanley, 1963). As such, a hypothesis resulting in a significant correlation can be said to have “survived a chance at disconfirmation” (Campbell & Stanley, 1963, p. 64). Proving a hypothesis is very difficult, so the fact that one survives a chance at disconfirmation is noteworthy. Surviving a chance at disconfirmation does not prove the hypothesis, but it remains viable enough to be tested again (Campbell & Stanley, 1963). For this reason, correlation is the first of three steps to establishing that causality between variables exists (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). The remaining two are nonspuriousness and time order (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). All three are required before causality can be inferred (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). In short, correlational studies are an inexpensive way to run a first test on hypotheses to see which variables warrant additional study (Campbell & Stanley, 1963).

The research question addressed in this study could be studied through qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods. Quantitative methods are used in this study to avoid (re)injuring victims who could relive their stories and the pain associated to them in the retelling of those stories and to test the widespread belief that poverty is a determinant of CST. Several qualitative studies have been done, but very few quantitative ones exist on this topic. Ultimately, there is not enough literature on CST (Cecchet & Thoburn, 2014).

Jac-Kucharski (2012) argued that quantitative data are sparse due to the lack of accounting, the black market nature of the industry, and the reluctance of victims to step forward. Moreover, data sources are disjointed, and access for existing sources is hard to gain (Jac-Kucharski, 2012). To solve these issues, she focused her quantitative study on the United States (Jac-Kucharski, 2012). In doing so, she addressed two points. First, the United States, generally, is a destination location for CST, and focusing on one area normalizes both demand and profitability (Jac-Kucharski, 2012). Second, immigrants in the United States are from a diverse set of countries, which helps identify the source countries (Jac-Kucharski, 2012). Using negative binomial regression, she found that economic measures were significant as was land access to the United States (Jac-Kucharski, 2012). Unfortunately, she did not address domestic minor sex trafficking in her study, which limits the applicability of her results.

Using a different approach, Ali, Muhammed, and Abdhullah (2014) conducted a correlational study on the familial factors related to child trafficking in Peshawar, Pakistan. Rather than interviewing child trafficking victims, they interviewed university teachers, journalists, and legal practitioners (Ali et al., 2014). They used chi square and

gamma statistics to establish the association and positive or negative direction of the correlation (Ali et al., 2014). Of all the independent variables they tested, they found that a positive and significant relationship existed between family disintegration, physical abuse, homelessness, and child trafficking, which was the dependent variable (Ali et al., 2014). As a result, these are all areas for additional research and analysis.

This chapter includes sections on the justification for selection of the variables and the research design and rationale. It also includes the method used in this study, threats to the validity of the study, and ethical considerations. A summary concludes the chapter.

Justification for Selection of the Variables

CST – The Dependent Variable

CST was selected as the dependent variable over sex trafficking because there is little, if any, disagreement that minor prostitutes are victims of exploitation. Conversely, there is a significant debate regarding the victim status of adult prostitutes. Minor prostitutes are often prosecuted under state laws even though they are legally unable to consent to sex (E. R. George & Smith, 2013; Hall, 2014; Hasselbarth, 2014; Tomes, 2013). If any question existed, the Trafficking Victims Protection Act clearly specified that minors under 18 year of age involved in commercial sex acts are victims of a severe form of trafficking (Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2013, 2013).

State law, however, where most prosecutions occur, is not as clear and, at times, is actually contradictory to the federal law (Hall, 2014). State laws create the front line against CST, which make them crucial to winning the war (Hall, 2014). Most states have

laws establishing child prostitutes as victims, but many lack immunity provisions and/or safe harbor laws (Dysart, 2014). Instead, laws should protect victims by moving away from an emphasis on prosecution (Jordan et al., 2013). They should provide both protection and services for victims (Hasselbarth, 2014). States should take a protective response over a criminal response approach (Dysart, 2014). The Department of Justice recommended an approach focused on victims and providing services (Farrell et al., 2014). The legal response to domestic violence provides a good model to follow (Farrell et al., 2014). However, stricter penalties are needed regarding johns and traffickers (Dysart, 2013; Tomes, 2013).

Poverty – The Independent Variable

Poverty was selected as the independent variable because several authors including Dodsworth (2014), Edberg et al. (2014), Farley et al. (2014), E.R. George and Smith (2013), S. George (2012), Konstantopoulos et al. (2013), Menaker and Miller (2013), Pearce (2014), Scarafia (2014), and Wilson and Butler (2014) believed it is a determinant of CST. Income inequality in a country is presumably related to having a pool of potential trafficking victims there (Jac-Kucharski, 2012). Poor economic conditions and a lack of support from family members, nongovernmental organizations, or the government are determinants of sex trafficking although their manifestations differ between developed and developing states (Vitale, 2012). For example, in the United States, being poor and black increases the odds of being a victim of CST (Butler, 2015; Cecchet & Thoburn, 2014; Phillips, 2015). Being both poor and in a relationship involving domestic violence is also a precursor to becoming a CST victim (Reid, 2014).

Unfortunately, minors in the United States suffer disproportionately from poverty when compared with the rate of poverty among adults, which is 6% less (Hasselbarth, 2014). The simple need to survive makes youth vulnerable to CST and, at times, drives them toward it (Edberg et al., 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013).

California was selected as the focal point of this study because it is a natural destination location due to its international border, popularity with immigrant populations, and its robust ports and airports (S. George, 2012). Los Angeles County has the largest homeless population (91,000) of all metropolitan areas in the United States (LA Chamber of Commerce, n.d.). An increasing amount of the approximately 8,000 to 11,000 homeless living in Skid Row are women and children (LA Chamber of Commerce, n.d.).

Research Design and Rationale

Poverty, measured as the number of a county's minor population living in poverty as calculated by the federal poverty measure and the United States Census Bureau, was the independent variable in this study. CST was the dependent variable, and it was measured as the number of minors arrested for prostitution in each year from 1997 to 2012. A nonexperimental, correlational design for this study provided an opportunity to determine if significance exists regarding poverty as a determinant of CST.

Using bivariate correlation to establish a link between poverty and CST relates to the research question on poverty as a potential source of vulnerability directly linked to CST in Los Angeles County, California. Advocates of intersectionality, which is a major tenet of the third wave of feminist theory, believe that several vulnerabilities combine in

the lives of individual women to create oppression and otherwise impact their identities (Dicker, 2016). Class is believed to be a major source of oppression, particularly when it is combined with race and gender (Nash, 2014). At least as poverty relates to intersectionality, it is not believed to stand alone as a source of vulnerability so strong that it does not need to be combined with other vulnerabilities. Intersectionality infers at least two sources of vulnerability. In this study, it was combined with being a minor, which is a necessary element of being a CST victim.

No time or resource constraints existed in implementing this design in this study. A nonexperimental, correlational design advances knowledge on the study of CST by testing the link between poverty and CST for significance. Poverty is identified as a source of vulnerability or contributing factor for CST in several studies (Dodsworth, 2014; Edberg et al., 2014; Farley et al., 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; S. George, 2012; Konstantopoulos et al., 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Pearce, 2014; Scarafia, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). However, most studies related to CST are qualitative in nature. This study is an important first step into the realm of quantitative analysis of this widely held belief.

Methodology

Population

The target population was any county in the southwestern portion of the United States with at least one arrest of a minor for prostitution during the years of 1997 to 2012 and a population of at least 100,000 people. Counties were identified by their formal boundaries. More recent data than 2012 were not available, but with each year that

passes, the arrest data are presumably increasingly impacted by antitrafficking policies enacted at the federal and state levels. Presumably, minors that once were arrested for prostitution are now being referred for services.

Los Angeles County, California has a population of nearly 10 million residents and is very urban. As such, counties in the population also needed to be heavily populated and urban. Counties with fewer than 100,000 residents were excluded from the population. Counties with 100,000 or more residents were vetted against the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrest database to ensure that at least one arrest of a minor for prostitution occurred between 1997 and 2012 and that the dataset for that county was complete or nearly complete. The total target population was 97 counties from states in the southwestern portion of the United States.

Sampling and Sampling Procedures

Given the small total population of 97 counties, the whole population was used in this study. A bivariate correlational test with a normal model required a minimum sample size of 67 to yield power at .8, according to G-Power software. This is consistent with Cohen's *d,* given the dearth of quantitative literature on this topic.

Cohen (1992) was a professor of psychology at New York University and the author of books and articles on statistical power analysis. Cohen's *d* refers to "the difference between the means, M_1-M_2, divided by standard deviation, s, of either group" (Becker, 2016, sec. II). In 1988, Cohen argued that a small effect size could be $d = .2$, a medium effect size could be $d = .5$, and a large effect size could be $d = .8$, but not without some trepidation about their application in the wide field of study that makes up

behavioral sciences (as cited in Becker, 2016, sec. II). In practice, Cohen's *d* is widely used to determine the power of the statistical test (Burkholder, n.d.). In spite of Cohen's trepidation about providing small, medium, and large effect parameters, his measures are widely used when prior research does not provide more specific or tailored effect size measures (Burkholder, n.d.). Tailored effect size measures are not provided in the literature on CST, so Cohen's large effect size, $d = .8$, was used in this study.

Information on the poverty level of each county was taken from the United States Census Bureau website. Information on the rate of arrests of minors for each county was taken from the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrest database. The information from both datasets was publicly available, and permission letters were not needed (Puzzanchera & Kang, 2014; U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). These two datasets were the best data available because they are both reliable, government sources and the data are based on solid methods, which are periodically reviewed and improved.

For example, for the United States Census Bureau 2010 census, three types of nonsampling errors were identified and mitigated during the planning, development, data collection, and data processing phases of the study (United States Census Bureau, 2011). They were nonresponse errors, respondent and enumerator errors, and processing errors (United States Census Bureau, 2011). The United States Census Bureau (2011) also implemented a coverage improvement program and automated reviews for receiving multiple responses from one household.

In another example, when the survey instrument used to collect data for the annual American Community Survey was modified by the United States Census Bureau,

it was reviewed by more than 30 federal agencies prior to being implemented (United States Census Bureau, n.d.). It was also subject to 2 years of content testing and analysis including "response variance, gross difference rates, item nonresponse rates, and measure of distributional changes" between the current and modified questions in order to ensure the quality of the modified questions (United States Census Bureau, n.d., para. 3).

It is important to note that the sample size for the 2013 American Community Survey was 3.54 million housing unit addresses (United States Census Bureau, 2015). This was not the full population possible, which means that a sampling error exists (United States Census Bureau, 2015). The United States Census Bureau uses a 90% confidence level (United States Census Bureau, 2015). This means that researchers "can be 90% confident that the interval within the margin of error from the estimate includes the true value" (United States Census Bureau, 2015, para. 4).

For the dependent variable, the Federal Bureau of Investigation uses the Uniform Crime Reporting Program to gather monthly data from law enforcement agencies around the United States (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, n.d.-b). To mitigate underreporting by some agencies within a county and nonreporting by other agencies in a county, the Federal Bureau of Investigation proportions agency level data to the county level and estimated the missing data (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, n.d.-b).

For example, if a law enforcement agency reported 3 to 11 months of data, the missing data are extrapolated from the data submitted (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, n.d.-b). If a law enforcement agency reported 0 to 2 months,

estimates are based on law enforcement agencies located in the same state with similar demographics that reported 12 full months of data (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, n.d.-b). Reports from state level law enforcement agencies are proportioned to counties in the state based on each county's population relative to the total population of the state (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, n.d.-b).

The coverage indicator for each statistic indicates how much of the data was reported by law enforcement agencies and how much was estimated (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, n.d.-b). Statistics with less than a 90% coverage indicator are removed from the database and are not displayed to the public (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, n.d.-b). For statistics displayed as rates, like the arrest rate of minors for prostitution, the total population for the county is derived from data from the National Center for Health Statistics and the United States Bureau of the Census (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, n.d.-b).

Descriptive statistics provide information regarding missing data and scatter plots of the data help identify outliers that might skew the data (Field, 2012). Bivariate correlational tests help determine what relationship exists between the variables and if the relationship is positive or negative. Stratification was by the sample years: 1997 to 1999 and 2000 to 2012. Transformation of nonnormal data or use of distribution free tests was expected.

Threats to Validity

External Validity

The nonexperimental design of this study negated threats to validity stemming from testing reactivity, interaction effects of selection and experimental variables, reactive effects of experimental arrangements, and multiple-treatment interference. Specificity of the variables was not an issue because both poverty and CST are distinguishable characteristics. Also, since being a minor is a source of vulnerability related to also being poor, and being poor is related to being a CST victim then it can be said that the relationship is one of increasing degrees of vulnerability and oppression.

This was in keeping with the third wave of feminist theory that multiple sources of vulnerability intersect in the identities of individual women with oppressive results (Dicker, 2016). This was not to say that a low level of education, for example, has no bearing on the economic status of individual or classes of people, but rather that the effect can be measured both in the aggregate and separately. Garry's argument that multiple sources of oppression cannot be adequately separated and measured for effect due to "interdependence, multidimensionality, and mutually constitutive relationships" is thought provoking, but quantitative analysis is essential in future research (Few-Demo, 2014, p. 175). As a first step into quantitative analysis on this topic, poverty as a determinant of CST was tested here for covariance regarding the occurrence of CST.

Being poor, regardless of the sources of vulnerability or other characteristics that may be related to it, is itself a source of oppression. The question here was not what caused poverty, but rather what vulnerabilities impacted identity and created sources of

oppression that were related to CST? Poverty is believed to be chief among the list of contenders and it is easily defined and measured. A limitation in this study was related to a gap in the data to connect poverty status to individual victims of CST, which impacted the statistical conclusion validity of this study. However, focusing on runaway/homeless/street youth implies that CST is an individual level experience, which overlooks the potential of social ecologies possible at differing levels of analysis (Edberg et al., 2014).

The Federal Bureau of Investigation arrest database has face validity because it is a direct measurement of CST occurring in a given area. CST occurs where vulnerability meets exploitation. It is the location where the victim and the john meet and the exploitation occurs. Arrests of minor prostitutes, which after 2000 were victims under federal law, is a direct measurement of the population of victims. This is a particularly hard population to measure. Every minor arrested for prostitution is a victim of CST and represents a part of the total population. What is unknown is how many victims are not arrested and if one victim is arrested more than once. The total number of victims relative to the total population of minors in a county makes up the rate of CST in each county.

The federal poverty measure utilized by the United States Census Bureau stems from the Office of Management and Budget, specifically Statistical Policy Directive 14 (United States Census Bureau, 2016a). Income analyzed against the size of a family and established thresholds reveals who is in poverty (United States Census Bureau, 2016a). Importantly, the unit of measurement is the family (United States Census Bureau, 2016a). If a family is determined to be in poverty then every member of that family is living in

poverty (United States Census Bureau, 2016a). The geographical location of the family is not factored into the analysis (United States Census Bureau, 2016a). However, the thresholds are updated annually to account for the impact of inflation on purchasing power (United States Census Bureau, 2016a).

This method has been used since 1963 and is widely accepted (United States Census Bureau, 2016a). However, Californians use the California Poverty Measure due to the cost of housing in some geographical locations in California, which is not represented in the federal poverty measure (Wimer et al., 2012). They believe that housing, in particular, is a relevant factor for understanding poverty in California (Wimer et al., 2012). Nonetheless, the federal poverty measure was the measure used in this study to determine the rate of poverty in a county since California is the only state to use the California Poverty Measure. The poverty rate of minors in each county used in this study was calculated by the United States Census Bureau.

Internal Validity

Data for this study was spread out from 1997 to 2012. From 1997 to 2000, law enforcement personnel presumably understood minors that engage in prostitution as criminals that should be arrested and charged. Congress passed the Trafficking Victims Protection Act in 2000, which increased awareness about the link between trafficking and prostitution. Over time, awareness continued to increase and the act was reenacted in 2003, 2005, 2008, and 2013 by Congress. Presumably, fewer minor prostitutes were arrested because they were referred for services instead. Although not conclusive,

declining arrest rates of minors for prostitution over time support this presumption. This created an issue with both history and maturation.

To address this issue, the data were stratified into two groups: pre-2000 and post-2000. The data from 1997 to 1999 was prior to enactment of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000. It was not impacted by changes in policy regarding minors involved in prostitution.

Experimental mortality, changes to instrumentation, testing, regression artifacts, and interactions with selection were not issues in this study due to the nonexperimental, correlational design. However, a critique in the literature is that intersecting variables cannot be adequately separated and measured (Few-Demo, 2014). Poverty, one source of vulnerability widely believed to be directly linked to CST, was measured using the poverty data from the United States Census Bureau. CST was separately measured using the Federal Bureau of Investigations' arrest database for the rate of minors arrested for prostitution. Both datasets were filtered to only include minors in poverty and minors arrested for prostitution. The components of intersectionality at work here were being both poor and a minor. Advocates of intersectionality do not argue that it takes a certain number of sources of vulnerability to create 'enough' vulnerability to impact identity and create oppression because vulnerabilities uniquely combine in the identities and individual lives of those effected. However, scale was assumed to make a difference. Extreme poverty combined with an extremely young age was presumed to create greater vulnerabilities.

Presumably, passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 and its reauthorizations and passage of various state laws in states in the southwestern portion of the United States impact the number of minor prostitutes arrested for prostitution. As awareness of CST grows, minor prostitutes are assumed to be referred for services. To avoid the impact of policy on the victims identified through this measure, the 1997 to 1999 time frame were separately analyzed.

Ethical Procedures

Given that archival, publicly available data was used in this study, few ethical considerations existed. Interaction with human subjects did not occur. Also, approval to use the data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation and United States Census Bureau was achieved without special permission. This study did not include confidential information or other sensitive data. Every bit of the data was available to the public. Institutional Review Board approval was received on January 12, 2017, and included approval number 01-12-17-0202197.

The data used in this study was not anonymous or confidential. Some consideration was given to the idea of coding the counties in the sample so that specific geographic locations would not take offense at being included in this study. However, arrests of minor prostitutes were already publicly available. This study aimed to determine if poverty helped explain how CST was occurring in Los Angeles County, California.

Summary

This study included a nonexperimental, correlational design and a quantitative methodology. Specially, poverty was tested as a determinant of CST through a population of all counties in states in the southwestern portion of the United States with a minimum population of 100,000. Correlation was used to determine if significance existed between the independent and dependent variables. Descriptive statistics were used to better understand the sample. Inferential statistics were used when the test provided useful data.

Chapter 4 includes information on data collection and the statistical charts generated as a part of this study. It also includes commentary on the information that can be identified from the results of each test. Charts and commentary from descriptive statistics appear first followed by charts and commentary from inferential statistics, if conducted. A summary of the chapter appears last.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

The goal of this study was to establish how poverty relates to CST in Los Angeles County, California. CST is a subset of the sex trafficking industry that is focused on minor victims. The Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 and its reauthorizations defined severe sex trafficking as

> (A) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or (B) the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery. (Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2013, 2013, sec. 7102, para. 9)

The sex trafficking industry grosses an estimated $99 billion per year worldwide (International Labour Organization, 2014). The underground commercial sex economy grossed between $39.9 million and $290 million in 2007 in eight different cities in the United States (Dank et al., 2014). In response to increasing worldwide awareness, the Trafficking Victims Protection Act was enacted in 2000.

With 1,970 victims since passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, Los Angeles County, California has the highest number of CST victims of any county in the United States (Puzzanchera & Kang, 2014). Los Angeles has also been identified by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a “high intensity child prostitution

area" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, n.d., p. 3). Los Angeles County, California is a destination location for CST.

A *K* related-samples Friedman's test, Kendall's *W*, and Spearman correlation were used to determine if this widely held belief helped explain the phenomenon of CST in Los Angeles County, California. Counties in the southwestern portion of the United States with a current population of at least 100,000 people and with a minimum of one arrest of a minor for prostitution between the years of 1997 to 2012 were included in the population. Given the small population size, the entire population was used in this study. This chapter includes sections on the data collection procedures, results, and a summary.

Data Collection

Data collection from the Census Bureau and the Federal Bureau of Investigations' arrest data spanned January and February, 2017. The Census Bureau data were complete; however, data were missing from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's arrest database a total of 57 times. There was simply no information provided for the year, state, and county being viewed. Data with less than a 90% confidence interval are not released to the public (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, n.d.-b). Presumably, that is why the some of the data sought were missing.

Both poverty and arrest data were gathered for the years of 1997 through 2012. Small area income and poverty estimates by the Census Bureau began in 1997 (United States Census Bureau, 2017). American Community Survey data were only available post-2005 and only for counties with a very large population (Waren, 2017). After consultation with Waren from the United States Census Bureau, only small area income

and poverty estimates were used in order to avoid using two separate data sources from the Census Bureau (L. Waren, personal communication, January 17, 2017). Also, beginning in 2005, the small area income and poverty estimates included data drawn from the American Community Survey results (United States Census Bureau, 2016c). Before 2005, information was taken from the Annual Social and Economic Supplements, which are a part of the Current Population Survey (United States Census Bureau, 2016c).

Poverty data for minors were gathered from the United States Census Bureau's small area income and poverty estimates website as a percent of the population. For example, minors in Alameda County, California had a poverty rate of 17.6% in 1997 (United States Census Bureau, 2017). Using Excel, information from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's arrest database was converted from a count of arrests of minors for prostitution into a percent based on the minor population in that county. For example, there were 141,117 minors in Alameda County, California in 1997 and 33 minors were arrested for prostitution, which is .023% of the population (Puzzanchera & Kang, 2014).

A minor difference exists in the population being measured by the Census Bureau and in the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrest database. The Census Bureau small area income and poverty estimates website identified minors as being "under age 18" (United States Census Bureau, 2017). The Federal Bureau of Investigation's arrest database indicated that arrests were of minors from 10 to 17 years of age (Puzzanchera & Kang, 2014). Presumably minors less than 10 years old have not and are not being arrested for prostitution. Furthermore, the population data provided in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's arrest database are formulated with data from internal sources, the Center

for Disease Control, and the Census Bureau (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, n.d.-b).

Ninety-seven counties in southwestern states in the United States fit the two screening criteria: (a) a current population of 100,000 or more and (b) an arrest of a minor for prostitution between the years of 1997 to 2012. Four hundred and fifty counties did not meet the criteria. Four hundred and thirty-five did not have a current population of 100,000 or more. Fifteen had a current population of 100,000 or more, but they did not have an arrest of a minor for prostitution during the years of 1997 to 2012. Given the small population size, the entire population was used in this study.

Four of the 97 counties that fit both criteria have anomalous rates of poverty for minors. They are Douglas County, Colorado; Galveston County, Texas; Tarrant County, Texas; and, Travis County, Texas. Table 1 shows the anomaly case index list and Table 2 shows the anomaly case reason list.

Table 1

Anomaly Case Index List

State and county	Anomaly index
CO Douglas	6.173
TX Galveston	2.197
TX Tarrant	2.134
TX Travis	2.017

Table 2

Anomaly Case Reason List

Reason: 1

State and county	Reason variable	Variable impact	Variable value	Variable norm
CO Douglas	Poverty 2003	.082	2.10	9.1833
TX Galveston	Poverty 2004	.138	18.60	14.4667
TX Tarrant	Poverty 2009	.164	21.20	16.1370
TX Travis	Poverty 2000	.167	13.60	19.4069

Two counties, Douglas County, Colorado and Travis County, Texas have poverty rates below the variable norm in the years of 2003 and 2000, respectively. Conversely, Galveston County, Texas and Tarrant County, Texas have poverty rates above the

variable norm in the years of 2004 and 2009, respectively. Douglas County, Colorado has the largest variance from the norm with a difference of 7.0833.

Three counties have anomalous rates for arrests of minors for prostitution. They are Orange County, California; Oklahoma County, Oklahoma; and, Santa Clara County, California. Table 3 shows the anomaly case index list and Table 4 shows the anomaly case reason list.

Table 3

Anomaly Case Index List

State and county	Anomaly index
CA, Orange	2.889
OK, Oklahoma	2.605
CA, Santa Clara	2.271

Table 4

Anomaly Case Reason List

Reason: 1

State and county	Reason variable	Variable impact	Variable value	Variable norm
CA Orange	Arrests 2007	.172	.017	.00284
OK Oklahoma	Arrests 1997	.563	.033	.00422
CA Santa Clara	Arrests 2012	.338	.012	.00185

All three counties have arrest rates higher than the variable norm although they were spread among 3 different years, which were 2007, 1997, and 2012, respectively. The largest variance was for Orange County, California. In 2007, it was .01416 more than the expected variable norm.

Results

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test indicated that all but 2 years from 1997 to 2012 have normal data. The poverty rate score for the years 2004, $D(97) = 0.094$, $p = .034$, and 2005, $D(97) = 0.098$, $p = .022$, deviate significantly from normal. However, the Shapiro-Wilk test indicated that only 4 years have normal data: 1997, $D(97) = 0.974$, $p = .052$; 1998, $D(97) = 0.984$, $p = .298$; 1999, $D(97) = 0.978$, $p = .103$; 2010, $D(97) = 0.981$, $p = .184$. Given that the Shapiro-Wilk test has more power than the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, the poverty rate data were treated as nonnormal (Field, 2012). Table 5 displays the results from the Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests for normality for the poverty rate independent variable for the years of 1997 to 2012.

Table 5

Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov[a]			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Test statistic	Degrees of freedom	Significance	Test statistic	Degrees of freedom	Significance
Poverty Rate 1997	.073	97	.200*	.974	97	.052
Poverty Rate 1998	.068	97	.200*	.984	97	.298
Poverty Rate 1999	.068	97	.200*	.978	97	.103
Poverty Rate 2000	.076	97	.200*	.966	97	.013
Poverty Rate 2001	.084	97	.091	.956	97	.002
Poverty Rate 2002	.063	97	.200*	.963	97	.008
Poverty Rate 2003	.063	97	.200*	.972	97	.035
Poverty Rate 2004	.094	97	.034	.966	97	.014
Poverty Rate 2005	.098	97	.022	.927	97	.000
Poverty Rate 2006	.083	97	.100	.951	97	.001
Poverty Rate 2007	.075	97	.200*	.937	97	.000
Poverty Rate 2008	.087	97	.069	.953	97	.002
Poverty Rate 2009	.075	97	.200*	.961	97	.005
Poverty Rate 2010	.076	97	.198	.981	97	.184
Poverty Rate 2011	.080	97	.138	.970	97	.024
Poverty Rate 2012	.089	97	.056	.970	97	.026

Note. *. This is a lower bound of the true significance.
a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

The median for the poverty rate for the years 1997 through 2012 is shown in Table 6. The median was used instead of the mean due to the lack of normality in the data. As such, the standard deviation from the mean was not calculated.

Table 6

Median for Poverty for the Years of 1997-2012

Years	Median
1997	21.30
1998	20.40
1999	19.00
2000	17.80
2001	17.10
2002	17.70
2003	18.50
2004	18.40
2005	18.80
2006	18.90
2007	17.30
2008	18.10
2009	20.40
2010	22.10
2011	23.00
2012	23.60

Table 7 shows the range for the poverty rate independent variable for years 1997 to 2012. The largest span was in 2005. Ironically, the smallest span was in 2004. This may be explained by the change over from drawing the small area income and poverty estimate, in part, from the Current Population Survey to the American Community Survey, which began in 2005. The difference in the range between 2004 and 2005 is not explained by outliers, which heavily impact the range. Galveston, Texas had an anomalous poverty rate in 2004 that was above the variable norm by 4.1333. However, 2004 had the smallest range of all the years from 1997 to 2012. As displayed in Table 6, the median poverty rate for 2005 is only .40 larger than the median poverty rate for 2004. The median poverty rates for 2004 and 2005 are on the low end for all of the years considered. The highest medians occurred in 1997, 1998, 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2012. Notably, 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2012 are all post the Great Recession, which may help explain why increased rates of poverty occurred during those years.

Table 7

Range for Poverty for the Years of 1997-2012

Years	Range
1997	45.70
1998	41.50
1999	37.90
2000	39.40
2001	40.40
2002	40.90
2003	40.30
2004	37.20
2005	49.10
2006	44.50
2007	43.20
2008	41.80
2009	43.00
2010	44.70
2011	43.00
2012	43.90

Table 8 displays the results from the Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests for normality for the arrest rate dependent variable for the years of 1997 to 2012. Both the Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests indicate that all of the years from 1997 to 2012 have nonnormal data with all years under both tests returning a $p = < .000$. Not having normal data limits the inferential statistical tests that can be used to nonparametric tests (Field, 2012). Nonparametric tests are less restrictive, but they are also less robust than parametric tests (Field, 2012).

Table 8

Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov[a]			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Test statistic	Degrees of freedom	Significance	Test statistic	Degrees of freedom	Significance
Arrest Rate 1997	.268	88	.000	.671	88	.000
Arrest Rate 1998	.273	93	.000	.658	93	.000
Arrest Rate 1999	.317	94	.000	.529	94	.000
Arrest Rate 2000	.333	88	.000	.436	88	.000
Arrest Rate 2001	.357	91	.000	.405	91	.000
Arrest Rate 2002	.331	91	.000	.487	91	.000
Arrest Rate 2003	.336	87	.000	.461	87	.000
Arrest Rate 2004	.334	95	.000	.459	95	.000
Arrest Rate 2005	.374	96	.000	.316	96	.000
Arrest Rate 2006	.329	95	.000	.461	95	.000
Arrest Rate 2007	.312	97	.000	.553	97	.000
Arrest Rate 2008	.307	95	.000	.544	95	.000
Arrest Rate 2009	.282	94	.000	.618	94	.000
Arrest Rate 2010	.291	97	.000	.614	97	.000
Arrest Rate 2011	.305	97	.000	.569	97	.000
Arrest Rate 2012	.300	97	.000	.631	97	.000

Note. a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

The median for the arrest rate dependent variable for the years 1997 through 2012 is shown below in Table 9. The median is used instead of the mean due to the lack of normality in the data. Unsurprisingly, the median for many years is .000. Many counties in the population had no arrests for minor prostitutes in a given year. The median reflects that value and the nonnormal distribution of the data.

Table 9

Median for Arrests for the Years of 1997-2012

Years	Median
1997	.001
1998	.001
1999	.000
2000	.000
2001	.000
2002	.000
2003	.000
2004	.000
2005	.000
2006	.001
2007	.000
2008	.001
2009	.002
2010	.001
2011	.000
2012	.000

Table 10 shows the range for the arrest rate dependent variable for years 1997 to 2012. The largest span occurs in 2004. The smallest span occurs in 2012, which does not match the years for the largest and smallest spans for range for the poverty rate variable. The difference between 2004 and 2012 is .121, which is less than the difference between 2005 and 2004 for the independent poverty variable. The median for 2012 for the dependent arrest rate variable is .000. However, nine additional years have the same median, due to the frequency of counties without an arrest of a minor for prostitution in a given year. Five years have a median of .001 and one year, 2006, has a median of .002. In all, only a small percentage of minors were arrested for prostitution in any given year.

Table 10

Range for Arrests for the Years of 1997-2012

Years	Range
1997	.036
1998	.041
1999	.051
2000	.081
2001	.102
2002	.068
2003	.089
2004	.145
2005	.093
2006	.061
2007	.080
2008	.080
2009	.054
2010	.043
2011	.034
2012	.024

Only nonparametric tests were used to test for correlation due to the nonnormality of the data. When a study does not have normally distributed variables, which is the case for both variables in this study, the one-way repeated measures ANOVA is inappropriate because it violates the normality assumption (Green, 2011). The one-way repeated measures ANOVA tests "whether the means of 3 or more metric variables are equal in some population" (Geert van den Berg, 2014, para. 1). The Friedman test, a nonparametric and K related-samples test, is an alternative to the one-way repeated measures ANOVA (Geert van den Berg, 2016).

The Friedman test has three assumptions: 1) "[e]ach set of K observations must represent a random sample from a population and must be independent of every other set of K observations"; 2) "[t]he Chi-Square values for the Cochran and Friedman tests yield relatively accurate results to the extent that the sample size is large"; and, 3) "[t]he distribution of the differences scores between any pair of levels is continuous and symmetrical in the population" (Green, 2011, pp. 407–408).

Regarding the first assumption for the Friedman test, a random sample of the population was not used because the entire population was included in the study instead. Each score for the poverty and arrest rates are independent of each other both as a repeated measure and between the variables. The poverty rate was determined by the United States Census Bureau, and the arrest rate was extrapolated from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's data.

The second assumption requires a sample size that is larger than 30 (Green, 2011). The population size in this study is 97. The poverty data was complete, and

missing values in the arrest data do not reduce the population below 87. Regarding the third assumption, this study does not include matched pairs. A 95% confidence interval was used in all tests allowing for specification of a confidence interval.

The research question, the null hypothesis, and the alternative hypothesis in this study are as follows:

Main Question: How does poverty relate to CST in Los Angeles County, California?

H_0: Poverty is not a source of vulnerability correlated to CST in Los Angeles County, California.

H_1: Poverty is a source of vulnerability correlated to CST in Los Angeles County, California.

A Friedman test indicated that a large variance existed between the mean ranks of the arrest rates for the years 1997 through 2012, $\chi^2(15, N = 65) = 29.56, p = 0.014$. These results suggest rejecting the null hypothesis “that the population medians are equal for the K levels of a factor” (Green, 2011, p. 407). Table 11 provides the mean rank for the arrest data by year.

Table 11

Mean Rank for Arrests for the Years of 1997-2012

Year	Mean rank
1997	9.16
1998	8.35
1999	8.14
2000	8.18
2001	7.91
2002	8.06
2003	8.45
2004	9.47
2005	8.88
2006	8.89
2007	9.30
2008	9.13
2009	9.34
2010	7.94
2011	7.72
2012	7.02

Follow-up pairwise comparisons were conducted to control for Type I errors, but none of the comparisons yielded significant results. The results for adjusted significance ranged from $p = .396$ to $p = 1.0$. Analyzing the data by homogeneous subsets also yielded nonsignificant results, $p = .410$. Although a significant difference existed as evidenced by the results of the Friedman test, which suggested rejecting the null hypothesis, where they occurred is not discernable through pairwise comparisons or homogeneous subsets. A Kendall coefficient of concordance of .030 indicated fairly strong differences among arrest rate values, which suggests a poor strength-of-relationship or effect.

A Spearman nonparametric correlation has one assumption: the variables must be ordinal, interval, or ratio (Laerd Statistics, 2013). Testing each year's poverty rate against the corresponding year's arrest rate (e.g. the poverty rate for 1997 against the arrest rate for 1997) did not result in significance except for in 1998, $p = .032$. As such, a monotonic relationship does not exist between the poverty and arrest data when broken down by year. Given the lack of monotonic relationship between the poverty and arrest rates in all of the years except 1998, the data was not formally grouped into pre and post 2000 to determine the impact, if any, of enactment of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 on the arrest rate.

Summary

The dataset included the entire population of counties with at least 100,000 people currently and at least one arrest of a minor for prostitution between the years of 1997 through 2012. Given the fairly large dataset ($N = 97$) and repeated measures design, few outliers existed in the data. Excluding cases pairwise included as much data as possible,

which was important because the arrest rate was missing in the dataset 57 times. Scatter plots and histograms were not included due to the large volume of data to be displayed. Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests indicated that neither variable was normally distributed. As such, the median was provided instead of the mean, and standard deviation and nonparametric tests were used in place of parametric ones.

The Friedman test indicated that differences in the medians existed in the levels of the dependent variable. Analysis by pairwise comparisons and homogeneous subsets did not reveal the sources of the differences, which is noteworthy given their increased power. The results of the Kendall's W test indicated a lack of concordance, and Spearman's correlation did not indicate that a monotonic relationship existed between the poverty and arrest rate when tested by year except for 1998. As such, further testing by groups was not attempted.

These results suggest that the null hypothesis should be accepted, and the alternative hypothesis should be rejected. As such, the conclusions of this study are that poverty is not a source of vulnerability correlated to CST in Los Angeles County, California. This hypothesis did not survive its first chance at disconfirmation, but it is not disproven (Campbell & Stanley, 1963). Further analysis is warranted using differing measurements of poverty and at differing levels of analysis.

Chapter 5 includes further analysis on the hypothesis of this study and its relationship to the third wave of feminist theory. It also includes an analysis on the limitations of the study and its implications for social change. Finally, chapter 5 includes ideas for further research.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

The purpose of this nonexperimental, correlational study was to determine how poverty was related to CST in Los Angeles County, California. From 1997 to 2012, no less than 2,245 girls and boys ages 10 to 17 were victims of CST in Los Angeles County, California (Puzzanchera & Kang, 2014). Los Angeles has also been identified by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a “high intensity child prostitution area” (Federal Bureau of Investigation, n.d., p. 3). Los Angeles County, California is a destination location for CST.

A Friedman test indicated that differences in the medians existed in the levels of the dependent variable. Analysis by pairwise comparisons and homogeneous subsets did not reveal the sources of the differences, which is noteworthy given their increased power. The results of the Kendall’s *W* test indicated a lack of concordance, and Spearman’s correlation did not indicate that a monotonic relationship existed between the poverty and arrest rate when tested by year, except for 1998. As such, the conclusion of this study is that poverty is not a source of vulnerability correlated to CST in Los Angeles County, California.

Interpretation of the Findings

The results of this study are somewhat surprising given that so many authors believed that poverty is a determinant of CST because it makes victims vulnerable (Dodsworth, 2014; Edberg et al., 2014; Farley et al., 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; S. George, 2012; Konstantopoulos et al., 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Pearce, 2014;

Scarafia, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). This fit well with the third wave of feminist theory and intersectionality. The premise of the theory was that vulnerabilities impact individual identities in such a way that they become oppressive forces (Dicker, 2016). In the context of this study, traffickers exploit those vulnerabilities. Jac-Kucharski (2012) went so far as to argue that income inequality helped ensure that a potential pool of victims exists.

Training of law enforcement is a moot issue in this study because arrests were measured rather than referrals for services, and 3 years' worth of data, 1997, 1998, and 1999, were all prior to the enactment of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000. The Federal Bureau of Investigation arrest database recorded the number of arrests of minors aged 10 to 17 from 1994 to 2012 for prostitution. Conceivably, the number of arrests could decline in the years after the enactment of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 in response to increased awareness of CST and specification of minors as victims in the act; however, a relationship was not established between poverty and CST for 1999, 2000, 2001, or 2002. The median arrest rate remained unchanged at .000 immediately prior to and following the enactment of the act.

The lack of statistical relationship between poverty and CST indicates that the hypothesis in this study did not survive its first chance at disconfirmation, but it is not conclusively disproven (see Campbell & Stanley, 1963). Further analysis is warranted using differing measurements of poverty and differing levels of analysis. In this study, poverty was measured as income at the county level.

If a correlation exists even though the results of this study suggest otherwise, it would support the argument that poverty is a "life condition" rather than just a financial measurement (Appio et al., 2013, p. 153). Poverty is a complicated situation with many components. Income, job opportunities, public school choices, housing, and food security are all heavily impacted by poverty (Appio et al., 2013). Besides a lack of income, poverty includes institutional barriers in the areas of education, law, and health care, which creates a "doubly oppressive" environment (Appio et al., 2013, p. 153). Poor people live without the same opportunities as people in other classes, and they are often stigmatized as being lazy (Appio et al., 2013). Poor people have fewer options than people in other classes, and many of those options are completely undesirable (Dodsworth, 2014).

Measuring poverty in terms of income is logical, but perhaps it is too simple. Conceivably, other measurements of poverty could reveal how poverty and CST are related. For example, Johnson (2012) argued that impoverished Native American women and girls have heavy exposure to strip clubs due to their poverty and isolation, which makes them susceptible to recruitment into prostitution. Perhaps the link between poverty and CST is better measured by exposure to strip clubs, liquor stores, bars, and other places that sell alcohol than by income.

It is also possible that local conditions like high housing costs are an important factor in determining the percent of a minor population living in poverty. The Census Bureau measurement of minors in poverty may be inadequate compared to local realities. The State of California recognizes the impact of housing costs on its population, which

explains why it uses the California Poverty Measure instead of the federal poverty measure (as cited in Wimer et al., 2012).

Conversely, several authors believed that sexual abuse as a minor, often as a result of family dysfunction, is directly associated to becoming a sex trafficking victim (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Dess, 2013; Farley et al., 2014; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; Hurst, 2015; Jordan et al., 2013; Kalargyrou & Woods, 2015; Konstantopoulos et al., 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Mir, 2013; Saewyc et al., 2013; Thorburn & de Haan, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). Poverty and family dysfunction are believed to be linked, so perhaps that is the measurement needed to establish a statistical relationship between poverty and CST, if one actually exists.

Another alternative is that homelessness and associated poverty are driving factors for minors engaging in survival sex (Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Finklea et al., 2015; E. R. George & Smith, 2013; Hasselbarth, 2014; Ocen, 2015; Thorburn & de Haan, 2014; Wilson & Butler, 2014). Poverty measured as homelessness may be the key to establishing the link between poverty and CST. Homelessness is clearly an extreme form of poverty. If a relationship exists, it must exist here.

Finally, it is possible that poverty, regardless of how it is measured, is insufficient when combined with being a minor to statistically establish a relationship between poverty and CST. Drawing again from intersectionality, it is possible that other sources of vulnerabilities are needed before a link can be established. Of all the independent variables Ali et al. (2014) tested, they found that a positive and significant relationship existed between family disintegration, physical abuse, homelessness, and child

trafficking, which was the dependent variable. Interestingly, these results support several of the suggestions listed above as singular conclusions by other authors.

Race, gender, and class also seem like good candidates, which mirrors Crenshaw's original description of intersectionality as a collision of those three traits at a traffic intersection (as cited in Nash, 2014). Other sources of vulnerability and oppression undoubtedly exist, and the challenge is to identify them at individual and collective levels. In this way, intersectionality provides depth and complexity to gender studies borne out as each potential variable is considered (Nash, 2014; Patil, 2013).

Ultimately, additional measurements of poverty with varying sources of vulnerabilities are needed to confirm or disconfirm the link between poverty and CST. The initial results from this study indicate that poverty measured as income and CST measured as arrests of minor prostitutes is insufficient to statistically establish a link. This extends our current knowledge because it shows that the link is not so easily identified. Being in poverty means much more than just having a low income. Additional nuance is needed to identify a link if a relationship truly exists.

While it is undoubtedly surprising to potentially disconfirm a widely held belief, it is a necessary step to gaining knowledge on a topic. Several qualitative studies have been done, but very few quantitative ones exist on this topic. This study was an important first step into the realm of quantitative analysis of this widely held belief. Only through additional study and rigorous testing can we fully understand how it occurs in Los Angeles County, California.

Limitations of the Study

A cause and effect relationship cannot be established in this study because correlational studies are not generalizable to other populations. At best, a correlation between poverty and CST would indicate that additional research was warranted. However, correlation was not established in this study, thereby calling into question the prospect of doing future research on the relationship between poverty and CST.

Testing reactivity, interaction effects of selection and experimental variables, reactive effects of experimental arrangements, and multiple-treatment interference were not issues in this nonexperimental, correlational study. Likewise, experimental mortality, changes to instrumentation, testing, regression artifacts, and interactions with selection were not issues in this study also due to the nonexperimental, correlational design.

Adequate construct validity exists in this study because the United States Census Bureau website and the Federal Bureau of Investigations arrest database both empirically fit with the third wave of feminist theory and intersectionality. Unlike a critique in the literature by Few-Demo (2014) that variables related to CST cannot be adequately separated, poverty and CST are very distinguishable when measured as a lack of income and as the number of arrests of minor prostitutes.

However, one limitation of this study relates to statistical conclusion validity. Based on the design used in this study, poverty status cannot be appended to individual victims of CST, which creates a gap in the data. Focusing solely on runaway/homeless/street youth suggests that CST is only an individual level experience and downplays the possibility of measuring social ecologies related to CST at differing

levels of analysis (Edberg et al., 2014). The lack of confirmation of the hypothesis in this study suggests that it may be necessary to know more about the individual level of experience before analysis can occur at differing levels.

A unique characteristic of the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrest database, which is a strength in this study, is that it is a direct measurement of CST occurring in a particular area, which provides good face validity and trustworthiness. Under the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 and its reauthorizations, minor prostitutes are, without exception, victims of CST. They simply cannot consent to sex with an adult. By filtering the results of the arrest database to only include minors, which are distinguished as being 10 to 17 years old, the database directly records arrests of CST victims in a county in a given year. The coverage indicator used in the database is 90% (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, n.d.-b). Statistics for counties or states falling below that standard are not displayed to the public (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, n.d.-b). This was evident by the 57 times data were missing from the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrest database for the population studied here.

Measuring CST victims is very difficult because it is both hidden within society by the victims, the johns, and the traffickers and due to its transient nature. One limitation, though, is that the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s arrest database only represents the portion of the population arrested for prostitution. It also does not specify if a prostitute is arrested more than once.

The United States Census Bureau data also has good face validity. Information for larger geographical areas is directly measured through surveys, and data for smaller

geographical areas are estimated based on complex formulas calculated in part on the survey results of the larger areas (Waren, 2017). Both the surveys and the estimates are heavily scrutinized, tested, and reviewed, which increases their trustworthiness. Additionally, changes undergo rigorous testing and analysis prior to being implemented (United States Census Bureau, n.d.). Costs related to items like housing or transportation are not factored into the analysis (United States Census Bureau, 2016a). However, erosion of purchasing power due to inflation is calculated and updated annually (United States Census Bureau, 2016a).

Data for this study were collected for the years of 1997 through 2012. Prior to enactment of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, minor prostitutes were simply viewed as criminals and arrested for prostitution. After the enactment of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act in 2000, another viewpoint emerged, which altered the status of minor prostitutes from criminals to victims. Reauthorizations of the act in 2003, 2005, 2008, and 2013 presumably reinforced this new understanding, resulting in fewer arrests and more referrals for services. Declining arrest rates of minors for prostitution support this analysis although not conclusively, which is an issue with both history and maturation.

Recommendations

Poverty as a determinant of CST did not survive its first chance of disconfirmation, which suggests that further research is not warranted. However, given the widely held belief that poverty and CST are related, one disconfirmed study is insufficient to debunk the belief. Varying ways of measuring poverty, differing levels of

analysis, and differing data sets are needed to truly disconfirm the relationship between poverty and CST. Clusters of variables may be needed to identify how poverty and CST are related, which is interesting given the tenets of intersectionality and the critique by Few-Demo (2014) that variables related to CST cannot be adequately separated.

It is possible that subgroups exist within the victim population. Poverty is inextricably connected to survival sex by homeless/runaway/street youth. Not every victim is a homeless/runaway/street youth though. Other subgroups could include those recruited by friends or family, those already suffering from dissociative disorders, or those bullied/forced into prostitution. Poverty would not be an obvious component for any such subgroups. It would be interesting to know if poverty is correlated to CST in different areas of the United States like the southeast or northwest. If so, it could add legitimacy to the idea that subgroups of victims exist.

Believing a relationship exists that really does not is a recipe for creating poor policies. Misallocated resources, distorted priorities, poor evaluations, policy rationalization, policy conflicts, and misdirection are all probable consequences for maintaining an unsupported belief (Andreas & Greenhill, 2010). If the theory is debunked in the future, it is necessary to accept it and renew efforts to understand why and how CST occurs. If, at some point in the future, poverty as a determinant of CST is solidly debunked, then the remaining question is which vulnerabilities combine in the identities of the oppressed that relate to CST.

Ultimately, studying CST from the victim's perspective is short-sighted. Additional research is needed regarding the traffickers and johns. All three sides of the

commercial triangle must be thoroughly explored. Monetary gain seems to be what drives traffickers, but what motivates johns is unknown. Los Angeles County, California is very close in proximity to Hollywood, California. The prevalence of cultural sexual objectification of women and girls may help explain why it occurs there (Konstantopoulos et al., 2013).

Implications

The first implication for positive social change related to this study is putting the data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrest database to a first test before the data are simply too old to be relevant. This study is very relevant to today not only because CST is believed to be a huge problem, but also because the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrest database is no longer being updated. The last year for information is 2012, which is already 5 years old. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has a new crime reporting system, and vice crimes are not included. Arrests of minors for prostitution are no longer available in one easy-to-access database. Conversely, data related to minors referred for services for CST are also unavailable except on a local level, if they can be accessed at all. The results of this study guide future studies and application of the data.

The results of this study revealed information on the relationship of poverty and CST at the county level; a relationship was not detected. Had it been detected, it would have suggested that antitrafficking policies need an antipoverty component to them as well. We could have worked to mitigate the vulnerabilities that traffickers exploit in an effort to address the supply end of the CST equation by shrinking the potential pool of victims. If correlation were established, Los Angeles County could have started a public

instruction program highlighting the link between poverty and CST, which might have altered current cultural norms regarding poverty. Altering cultural norms regarding poverty could have resulted in less tolerance or demand, which might have deterred future traffickers from entering the trade. If correlation had been established, this study would have validated the role of poverty both as an explanation for how victims end up in the hands of traffickers and how some areas become hubs for CST, which could have been used to prevent further victimization of minors in Los Angeles County, California. What could have been cannot be forgotten in considering the positive social implications related to this study.

The second element of positive social change in this study is that the relationship between poverty and CST at the county level is not so strong as to be measureable by income and through a portion of the victim population. In fact, a relationship may not exist at all. Further testing is needed to determine if the widely held belief that poverty is a determinant of CST due to the vulnerabilities it creates in potential victims is a good understanding of the phenomenon. This is a first step, rather than a final step, in creating positive social change through increased knowledge and more effective policies.

An explanation for why and how CST occurs exists. Valid explanations should survive confirmation by statistical methods. This first effort did not support the belief that poverty and CST are correlated, which opens up questions regarding why. We may misunderstand the phenomenon and misinterpret our observations. Perhaps poverty measured as income is a poor approach given its complexity.

With regard to the third wave of feminist theory and intersectionality, poverty and young age are expected to impact identity and create vulnerabilities that, in the context of this study, others exploit. Yet, the results of this study suggest otherwise. Based on the tenets of the theory, a specific number of vulnerabilities are not needed to create the expected result. Clearly, more quantitative tests related to the application of intersectionality in practical terms are needed.

All of the implications of this study point to the fact that changes are needed. Based on the Federal Bureau of Investigation's arrest database, thousands of minor victims have been arrested for prostitution since 1994. Change is underway in this area, but gaps exist. Poverty is too complex to consider only as a measurement of income. A change in this area could improve future studies and have revolutionary impacts on policy. Intersectionality has not been routinely quantitatively tested. Change in this area would validate it as a theory and provide additional nuance that today remains missing.

Conclusion

Thousands of victims exist across the United States with 2,245 just in Los Angeles County. We must seek to better understand the phenomenon so that we can adequately address it. We must solve definitional issues, mitigate variations in state laws regarding consent to sex by minors, study traffickers and johns so that we can thwart them, provide alternatives to victims before, during and after victimization, explore other theoretical perspectives, and work to overcome the challenges associated to studying this topic quantitatively. Left undone, all of these are enabling factors for why the problem of CST exists in Los Angeles County, California, and elsewhere.

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