“The Lost Children of New York City”

Population estimate, network attributes and the role of social capital in the commercial sexual exploitation of children in New York City

by

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Abstract

The Lost Children of New York City: Population estimate, network attributes and the role of social capital in the commercial sexual exploitation of children in New York City

by Meredith Dank

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The number of youth that are commercially sexually exploited in the United States is unknown. Additionally, the characteristics that make up the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) population, as well as the CSEC market, are widely disputed among researchers, child advocates, and professionals in the field. Past research has relied on police arrest records and used interviews with a limited, purposive sample to generate a prevalence rate and describe the characteristics and needs of the CSEC population. As a result, the findings from these studies do not provide a full picture of the issue. In order to gain a better understanding of the CSEC population in New York City, this dissertation employed the Respondent-Driven Sampling (RDS) method to recruit and interview a sample of 249 eligible teenagers. RDS is a sampling strategy that is dependent on a number of assumptions concerning the social networks that are sampled, but it has been successfully used in a wide variety of research studies to recruit hard-to-reach populations. Based on the RDS data collected, a prevalence rate was generated, in addition to an explanation of the attributes of the CSEC networks and its members. Social capital theories were used to explain how youth become involved in the CSEC market and why it is difficult for them to leave it. The findings from this study suggest that youth who possess social capital before entering the market, and are able to

maintain it, are more likely to seek help from individuals who possess higher levels of normative social capital, which can ultimately lead to their leaving the CSEC lifestyle. Those youth who do not have pre-existing normative social capital are more constrained by their choices and the alternatives available to them. They feel more compelled to remain in the market in order to survive. Based on the richness of the data collected and resultant findings, this research will add value to the extant body of knowledge, inform policy, and bring much needed attention to this issue.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Background

The number of children that are commercially sexually exploited children (CSEC) in the United States is unknown. The U.S. Department of Justice estimates the number to be between 100,000 and three million, which includes, children forced into prostitution, pornography, and trafficked into the U.S. for sexual slavery. Because of the hidden nature of the CSEC population and the stigma that is attached to sexual exploitation, it is extremely difficult to calculate a prevalence rate for this population. Without a population estimate and a better understanding of the issue, however, policy makers are reluctant to implement policy changes and enact laws to combat the commercial sexual exploitation of children.

For the purposes of this study, commercially sexually exploited children are defined as juveniles (18 and under) who perform sexual acts in exchange for money, drugs, food, or shelter. Terms such as "commercially sexually exploited youth" or "prostituted youth" are preferred to terms such as "juvenile prostitute," "child sex worker," and "teenage hooker" since these terms portray the youth as offenders who "commit" the criminal act of prostitution rather than as victims who are sexually exploited. According to researchers and child advocates, the CSEC issue mostly affects: runaway and homeless youth who trade sex as a means of survival; children who have been sexually, physically, and emotionally abused; juveniles with minimum education

who are unable to find legitimate employment; and children who are vulnerable, easily controlled and manipulated by an adult looking to make a profit.

Though there is a dearth of empirical data about the commercial sexual exploitation of children to offer guidance to policy makers, clearly, the larger context of the sex business in New York City – in which CSEC markets are embedded – has dramatically changed over the last two decades. For example, under the Giuliani administration, all "adult establishments," including stores specializing in sexually explicit magazines, books, and videos as well as strip clubs and peeps shows, had to be located at least five hundred feet apart from each other and at least five hundred feet away from churches, schools, and residential districts. These establishments were also restricted from operating in certain commercial and manufacturing districts. The regulations severely limited the number of adult establishments located around Times Square, and significantly reduced street prostitution in the Midtown area (Sviridoff et al, 2000), displacing much of the sex business to the outer boroughs (Spangenberg, 2001).

More recently, in January 2002, Mayor Bloomberg announced "Operation Clean Sweep" with the purpose of abolishing quality of life problems by targeting repeat offenders with high numbers of arrests, including those involved with prostitution, with the use of undercover police to arrest offenders or issue them summonses, and the more aggressive pursuit of warrant cases. But as law enforcement has devoted more attention to pursuing the street-level sex market and their participants, the sex business has adapted and diversified, becoming reliant on technological innovations such as the Internet and cell phones, to conduct business. The paradox is that while the City can rightfully claim to have made progress in addressing the most blatant sex markets, there is scant evidence

that the overall sex market has been reduced in size during this same period of time. Indeed, all evidence points to the opposite conclusion: that the sex market is bigger and more multi-faceted than ever.

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

those who prey on them, to develop effective responses. The information gained from this study hopes to provide an empirical foundation that will better inform policy makers, professionals, researchers and advocates about the extent and nature of the problem.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The overarching research question for this dissertation is what are the attributes of the deviant social sub-networks of the CSEC population, and how do these networks affect the youths' ability to build social capital? More specifically, the dissertation poses the following questions: Approximately how many commercially sexually exploited youth are in New York City and how diverse are these youths' deviant social networks (Chapter 4)? Are youth more likely to seek help from others with criminal or normative social capital when taking into account the youths' social network size, current living situation, education level, other sources of income, drug abuse, race, gender and age of first involvement in the CSEC market (Chapter 5)? Are the lack of alternatives available to prostituted youth constraining their choices to the point where they have very few options (if any) but to engage in the CSEC market in order to survive (Chapter 6)?

Methodology

The data collected for this dissertation was part of a larger grant funded by the National Institute of Justice (Curtis, Terry, Dank, Kahn & Dombrowski, 2008). The goal of the NIJ funded study was to provide a reliable and ethnographically rich description of the local CSEC population, including its size, characteristics, experiences, and service needs. To elicit a representative sample of CSEC youth, the study adopted a subject

recruitment method known as “Respondent Driven Sampling” (RDS). This method has previously been effective in recruiting representative samples of hard-to-reach groups by taking advantage of intra-group social connections to build a sample pool (Abdul-Quader et al., 2006; Heckathorn, 1997, 2002; Heckathorn et al., 2002; Robinson et al., 2006). The intended goal was to interview 200 youth for the study, but the project extended its recruitment goal beyond the original target in order to provide a more representative sample and richer description of the CSEC population. The project surpassed the original goal of 200 youth and ultimately interviewed 329 juveniles, of which 80 interviews were excluded (leaving a final n of 249) after becoming convinced that they did not meet one of the two eligibility criteria: (1) 18 years of age or younger and (2) participated in CSEC-related activities.

In all, three distinct forms of data were collected in the project: statistical and coded data in the form of a questionnaire, narrative and quantitative data in the form of open ended questions in which the answers have been transcribed, and basic network data derived from the sampling chains themselves. The population estimate was calculated by using two different mathematical equations, one was a simple proportion that relied on NYC prostitution arrest data and the other method was an original formula that used data gathered from the sample population. The basic network data were analyzed with the Respondent Driven Sampling Analysis Tool (RDSAT), which provided information on the attributes of the CSEC networks and its members. The questionnaire/quantitative data were analyzed using standard statistical analysis techniques, including univariate, bivariate and multivariate statistical methods. These analyses were carried out via SPSS software, where multiple fields of data can be modeled according to logistic regression

techniques. This analysis complemented the descriptive statistics and uncovered potential relationships among various social factors, while the large sample size ensured that any relationships discovered had high confidence intervals. These relationships were also explored via other data forms, more specifically narrative forms of qualitative data. The qualitative data were analyzed using the grounded theory approach. Themes were identified from the narratives and linked to substantive and formal theories.

Structure of Dissertation

This chapter provides an overview of the dissertation as a whole and the overarching research question: what are the attributes of the deviant social sub-networks of the CSEC population, and how do these networks affect the youths' ability to build social capital? Chapter two reviews the existing literature on the commercial sexual exploitation, broken down by CSEC population sub-groups. The chapter also addresses alternative explanations of the commercial sexual exploitation of children. More specifically, it introduces social capital theories as an explanation for the youths' engagement in the CSEC market.

Chapter three describes the data collection methodology employed for the study. More specifically, it explains the rationale behind using the respondent driven sampling method, the preparations made for the formative research, and the data collection process, including the adjustments that were made to the original plan. Because a study of this nature had never been conducted with the CSEC population, it was difficult to predict what recruitment strategies would work. Various experts in the child services field had their own ideas on how to best approach the youth; however as chapter three describes, it

only took a handful of influential youth to help in the recruitment of over 200 prostituted youth.

Chapter four reports on the first research question, which focuses on the CSEC population estimate and the attributes of the CSEC networks and its members. The findings from this chapter provide the prevalence of prostituted youth in New York City and insight into the diversity and characteristics of the social networks. Chapter five uses quantitative analysis to explain the likelihood that the youth would seek the help of individuals with more criminal capital than normative social capital based on a number of demographic and social capital influencing variables. Chapter six quantitatively analyzes how constrained choices and lack of alternatives prevent the youth from being able to build normative social capital and ultimately leaving "the life."

Finally outlined in chapter seven is a general discussion and conclusion combining the findings and analyses of all three questions and draws together the commonalities of the CSEC population, its networks, and social capital. This chapter also addresses the limitations of the study; methodological, theoretical, and policy implications; as well as suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2

The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

The aim of this chapter is to review the existing literature on the commercial sexual exploitation of children. The majority of the current research on prostitution has focused on adults, and although most of the adults in these studies entered the prostitution market as juveniles, the research is not robust enough to draw many concrete conclusions about the commercial exploitation of children. The existing research on prostituted youth has primarily focused on why youth entered the commercial sexual exploitation market, but few studies have looked at how the youth entered the market. Previous studies have relied solely on data from police arrest records while other studies recruited their sample populations from law enforcement and youth-oriented service agencies. As a result, several of the studies' findings were limited because they only surveyed youth who had been through the criminal justice system or sought the services of a youth service agency, or in some cases the studies' sample was not large enough to be representative of the CSEC population. A number of studies have noted that there are gender differences within the CSEC population, but few of them look specifically at prostituted boys and transgender youth. In order to better understand the issues surrounding prostituted youth, the end of the chapter will address theories that can be applied to the problem of how youth enter and why they remain in the commercial sexual exploitation market.

General Studies on Prostituted Juveniles

Although the literature on the commercial sexual exploitation of children is not as vast as that on adult prostitution, there have been a number of informative studies

conducted on prostituted youth across the United States. In a national study on CSEC, Estes & Weiner (2002) interviewed 210 sexually exploited boys and girls (124 were runaway and thrownaway street youth and 86 were in the care of youth-oriented social work and law enforcement agencies). The study found that a larger percentage of boys than girls reported engaging in commercial sex in exchange for money, and 95% of all commercial sexual exploitation affecting boys involved adult men, the majority of whom were married with children. Out of the 124 street youth, 45% of the girls were prostituted; of those girls approximately 25% were controlled by pimps. The report concluded that youth who ran away from home were at greater risk for commercial sexual exploitation, followed by thrownaway youth, homeless children, runaway youth from juvenile and other institutions, female gang members and transgender street youth. The data collected in this study was limited, however, because it did not sample directly from the population. The researchers relied on agencies to put them in touch with the youth, which did not account for those juveniles who were not associated with a youth agency. Additionally, because this was a national study, the number of subjects interviewed was considerably small and as a result, not necessarily representative of prostituted youth across the country.

In 2006, a study was commissioned by the NYS legislature in order to gather more information on the magnitude of the CSEC problem in New York before they could implement policy changes and sanction programmatic changes statewide (Gragg, et al., 2007). Based on quantitative and qualitative data collected from a number of local and state government agencies, juvenile detention facilities, runaway and homeless youth service agencies, rape crisis centers and child advocacy centers in Manhattan, Brooklyn,

Queens and the Bronx, researchers estimated that at the time there were 2,253 commercially sexually exploited youth in New York City. They found that 85% of commercially sexually exploited youth were female, 67% were Black/African American and 59% were 16-17 years of age. Only 6% were boys aged 16 or 17 and none were aged 13 or younger. The majority resided in Manhattan, then Brooklyn, Queens and lastly the Bronx. Eighty percent exchanged a sexual act for money, 23% for shelter, 3% for drugs and 14% for food or clothing. The majority of the exploitation took place in a hotel or motel or outside, 28% in the exploiter's home and 21% in a car. Eighteen percent lived in group foster care, 7% with foster parents, 15% lived in "other" situations including in the streets and shelters, and 7% were living with friends or a partner. The data collected was based on two mail surveys, two qualitative interview protocols, a focus group protocol, and arrest data. The only interviews conducted with prostituted youth took place in a couple of focus groups consisting of four to six boys and girls. The data are limited, however, because the sample was based heavily on police arrest records, court data and street youth, and runaway agency files. It did not take into account the many youth who did not come into contact with law enforcement or seek help from youth service agencies. Thus, it does not offer a rich and accurate description of the many sub-groups of youth involved in prostitution.

The 1984 Report of the Committee on Sexual Offenses Against Children and Youth (also known as the Badgley Report), a controversial nation-wide study conducted in Canada, sampled 229 prostituted youth of both sexes and found that 40% considered street prostitution a full-time job, 25% as a part-time job, and 30% regarded it as occasional work. About 65% were prostituted on the street at least 4 days a week, and

only 10% claimed that they were currently working with a pimp, although close to 40% had been controlled by one in the past. Over three-quarters of the boys and 65.5% of the girls reported that their main reason for turning to prostitution was the opportunity for fast and immediate financial gain. Over one-quarter of boys and 17.2% of girls stated that their inability to find work forced them to enter the trade, and 11.4% reported being coerced or forced into prostitution by an adult. The reason for the controversy surrounding the report is that the researchers concluded that the youth were not entirely blameless in their role in the prostitution market, and thus should be punished accordingly. The authors additionally downplayed the role of abuse as a precursor to a youth's engagement in prostitution even though 33% were known to experience physical abuse and 21.4% sexual abuse during their childhood.

As to why prostituted youth engage in prostitution, there is a broad consensus that sexual abuse, neglect, physical abuse, social class, juvenile delinquency, unemployment, and drug abuse are correlated with the commercial sexual exploitation of juveniles. This is not a universally held opinion among experts, and there is additional debate over how those issues directly or indirectly affect a youth's entrance into prostitution (Shaw & Butler, 1998). A child's diminished self-esteem caused by repeated abuse often creates an air of indifference to how she is treated by an adult. The child will then normalize the abuse in her mind and perceive herself to be a "debased sexual object" (McMullen, 1987). Thus, the abuse directly affects the child and "causes" her to continue this loss of self-worth by engaging in prostitution. Others argue that abuse leads to a sequence of events – running away from home, followed by participation in delinquent activities, one

of which is prostitution. Thus, abuse and prostitution are not directly correlated, but rather prostitution is an indirect effect of abuse.

There have been a number of influential studies that measure whether abuse has a direct or indirect effect on a youth's entrance into prostitution. The majority of the studies, however, sample only females, which has resulted in scant information on how abuse affects males' engagement in prostitution. A longitudinal study conducted by Widom & Kuhns (1996) examined the degree to which being abused and/or neglected in childhood increased a juvenile's risk for prostitution. The study sampled an even number of juvenile males and females who were abused and/or neglected from 1967-1971 and matched them (based on age, race, sex and social class) with non-abused and non-neglected children; all the subjects were followed into young adulthood. The authors concluded that early childhood sexual abuse and/or neglect was a significant predictor of prostitution for females; however, the "difference in prevalence of prostitution for abuse and neglected male subjects vs. male control subjects approached, but did not reach the conventional level of significance" (p. 1609). More specifically, physically abused female subjects were more likely to engage in prostitution (12.8%), followed by sexually abused (10.5%), and neglected (9%). Both Seng (1989) and Simons & Whitbeck (1991) concluded that running away as a result of being sexually abused leads to prostitution, not necessarily the abuse itself. Seng (1989) stated that "adolescent behavior can be viewed as behavior that results from the necessities of street life – it is survival behavior more than it is sexual behavior" (p. 665). The following section will describe in more detail how abuse particularly affects a female's entrance into prostitution. Although the literature on abuse and prostitution discuss a tenuous link between early childhood sexual

abuse and subsequent involvement in prostitution, there is a lack of consensus amongst researchers that it is the main cause.

Female Prostituted Youth

The commercial sexual exploitation of children is an issue that has concerned researchers, policy makers, child advocates, and practitioners in the youth services field for decades; however, very little is known about this population particularly when compared to the adult prostitution market. Research has shown that street sex workers comprise approximately 15% of all sex workers, but 85% of all prostitution arrests (Alexander, 1998; Whelehan, 2001). As a result, more attention has been placed on the social and criminological issues surrounding street prostitution. Three studies have been published in the last decade concerning female adult sex work in New York City (Murphy & Venkatesh, 2006; Thukral & Ditmore, 2003; Thukral, Ditmore & Murphy, 2005). All three looked at the changing landscape of the prostitution market due to the crackdown on quality of life issues by the Giuliani and Bloomberg administrations, particularly how it has affected street prostitution by forcing a large majority of prostitutes to move indoors rather than completely abolishing prostitution. According to Murphy & Venkatesh's study (2006), 23% of respondents specifically re-located from the streets to various indoor venues due to a surge in police activity and the increased risk of arrest. In a study conducted in Chicago (Raphael & Shapiro, 2002), out of the 54% of the respondents that had begun working in the streets, 69% had moved into indoor locations. It appeared that due to the heightened police presence, more and more women were entering the prostitution market through indoor venues and online rather than on the streets (Murphy & Venkatesh, 2006; Thukral, Ditmore & Murphy, 2005).

Most research on adult and juvenile street-based prostitution has shown that the average age of entry into the prostitution market for females is between 16–19 years of age (Dalla, 2000; Kennedy, et al., 2007, Norton-Hawk, 2001; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002; Silbert & Pines, 1982); however, several other juvenile prostitution studies reported prostituted adolescent females as young as ten, eleven, and twelve (Bagley & Young, 1987; Gray, 1973; Silbert & Pines, 1982). Studies conducted on the east coast reported a higher number of minority females engaged in prostitution, primarily African American (Dalla, 2000; Norton-Hawk, 2001), whereas research done in the mid-west and west coast found the majority of females to be White (Silbert & Pines, 1982; Simons & Whitbeck, 1991). Over half of female prostituted youth were high school dropouts (Dalla, 2000; Norton-Hawk, 2001; Seng, 1989; Silbert & Pines, 1982). Approximately 75% (Bagley & Young, 1987; Gray, 1973; Norton-Hawk, 2001; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002; Seng, 1989; Silbert & Pines, 1982) of respondents reported running away from home during early adolescence, and over half (Dalla, 2000; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002; Seng, 1989) reported recreational drug and alcohol abuse before leaving home. Several studies found that over three-quarters of the women interviewed increased their use of drugs and alcohol after first exchanging sex for monetary or material compensation (Dalla, 2000; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002; Thukral & Ditmore, 2003). Economic necessity has been identified as a major motivating factor for first entering the prostitution market (Bagley & Young, 1987; Dalla, 2000; Murphy & Venkatesh, 2006; Silbert & Pines, 1982; Thukral & Ditmore, 2003). Other studies have found that a number of females enter prostitution to support a drug habit (Kennedy, et al., 2007, Silbert & Pines, 1982); inability to find employment (Badgley Report, 1984; Silbert & Pines, 1982) and; coerced

or forced into prostitution (Badgley Report, 1984; Bagley & Young, 1987). In two studies (Bagley & Young, 1987; Silbert & Pines, 1982) over 80% of respondents reported that they felt that they had no other choice but to engage in prostitution in order to survive.

Research has indicated that a woman's social network plays a large role in her decision to enter sex work, whether it is someone already in the trade or someone who supports her decision to enter the market (Sharpe, 1998). "Social networks impart powerful influences on individual development, play a critical role in personal adjustment, and are critical for understanding unique developmental trajectories" (Dalla, 2001, p. 1070). In a study conducted by Raphael & Shapiro (2002), one-third of the respondents knew someone in their household while growing up who regularly exchanged sex for money (42% were their mothers and 40% their sisters), one-third knew of relatives in the trade, 71% knew someone in the neighborhood, and over 70% had someone suggest they enter the market. Of that 70%, 45% were friends, 24% cousins, 19.6% a boyfriend or girlfriend, 14.5% a sister, 6.5% their mother, and 2.6% their father. Bracey (1979) and Gray (1973) reported that female friends (i.e. schoolmates, neighborhood friends, former friends and new acquaintances) were the main influence for recruitment into prostitution. One study found that 19% of the female respondents were recruited or forced into prostitution by a female friend, 16% by a boyfriend or pimp, and 12% by their mothers, fathers, foster parents or older siblings (Kennedy, et al., 2007). Many female sex workers claim that they would have never considered sex work if it were not for the individual(s) in her social network suggesting the idea (Sharpe, 1998).

Pimps are often thought of as the main source of recruitment into prostitution for juvenile females (Bracey, 1979; Gray, 1973; Kennedy, et al., 2007). Adolescent women are considered highly suggestible to engage in prostitution through love, debt, addiction, assault, authority, and coercion by pimps (Kennedy, et al., 2007). Pimps use a variety of locations to recruit girls, such as shelters, group homes, school, clubs, and often use their own girls to procure new ones. Research has shown that a large number of juveniles working on the streets have been linked with a pimp at some point (Norton-Hawk, 2001; Silbert & Pines, 1983). In Bracey's study (1979) respondents claimed that it was not possible for a juvenile to work the streets without a pimp. Silbert & Pines (1982) found that out of 55% of their subjects, the person who got the respondent involved in prostitution was most often a pimp (25%), another 20% were women recruiting for a pimp or a madam; 7% were prostitutes and 3% were customers. In 36% of the cases, the youth was told what to do and how to do it; in 29% of the cases, they conned her, talked her into it or sweet-talked her; in 3% emotional promises were used, in 2% emotional threats were used and 4% were threatened physically. Of those who had a pimp, 41% said there were no advantages to having one. Another study (Norton-Hawk, 2001) claimed that the respondents who had experienced trauma before the age of 18 were more likely to work for a pimp; however, even though research has indicated that over three-quarters of all prostituted youth have experienced trauma in their childhood, it is highly unlikely that almost all commercially sexually exploited children work for or have at some point worked for a pimp. Visano (1987) reported that workers at social service agencies overestimated the involvement of pimps in introducing new runaways to street

prostitution, thus downplaying the role other friends had in recruiting the youth into the trade.

Sexual abuse seems to be a key contributing factor, with researchers reporting 49% (James, 1976), 65% (James & Meyerding, 1977), 50% (Bracey, 1979), 73% (Bagley & Young, 1987), 18% (Simons & Whitbeck, 1991), 42% (Norton-Hawk, 2001), and 84% (Dalla, 2001). Seng found that 28.5% had been sexually abused. Weisberg (1985) cites two studies with percentages of 10% and 26%. Although these estimates vary widely, in what is considered the most influential study on the link between prior abuse and adolescent prostitution, Silbert & Pines (1982) interviewed 200 juvenile and adult (60% were under 16), current and former, female street prostitutes in the San Francisco Bay Area. They found that not only were 60% of the respondents sexually abused during their childhood, but 70% reported that the sexual abuse affected their entrance into prostitution. Additionally, 70% of the subjects reported emotional abuse and 62% reported physical. These findings were corroborated by Bagley & Young (1987), Norton-Hawk (2001), and Seng (1989). Bagley & Young (1987) found that only 40% attributed previous experiences of sexual abuse as the defining factor for engaging in prostitution. Although we cannot generalize from the adult prostitution literature the unfortunate circumstances faced by commercially sexually exploited youth, we are still able to make valid inferences as to when, how, and why juveniles are forced to enter the prostitution market.

Male Prostituted Youth

The media often portrays prostituted youth as young females who have run away from a dysfunctional home to a large city and into the arms of a pimp. Researchers, however, have found that male prostituted juveniles outnumber female prostituted youth by 61 to 39% (Finklehor & Ormrod, 2004), and police have reported more contacts with boys than girls. Yet, this is not reflected in prostitution offense arrest data. In Las Vegas, only one male (of 178 juveniles) was arrested for prostitution between July 1, 2003 and June 30, 2004 (Finklehor & Ormrod, 2004). As for New York City, if one were to combine all the prostituted gay-identified boys and trans-gender youth with all the homeless boys who are prostituted in order to survive, there would be a higher number of prostituted boys than girls (Spangenberg, 2001). Yet, according to NYC arrest data, only 664 boys 18 and under have been arrested for a prostitution related offense from 1998 to 2006, of which 328 were 18 years of age. Even though police are more apt to arrest adult prostitutes, they tend to classify prostituted youth as offenders rather than as victims, and often choose to arrest them as opposed to refer them to social service agencies (Finklehor & Ormrod, 2004; Spangenberg, 2001).

Unlike female prostituted youth, male prostituted youth are often described as entering the prostitution market of their own volition (Cates, 1989; Caukins & Coombs, 1976; Coleman, 1989; Dorais, 2005; Weisberg, 1985; West, 1993). They are viewed as hustlers looking to make a quick buck, who enter the prostitution market willingly, and regard sex work as a good alternative to the formal work economy (Cates, 1989; Caukins & Coombs, 1976; Kaye, 2003). Yet past research has shown that while girls are coveted for the "sexualization of their bodies", boys are "commodified in homosexual subcultures for their youth and vulnerability" (Spangenberg, 2001). Adolescent females are more

likely to be controlled by a pimp, whereas boys tend to work on their own but have a large social network of peers engaged in prostitution. Although there are a number of differences between male and female prostituted youth, there are a number of similarities, such as: history of childhood abuse neglect, large runaway and high school drop-out rate, and history of alcohol and drug abuse.

In comparison to the literature on prostituted females, there have been relatively few extensive and influential studies done on the commercial sexual exploitation of boys. There are two often cited studies, one of which was conducted by a team of researchers, led by Kelly Weisberg, from 1979 to 1981, and the other conducted by Donald West in the early 1990's (Weisberg, 1985; West, 1993). In both studies, the majority of the youth were approximately 17 at the time of entry, and over 80% had run away from home before the age of 18. Like their female counterparts, more than 70% of the respondents did not complete high-school, and over a quarter of them only completed eighth grade or less. In Weisberg's study, the males reported less instances of sexual abuse, 29%, as compared to emotional abuse, 38% and physical abuse, 34%. Both studies reported that over 80% of the subjects engaged in prostitution for financial reasons. Weisberg's respondents, however, claimed that prostitution was easy money, referring to the short duration of the sexual encounter and the ease of completing the sex act; whereas in West's study, the subjects stated that they often resorted to prostitution when they were desperately short of money and needed access to food and shelter to survive. Of the subjects in Weisberg's study, 27% claimed they entered the prostitution market for sexual gratification. Drug and alcohol use was rampant among both samples; over 75% of

respondents reported abusing alcohol, marijuana, or other "recreational" drugs (i.e. cocaine, heroin, LSD, and amphetamines).

Male prostituted youth are generally assumed to be delinquents and/or homosexuals. There is a common misconception that the majority of male prostituted youth are homosexual, when in fact, many of them identify as being bi or heterosexual (Cates, 1989; Caukins & Coombs, 1976; Kaye, 2003; West, 1993). In West's study (1993), 46% said they were aroused mostly or only by females, 36% only or mostly by males, and 18% more or less equally by either sex. These youth tend to be associated with the juvenile delinquent sub-culture, which often entails living on the streets, high instances of drug abuse, and engaging in a variety of criminal activities (in addition to prostitution) such as drug-dealing, panhandling, and theft (Price, et al., 1984; Weisberg, 1983). They view selling sexual favors as an easy way of making money, which allows them the freedom to do what they want, when they want.

Weisberg defines male prostitution as "an outlet for their sexuality" in the gay sub-culture (Weisberg, 1985; p. 19). These youth tend to have lower self-esteem and self-worth, and find a means of identification and acceptance within this sub-culture. Another study (Cates, 1989) found that for some boys, prostitution is used as an outlet to exhibit homosexual feelings although they may deny their homosexual orientation. Thus, for an adolescent male who is questioning his sexuality, the desire of an adult male to pay for his body may help to boost his diminished self-esteem and self-worth. A large part of this sub-culture includes lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) identified youth. Based on a meta-analysis conducted by Coleman (1989) on prostitution among male adolescents, he concluded that at least two-thirds of male prostituted youth are gay or bi-

sexual. Coleman found that those youth who were comfortable with their sexuality tended to consider prostitution a profession, whereas those youth who either identified as hetero-sexual or were conflicted about their sexuality were more likely to consider prostitution as a means of survival. A study conducted in New York City by Rotheram-Borus, et al. (1992) found that out of 119 predominantly minority males (over half African-American and over a quarter Hispanic) aged 12 to 18, all believed to be at high risk for HIV infection, 25% reported involvement in prostitution. Of that, only 3% reported exchanging sexual services as a means to survive, which is considerably low when compared with California – 31% in Hollywood and 28% in Los Angeles (Robertson, 1989; Yates, et al., 1988). In another small study conducted in New York City (Maitra, 2002), the LGBT youth interviewed began hustling as a way to earn easy money, and because they were curious about the experience. Many reported, however, that although they would like to leave the life, they were unsure of what they could do to survive in the city.

Runaway and Homeless Prostituted Youth

A large majority of runaway and homeless youth engage in prostitution, often as a means of survival. Homeless and runaway youth are "a hidden population based on their high residential mobility, ability to blend in and adapt to their surroundings (compared to homeless adults), and movement in and out of homes, shelters, juvenile detention facilities and the streets" (Greene, et al., 2003, p. 2-1).[1] In the U.S., homelessness among

[1] 'Runaway' is most often defined as "those who leave home of their own volition without the consent of their caregiver." A youth is deemed a 'throwaway' when "the parents of such youth have induced them to leave against their will and made no effort to find them once they left home." "Street youth" are

adolescents, ages 12-17, has an approximate annual prevalence rate of 5% (Robertson & Toro, 1998). Research has consistently shown that runaway youth do not often run far from home. Studies conducted in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle and NYC report that the majority of homeless and runaway youth are 'locals' (Robertson & Toro, 1998). One study showed that 58% of respondents were from the city they lived in or the surrounding area (Schick, 1981, as cited in Yates, et al., 1991). In a study conducted on homeless youth in NYC, 54% of the sample was from the NYC metropolitan area (Clatts & Davis, 1999). According to a national survey of youth (Ringwalt, et al., 1998), males were more likely to report homelessness than females; however, no differences were found by racial or ethnic group. A large majority of homeless and runaway youth report a long pattern of residential instability, often times due to foster care placement (Gaetz & O'Grady, 2002; Robertson & Toro, 1998). Research has shown a high rate of school truancy and drop-outs (Gaetz & O'Grady, 2002; Robertson & Toro, 1998; Yates, et al., 1991). Homeless and runaway youth are often involved in various street economies, such as: panhandling, prostitution, drug-dealing, pimping, pornography, mugging, and stealing.

There have been a number of studies that have looked at the prevalence rate of prostitution amongst the homeless and runaway youth population. A national study conducted in 1998 found that being homeless for longer than thirty days was the single most decisive factor forcing youth to become prostitutes (Nandon, et al., 1998). Research has shown that a large percentage of street youth, aged thirteen to seventeen, are commercially sexually exploited (Clatts, et al., 1998; Gaetz & O'Grady, 2002; Greene, et

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considered to be youth who reside in "high-risk, non-traditional locations, such as under bridges, abandoned buildings or squats (Greene, et al., 2003, pp. 2-1 – 2-4).

al., 1999; Gwadz, et al., 2005; Kipke, et al., 1997; Schissel, 1997; Yates, et al., 1991); and, Marjorie Robertson (1998) reported that almost a third of homeless adolescents, both males and females, have engaged in prostitution in order to survive on the streets. One study reported that runaway and homeless youth make up approximately 75% of all youth involved in commercial sexual exploitation (as cited in Yates, et al., 1991) In a sample of 409 street youth in Los Angeles (ages 12-23), 43% of the sample (46% males, 32% females) reported engaging in "survival sex;" of the 43%, 82% exchanged sex for money, 48% for food or a place to stay and 22% for drugs (Kipke, et al., 1995). Research has found that homeless homosexual and bisexual males are significantly more likely to have engaged in survival sex (Gaetz & O'Grady, 2002; Kipke, et al., 1997; Yates, et al., 1991). Because prostituted homeless youth do not necessarily identify as "prostitutes" or as "sexually exploited," these percentages might be under-represented.

Consistent with other studies of the CSEC population, rates of childhood abuse and trauma were high among prostituted homeless youth; sexual abuse ranged from 17 to 35%, and physical abuse ranged from 40% to 60% (Gaetz & O'Grady, 2002; Gwadz, et al., 2005; Kidd & Kral; 2002; Robertson & Toro, 1998). Prostituted homeless youth had a higher attempted suicide rate than non-prostituted homeless youth (Greene, et al., 1999; Robertson & Toro, 1998; Schissel, 1997). Sexually exploited homeless youth reported a greater decline in health status than other homeless youth (Gaetz & O'Grady, 2002; Robertson & Toro, 1998; Yates, et al., 1991) and a higher incidence of rape (Schissel, 1997; Yates, et al., 1991). Whitbeck and Hoyt (1999) found no gender difference in either "prostitution or survival sex" but found that boys were more likely than girls to

engage in other street economies such as: panhandling, stealing, robbing and drug dealing for money and dumpster diving for food.

Based on past studies, there appears to be a high correlation between drug and alcohol abuse and sexual exploitation (Clatts, et al., 1998; Clatts & Davis, 1999; Gaetz & O'Grady, 2002; Gwadz, et al., 2005; Kipke, et al., 1995; Yates, et al., 1991). Marijuana use was the most commonly abused drug (Clatts & Davis, 1999; Gaetz & O'Grady, 2002; Gwadz, et al., 2005); however, these studies also reported a high rate of alcohol, cocaine, heroin, crack, and methamphetamine abuse. In a study comparing homeless youth involved and not involved in prostitution (Yates, et al., 1991) 97% of the involved youth used drugs or alcohol compared with 78% of their homeless non-involved peers. Nearly 22% of the involved youth used intraveneous drugs, compared to only 4% of the non-involved group. One study (Kipke, et al., 1995) found that homeless youth abusing drugs were 2.2 times more likely to engage in survival sex. Street youths' own use of drugs and engagement in prostitution was connected to their knowledge of how and where to access drugs and obtain drugs for sex partners (Clatts & Davis, 1999). Homeless youth have consistently reported that they are knowledgeable about AIDS and sexually transmitted infections, and the majority tends to practice safe sex with their clients; however, many are not opposed to sex without protection if it equates to more money (Clatts, et al., 1998).

Alternative Explanations of the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

Research on how youth are prostituted often focuses on psychological explanations, and few criminological or sociological theories have been applied to explain this phenomenon. The theories applied to this issue often look at the reasons why

youth enter the commercial sexual exploitation market, but they rarely take into account by what means the youth are recruited into the market. As stated earlier, several psychologists who have studied this issue (Badgley Report, 1984; James & Meyerding, 1977; Seng, 1989; Silbert & Pine, 1982; Simons & Whitbeck, 1991; Weisberg, 1985; Widom & Kuhns, 1996) have employed theories linking past sexual, physical and verbal abuse and neglect to explain why boys and girls are often "forced" into prostitution. Although it is important to understand why youth enter the CSEC market, it is equally vital to know how they enter and why they might remain in "the life."

Social capital theories are rooted in sociology; however, they are best understood from a criminological standpoint when they are applied to deviant populations, such as prostituted youth. Social capital is comprised of "a network of relations and the resources embedded in those relations" (Prell & Skvoretz, 2008, p. 5). In other words, individuals who do better are by some means better connected. There are three main theorists of social capital: Pierre Bourdieu, Robert Putnam and James Coleman. All three theorists measured social capital on both an individual and group level, yet defined the concept differently. According to Bourdieu, "social capital represents an aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network" (Bourdieu, 1980, p. 2; Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248). Putnam defined social capital as, "features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" (Putnam, 1993a, p. 169). Social capital as defined by Coleman is "the set of resources that inhere in family relations and in community society organization and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person" (Coleman, 1994, p. 300). By establishing

obligations and expectations between individuals, building trustworthiness with others, opening up channels for information, and setting norms for behavior, one is able to build social capital (Coleman, 1988-89).

More recent social capital theorists, namely Nan Lin and Ronald Burt, have hypothesized that social capital is also based on social networks. "Social networks simultaneously capture individuals and social structure, thus serving as a vital conceptual link between actions and structural constraints, between micro- and macro-level analyses, and between relational and collective dynamic processes" (Lin, Cook and Burt, 2001, p. viii). Lin (1982) has proposed that "access to and use of social resources (resources embedded in social networks) can lead to better socioeconomic status" (as cited in Lin, Cook and Burt, 2001, p. 12). Wealth, power and status of social ties are all indicators of embedded resources. In a theory similar to Lin's, Burt (1992) asserts that "certain network positions (structural holes and structural constraints) have effects on individuals getting better positions or rewards in organizations" (as cited in Lin, Cook and Burt, 2001, p.12). Network constraint, which varies by size, density, and hierarchy, measures the "extent to which a network is directly or indirectly concentrated in a single contact" (Lin, Cook & Burt, 2001, p. 32). Large networks of disconnected contacts tend to have low constraint, and small, dense networks that are strongly tied to one central contact (hierarchy) have high constraint. This suggests that prostituted youth with large networks of other prostituted youth are more likely to be embedded and constrained within their deviant networks, and have limited access to other non-deviant individuals.

With regards to crime and social capital, Putnam believed that "higher levels of social capital, all else being equal, translate into lower levels of crime" (Putnam, 2000, p.

308). Putnam did not provide evidence to support this claim other than inferring that delinquent peers tend to influence other youth into committing crimes; whereas, those youth with a positive support network do not turn to a life of crime. However, it has been found that adolescents are highly susceptible to peer influence, and are less likely to follow parental guidance (Corsaro and Eder, 1990; Cusick, 1973; Warr, 1996). One study (Watt, 1996) found that an individual's network, and not his own personal attributes, affect whether or not the individual pursues delinquent behaviors. The study also concluded that most delinquent offenders belong to multiple criminal groups; thus, the more delinquent friends an individual has, the less likely he is to have many positive outside influences. This once again suggests that if a prostituted youth has a large network of prostituted friends, he or she is less likely to have access to non-delinquent influences.

One criminological theory that has dealt with both social capital and network analysis is Krohn's network analysis theory, as Krohn hypothesizes that "a social network (a set of actors, individuals or groups linked by friendship or some other relationship) constrains individual behavior…and the probability of behavior consistent with the continuance of their network relationships will increase" (Krohn, 1986:S82-S83). Krohn argued that the social status and status area are directly linked to delinquent behavior due to the effect they have on the structure of social networks. "The network could be formed around participation in deviant activities and, as a consequence, the constraining effect of the network would be toward deviant behavior" (Krohn, 1986:S83). Krohn's theoretical framework draws upon Edwin Sutherland's (1939) differential association theory and Travis Hirschi's (1969) social control theory, in addition to

adapting Émile Durkheim's approach of focusing on how social factors regulate individuals and groups within a conventional social order. Research on the commercial sexual exploitation of children indicates that both male and female adolescents are likely to be introduced to prostitution by a peer. McCarthy and Hagan (1992) found that having deviant peers either at home or on the street was positively correlated with theft, and that the number of street friends arrested was significantly associated with prostitution.

Hirschi's social control theory focuses on social bonds via attachment to family, school, and peers, and how these bonds restrain individuals from pursuing deviant activities. Social capital is a form of social control, social support, and social integration (Koo, Chitwood & Sanchez, 2007). Cullen (1994) postulated that social support is one of strongest predictors of crime prevention. However, "when bonded to delinquent peers, the constraint of the bond is toward delinquency" (Haynie, 2001, p. 1021). One study (Pahl & Spencer, 1997) concluded that when family does not play an important role in an adolescent's life, friendships grow more in importance and take on kinship-like relations. Granovetter (1973) found that the more an individual is embedded in their social structure (e.g., friendship network), the more likely the social norms and beliefs of the network will influence the individual's behavior. Dense social networks constrain the behavior of their members to be commensurate with the network's behavior, which could be toward delinquency. Thus, youth involved in dense friendship networks are less likely to be influenced by outside pressures, and in the case of prostituted youth, outside positive influences.

Edwin Sutherland's (1947) differential association theory is based on the assumption that criminal behavior is learned through intimate personal groups where

attitudes or "definitions" favorable to law violation are obtained. Research finds that the "behavior of peers is more important than the attitudes of peers in influencing an individual's own delinquency" (Warr and Stafford, 1991, p. 853). Thus, a denser network in which the majority of individuals are friends with one another will equate to a greater concentration of differential associations than will being part of a friendship network where only certain members identify each other as friends (Haynie, 2001). Thus, the denser the CSEC market is as a whole, the more likely the youth know one another on some level. As a result, the youth learn from one another and increase the likelihood that they will adapt the behaviors and attitudes of their peers.

Krohn based his hypotheses on the structural characteristics of networks on multiplexity and density. He described multiplexity as the number of different relationships or contexts (e.g. activities, exchanges) that two or more persons have in common. Krohn suggests that the greater the number of contexts (or network multiplexity), the greater the constraint on the individual's behavior. An individual involved in a number of different associations is less likely to withdraw from one or more of his activities/exchanges in order to prevent jeopardizing the relationship he has with his entire social network. The youth's behavior is more constrained based on his relationship with his social network; thus, the chance of participating in delinquent activities will decrease. When taking Sutherland's social learning theory into consideration, however, even if a youth does have a network that is multiplex, if his deviant peers are his main source of reinforcement, he would be more likely to participate in delinquent activities. More specifically, if a juvenile has an excess of definitions favorable to violating the law over definitions favorable to upholding the law, which is

primarily learned through his interactions with his deviant social network, his participation in delinquent activities will increase. Because the majority of prostituted youth are thought to be runaways and/or homeless, they are more likely to turn to their friends for advice and support since there are so few stable and reliable adults in their life. If those friends are exhibiting deviant behavior, the youth are more likely to learn from them and adopt the same behaviors.

Krohn (1986) describes density as the "extent to which all actors in a social network are connected by direct relations" (p. S85). It is measured as the ratio of existing relationships to the maximum number of possible relationships in a network. Krohn hypothesizes that the higher the network density, the greater the constraint on behavior within the social network, which will lead to a lower delinquency rate. Krohn suggests that an individual's network density is often dependent on the overall population density of a community. As population density increases, an individual's network density will decrease, which will result in an increase in the delinquency rate. This is due to the fact that the greater the number of potential relationships there are for an individual, the lower the probability that many of these relationships will be linked to one another, thus decreasing an individual's constraint on behavior. In the case of large cities, such as New York City, there is a greater likelihood that individual friendships are forged in several different social settings. Thus, city dwellers are not as likely to have networks that are multiplex or highly dense, and as a result, they may be more prone to delinquency. Based on the CSEC literature, a large majority of prostituted youth are "locals." Thus, the youth who are sexually exploited in NYC, are most likely from the metropolitan area, and have social networks that neither multiplex or dense.

Knowing the dynamics of prostituted youth social networks and their influence on social capital will not only be vital for calculating a population estimate, but it will also provide insight as to how the different groups of sexually exploited adolescents (males, females, homeless and runaways) are inter-connected. Most of what is known about prostituted youth is based on studies that rely on purposive samples culled from street and runaway youth agencies, rape crisis shelters, and juvenile detention centers, and data provided by law enforcement agencies, child advocacy centers, and youth service agencies. They do not attempt or have failed to recruit a large enough sample of prostituted youth directly from the streets, which is essential in order to show the diversity and complex nature of the CSEC population. Past research has also primarily focused on why youth enter prostitution, not on how they entered or the characteristics that make up the CSEC market and population. Without knowing this, it is difficult to determine how to effectively combat this issue.

The following chapter describes the methodology that was used to collect the data necessary to answer the research question and hypotheses outlined in Chapter One. More specifically, what the CSEC population estimate is for New York City and the attributes of the CSEC networks and its members; are youth more likely to seek help from others with criminal or normative social capital when taking into account the youths' social network size, current living situation, education level, other sources of income, drug abuse, race, gender, and age of first involvement in the CSEC market; and, how constrained choices and lack of agency inhibit the youth from attaining high levels of normative social capital. By gaining a better understanding of the CSEC issue, policy

makers, practitioners in the youth services field and child advocates will be better equipped to help sexually exploited youth.

Chapter 3

Methodology

The data collected for this dissertation was part of a larger grant funded by the National Institute of Justice (Curtis, Terry, Dank, Kahn & Dombrowski, 2008). The data collection process began in January 2006 and was completed in April 2007. As the Senior Research Associate, I helped coordinate meetings with the John Jay research team and trainings sessions with experts in the field prior to the actual data collection, conducted a majority of the interviews with the youth, coded all the transcribed interviews, and aided in the final analysis and report to NIJ. The following section details the methodology used to gather the data, the challenges that occurred, and how the research team was able to overcome the challenges and successfully recruit more youth than originally expected for the study.

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

The John Jay College research team was charged with gaining a better understanding of the CSEC population, particularly its size, characteristics, needs, and geographic spread in New York City. This section, followed by the findings from the study, describes the sequence of steps that the research team at John Jay followed to reach those goals, organizing the information into three major sections:

1) A discussion of *the rationale* for the data collection methodology that the research team initially envisioned as the most appropriate for this study, and an overview of how that method works.
2) A description of *the preparations* that the research team made before beginning to

refer research subjects, including:

a. A description of formative research conducted by the team at sites across New York City,

b. An overview of the specialized training that the team received about youth engaging in CSEC before beginning data collection,

c. A description of how the research team's experiences in (a) and (b) led to adjustments to the original research model.

3) A description of *the data collection process*, including a discussion of what worked and did not work in ways that had been anticipated, and how the research team adjusted and embellished the original methodology in response to conditions in the field.

The Rationale: Why this method?

This component of the overall project was thought to be especially challenging because there was so little information about youth engaging in CSEC beyond the anecdotal reports provided by advocates and practitioners, and the meager numbers of CSEC cases that appeared in official data bases like court records or arrest statistics (435 arrests in 2004) which suggested that they were concentrated in a few hot-spots that were scattered across New York City. The John Jay College research team was recruited to partner in this research, in part, because of their track record in conducting research with hard-to-reach populations. The John Jay team that conducted this research was composed of nine (Ph.D. and Masters) students at the college, and was led by Ric Curtis, Chair of the Department of Anthropology.

Because of the lack of a substantial body of empirical evidence about this

population, ethnography, another strength of the John Jay team, was initially envisioned as the appropriate methodology for the project as it is often used as an exploratory tool. But the research team was concerned about finding sufficient numbers of youth to be able to make empirically-supported statements about the CSEC population, and this is not a strength of ethnography. Thus, the challenge at the outset was to craft an approach to the research that would capitalize on the strengths of the research team and advance our understanding of CSEC markets and their participants.

From the beginning, there were several reasons why traditional ethnographic approaches seemed limited for this study, especially the problems associated with geography and time. For example, the half-dozen CSEC hot-spots (known colloquially as "tracks" or "strolls") that had been initially identified as potential locations for ethnographic observation and subject recruitment were so widely scattered across the city (from Coney Island in Brooklyn, to midtown Manhattan, to Hunts Point in the Bronx), that a relatively large team of ethnographers would have been needed to conduct a true ethnographic study in the space of one year, which after all, depends on actually *being there* for prolonged periods of time. The number and geographic spread between these sites would have made it virtually impossible for a small number of ethnographers to maintain a continuous field presence at any one of the sites, thus undermining one of the primary strengths of ethnography: its ability to develop relationships with research subjects and see the culture through their eyes. But even if the research team had selected a small number of known hot-spots as ethnographic field sites, it was not clear that ethnographic methods would have been effective at these sites; indeed, the hot-spots had been identified as CSEC *markets* and there was no evidence that these settings would

have offered ethnographers the opportunity to refer, interview or "get to know" potential research subjects, especially youth that were being "pimped" by adults (see below, Formative Research). Given the problems described above (and others), traditional ethnographic approaches seemed unlikely to yield the kinds of data that is typically expected to be produced, and thus, the challenge was to find a research methodology that would collect empirical data to answer some of the fundamental questions about the CSEC population in New York City.

In crafting an approach that would accomplish the goals of the study, the John Jay College research team made two initial assumptions about youth engaging in CSEC that were based upon evidence provided by our collaborative partners:

1. The actual number of youth involved in the market was far greater than any of the statistics suggested. If this were true, then it should have been possible to refer and interview enough youth (i.e., more than 100) to quantify and analyze the results in ways that ethnography often does not.
2. Youth engaging in CSEC know each other and have formed network(s) that transcend geographic boundaries. We made this assumption because a) some of the girls had been arrested on multiple occasions in different hot-spots and thus, they might link geographically diverse sub-networks of youth, and b) there was evidence that some of the girls were circulated (bought, sold, or traded) among pimps (colloquially referred to as pimped girls), and thus, some girls might link groups of pimped girls.

These two assumptions about the CSEC population led the project to adopt a subject recruitment strategy called "Respondent Driven Sampling" (see below) that

sought to capitalize on the connections between the youth, and to use them to refer each other to the study – and we set a goal of interviewing 200 youth – rather than relying upon the traditional, painstakingly time-consuming ethnographic methods of subject recruitment that generate small samples.

RDS methods and techniques

Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) is a methodology that is used to recruit statistically representative samples of hard-to-reach groups by taking advantage of intragroup social connections to build a sample pool (Heckathorn 1997, 2002, Heckathorn et al. 2002, Abdul-Quader et al. 2006, Robinson et al. 2006). RDS is much like the well-known and often-used recruitment strategies of "snowball sampling" (Goodman 1961) and "chain-referral sampling" (Erickson 1979), but unlike these methods whose primary utility is generating a large number of research subjects, RDS also provides a powerful set of analytic/statistical tools for creating weighted population estimates which are at least as powerful and robust as those generated through more common probabilistic statistics (Heckathorn 2002, Salganick & Heckathorn 2004).

An additional benefit is that Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) has been shown to improve upon previous chain referral and snowball sampling methods by employing a systematic recruiting scheme and mathematical modeling techniques during data analysis in order to mitigate, estimate, and correct for biases, including those due to 1) selection of the initial sample, 2) volunteerism (higher levels of participation from cooperative and interested participants), 3) problems related to the how chain referral takes place (e.g., problems with inaccurate contact information and differential recruitment), and 4)

homophily (the tendency of seeds and subsequent referrals to recruit those like themselves) (Heckathorn, 2002). As recruitment chains go through many waves of referral, the biasing effects of initial seed selection are minimized (Heckathorn, 2002; Salganik & Heckathorn, 2004).

RDS, like similar recruitment strategies, has proved extremely useful in quickly recruiting large numbers of people from hidden populations, but it also allows researchers to describe the salient characteristics of the population and, in some instances, make population estimates. Instead of making estimations directly from the sample to the population, RDS outlines a methodology for making indirect estimates by way of the social networks connecting the population (Salganik & Heckathorn 2004). Because of these advantages over other recruitment strategies, RDS has been increasingly used nationally and internationally in studies of hard-to-reach groups, including injection drug users, commercial sex workers, and men who have sex with men (Abdul-Quader et al. 2006, Johnston, et al. 2006, Simic et al. 2006), and the John Jay research team reasoned that RDS had great potential for this study.

The basic mechanics of RDS recruitment are fairly straightforward: a small number of initial research subjects (called “seeds”) are referred, interviewed by the researchers, and paid for their time and effort ($20 in this case). Following their interviews, the seeds are given 3 sequentially numbered coupons and instructed to pass them along to friends or associates who are like themselves (in this case, others who currently participate in CSEC markets). If referral chains do not develop as expected, additional seeds may be referred as replacements. The numbers on the coupons allow the researchers to prevent duplication, identify who referred each participant, and keep track

of subsequent recruitment patterns using the RDS "Coupon Manager" software that is downloadable for free at www.respondentdrivensampling.org. When coupons are redeemed by eligible research subjects, their referrer is compensated ($10) for each coupon redeemed. The eligible subjects referred by the seeds comprise the first wave of the sample and they are each given three coupons to refer the next wave of study participants. Study participants are recruited in this fashion until the desired sample size is reached.

In addition to the advantages described above that RDS offers, there were three additional reasons why RDS was envisioned as a superior strategy for conducting research with this population:

1. The issue of trust and building rapport with research participants was thought to be problematic with youth engaging in CSEC, but many research projects that had used the RDS peer-driven network recruiting method appeared to have easily overcome the issue of building rapport. Using RDS, the researchers are always introduced to each new unnamed research subject by a friend or associate who can describe the non-threatening nature of participation in the study beforehand, and vouch for the researchers' good faith, thereby facilitating subject recruitment.
2. The potential savings of time (and hence, money) that RDS affords the data collection phase of a project (Abdul-Quader et al. 2006, Robinson et al. 2006) was attractive given the limited resources available for this component of the overall project. Using traditional ethnographic methods or recruiting eligible respondents from field sites where youth engaging in CSEC were said to be prevalent was likely to take much longer and refer far fewer study participants than RDS methods, which

have been shown to recruit large numbers of study participants in a very short amount of time (Abdul-Quader et al. 2006, Robinson et al. 2006, Wang et al. 2006).

3. RDS can begin recruitment anywhere within a pool of eligible subjects, and it can reliably produce a representative sample of the population regardless of the starting points. As Heckathorn (1997:176) notes, "RDS produces samples that are independent of the initial subjects from which sampling begins. As a result, it does not matter whether the initial sample is drawn randomly." To further assure a robust heterogeneous sample of youth, the research team planned to recruit demographically diverse seeds from across New York City, but it was reassuring to know that any starting point in a network will produce similar results.

The John Jay research team believed that RDS offered the best opportunity for learning about the CSEC population given the multiple challenges posed by this research, but before starting to recruit youth into the study, considerable preparation was required to learn more about them and the environments where they were found. Below, these preparations – the formative research and the specialized training – are described and discussed, followed by a discussion of how these experiences led the research team to modify and embellish the original research plan.

The Preparations: Formative Research

To orient the research team to the field and prepare them for recruiting youth into the study, several months of "formative research" were conducted over the first half of 2006 that included direct observations in known hot-spots across the city, visits to social service and governmental agencies that served youth engaging in CSEC, attending meetings and seminars with advocates and practitioners in the field, and interviews with

service providers and "cultural experts" in a variety of neighborhoods. Below, these components of the formative research are described and discussed.

Direct Observation in the Field

It was initially expected that direct observation in the field, as is often standard with ethnographic approaches, would allow the research team to collect data about variations in conditions over time, see things that young people overlooked, and learn what young people would not talk about in interviews. To begin to develop a deeper understanding of the physical environments where CSEC populations were located, direct observation were conducted in many of the hot-spots that had been identified by our collaborative partners and the police, including Hunts Point in the Bronx, Queens Plaza, East New York and Coney Island in Brooklyn, and midtown and the West Village area of Manhattan.

Based upon the formative research that was done over the first several months of the project, it was clear that there was no site(s) that was consistently and predictably occupied by youth in a fashion that would have allowed the research team to conduct useful, systematic observations. Even outreach workers from social service organizations who visited these sites on a nightly basis had, on the whole, very ephemeral relationships with sex market participants. Thus, while direct observation is a key ingredient of ethnography and offers researchers invaluable opportunities to gain entry to the study population and see things from a perspective that not enjoyed by survey researchers, it is also very time consuming. In this instance, while direct observation was useful to understanding part of the general milieu where youth engaging in CSEC were found, it was clear from the formative research that direct observation was unlikely to produce

copious amounts of useful data or generate robust numbers of contacts with potential research subjects. While the research team did not know whether RDS methods would ultimately prove successful in recruiting exploited youth in sufficient numbers, it seemed clear that standard ethnographic methods of observation were not the way to go.

Staff Training

Before starting to refer youth into the study, the John Jay research team benefited from formal and informal training on the unique practical and ethical problems that were likely to accompany this research. To learn about these issues, the research team attended New York City CSEC task force meetings, forums devoted to the problem, and held one-on-one discussions with policy makers, professionals and CSEC advocates, who described the nature and scope of the problem.[2] The research team was especially interested in learning about factors and conditions that could potentially impede progress in reaching the project's goals, and there were several concerns raised in these meetings and discussions that called for careful planning by the research team. Some of the unique problems that were said to be impediments to research with youth engaging in CSEC included: being exploited by adults, distrust of adults, low self-esteem leading to non-responsiveness, and manipulation by the youth themselves for monetary gain. The John Jay research team was consistently advised that finding girls working for a pimp was likely to be particularly difficult, and because of that, the research team sought additional training from experts who work exclusively with this population as well as those who work with homeless youth in general.

[2] The team consulted with experts from the following agencies: Legal Aid, NYPD, Bronx Community Court, Queens Community Court, Brooklyn Community Court, Midtown Community Court, Empire State Coalition, Streetworks, Safe Horizon, Green Chimneys, Sylvia's Place, Neutral Zone, CitiWide, Urban Justice Center, GEMS, SAVI, NDRI, ECPAT, and the Sex Workers Project.

One of these organizations, Girls Educational and Mentoring Services, Inc. (GEMS), works specifically with young females, age 12-21, who have been victims of commercial sexual exploitation. GEMS founder and Executive Director, Rachel Lloyd, provided specialized training for the John Jay College research staff over the course of two days. Ms. Lloyd described and discussed many of the potential problems the research team might encounter when trying to find and interview this population, and how to best handle the issues that might arise.

Based upon the expertise of Ms. Lloyd and the staff at GEMS, as well as other experts who work with these girls in New York City, young women who engage in CSEC were said to be generally divided into two camps: those who work for pimps and those who do not. Those who do not work for pimps tend to engage in survival sex, and it seemed likely that they would be easier to refer and interview than pimped girls whose movements were said to be highly structured and controlled by men.

The girls who are controlled by pimps often formed "families" and each pimp has an average of 5-7 girls in his "stable" (a group of women working for the same pimp). Pimps control certain tracks around the city, and a girl could not work on these tracks unless she worked for one of the men. The girls are often used to recruit other girls, and they are offered incentives for every girl that they bring into the stable. Lloyd noted that modern day pimps are becoming indoctrinated into "the game" (the system of commercial sexual exploitation) at an increasingly younger age, and tend to come from impoverished backgrounds and neighborhoods. Pimps often have quotas for their girls: $300-$500 on weeknights and $700-$1000 on weekends, which begin on Thursdays. The majority of pimps collect all of the money that the young women working for them earn

each night, and in return they pay for the girls' rent, food, clothing and occasional visits to the hair and nail salon. The rest is profit for the pimp.

Lloyd cautioned the research team that the majority, if not all, of the young women engaging in CSEC have experienced psychological trauma due to acts of coercion, manipulation and exploitation by men. She likened the trauma to Stockholm and Battered Wife Syndromes. The girls' relationship with these men is characterized by love, loyalty, dependence, control, fear and pain. Because many of young women engaging in CSEC come from calamitous backgrounds, the pimp was often considered the first person to treat them with "love" and "respect." Girls are at risk of becoming psychologically enslaved by their pimp(s), and as a result, the "signs of ownership" become embedded in their psyches, even once the pimp is no longer involved in their lives. Because of the extensive trauma that these girls have endured, Ms. Lloyd stressed the importance of gaining the youths' trust, no matter how long that took, in order for them to open up about their experience.

In addition to the training provided by Rachel Lloyd, Marya Gwadz, Ph.D., of the National Development and Research Institutes (NDRI), trained the research team on how to best interview and study this population. Dr. Gwadz has conducted numerous studies on homeless, runaway and street-involved youth. The training included tips on gaining trust, detecting deception, remaining objective, and how to best defuse problematic situations. Dr. Gwadz discussed the challenges the researchers could face in trying to refer and interview sexually exploited youth, which included: the stigmatization and illegality of "sex work" could make youth uncomfortable disclosing their involvement in the market; youth may be dishonest regarding both their age and involvement in the

market in order to collect monies for their participation in the study; and the youth may be drunk or high. Additionally, Dr. Gwadz spoke about the potential benefits that the youth may acquire by participating in the study. This included giving youth an opportunity to "give back" and help others; youth often benefit by telling their story; and they would receive various youth-focused service referrals (i.e. shelters, counseling, health-care, job-training, etc.).

Based on her past research, Dr. Gwadz reported that there was a 30%-50% sex work prevalence rate amongst homeless youth and that there was no gender bias. In her study that looked at young men who have sex with men, 35.2% were involved in sex work and transgender youth were 3.5 times more likely to participate in the trade than males or females. Like Rachel Lloyd, Dr. Gwadz found a number of homeless girls are actively recruited by adults and often work for pimps. They exhibit high rates of victimization and are regularly subjected to violence at the hands of their pimps and clients. Gwadz, however, stated that male-to-female transgender youth are the most vulnerable population engaging in CSEC. Transgender youth are at the highest risk for violence since they violate gender norms and tend to make the most money.

Dr. Cynthia Mercado, a licensed psychologist specializing in sex offenders, risk assessment, and the law, trained the research team in how to assess the competence of research participants to consent/assent to the research, in the detection of acute distress, in making appropriate medical and social service referrals, and in general clinical interviewing skills. As part of this training, a professional actor was hired by the project to perform role-playing tasks in order to strengthen the research team’s interviewing skills.

Based on what the research team learned from the training sessions and meetings with other experts in the field regarding the role of pimps and other factors that may inhibit the project's inability to recruit a representative sample of sexually exploited youth, the research team took special precautions to compensate for these potential problems.

Planning for Subject Recruitment via RDS and Interviews with Commercially Sexually Exploited Youth

Conceptually, it is not difficult to understand how the RDS process works, but successfully implementing the recruitment of research subjects requires considerable training and contingency planning based upon what is learned during the formative research stages of a project. In light of what the John Jay research team learned through direct observations in neighborhoods and from specialized training about CSEC populations, modifications and embellishments to the basic RDS model, to the informed consent process, and to the interview itself, were implemented before beginning to refer research subjects. In retrospect, some of these alterations were useful, though many were not; they do, however, say a lot about our lack of knowledge, our biases, and our misconceptions with respect to youth engaging in CSEC. Below, the plans made by the John Jay research team for recruiting, assessing, and interviewing youth are described, including several of the modifications or elaborations to the basic RDS model and the rationale for why the staff (or others) felt that they were necessary.

1. *The Interview Site*: Most projects that employ RDS method feature a site (an office) where research subjects show up to redeem coupons and get interviewed. In this

case, however, youth were reportedly scattered across New York City, and it was not clear that they would (or could) travel great distances to participate in a research project. And clearly, the project could not afford to rent and staff an office in each of the city's five boroughs. An additional concern pointed out by our collaborative partners was that considerable stigma might be associated with participating in such a study, and some youth might not be willing to go to an office where CSEC interviews were being conducted.

The solution to this problem, the research staff reasoned, was to allow youth to anonymously contact project staff via telephone, and after screening them for eligibility, go to them, rather than have them come to us. To accomplish this, the research team set up an account with a toll-free telephone service so that the youth could anonymously contact the research team at their convenience. The 1-800 number was written on each recruitment coupon and I, along with Ric Curtis, were available to answer calls 24-hours a day. I was the primary responder and Curtis was the back-up, and calls would "roll over" to him if I did not answer after three rings. This arrangement, it was presumed, would allow us to receive phone calls around-the-clock and meet youth on a moment's notice.

When potential research subjects contacted the project by telephone, the research team anticipated negotiating a place where they (always a pair of researchers) could meet the subject, complete the screening process and conduct an interview. Given the many anecdotal accounts that we heard about the degree of control that pimps exercised over teenage girls, there was great concern about the degree of freedom and mobility that youth engaging in CSEC had, and their ability to meet with researchers away from the

watchful eye of pimps. In response to those concerns, the research team wanted to provide as much flexibility as possible in meeting youth where they were most comfortable, yet still allowing for privacy and the safety of the research staff.

To meet with youth in a timely fashion at a location negotiated over the phone, the project contracted with a car-rental service that rented cars by the hour (see www.zipcar.com for details). The research staff anticipated that an additional benefit of having a car was that, if needed, it could also provide a private space with good acoustics for digitally recording the interviews. The rental cars could be reserved via online booking, and the vehicles were parked in a large number of 24-hour garages across New York City, making them quickly and easily accessible to staff members on-call.

2. *Coupon Design and Subject Recruitment*: RDS recruitment works with populations that are networked, but its success hinges upon people giving the numbered coupons to others in their network who are then recruited into the study. The design of the coupons can sometimes be critical to the probability that research subjects will hold onto them and then give them to others. To enhance this probability, researchers recommend that coupons mimic paper money in size, appearance, and "feel" because they believe that people intrinsically value items that seem like money and are less likely to throw them away. In this case, however, the research team reasoned that money-like coupons might be problematic, especially with pimps who might not want youth who were under their control to participate in the study. To avoid this potential problem with pimps, the research team decided to disguise the coupons to enable girls to conceal their participation in the study. The research team purchased a variety of cosmetic items,

including bottles of nail polish, lip gloss, pocket mirrors, change purses, combs, and cigarette lighters to serve as “coupons”: after being interviewed, each youth would be asked to select three of these items to pass out to their recruits and the staff would then affix small transparent stickers that featured the 1-800 number and the RDS number in a manner that camouflaged the information on each of them.

3. *Screening Prospective Research Subjects*: In most RDS research projects, subjects who redeem coupons that they receive from a peer do so at an office where their eligibility is assessed. Those who do not qualify for the study are not interviewed or given coupons to refer more people, and the person who referred them is not paid for sending an ineligible subject. In this study, screening potential research subjects was envisioned as a two-step process: assessing their eligibility over the phone (i.e., asking questions to assess whether they were 18 or younger and involved in CSEC markets) and further assessing their eligibility when the researcher met the youth face-to-face. Since those who were not eligible for the study would not be interviewed, it was important to determine eligibility as accurately as possible over the phone to reduce potential misunderstandings during the face-to-face screening.

4. Informed Consent: The prospective research subjects targeted by this research were minors, who by legal definition, were not able to give “consent,” but rather, could only give their “assent” to participate in their research. To ensure that the youth who were recruited into the study would not be further endangered by their participation in the study, staff members on the project were trained as “Child Advocates” whose exclusive

job in the field was to assess each prospective research subject across a variety of dimensions, including their psychological state of mind, their physical condition, the degree to which they appeared to fully understand the aims of the study, the extent to which they assented to participate in the study, and the relative degree of freedom that they appeared to exercise in making decisions. After conducting an evaluation of each prospective research subject, the Child Advocate was to sign a consent form that indicated that the child appeared to be appropriate for inclusion in the study. Those youth who the Child Advocates found to be inappropriate for the study were not to be interviewed. The Child Advocates were to issue monthly reports that documented the number of refusals to participate in the study and the details of each case.

To preserve the confidentiality of research subjects (participation could not be anonymous because RDS relies on research subjects referring each other to the study) the youth were allowed to orally waive written documentation of their informed consent/assent to participation in the study. They were allowed to do this because the research team believed (and the John Jay Institutional Review Board (IRB) agreed) that the main threat to their confidential participation was the existence of written documentation of their participation in the study, such as would be created by signing a traditional informed consent/assent form. Further, the IRB agreed that the study presented no more than minimal risk of harm to participants beyond the considerable risk that they already faced, and involved no procedures for which written consent/assent was normally required outside of the research context. Potential participants were read the Documentation of Consent/Assent and Waiver of Written Consent/Assent (see Appendix B). All recordings of interviews began with oral assent to the waiver of written informed

consent/assent with participants being identified only by their unique identifier number.

5. *The Interview Process*: The interview (see Appendix C) consisted of 93 questions covering the following domains: 1) *demographic characteristics* (14 questions, including race/ethnicity, age, living situation), 2) *market involvement* (28 questions, including age and means of initiation, location of work, and type of involvement), 3) *network size and characteristics* (15 questions, including information about pimps and customers), 4) *health and social service history and needs* (14 questions), 5) *experience with law enforcement and courts* (12 questions, including number of arrests, charges, and arrest/court outcomes), and *future expectations* (10 questions).

The number of questions were limited because of the belief that 1) youth might not have much time to meet with researchers if they had a pimp who monitored their movements, 2) youth might not want to participate if the questions became too intrusive and prying, and 3) some youth might have a short attention span given that the amount of money that they could earn from the interview was only $20.

A payment of $20 cash/cash value for interviews was selected as the appropriate amount because our collaborative partners and interviews with outreach workers in the field suggested that this amount was *half* the prevailing rate for the average transaction in street-level sex markets. As such, this amount was not considered to be so large as to be coercive. Subjects were to be offered a choice between twenty dollars cash, or the equivalent of $20 in a gift certificate (e.g., for a beauty salon, nail salon, etc.). The rationale for offering these two options was that some of the young people might have pimps who would take the cash, but might allow them to keep the $20 gift certificate.

The research team was repeatedly advised of the potential for psychological stress that the interview process might produce, and this concern was echoed by the John Jay IRB which, in turn, imposed several conditions on the project. Among them was that the research staff needed to be trained to look for signs of psychological stress and how to handle it should the situation arise. To satisfy this requirement, the project hired Dr. Cynthia Mercado, as mentioned above, to provide the training. In addition to this specialized training, the project was also required to report any adverse reaction that research subjects had to being interviewed so that the IRB could monitor whether the interview process placed undue stress on research subjects. To provide additional safeguards against the possibility of adverse consequences to participating in the research, the project was also required to retain the services of a licensed psychologist who was "on call" for emergency consultation. Dr. Mercado agreed to provide this important service for the project.

Finally, regardless of whether youth explicitly sought assistance, the researchers were trained to provide the research subjects with an opportunity to seek help or get help. The staff was trained to look for opportunities to offer and provide help for youth who participated in the study (and for those who contacted but not referred). With advice from our collaborative partners, a referral card was created that provided telephone numbers for various agencies throughout the city that specialized in assisting young people (including GEMS, the Adolescent Health Center, Safe Space, The Door, Street Work Project (both "downtown" and "midtown"), the Neutral Zone, Callen-Lorde, Sylvia's Place, and the Ali Forney Center) (see Appendix D). This information was to be provided to all the participants in the study, and upon request, immediate transport was to be

offered to them (via taxi or project vehicle) to the service provider of their choice.

6. *Redeeming Coupons*: Research subjects must re-contact the research team to get paid for successfully distributing RDS coupons. When research subjects return to collect the money they have earned, the "Coupon Manager" software determines how many of their three referrals were recruited into the study (they were paid $10 for each), and it affords the research team the opportunity to complete a critical step in the RDS process: finding out about eligible research subjects who refused to participate in the study. Thus, when respondents returned to collect their referral fees, they were asked 1) how many eligible subjects refused to accept the coupons, 2) how many of them were male, female or transgender, and 3) how many were black, white, or Latino. Knowing the coupon refusal rate is important because it allows one to make generalizations regarding the population, and see whether particular subgroups are more prone to refusing the coupon.

7. *Second Interviews*: Because eligible research subjects were envisioned as calling a toll-free telephone number to arrange the time and place for their initial interviews, in a similar fashion, the research team was prepared to make the same arrangements to meet with subjects to pay them for their referrals and to complete the RDS process by asking about refusals to accept coupons. This important completion step had the potential to keep the research team extremely busy (driving to Hunts Point, Coney Island or elsewhere) because research subjects could potentially call the project on three separate occasions (once for each coupon) to request payment. In thinking about the

time and effort that these subsequent encounters to pay research subjects for recruiting others into the study might involve, it seemed wasteful to pass up the opportunity to ask more than the relatively few questions required for the RDS process. As such, the study attempted to interview research subjects a second time (for which they were paid $20) to help construct a rich description of their lives, including a better understanding of network dynamics and subpopulations that might have remained unrecruited by the study.

The areas of concern described above are among those (and there were many others that are not described here, such as, selecting an "appropriate" name for the project) that led the research team to alter the basic research plan in ways that, at the time, seemed reasonable and seemed to offer the best chance for accomplishing the goals set out by the study. The research team began recruiting subjects on August 3, 2006. The implementation of the study immediately challenged many of the preconceived ideas that the research team (and others) had about youth engaging in CSEC, and it offers findings that are equally as important and as profound as those derived from the questionnaire – the main data-generating instrument for the study.

The Data Collection Process: adjustments to the plan

The initial plan for recruiting research subjects into the study envisioned taking nine months to contact, screen and interview 200 youth across New York City, and all of the background information and training that the research staff had received suggested that it might be difficult to achieve that benchmark. But the project was able to recruit 200 youth in about eight weeks – below, we explain how adjustments to the research plan allowed us to achieve this – so that by the time the project had reached its recruitment

goal, we were faced with the decision of whether to continue to refer research subjects into the study (and there were sufficient funds available to do so) or simply stop recruiting youth at that point. After consulting with our research partners about the costs and benefits of recruiting additional research subjects, the John Jay research team continued to do so, and eventually interviewed 329 youth in about six months. Below, we describe the surprises that were met along the way and the adjustments that were made to the original research plan that enabled the project to recruit so many youth.

The First Night: lessons learned

The first night of recruitment (we assumed, erroneously, that night was the best time to recruit research subjects for the study) was August 3, 2006. To begin the RDS recruitment chains, the project hoped that some of our collaborative partners who had been helpful in the formative stages of the research would refer a few of their clients who were eligible subjects to the project as "seeds." As such, on the first night, Curtis and I accompanied the outreach team from CitiWide Harm Reduction, Inc., as they provided direct services to street-level sex workers in the Bronx. The CitiWide outreach workers circled the Bronx in the agency's van, including in Hunts Point, an area of continued interest to the project despite the disappointing experiences of conducting direct observations there during the formative stages of the project. Trailing behind the CitiWide van in a car, we were ready to screen and interview any eligible subjects that the CitiWide outreach workers might refer to them. The outreach workers stopped and talked with several sex workers over the course of the night, but almost all of them were too old to participate in the study.

Near the end of their first loop around the Bronx that evening, while in Hunts Point around midnight, the CitiWide outreach workers spotted a young female who was walking/working the street and they referred her to us to screen as a potential seed. The young Puerto Rican girl said that she was 18, and after we explained their purpose, she agreed to get into the car with them and drive to a nearby McDonalds where she was interviewed while sitting in the car in the parking lot. The girl completed the interview, but she seemed eager to finish and get back to the street (after all, the interview only earned her $20). At one point, she asked for a break to use the bathroom inside of the McDonalds, and we paused for several minutes. She did not seem entirely uncomfortable inside the car with us, perhaps because the CitiWide team had vouched for them, but a trio of people having an intimate conversation inside of an enclosed space seemed a bit cramped and claustrophobic to the researchers (who fumbled with their equipment), and it immediately became apparent that some research subjects were likely to be quite uncomfortable with this arrangement. Indeed, we quickly discovered that most research subjects did not want to be interviewed by two people in a car: they overwhelmingly preferred talking one-on-one, and meeting in a public space.

When she completed the interview, we asked her if she could help refer other youth to the study (she said that she knew others) and we explained how the coupons worked. She seemed decidedly uninterested in recruiting others to the study and made no commitment to do so, and she was not interested at all in taking coupons that were "camouflaged" on cosmetics (in fact, no one wanted them). She already had enough "junk" to carry, she said. She did, however, accept the standard paper coupons that the project had also prepared, but we were not confident that she would follow through with

giving the coupons to others. And indeed, we never heard from her again or any of her referrals. When we dropped her off after the interview, she disappeared into the night, and there were no other potential candidates in sight.

Near the beginning of the CitiWide outreach team's second loop of the Bronx that night, they recruited two young African-American men who were working what is known as the "boys" stroll near Yankee Stadium as potential seeds for the study. The two young men who we interviewed in the car parked along the park near Yankee Stadium were initially uncomfortable with the idea of doing an interview inside the car, but they were eventually convinced to do so when one of them agreed to stand directly outside the vehicle (to "watch his back") while the other was inside being interviewed. This was further evidence that our initial plan to meet prospective research subjects and interview them inside a car was problematic and it was clear that the plan for interviewing youth needed to be altered. Over the course of the study, the research did conduct additional interviews inside a car, but not many were done in this fashion, and they were always one-on-one interviews (with the second researcher standing nearby, outside the car).

After the first young man completed his interview, he vouched for the non-threatening nature of the interview to his partner who had waited nervously outside the car, and the second interview was far more relaxed. One important lesson that we learned from this initial encounter with the two young men, was that the youth were most comfortable participating in the study when in the company of their friends and associates. Rather than seek privacy to talk with the researchers because of their (purported) fear of being stigmatized, the youth who we recruited sought solace and safety in companionship, and they were most comfortable interacting with project staff

when they were accompanied by one or more of their friends or associates. While the confidentiality of youths' responses to specific questions by interviewing each of them out of hearing range of their peers was ensured – and most of the interviews were done in public, outdoor settings – the close proximity of network members was an important component of their comfort.

These two young men were screened and interviewed, but they were to be the last two of the night, as the CitiWide team did not encounter any more potential research subjects on the second loop of their route. At the end of the first night, our experience of recruiting seeds in this fashion suggested that it was possible to do it this way, but it did not seem particularly fruitful and it was clearly not predictable.

The Second Day: A Recruitment Boom

After the somewhat disappointing experience of driving around the Bronx at night in search of prospective candidates for the study, the researchers asked a Manhattan-based social service agency that serves youth to refer some of their eligible clients to the study. The agency was given ten coupons with RDS seed numbers on them (a seed number ranges from 1-100). On August 12, 2006, approximately a week after we gave the coupons to the agency, I received my first call on the 1-800 number. The girl who called offered to meet with me, albeit hesitantly, on the corner of 17th and Park Ave South near Union Square Park at 5:00pm. She said she was bringing another friend with her who was also given a coupon by the youth agency. Rather than asking the seed for a physical description, I provided the girl with a physical description of myself so that I could be easily identified, and allay any fears that law enforcement was involved. In

order not to overwhelm the youth, it was decided that Curtis would stand close by but not participate in the interviews.

After waiting approximately a half hour, a young female and male approached me, and showed me the coupons that they were given by the agency. We decided to move to a café since it would provide a more conducive setting than the street to conduct and record the interviews. The youth indicated that they were thirsty, so I purchased a couple of drinks for them and then began the interview with the girl first. The girl stated that she was 19, but said that she knew others who were 18 or younger, and there was little doubt that she had been prostituted. Throughout the interview, the girl was open about her experiences and did not seem uncomfortable answering any of the questions. Once the interview was completed, I moved on to the second youth. During the screening process, the seed admitted to being 23 years of age and having never been sexually exploited. Even though he was not technically eligible to participate in the study, he did claim to know 20 prostituted youth and was willing to refer them for the study. He was true to his word, because in less than 24 hours, he had recruited three youth who successfully met the project's eligibility criteria. This led to a flood of calls, and over the next three days, 25 interviews were conducted. Our initial fears of not being able to recruit 200 prostituted youth were abated; however, a whole host of new issues arose based on the overwhelming response we received from these two seeds. Below, several of these issues, and how the research staff responded to them, are described.

The Interview Site and Traffic Congestion

The research staff had initially believed that they would need to meet prospective

research subjects in private locations near the strolls or tracks where they worked because of the stigma associated with the sexual exploitation of youth and the short leash that pimps were said to keep on youth under their control. None of these assumptions proved to be correct. Although there is certainly stigma associated with sexual exploitation, few of the youth expressed this sentiment. Indeed, there were more youth who boasted about their experiences earning money in this fashion than there were youth that expressed shame about what they had done. And far from hiding their participation in the study from others, most of the youth who were referred for the study were eager to bring their acquaintances to get interviewed, and they sometimes gathered in numbers far too large for the interview team to handle. Because of the large number of youth who flocked to the study, we chose a public park in lower Manhattan as the primary site for interviews. But even the public park was sometimes too small, and on several occasions, we had to ask the youth who were waiting to get interviewed to disperse because they had begun to attract the attention of the police (who were arresting nearby drug users).

One of the biggest problems encountered in the field was having sufficient time to screen and interview all the youth who showed up to participate and the availability of cash to pay them. Though the project had enough money to pay for all of the interviews and referral fees, the researchers were reluctant to carry large amounts of cash in their pockets, and they withdrew money from the bank's ATM as needed. But given the large number of youth who showed up on a regular basis to get interviewed, the researchers found that they usually exceeded the maximum daily amount that could be withdrawn from an ATM machine ($500) before all the youth could be interviewed. As such, we were regularly forced to dip into their own savings and checking accounts for the several

hundred dollars more that were often required to pay all of the youth. Eventually, the research team began to anticipate how much money would be needed, and they withdrew money on days when no interviews were scheduled so that they would not run out of cash the next time that interviews were conducted.

Time management also became a problem for the research team. It was apparent from the first night of recruitment that late night was not the best time to interview the youth, but a pattern of interviewing was quickly established. Many youth called the toll-free number to find out how to get into the study, but the phone calls did not come at all hours of the day and night. Usually, the phone began ringing in the late morning and early afternoon, and more often than not, youth preferred to be interviewed in the late afternoon. Given the demand for interviews, we tried to regularize the interviewing site and schedule so as to maximize the number of interviews that could be completed in a single day. Typically, the researchers began interviewing at 4 pm, and they continued to work until the money ran out, or conditions in the park became too difficult to keep going. Several problems were notable in this regard: it sometimes got too dark to fill out the necessary paperwork and handle the recording equipment, and after dark, mosquitoes and rats came out in large numbers. The researchers eventually brought mosquito repellent with them, but the rats were big and bold, and we ceded the park to them when there were simply too many to ignore.

Screening youth for the study

Screening youth for the study was envisioned as a 2-step process (first, over the phone and then in person), and for those who called the toll-free number, that was how it

worked. But screening for age and CSEC activity over the phone is very difficult, and in many cases, poor telephone connections (cell phone to cell phone) did not allow for extensive conversation or give the researchers much confidence about their initial determination of a subject's eligibility. Still, many people who called the toll-free phone number were disqualified when they said that they were older than 18, or that they were not engaged in CSEC activities. But most young people who called the toll-free number were well aware of the eligibility criteria for the study, and they knew what to say to make an appointment for a face-to-face screening.

Upon meeting the researchers for the second step of the screening process, prospective subjects had to convince the researchers that they were eligible for the study. The first hurdle to overcome was age. Since the project strictly protected the confidentiality of its subjects, no one was ever asked to produce any documented evidence of their age (like an ID card or birth certificate). Those young people who argued that they were 18 or below, and who looked as though they were the appropriate age, were admitted into the study, despite reservations in some cases. Yet, there were many instances when young people were not admitted into the study because they simply looked too old. Some of them, particularly young men, had heavy beards, facial wrinkles, or even a grey hair or two. Typically, their arguments included statements like, "I'm big for my age," "I developed early," or "premature balding runs in my family." The researchers were polite in denying them an interview, and most of them accepted the fact that they could not successfully pose as an 18-year old. Despite our attempts to screen out those too old for the study, several managed to get interviewed, but during the interviews, most of them were not very good at concealing the fact that they were older than 18 years

of age (below, the process of vetting the completed interviews for eligibility is described).

Screening youth for involvement in CSEC activities was also very difficult, and many prospective research subjects were not interviewed because the research team did not believe that they had been sexually exploited. Some of the youth who initially wanted to get into the study refused to say that they had sex for money when asked outright: the stigma associated with this was far less than the research team had been led to believe, but some youth could not bring themselves to make up this kind of story. Of course, some might argue that this behavior is so stigmatized that some youth would never admit it to others, but the crowd of youth that typically queued up to get interviewed on a daily basis lessened that sense of stigma and there was some amount of peer pressure to "fess up" since everyone waiting for their turn to get interviewed in the park (or elsewhere) knew what questions were being asked.

Some youth, especially boys, were all-too-willing to make up stories about their involvement in CSEC activities to get accepted into the study (to earn the money). Their attempts to convince the researchers of their eligibility in this regard were often clumsy and sometimes, quite comical, but they also said much about the character of stigma as regards sexuality. One of the most often-heard stories told by young men who tried to get into the study was that they were "gigolos" and that "ugly women pay me for sex." The researchers were convinced (by the rich descriptions that some young men provided) that some of the young men were indeed paid by women for sex, but most of the young men had sex with men, not women, if they were involved in CSEC markets. These young men knew that they could get into the study if they said that they had sex with men, but the

stigma associated with homosexuality was too much for some young men to admit, and they could not bring themselves to make up a story about having sex with a man. We were very skeptical of those young men who claimed to be gigolos paid by women, and most of them were screened out. To discourage this kind of scamming, the researchers were often quite rude to those young men who attempted it, and told them to pass the word to their acquaintances that this tactic would not work. Although some of the boys tried to argue or bargain with the researchers, the majority left the area, albeit reluctantly.

Ineligible subjects that were interviewed

The initial research plan was to exclude a research subject if the researchers discovered that someone who successfully passed the initial screening was ineligible for the study, and not pay them or the person who recruited them, or give them coupons to refer additional subjects. On several occasions, the researchers did just that, and stopped the interview, especially when they discovered that the young person was not the victim of sexual exploitation. But in many cases, ineligible subjects who slipped past the initial screening process were not terminated. There were several reasons for this change of plans:

1. Disqualifying young people who were not eligible for the study because they were too old would reduce the project's opportunities to recruit eligible subjects. As part of the RDS screening process, potential research subjects were asked how many other youth they knew who were eligible for the study, and they often said that they knew several other youth who they could refer. Indeed, youth almost always came to the study in groups, and they could often point to their network members who were

hanging out in the park, waiting their turn to get interviewed, as evidence of their ability to recruit eligible subjects. Out of 80 ineligible subjects who received coupons, 23 recruited 40 eligible subjects to the project.

2. Many of those who were found to be too old during the course of the interview, had compelling accounts that described their CSEC experiences that often began at a very young age. Excluding these research subjects from the database because they were a bit too old would have deprived the project of this information.
3. Having some research subjects that were older than 18 would allow the project to better understand how the experiences and networks of youth develop. For example, these older youth might help determine whether they develop more extensive networks over time, whether they become more or less prominent within their networks, and whether their social circles begin to close off and become more restricted to others in "the life."

The research staff was confident that they could identify those young people who were included in the sample but were not, in fact, eligible for the study because they were too old or who were not victims of sexual exploitation (see below, where we describe the 3-step process of vetting the interviews). Those who were too old often provided clues in their responses to some questions (like, "When did you last go there [to school]?") that tipped off the researchers to problems in this regard. For youth who were not victims of sexual exploitation, their responses to questions about their experiences in the market were generally flat and lacking the kind of detail that was present in others' accounts. Or alternatively, their stories were so improbable that it was apparent that some youth relied on prostitution stereotypes and made it up as they went along. We were interested in

identifying which subjects were eligible and which were not. To make this determination, the project used a 3-step process:

1. A professional transcriptionist[3] was hired to transcribe all the digital audio recordings made by the project. The 329 research subjects were interviewed by eight different researchers, but a single person who listened to and transcribed every interview provided consistency to the quality of the data, and allowed the project to flag potential problems before the interviews were coded and entered into the database. At the end of each interview, a narrative assessment of the respondent was written by the transcriptionist that detailed any misgivings she had about the truthfulness or accuracy of the interview. In total, 139 interviews had, in the view of the transcriptionist, problems that called for further review by the research team.
2. I coded the interviews and reviewed the narrative written by the transcriptionist at the end of each interview. I then assigned a number to each interview based on a "credibility" scale of 1-3 (1 = very credible, 2 = unsure of credibility, 3 = not credible). Credibility was based on the information provided in the interview, the transcriptionist's behavioral assessment, and my own recollection of the subjects. Once all the interviews were assessed and coded, I differed from the transcriptionist on 77 cases. In cases where the transcriptionist and I were unsure of the credibility of the subject (n=36), a third step of review was used to make a determination of inclusion or exclusion.

[3] Dr. Lisa Robbins-Stathas holds a Masters Degree in Counseling Psychology, a M.Ed. in Psychological Vocational Rehabilitation Counseling, and an Ed.D. in Family and Community Education from Teachers College, Columbia University. She has more than 25 years of experience transcribing qualitative interviews for criminal justice and public health researchers.

3. A group was formed to examine problem cases: listening to the original recording and reviewing the transcript. Of the 36 cases where there uncertainty, 16 were eventually excluded. In total, 249 cases were included in the database and 80 were excluded. Five of the audio files were accidently deleted, and as a result, the only information that exists on these five respondents is the RDS demographic information (e.g. date of birth, age, ethnicity, birthplace and network size). Thus, they will not be included in the qualitative analysis, but will be part of the population estimate.

The research subjects who were eventually excluded from the sample because they were not engaged in CSEC activities form an interesting group. Their attempts to get into the study, and their narratives that they provided once they did so, offered insights that could not be captured by the interview itself. In telling the researchers what they thought that we wanted to hear about CSEC activities (especially those accounts that were richly embellished), they provided a normative view of what they believed these youth were supposed to look like.

The Interview Process

The questionnaire that the research team constructed for the project was relatively short because of the fear that young people would not, or could not, devote much time to answering a lengthy set of questions, and because too many intrusive questions might decrease their willingness to participate in the study. Both of these assumptions were only partially correct: The fear that pimps might be lurking nearby and that youth they controlled would be rushed to finish their interviews was simply not an issue for the

project as most of them did not have pimps. Indeed, many of the youth that were interviewed for the study were more than willing to talk at length, but they often had their friends waiting nearby, so there was some amount of peer pressure to avoid talking for a long time. The interviewers were somewhat constrained by the several other youth waiting nearby for their turn to get interviewed.

The youth were given their choice of who they wanted to conduct the interview (there were normally at least two interviewers present, but occasionally, there were three), but most of the time, they simply took the next interviewer who was free. The exception to this was when Curtis was the next interviewer. A few youth, particularly girls, did not want to be interviewed by an adult man, and they said that they preferred to wait for one of the female interviewers, but most youth did not seem to care who interviewed them. When asked during the interview what the "customers" looked like, several of the youth interviewed by Curtis – especially the boys – jokingly responded, "they looked like you" (a middle-aged white man)! It is, perhaps, surprising that more of the youth did not opt for another interviewer, but it may also be emblematic of their resilience and the decrease of stigma surrounding these activities that they forged ahead with the interview despite who was asking the questions.

The intrusiveness of the questions that were asked was also a concern, but because of the project's here-and-now focus that asked questions about features of CSEC markets and their social networks, many youth seemed a bit surprised that they were not asked pointed questions that sought to elicit detailed "explanations" about how they arrived at this point in life. For example, the questionnaire did not ask youth if they had been victims of sexual abuse while growing up, or whether they had unhappy

childhoods. Yet many youth, perhaps wanting to rationalize or justify their behavior, wanted to talk about the very issues that the project had avoided asking for fear of re-traumatizing those who wanted to avoid revisiting unpleasant memories.

A few youth did find some of the questions painful to answer, and re-traumatization was a concern. For example, one 18-year old male broke down and cried a few minutes into the interview, after being asked the question, "How old were you when you first started having sex for money or in exchange for other things?" He tearfully explained that he was from out-of-state and attending his first semester of college in New York City. He had not received much financial aid, and when his money ran out six weeks into the semester, he started having sex with men for money. But he was deeply ashamed about it (he was not homosexual, he said), and even worse, the fact that he had not made very much money having sex with strangers was simply too much for him to bear. The interview was stopped at this point and the young man was counseled about his options and offered help in seeking solutions to his problems. The staff considered calling the psychologist for a consultation, but the young man pulled himself together after crying for a few minutes, and said that he was not interested in the help that the staff had offered. He also had a friend waiting nearby who helped comfort him after his breakdown. In some ways, his emotional response to the interview was worrisome and gave legitimacy to the initial concerns that the interviews were intrusive and potentially traumatizing, but at the same time, his admission about what he had been doing seemed cathartic, and perhaps set him on another path; and with little urging from the staff, he accepted a palm card that had phone numbers to social service agencies that served youth. This young man represented one extreme end of the spectrum with respect

to their reactions to being interviewed; far more common, and perhaps more disturbing, were those youth at the other end of the spectrum.

The stigma that the research team had feared would impede the willingness of youth to participate in the study was far less an issue than expected, and indeed, some youth were eager to tell their stories. And far from depicting their lives as ones filled with debilitating exploitation and abuse, some youth portrayed themselves as in charge of their own destinies and charting careers in they referred to as "the business." Some may argue, perhaps correctly, that the trauma inflicted on these youth must have been exceptionally profound to turn them into the eager advocates of their own exploitation, and yet, there was a disturbing plausibility to their plans which envisioned "sex work as a profession and a career, rather than just a short-term means of employment" (Murphy and Venkatesh, 2006). The proliferation of this narrative, however rooted in trauma it might be, is testimony to the changing nature of sex markets in New York City and to changes in societal views about a host of other issues, including sex, children, and social responsibility. The narrative also challenges the dominant view of children as victims of exploitation by adults (both pimps and customers) insofar as they portray themselves as having and exercising agency in the conduct of their everyday lives. Policy makers, practitioners and CSEC advocates have largely focused their attention on youth who are held captive or otherwise directly dominated by adults, but the large number of youth engaging in CSEC that were interviewed by this project did not fit that profile. This suggests that this traditional view is too narrow, and that additional approaches to effectively working with this population need to be developed.

Waves of Recruitment

One feature of the RDS process is that research subjects typically refer those most closely connected to themselves, a process known a homophily. Researchers have demonstrated that with RDS the problem of homophily is overcome after several waves of recruitment (Heckathorn, etc.), but the recruitment process typically goes through "waves" of recruitment during which many of the same "type" of subjects seemed to be interviewed. This project evolved in a similar fashion: starting out in September 2006 with a few "seeds" from an agency that served a large number of homeless youth, the project first recruited a cohort of homeless, "traveler" youth. These youth were typically white and more drug-involved than subsequent groups interviewed. This group eventually gave way to a surge in the recruitment of LGBT youth, many of who were clients at an agency that specialized in working with this population. The LGBT youth were followed by young men who worked the "buddy booths"[4] in midtown Manhattan and outside the Port Authority. The last group to be interviewed were the pimped girls; however, the research team had to personally reach out to this sub-group of the population since RDS was not successful in recruiting these girls for the study (see below). The project did not recruit a very large sample of youth as compared with other studies that have employed RDS methods (typically, more than 500), and it seems likely that some sub-groups are under represented in the sample recruited for this study. It would have been valuable to continue recruiting youth until the recruitment trees died out to be more assured that all the distinct subgroups of youth had the opportunity to participate in the study, but limited resources did not permit this. To assure that some of

[4] A buddy booth is a theater booth found in a number of sex shops in NYC that accommodates seating for two.

these subgroups were represented in the sample, the project staff altered the RDS protocol as described below.

Pimped Girls and Directed Recruitment

RDS generates representative samples of populations, but it became apparent quite early in the recruitment process for this project that young men would significantly outnumber young women in the study, and if the number of youth recruited into the study remained at 200, then there would have been comparatively few young women referred into the database. The desire to refer more young women into the study was one reason why the research team felt it necessary to extend the number of research subjects beyond the 200 that had been initially proposed. But even then, the rate of young men with coupons approaching the researchers to get screened was much brisker than young women who were contacting the project. As such, after several weeks of accepting any young person with a coupon, the project began to press research subjects to give their coupons to young women, especially pimped girls. Shortly after that, the project stopped interviewing young men entirely, and accepted coupons only from young women and transgender youth. Recruitment slowed considerably after young men were subtracted from the equation. Even though it appeared that there were far more young men than women who were given coupons and entering the study, young men also recruited young women into the sample, and when they were excluded, the ability to robustly recruit young women was hampered.

The project recruited a few pimped girls in the first 8 weeks of the study (n=8), and others who were interviewed said that they knew pimped girls (n=36) and thus, it

seemed apparent that it was possible to refer them in this fashion if the recruitment trees were allowed to continue to grow. But given the limits of the sample size, the research team decided that it was necessary to alter the recruitment process to increase the number of pimped girls in the sample. As such, we began to ask subjects to give their coupons to pimped girls, and even offered extra coupons to young people who said that they could refer pimped girls for the project, though none did so.

To recruit more pimped girls, two research subjects who had successfully recruited eligible subjects into the project were asked to accompany Curtis and I into the field (in Queens and Hunt's Point in the Bronx) to assist in the recruitment of pimped girls. Both subjects had assured us that they knew pimped girls and that they were familiar with the locales where pimped girls worked. We met them early one night in midtown Manhattan, near a Zip Car garage, and drove first to the Roosevelt Avenue area of Jackson Heights, Queens. The area along Roosevelt Avenue that they selected to search had a reputation for prostitution, especially houses that featured Hispanic girls, and more recently, street-level solicitations. But on this night, a heavy overlay of uniformed police officers (from Operation Impact, an NYPD anti-crime initiative) lingered on the corners, and there was no activity to observe. To avoid getting stopped by the police for suspiciously "cruising" the area, we drove to Hunts Point to continue the search, arriving there before midnight. But after spending an hour driving up and down the streets of Hunts Point, we saw nothing. Similar to our experience with the CitiWide Harm Reduction sex worker outreach team, this approach seemed like a lot of work with little pay off, and we discontinued this method of locating pimped girls.

On four separate occasions, I accompanied outreach staff from the Sex Workers Project to try and refer pimped girls. The Sex Workers Project, which is a project based out of the Urban Justice Center, provides legal services, legal training, documentation, and policy advocacy for sex workers. They have a small outreach team of former and current sex workers who canvass well known strolls, and distribute legal rights pamphlets and contraceptives to sex workers. Because the outreach workers were familiar with many of the girls and boys (both young and old) that worked the strolls, we were hoping that a formal introduction made by someone the youth were familiar with would help with our recruitment efforts. On one occasion, at approximately 1 AM in mid-October, four outreach workers and I walked along Jamaica Avenue in Queens, but only encountered older transvestite prostitutes. We then drove to Sutphin Avenue in Queens where there is a well-known pimped girls track by an industrial park. Although the area was quite desolate, we parked the car and circled the block a couple of times. We spotted only one girl on the street; however, she was quickly picked up by someone in a car. One of the outreach workers pointed out several cars with tinted windows circling the area, and noted that rather than have the girls stand outside where they can be picked up by the police, the girls' pimps will drive them around until they spot a potential customer. After realizing that we would not be able to refer anybody for the study in this area, we went home. On the other three occasions, the outreach workers and I went to Hunt's Point and the West Village. Although we were unable to refer anyone in Hunt's Point, we did find transgender youth at a well known stroll in the West Village who were willing to participate.

A final way that the researchers sought to recruit and interview pimped girls was

by seeking them out at the Queens Criminal Court and Midtown Community Court. On five occasions, I visited the courts, and met with a case worker from the Mount Sinai Sexual Assault and Violence Intervention Program (SAVI) at the Queens Criminal Court and a Legal Aid attorney at the Midtown Community Court. With the help of both of these individuals, I was able to refer and interview twelve prostituted girls. All but two of the females interviewed through the court system were controlled by pimps. Although they all claimed to know at least one other prostituted youth, none of the girls recruited anyone for the study. In fact, a couple of the girls reluctantly took the referral coupons, and it is unknown whether or not they discarded them once they left the interview site. This more or less confirmed that pimped girls are, as our collaborative partners had warned us, one of the more (if not the most) difficult sub-groups to recruit.

Although the data collection process did not go as originally planned, and the research team encountered a number of challenges, we were not only able to reach the goals outlined in the grant proposal to NIJ, but were able to far surpass them. Based on the information and data obtained from the interviews with the youth, the following three chapters will explore the social networks of the CSEC population in NYC and how these networks affect the building of normative social capital.

Chapter 4

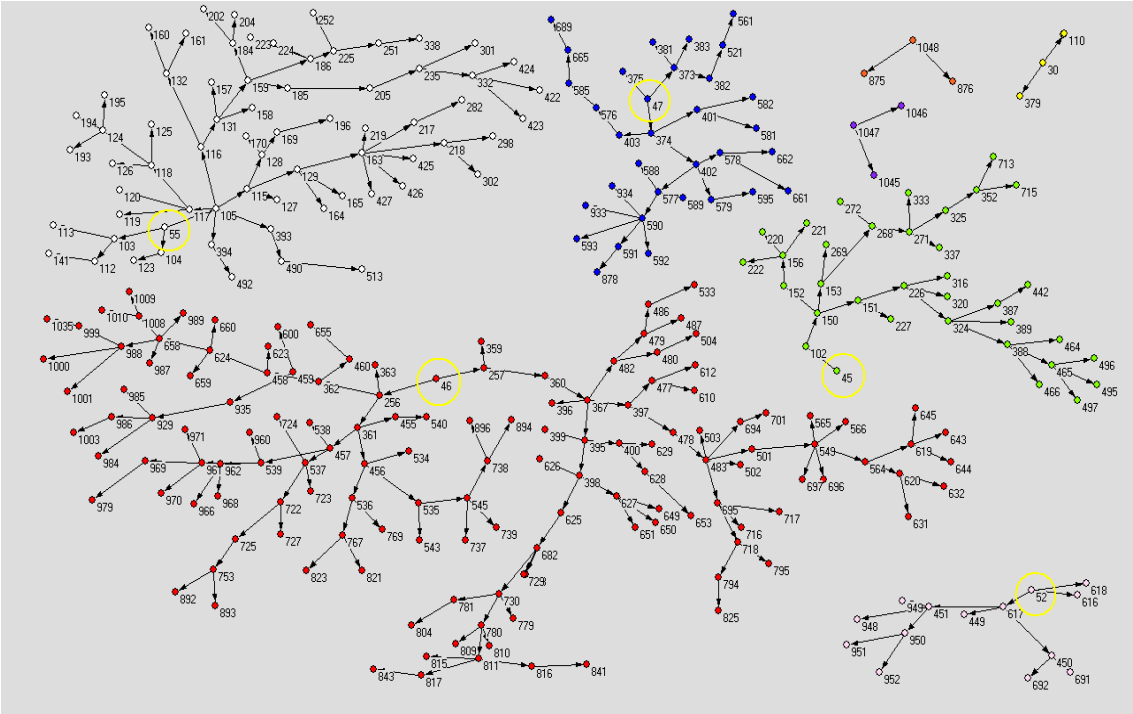
CSEC Population Estimate and Attributes of CSEC Networks and its Members

As stated in Chapter 2, the number of commercially sexually exploited youth in New York City is unknown, but previous estimates have ranged from approximately 2,200 (Gragg, et al., 2007) to 5,000 (ECPAT, 2001). Additionally, very little research has been conducted on the characteristics of the CSEC networks and its members. Thus, how many commercially sexually exploited youth reside in New York City and what are the attributes of the CSEC networks and its members? This chapter aims to provide a population estimate for commercially sexually exploited children in New York City based on two mathematical formulas. It also seeks to provide insight into the recruiting patterns and different network make-up of the CSEC population through the employment of the Respondent Driven Sampling Analysis Tool. Key themes that will be addressed in this chapter include: recruitment patterns by gender, race, drug addiction, and credibility of the subject and estimated population proportions by birth and gender.

Background

To gain a better understanding of the CSEC population in New York City, a sample of 329 youth were recruited using Respondent Driven Sampling methods to 1) make estimates of the size of the population, and 2) to provide a reliable and ethnographically rich description of the recruiting patterns of the local CSEC population. Below, the RDS recruiting trees are drawn, with the seed for each of the major groups circled (Figure 1).

Figure 1: *RDS recruiting trees*



Population estimates and special seeds

The most valid and reliable method of estimating the size of the CSEC population is by comparing the RDS-generated sample with official records. In this case, arrest records provided by the Department of Criminal Justice Services (DCJS) offered the most reliable source of official data. Such a method is referred to as a "capture-recapture" methodology. Originally developed in biology (Kendal 1999), this method has been applied widely in social sciences (Bouchard 2007; Bouchard and Tremblay 2005), including in prior studies of prostitution (Roberts and Brewer 2006). In its most simple form, a capture / recapture population estimate is based on determining the proportion of a representative sample of a given population that conforms to a known statistic germane to that population (in this case, arrest records for "loitering for prostitution" and

"prostitution" for offenders 18 and under for the five boroughs of New York) and assuming proportional levels of un-arrested individuals in the larger population, to derive a total population.[5] In other words, where there exists a sample(s) of an unknown population (P), a known statistic of that that sample (σ) can be used in conjunction with the same statistic for the unknown population (Σ) to determine the total population, where:

$$P = \frac{(\Sigma)\,(s)}{\sigma}$$

In the present study the respective value of each of these variables is:

$$P = \frac{(599)\,(249)}{37.8}$$

The known statistic for the total CSEC population (Σ) was derived from the DCJS "prostitution" and "loitering for prostitution" arrest statistics for youth 18 and under in 2005 and 2006. In 2005, 60 males were arrested (19%), 238 females (77%), and 13 transgender (4%). In 2006, 47 males were arrested (16%), 218 females (76%), and 23 transgender (8%). In the sample population(s), 249 youth were deemed reliable and included in the study. The known statistic of the sample (σ) was excogitated from the arrest history information obtained from the interviews with 172 of the 249 youth (see page 90 for arrest history breakdown). According to the data, 88 youth had never been arrested, 75 had last been arrested in 2005 or 2006 and 9 had last been arrested prior to 2005. We assumed that there had not been a significant change over time in the

5 In order to estimate the CSEC population in NYC, I consulted with Dr. Bilal Khan, Professor of Mathematics and Computer Science at John Jay College. Dr. Khan derived both population estimate formulas. The first method consisted of a simple proportion that used data from the study and arrest data provided by DCJS. Dr. Khan developed the second method, which relied strictly on data from the study.

conditional probability of an individual being charged with loitering for prostitution/prostitution, given that they have been charged with some crime[6]. From this assumption, it follows that in our sample, the distribution of time elapsed since last arrest is the same as the distribution governing the time elapsed since last arrest for loitering for prostitution/prostitution. Since 10.75% of the arrestees in our sample reported being arrested over 2 years ago, we deduced that of the 42 respondents who reported being arrested for prostitution, only an estimated 37.5 should be counted as having been arrested for loitering for prostitution/prostitution during 2005 and 2006. The known statistic for the sample population is 42-10%=37.8. Thus, the estimated CSEC population for New York City is 3,946.

In order to obtain a percentage breakdown of how many of the 3,946 youth are female, male and transgender, Respondent Driven Sampling Analysis Tool (RDSAT) was used to estimate the percentage based on the sample population proportions. Sample population proportions are basic ratios of how many of a particular group was recruited to the total number of recruits. It is not adjusted for statistical biases. From the sample population proportions, RDSAT calculates estimated population proportions for the Data-Smoothed population equations, which accounts for statistical biases. RDSAT estimated that of the total estimated CSEC population, 53.5% are male, 42% are female and 4.5% are transgender. However, because the transgender sample was quite small (n=19), 4.5% is most likely an under-estimate of prostituted transgender youth in NYC.

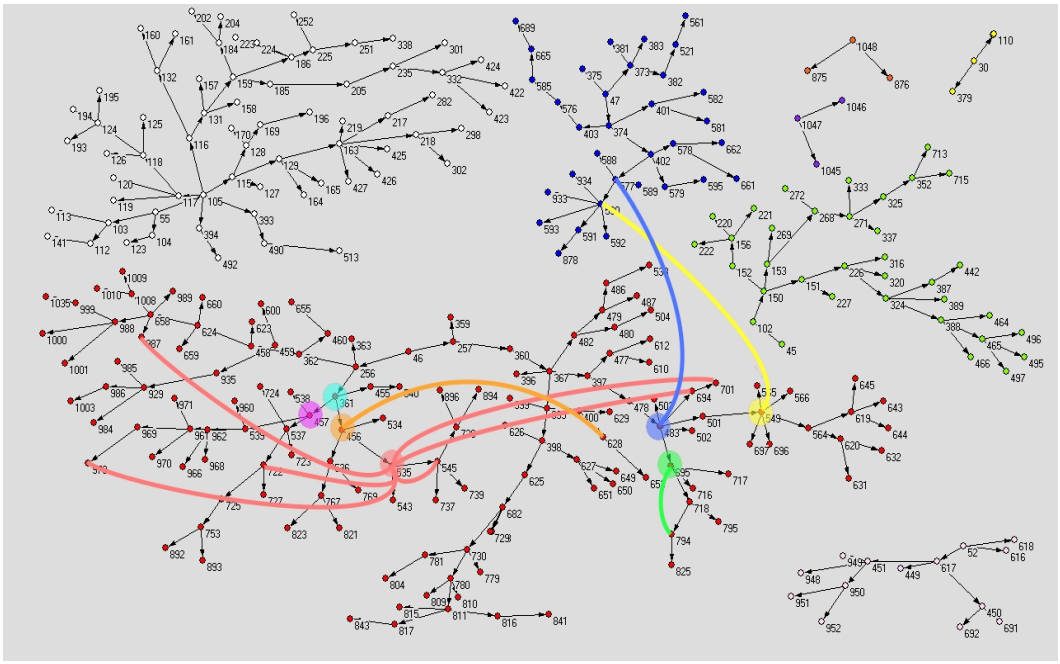
As has already been described above, in our study the population estimate is derived from arrest records via the method known as the "capture-recapture"

6 Such an assumption follows from the fact that relative to other offenses, loitering for prostitution/prostitution has not experienced significant changes in status, both from the vantage point of potential perpetrators circumstances and the criminal justice system's priorities.

methodology—the standard way of estimating the size of the population by comparing the RDS-generated sample with official records. However, the research staff also developed and tested a new population estimation technique, to serve as mutual cross-validation against the "capture-recapture" estimate of the population size. The novel method was implemented as follows: about two months into the project (on 10/2/06), once the RDS recruitment trees had gone through several iterations, the researchers selected seven "special seeds" (5 females and 2 males) and paid them $20 a week to call or visit the research staff (using their RDS code number to identify themselves) and report if they were offered any coupons, and if so, to report the number(s) of those coupons. Five of the seven special seeds reported any coupons offered to them for three months, until the end of December 2006. One of the special seeds only checked in with researchers twice, and the other was arrested for soliciting an officer in beginning of November 2006, and never heard from again.

The special seeds were not offered many coupons over the three months, but they were offered a few (13 coupons from 11 distinct sources). The figure below shows the positions of the 7 special seeds in the RDS sample tree, together with the offers they received. The analysis proceeded as follows. From each seed (i), we obtained the self-reported **network size** (n_i). The **adjusted network** size (m_i) was then computed to be (n_i) minus the number of coupons that were distributed *by* seed (i). Thus (m_i) served as an upper bound on the number of offerings that we would *expect* seed (i) to receive if and when the RDS sample were to exhaust the population. The **discovered offerings** (d_i) were the actual number of offerings seed (i) received in the period prior to the end of the study. The **post-seed sample** (A_i) is the number of coupons retrieved from circulation in

Figure 2: *RDS recruiting trees and special seeds*



the RDS study after the time that seed (i) was assigned its special status. The relevant data is shown below:

Table 4.1: *Seed analysis*

Seed Number (i)	Network Size (n_i)	Adjusted Network (m_i)	Discovered Offerings (d_i)	Post-seed Sample (A_i)
361	15	12	0	196
456	4	1	1	177
457	30	27	0	162
483	90	85	1	172
535	12	10	6	160
549	50	45	2	155
695	6	3	1	96

If we hypothesize that the RDS sampling has gone through sufficiently many iterations to approximate a random sampling of the population, and furthermore that the network of an

individual is drawn from the population as a whole uniformly, independently at random, then by linearity of expectation, the expected value of d_i is given by

$E[d_i] = m_i (A_i / N)$

where N is the true population size. Thus for every seed (i) for which the sampled value of $d_i > 0$, we can compute an estimate N_i of the true population size as follows:

$Ni = Ai [mi / di]$

These estimates are given below.

Table 4.2: *Population estimate based on seed data*

Seed Number (i)	Population Estimate (N_i)
456	177
483	14620
535	272
549	3488
695	288

Although these estimates vary widely, the mean value of the population estimate obtained using the five seeds was 3,769, which is comparable to the population estimate obtained by the traditional capture-recapture technique. The application of the new technique in this study shows considerable promise—as is readily seen in the confluence of estimates obtained through classical "capture-recapture" and the special seed technique. The theoretical hypotheses in which the special seed technique can be made to reliably generate population estimates are still under investigation.

One important caveat to the population estimates attempted in this study is that they calculate the number of youth that are likely to exist within the universe from which they sample, that is, they estimate the number of youth who stand a chance of getting recruited into the study, but not those who stand no chance of being recruited. The project

demonstrated that it was possible to refer pimped youth into the study, but there are some CSEC sub-groups that are likely to be excluded from this estimate, e.g., those who are trafficked into New York City from other countries to work in tightly controlled in indoor environments, and whose lack of cultural and linguistic skills make it impossible for them to network with the larger universe of CSEC youth. To the degree that these sub-groups exist – and there is no doubt that some do exist – the CSEC population will be larger than what this study has estimated. Unfortunately, the methodology employed here cannot offer any insight into the size of this component of the CSEC population as none of the youth that were recruited into the study offered any information that hinted at the existence or prevalence of these youth. Other methods of investigation would be required to gain insight into the number of these types of youth.

RDS Recruitment Data

The RDS recruitment data offers a wealth of information that provides insight into the attributes of the CSEC networks and its members. For example, by measuring the CSEC network's homophily and recruitment patterns, we can get a better understanding of how diverse the connections are within the population. The RDS data can describe if certain groups of individuals (e.g., girls and boys, Whites and Blacks, etc.) recruit others like themselves and how many youth are part of a certain group (e.g., born and raised in NYC, pimped, etc.). Much of the social capital literature distinguishes between bonding social capital (constraining/strong ties) and bridging social capital (weak ties) (Burt, 1992; Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001; Lin, Cook & Burt, 2001; Woolcock, 2001). Lin defines "string ties" as "those which follow the principle of 'homophily', binding people with others similar to themselves; weak ties bring together people from different social

and cultural backgrounds" (Lin, 2001, p. 75-6). Thus, those groups with a high homophily score are not as diverse, and are more likely to socialize with those similar to themselves.

The network data produced by the RDS sampling method was analyzed with the Respondent Driven Sampling Analysis Tool (RDSAT) program (Heckathorn, 2007) to provide information on network strength, density, and homophily. In terms of gender, one of the most unexpected outcomes was the large number of boys in the sample. Although past literature has suggested that there are a sizable number of prostituted males in the U.S. (Estes & Weiner, 2002; Finklehor & Ormrod, 2004; Spangenberg, 2001; Weisberg, 1985; and West, 1993) the research team was not expecting to recruit such a large number of males for this study. Even with the alterations to the recruitment of research subjects that the research team implemented to favor the recruitment of girls, boys were still estimated to outnumber girls in the population, 54% to 42%. The homophily data show that boys are slightly more inclined to recruit other boys (Hx=.176), and more to the point, girls are slightly more inclined to recruit boys (or transgender youth) than other girls (Hx=-.15) (see Table 4.3). This suggests that boys are less likely to have a diverse network of friends than girls.

Despite the greater number of boys in the RDS data, however, there were more problems with their eligibility for the study than with girls or transgender youth, and many of them were removed from the database for the analyses that are presented in subsequent sections. After reviewing all of the interviews, the research staff found that 69 boys (35%) were not credible (because they were too old or not involved in CSEC activities), but only 8 girls and transgender youth were not credible. Because of this, the

Table 4.3: *Population estimates by gender*

CSEC RDS Population estimates by gender

	Male	Female
Total Distribution of recruits	177.0	106.0
Estimated Population Proportions	0.535	0.42
Sample Population Proportions	0.562	0.386
Recruitment Proportions	0.604	0.362
Mean Network Size, N (adjusted)	7.193	5.561
Homophily (Hx)	0.176	-0.15
Degree Homophily (Hd)	0.129	-0.144
Standard Error of P	0.038	0.036

*transgender youth are omitted from this table

percentage of boys in the CSEC market is certainly less than the 54% that was estimated with raw RDS numbers, but removing the non-credible males and females still leaves us with exactly 108 of each (not counting seeds). Thus, while estimating the exact proportion of males versus females versus transgender youth in the CSEC market remains unknown, at the very least, the proportion of males in the overall population is far more substantial than had previously been reported (Gragg, et al., 2007).

The existence of a large number of non-credible subjects certainly indicates the need for better screening methods (though it is difficult to imagine how one might do that for CSEC youth), but what was surprising about the recruitment data was the fact that non-credible research subjects often recruited youth who were credible. For example, of the 64 non-credible males, 21 recruited credible male subjects, and 18 recruited credible females (see Table 4.4). While the existence of non-credible research subjects is a clear indication of the degree of deception that plagued the project, the fact that non-credible subjects were able to recruit eligible ones, is evidence of the larger web of social relationships to which CSEC youth belong that includes more than simply other sexually exploited youth. However, due to the fact that the non-commercially exploited youth

were willing to deceive the research team, most likely for the monies being offered in exchange for the interview, suggests that they are involved in other deviant activities.

Table 4.4: *Recruitment by gender and credibility*

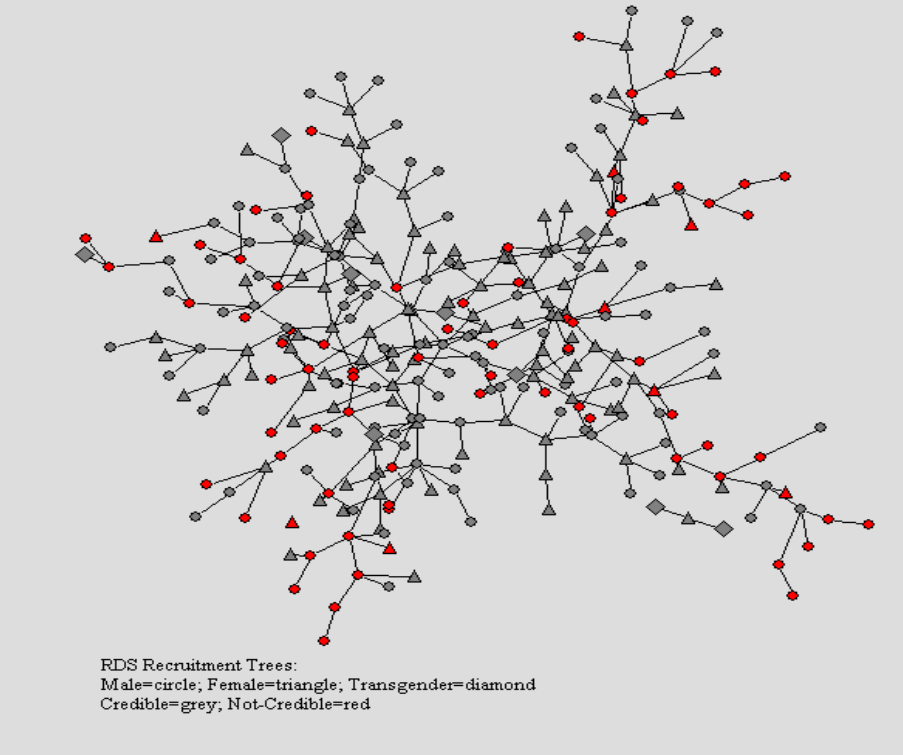
Recruitment by Gender and Credibility (Recruitment Count)					
Person who Recruited	**Recruits**				
	MaleCr.	**MaleNotCr.**	**Female/TG Cred.**	**Female/TG Not Cred.**	**Total**
Male Cred.	48	24	51	1	124
Male not Cred.	21	23	18	2	64.0
Female/TG Cred.	37	20	38	5	100.0
Female/TG Not Cred.	2	2	1	0	5.0

*to run some analyses on RDS, we had to merge the female and transgender youth categories

The degree to which ineligible youth recruited eligible ones, and vice versa, is also captured in the illustration below that depicts the RDS recruitment trees (Figure 3): During the data collection phase of the project, in order to circumvent problems that would accompany the over-recruitment of males – not the least of which was that later, 35% of them were found to be ineligible – efforts were made to focus on recruiting more girls, especially pimped girls. In the RDS data reported below, the recruitment of pimped youth is illustrated. The pimped girls that were recruited near the end of the project and that were interviewed as "seed" cases do not appear in the sample of recruits reported below, so the number of females in the RDS data is lower than the number of pimped girls in the sample. But, one interesting finding from the RDS recruitment process was that 90 non-pimped males recruited 8 pimped males and 10 pimped females while the 13 pimped girls in the sample produced no referrals of other pimped youth (see Table 4.5). Some may interpret the lack of recruitment by pimped girls of other pimped youth as evidence of the degree of control that pimps have over youth, and that may very well be

true, but more important, that it is possible to refer pimped girls through youth that are not pimped, including non-pimped boys.

Figure 3: *RDS recruitment trees by gender and credibility*



The various races, ethnicities or nationalities claimed by the youth also produced some revealing proportions within the overall CSEC population. According to Chiricos et al. (2001), "Trust is higher when similarity is greatest, and perceptions of a criminal threat are often directed against ethnic others. Ethnicity can be a factor in ensuring the network's homogeneity." Although criminal threat might not be an issue within this population, by looking at which ethnicities had a high homophily rate, one can infer the level of trust the prostituted youth have with one another. Black youth were estimated to be the largest single group within the population, but at only 29% of the total, there was a

Table 4.5: *Recruitment by gender and pimped and non-pimped*

Recruitment by Gender and Pimped (Recruitment Count; Transition Probability)					
Person who Recruited	**Recruits**				
	Nonpimped Male	**Nonpimped Female/TG**	**Pimped Male**	**Pimped Female/TG**	**Total**
Non-Pimped Male	90	52	8	10	160
Non-Pimped Female/TG	43	34	4	7	88
Pimped Male	8	7	1	2	18
Pimped Female/TG	11	2	0	0	13

significant presence of other groups, including 23% whites, 23% Hispanics (including Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, which were separate categories), and 22% of the youth who identified as "multi-racial."[7] The degree to which the sample was diverse is reflected in the diagram below that depicts the RDS recruitment trees (Figure 4):

One outcome that was somewhat unexpected was the high homophily score (Hx=.499) exhibited by white youth: an indication that white youth were very likely to refer other white youth (see Table 4.6). One reason why white youth appear to be so insular is that over 60% of the youth recruited for the study were not from one of the five boroughs. Thus, this might limit the diversity of their network since white youth might gravitate to other white youth due to higher trust and comfortability levels. Additionally, many of the white youth were recruited from a group of "traveler" youth that move from city to city and rely on each other for survival. Black youth also had a tendency to recruit other Blacks (Hx=.256), but not nearly to the degree that whites had within their own group. And Hispanic youth, somewhat surprisingly, were more likely to refer non-Hispanics than members of their own group (Hx=.086). Multi-racial youth showed the

[7] Youth from a multi-racial background can range from a mix of Black and White, Black and Hispanic, Puerto Rican and Dominican, etc. Because the youth gave such detailed accounts of their racial background, and did not classify themselves as one specific race, a general multi-racial category was created.

lowest homophily score (Hx=.073) of all the groups, meaning that they were just as likely to refer another multi-racial youth as they were a member of another group.

Figure 4: *RDS recruitment trees by race and gender*

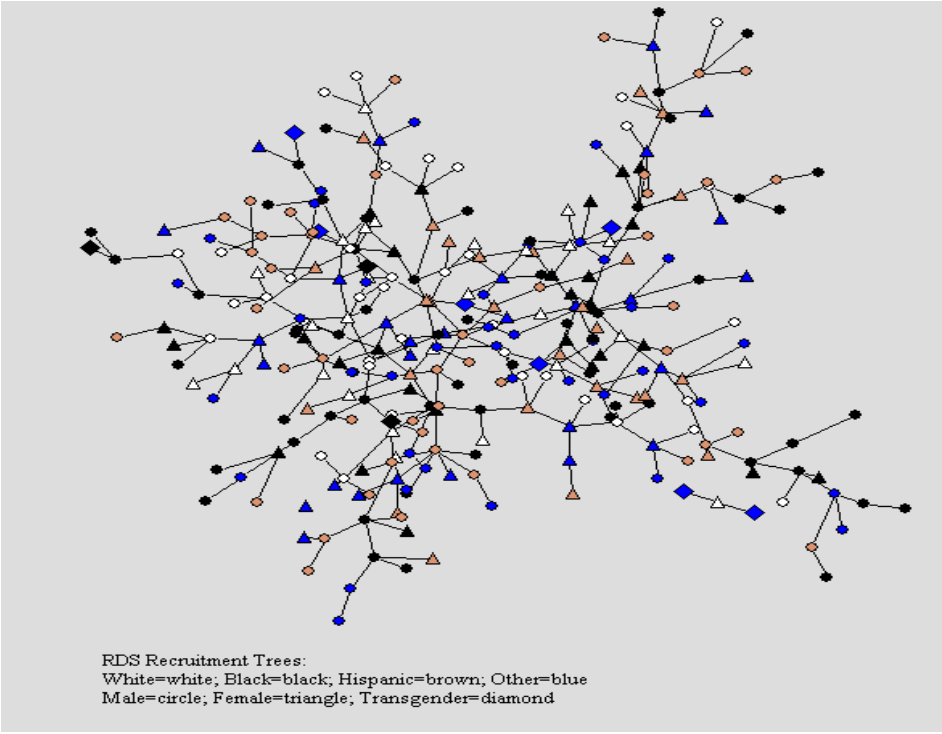


Table 4.6: *RDS Population Estimates by Race, Ethnicity or Nationality*

	Bl.	Wh.	His.	Dom.	P.R.	Asn.	NvAm	Mix	Total
Total Distribution of recruits	90.0	65.0	40.0	4.0	24.0	5.0	3.0	62.0	293.0
Estimated Population Proportions	0.294	0.232	0.137	0.012	0.081	0.016	0.009	0.219	1.0
Sample Population Proportions	0.298	0.204	0.131	0.018	0.088	0.021	0.009	0.231	1.0
Recruitment Proportions	0.307	0.222	0.137	0.014	0.082	0.017	0.01	0.212	1.0
Equilibrium Sample Distribution	0.295	0.232	0.126	0.011	0.078	0.014	0.008	0.236	1.0
Mean Network Size, N (adjusted)	6.474	6.458	5.916	5.96	6.206	5.505	5.76	6.981	
Mean Network Size, N (unadjusted)	18.894	17.062	13.049	10.5	16.538	9.667	19.0	20.12	
Homophily (Hx)	0.256	0.499	0.086	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	0.073	
Affiliation Homophily (Ha)	0.255	0.499	0.098	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	0.052	
Degree Homophily (Hd)	0.001	0.0	-0.083	-0.077	-0.039	-0.147	-0.108	0.02	
Population Weights	0.986	1.141	1.049	0.65	0.924	0.761	0.974	0.946	
Recruitment Component (RCx)	0.989	1.141	0.962	0.6	0.889	0.649	0.869	1.023	
Degree Component (DCx)	0.997	0.999	1.091	1.083	1.04	1.173	1.121	0.925	
Standard Error of P	0.038	0.043	0.028	0.009	0.017	0.005	0.006	0.023	

There was one concern at the beginning of the RDS recruitment process of the potential biasing effect of the geographic distribution of seeds, even though, according to RDS theory, the starting point should not have mattered. Because of that, data collection began in the Bronx, and three subjects were interviewed there on the first night. But those three subjects did not refer anyone else to the project, and additional seeds were sought through a collaborative partner in Manhattan. From those few seeds, the entire sample grew, resulting in 5 major "trees" (see Figure 1). Nearly the entire sample is contained in

Table 4.7: *Population Estimates By Place of Birth*

	Man.	Bk.	Qns.	Bx.	S.I	N.J.	NYS	Penn.	USA	Oth.	Total
Total Distribution of recruits	76.0	41.0	13.0	38.0	7.0	18.0	12.0	6.0	55.0	27.0	293.0
Estimated Population Proportions	0.246	0.165	0.044	0.119	0.026	0.089	0.04	0.021	0.177	0.072	1.0
Sample Population Proportions	0.24	0.149	0.046	0.134	0.021	0.055	0.043	0.024	0.185	0.103	1.0
Recruitment Proportions	0.259	0.14	0.044	0.13	0.024	0.061	0.041	0.02	0.188	0.092	1.0
Equilibrium Sample Distribution	0.256	0.142	0.046	0.129	0.024	0.068	0.043	0.017	0.182	0.093	1.0
Mean Network Size, N (adjusted)	6.688	5.527	6.776	6.962	5.914	4.868	6.785	5.335	6.582	8.245	
Mean Network Size, N (unadjusted)	16.507	13.333	14.4	16.659	12.857	12.235	36.786	9.0	21.276	19.5	
Homophily (Hx)	0.085	-0.038	-1.0	0.021	-1.0	0.048	0.038	-1.0	0.078	0.085	
Affiliation Homophily (Ha)	0.073	0.02	-1.0	0.01	-1.0	0.07	0.036	-1.0	0.073	0.064	
Degree Homophily (Hd)	0.014	-0.139	0.002	0.011	-0.079	-0.242	0.002	-0.169	0.006	0.022	
Population Weights	1.023	1.11	0.961	0.891	1.222	1.632	0.947	0.862	0.955	0.701	
Recruitment Component (RCx)	1.066	0.956	1.015	0.967	1.126	1.237	1.001	0.717	0.979	0.901	
Degree Component (DCx)	0.96	1.162	0.947	0.922	1.086	1.319	0.946	1.203	0.975	0.779	
Standard Error of P	0.029	0.026	0.013	0.027	0.011	0.027	0.021	0.011	0.026	0.015	

five major "trees," with the largest tree extending to 12 (begun by a non-eligible research subject) waves of recruitment, far more than needed to produce a representative sample of the population, and the second-largest tree extending to 9 waves of recruitment. The

findings regarding the geographic distribution of research subjects reveal that youth from all 5 boroughs of New York City were recruited into the study, as well as youth from across the country and abroad (see Table 4.7). A larger sample may produce slightly different estimated population proportions by birth (Queens, for example, seems underrepresented), but the sample appears to have accomplished the goal of geographic representation.

Based on past studies, there appears to be a high correlation between drug and alcohol abuse and sexual exploitation (Clatts, et al., 1998; Clatts & Davis, 1999; Gaetz & O'Grady, 2002; Gwadz, et al., 2005; Kipke, et al., 1995; Yates, et al., 1991). The data from this study confirmed this high correlation based on the fact that 85% of the youth recruited for the study abused some type of drug or alcohol (see Table 4.8). Additionally, a large majority of the youth who did not abuse drugs or alcohol recruited other juveniles who did. Over half the youth (53.8%) in the study used marijuana and over one-quarter abused cocaine (26.1%) and alcohol (25.3%). Although there was a small number of youth who did not abuse drugs or alcohol, they were more likely to have a network of friends who did.

Table 4.8: *Recruitment by drugs*

Recruitment by Drugs (Recruitment Count; Transition Probability)			
Person who Recruited	**Recruits**		
	No Drug Use	**Drug Use**	**Total**
No Drug Use	**9.0**	**25.0**	**34.0**
	0.265	**0.735**	**1.0**
Drug Use	**29.0**	**186.0**	**215.0**
	0.135	**0.865**	**1.0**

Conclusion

This chapter provided both a population estimate and a description of the attributes of the CSEC sub-networks and its members. A population estimate was calculated based on two different methods, and both methods produced approximately the same number. This suggests that the estimate of the population that was sampled is close to accurate. However, the estimate does not account for the youth who are trafficked in from outside the United States, and those that are isolated from the rest of the CSEC population because they were not part of the social networks of the youth recruited for this study.

Some of the findings from this chapter validated what was previously known about the CSEC population. The majority of the youth recruited for this study (approximately 75%) were minority, and were more likely to have racially diverse networks (see Dalla, 2000; Norton-Hawk, 2001 and Rotheram-Borus, et al., 1992). Over half the youth in the sample were born and raised in one of the five boroughs of New York City, which is consistent with past research on this population (see Robertson & Toro, 1998; Schick, 1981 and Yates, et al., 1991). Previous research has shown that there is a high correlation between drug and alcohol abuse and sexual exploitation (Clatts, et al., 1998; Clatts & Davis, 1999; Gaetz & O'Grady, 2002; Gwadz, et al., 2005; Kipke, et al., 1995; Yates, et al., 1991) which is accordant with the findings in this chapter.

Respondent Driven Sampling data does not allow for complex network analysis, but still provides insights about the CSEC population that were not known before. The attributes of the CSEC sub-networks that were previously unknown include: A) There

are a lot more boys involved in the CSEC market then previously reported, and they are more inclined to recruit other boys than girls or transgender youth; B) Non-pimped girls and boys have access to youth who are pimped; thus, it is possible to reach pimped youth without having to go through the pimp; C) The network is also quite diverse and includes youth who are not involved in the CSEC market, yet, might be involved in other deviant activities; and D) Caucasian juveniles are more likely to associate with other Caucasian youth, and tend to migrate to New York City from other areas of the country.

The findings from this chapter provide a better understanding of the extent of the CSEC issue via the population estimate and the characteristics of the youth who make up the CSEC sub-networks. These findings provide the background information necessary to comprehend how the youths' deviant social networks can prevent them from obtaining the fundamental tools needed to build normative social capital and ultimately exit "the life." The subsequent chapter will investigate whether youth are more likely to seek help from others with criminal or normative social capital when taking into account the youths' deviant social network size, current living situation, education level, other sources of income, drug abuse, race, gender and age of first involvement in the CSEC market.

Chapter 5

Pre-existing Social Capital Among the CSEC Population

Introduction

Chapter Two provided an estimated prevalence rate of commercially sexually exploited youth in New York City, and also the attributes of the CSEC networks and its members. Knowing how many youth are involved in the CSEC market and the size and diversity of their networks (e.g. race, birthplace, drug use, and gender) allows for a better understanding of whether a youth is capable of building the normative social capital necessary to exit "the life". The focus of this chapter is directed by the research question: Are youth more likely to seek help from others with criminal or normative social capital when taking into account the youths' deviant social network size, current living situation, education level, other sources of income, drug abuse, race, gender and age of first involvement in the CSEC market? If who the youth go to when in trouble can be predicted correctly, which of these variables are central in the prediction of who they would go to? Does the inclusion of a particular variable increase or decrease the probability of a specific outcome? The aim of this chapter is not to measure the level of normative social capital that the youth possess, but rather their ability to build social capital in normative networks. This chapter outlines the quantitative analysis employed to answer this question and discusses a number of key findings that have been identified.

Methodology

Given that the aim of this chapter is not to measure the level of social capital the youth possess but rather their ability to build normative social capital, the following variables were chosen to measure this: who the youth go to in times of trouble, personal network size, current living situation, other sources of income, education level, drug abuse, race, gender and age of first involvement in the CSEC market. Being able to rely on and trust an adult that maintains some level of normative social capital is one important way to measure if the youth have the basic human capital (e.g., social support) in order to build normative social capital (Bourdieu, 1980; Coleman, 1994; Pahl & Spencer, 1993; Putnam, 1993). Thus, who the youth go to in times of trouble was chosen as the dependent variable. The dependent variable was dichotomized into two groups: 0 equals the group of people who the youth go to for help that possess criminal capital, which include market facilitators, fictional kin, friends, partners, and no one; 1 equals the group of individuals who the youth seek help from that maintain normative social capital, which include parents, grandparents, other family members, police officers, and social service workers.

The following independent variables were chosen since they could all potentially have an effect on the dependent variable:

1) Personal deviant network size[8]: a ratio-level, continuous variable. The larger the network size, the more embedded the youth is in "the life" and the less likely he would go to an adult that possesses normative social capital for help. This

[8] The youth were asked how many other youth they knew who were engaged in the CSEC market. Thus, only the size of their deviant social network is available for analysis.

relationship is expected to be significant since past literature states that the more a juvenile is embedded in his social network, and in this case it is their deviant social network, the more likely he is to adapt their attitudes and beliefs and ultimately their behaviors (Granovetter, 1992; Krohn, 1986; Lin, 1982).

2) Current living situation: a categorical variable broken into three groups, 1=squat, shelter, streets, market facilitator's home, group home and other home (e.g., customer's home); 2=friend's home and own apartment; and 3=family home. If the youths' currently living situation falls in category 1, the less likely he would go to an adult that possesses normative social capital for help. This assumption would uphold previous findings (McCarthy, Hagan and Martin, 2002) that homeless youth are more likely to rely on their friends for support and survival than adults. Group homes, market facilitator homes and other homes were added to this category since youth are less likely to rely on or trust any adults that possess normative social capital in these living situations.

3) Other sources of income: a categorical variable dichotomized into two groups, 0=dealing drugs, panhandling, theft, other illegitimate work, other and not applicable; 1=legitimate work (e.g., receives a company issued paycheck, under the table construction work, etc.), welfare and dependent (e.g., receives an allowance from a relative). If the youth has other sources of income, he is more likely to seek the help of an adult that maintains normative social capital. This would support Hirschi's social control theory since a youth who is committed to a legitimate job or has access to other sources of legitimate income is more likely to have access to and participate in a non-deviant social network.

4) Education level: a ratio-level, continuous variable. The higher the youth's education level, the more likely he would be to seek the help of an adult that maintains normative social capital. This would also support Hirschi's social control theory since a youth who is committed to school and school activities is more likely to have access to and participate in a non-deviant social network.

5) Drug abuse: an interval-level variable ranked by the severity and addictiveness of the drug, 1=heroin, 2=crack, 3=cocaine, 4=other drugs (e.g., ecstasy, hallucinogens, prescription pain killers), 5=marijuana, 6=alcohol and 7=none. The greater the youth's dependency on the more addictive and severe drugs the less likely he would go to an adult that possesses normative social capital for help. Because past research has indicated that there is a high correlation between drug and alcohol abuse and sexual exploitation (Clatts, et al., 1998; Clatts & Davis, 1999; Gaetz & O'Grady, 2002; Gwadz, et al., 2005; Kipke, et al., 1995; Yates, et al., 1991) one can assume this relationship would hold true since drug addicted youth would be less likely to trust adults that would judge them for their drug addiction.

6) Age of first involvement in the CSEC market: a ratio-level, continuous variable. The younger the youth entered the CSEC market, the less likely he would go to an adult that possesses normative social capital for help. This relationship is highly likely because the younger a juvenile enters a deviant social network the more likely he is to become embedded in that network and adapt similar attitudes and behaviors as his peers.

7) Race: a categorical variable broken down into five groups: 1=African American, 2=Caucasian, 3=Hispanic, 4=Other, 5=Multi-racial. Race could have a general effect on the outcome variable, especially since past literature on social capital has indicated that minorities living in an urban environment are more likely to have lower levels of normative social capital (Reisig, Holtfreter, & Morash, 2002).

8) Gender: two categorical, dichotomized variables. The first variable divides the sample into male and transgender (0) and female (1), and the second variable separates the transgender youth from the rest of the sample (0=no and 1=yes). Gender could have a general effect on the outcome variable, especially since past literature on social capital has shown that women are less likely to possess non-deviant social capital then men (Reisig, Holtfreter, & Morash, 2002).

Once the independent and dependent variables were identified, measures of central tendency, independent t-tests and chi-squares and logistic regression analyses were conducted to determine if any of these relationships were significant.

Results

Measures of central tendency were conducted on the interval and ratio level variables (personal deviant network size, education level, drug abuse, age of first involvement in the CSEC market) to assess the effects of outliers and test for the basic assumption of normality. All the variables had relatively normal distributions and were not affected by outliers except for personal deviant network size. One reason for the non-normality was

that there were a number of outliers for the variable, particularly one subject who claimed to know over 200 youth involved in the CSEC market. To decrease the sizably large skewness of the network size variable, a transformation procedure was performed in order to reflect and take the log of the variable. Measures of central tendency were conducted on the log of the network size variable, and the skewness and kurtosis variables were much closer to zero (see Table 5.1). Thus, going forward, the personal deviant network size variable will be referred to as the log of the personal deviant network size.

Once the continuous variables were normally distributed, independent t-tests and chi-squares were conducted to determine if a relationship existed between the predictor and outcome variables. Independent-sample t tests were calculated comparing the means of the ratio-level, continuous variables (log of personal deviant network size, education level, drug abuse, age of first involvement in the CSEC market) to the who the youth go to in times of trouble variable. No significant differences were found at $p < .05$ (see Table 5.2).

Chi square tests of independence were calculated comparing the frequency of the categorical variables (current living situation, other sources of income, gender and race) in those youth who seek the help of individuals with criminal capital and those who seek the help from individuals with normative social capital. There was a statistically significant relationship between the youths' current living situation and who they go to in times of trouble ($\chi 2(2)=16.086$, $p < .05$) in this sample. Looking at the cell percentages it seems that youth living in a group home, market facilitator's home, squat, shelter, streets

Table 5.1: *Measures of central tendency for network size, education, drug abuse, age and log of network size*

	Network size	Education	Drug Abuse	Age	Log of Network Size
Mean	15.66	10.39	4.21	15.29	2.25
Median	8.00	10.00	4.00	16.00	2.20
Mode	20	10	7	16	3.00
Std. Deviation	20.87	1.73	1.96	1.74	1.00
Skewness	4.2	.119	-.054	-.610	.150
S.E. of skewness	.155	.157	.157	.155	.156
Kurtosis	27.33	-.264	-.936	.082	-.122
S.E. of kurtosis	.309	.312	.314	.309	.311
Minimum	0	6	1	9	.00
Maximum	200	15	7	19	5.30

Table 5.2: *T-tests for variables log of network size, education, drug abuse, and age on who the youth go to when in trouble*

	t	df	Sig (2-tailed)	Mean Diff.	Std. Error Diff.
Log of Network Size	.080	241	.936	.01069	.13397
Education	-1.228	239	.221	-.284	.231
Drug Abuse	-1.870	237	.063	-.48926	.26161
Age	-.540	245	.590	-.125	.231

or other home are more likely to seek help from an individual with criminal or no social capital than youth living in a friend's home or their own apartment (60.4%) or a family home (38.1%). There was also a statistically significant relationship between the youths' other sources of income and who they go to in times of trouble ($\chi 2(2)=9.493$ $p < .05$). Looking at the cell percentages it seems that youth with legitimate work, collecting welfare benefits or treated as a dependent by a relative are more likely to seek help from an individual with normative social capital (56.1%) than youth with other sources of illegitimate income or no other income (33.2%). Gender and race did not produce significant results (see Table 5.3). A Gamma test was calculated for the relationship between the categorical variables and the outcome variable. A very strong positive relationship was found between the youths' current living situation and who the youth go to when in trouble (Gamma=.421, $p < .05$). Thus, youth who live in a family home tend to seek help from individuals that possess normative social capital. A moderately strong positive relationship was found between other sources of income and who the youth go to when in trouble (Gamma=.356, $p < .05$). Thus, youth who have other sources of legitimate income tend to seek help from individuals that possess normative social capital.

Although significant relationships were only found between two of the independent variables and the dependent variable, a binary logistic regression analysis was conducted to determine if all the independent variables combined could better predict whether a youth would go to someone with criminal capital or someone who possesses normative social capital in times of trouble. Prior to running the logistic regression model, logistic regression assumptions were tested to ensure that none of the violations

were violated. The log of all the continuous variables was calculated, and then the interaction terms were tested between the independent variables and their logs. None of the results were significant; thus, the linearity assumption was not violated. Tests were then conducted to determine if the assumptions for outliers and multicollinearity were violated, and there were no issues involving outliers and no collinearity problems.

Table 5.3: *Chi-squares for variables current living situation, other sources of income, gender and race on who the youth go to when in trouble*

	Pearson Chi Square	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Current living situation	16.086	2	.000*
Other sources of income	9.493	2	.009*
Gender (M/F)	1.412	1	.235
Gender (TG)	.928	1	.335
Race	.858	4	.930

*significant at $p < .05$

The first binary logistic regression model included all the independent variables identified in the methodology section as the predictor variables and the dependent variable as the outcome variable. The model predicting who the youth go to in times of trouble using current living situation, other sources of income, drug abuse, log of personal deviant network size, education, age of first involvement, race and gender (M/F/TG) was not significant ($\chi2(13)=18.028$, $p > .05$). Several subsequent models were run to see whether subtracting certain predictor variables from the model would result in a significant prediction of the outcome variable. The model predicting who the youth go

to in times of trouble using current living situation, other sources of income, drug abuse, personal deviant network size, education, age of first involvement and gender (TG only) was significant ($\chi 2(8)=15.698$, $p < .05$). Though the model was found to be significant, it was not very strong. The goodness of fit of the model including the predictors was only about 9.2% better than the goodness of fit of the null model[9] (Nagelkerke $R^2=.092$). Furthermore, the model was able to accurately predict the observed values in only 66.8% of the cases.

Table 5.4: *Binary logistic regression with predictor variables current living situation, other sources of income, drug abuse, log of personal network size, education, age of first involvement and gender- transgender on outcome variable who the youth go to when in trouble*

	B	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Constant	-3.503	4.750	1	.029	.030
Current living situation[a]					
Friend's home & own apartment	.468	1.690	1	.194	1.598
Family home	1.258	9.147	1	.002*	3.519
Other sources of income	-.027	.327	1	.568	.973
Drug abuse	.069	.728	1	.393	1.071
Log of personal network size	.134	.789	1	.374	1.143
Education	.057	.386	1	.535	1.059
Age of first involvement	.098	1.156	1	.282	1.102
Gender - Transgender	-.581	.956	1	.328	.559

*significant at $p < .05$
a. Reference category: shelter, squat, streets, market facilitator's home, other home

[9] The null model does not include predictors, just the constant.

One variable was found to be significant after controlling for all the other variables in the model: current living situation – family home (p=.002). The summary of model variables is displayed in Table 5.4. Based on the Wald statistic it seems that current living situation – family home (Wald=9.147) contributed more to the model than other variables. On average, the odds of a youth who lives in a family home seeking help from an individual that possesses normative social capital is 3.519 times higher than for a youth who lives in a squat, shelter, streets, market facilitator's home or other home. Even though only one variable was significant, the other variables were included in the model for theoretical purposes; all the variables have the potential to affect one's ability to build social capital and must be controlled for. Possible reasons for the other variables not being significant are sampling error, missing data, or operationalization of the constructs. Although the use of these variables in the model could have caused some noise in the results; it did not affect the overall significance of the model.

Discussion

This chapter examined whether it can be predicted that a youth would seek the help of an individual with criminal capital or an individual that possesses normative social capital when taking into account the youths' deviant social network size, current living situation, education level, other sources of income, drug abuse, race, gender and age of first involvement in the CSEC market. The findings provide evidence that out of all of these variables, only whether a youth lives in a family member's home is a valid predictor for who a youth will chose to seek help from in times of trouble, which lends further support to the findings from past research on adolescents, commercial sexual exploitation and social capital. Previous research has shown that the significance of

social capital – including employment, stable accommodation, good family and social relationships, non-CSEC interests and friends who are not engaged in the CSEC market – in enabling prostituted youth to exit "the life" is influenced by pre-existing normative social capital and the amount of normative social capital they are able to retain while engaged in the CSEC market. The findings from this study lend further support to this claim since it suggests that youth who live with their family have some pre-existing normative social capital, and thus the youth are more likely to seek the assistance of an individual who has normative social capital when they are in trouble.

Previous literature on social capital and juveniles has stated that youth with limited access to positive external influences and information create strong bonding networks that are likely foster deleterious norms of behavior (Ferlander, 2007). Capital is built in relationships that individuals wish to avoid losing. Depending on whom those relationships are with "social capital can be gained or lost by behaving in a manner deemed 'criminal' by the larger society" (Savage and Kanazawa, 2002, p. 190). The more an individual relies on their deviant network for support and survival, the more embedded he will become in that network. Embeddedness affects the group's ability to influence its members' attitudes and beliefs and exercise control over their actions and behaviors (Granovetter, 1992). Prostitution and youth gangs offer examples of how embeddedness in deviant social networks can lead to less than socially desirable ends (McCarthy, Hagan and Martin, 2002). The major finding from this analysis indicates that youth who live in a family home are more likely to seek the help of an individual that possesses normative social capital then one who does not. Thus, prostituted youth with limited access to adults who possess a high level of normative social capital are more

likely to create strong bonds with their network of friends, many of whom engage in the CSEC market, which ultimately decreases their ability to build normative social capital of their own. The more embedded CSEC youth are in their deviant social networks, the less likely they will be able to develop relationships outside their social sphere that could provide them with the social support and resources they need to exit "the life".

Why youth who live with a family member(s) enter the CSEC market has not been thoroughly investigated. Previous research has shown that sexual, physical, and mental abuse suffered by the hands of a family member can directly or indirectly lead to a youth engaging in the market (Seng, 1989 and Simons & Whitbeck, 1991). Yet, there is a dearth of research on why youth who live in stable homes with good familial relationships enter the CSEC market. Future research would need to be conducted to further explore this phenomenon.

Conclusion

Overall, the evidence from this study suggests that youth who have pre-existing social capital before entering the CSEC market and are able to maintain some level of normative social capital while engaged in the market are more likely to seek help from individuals who possess higher levels of normative social capital. More specifically, the findings from this study concluded that the youths' current living situation is the only valid predictor of determining who the youth were more likely to seek help from – an individual with criminal or no social capital or someone who has normative social capital. The findings suggest that youth living in the streets, a shelter, squat, or market

facilitator's home are more likely to be members of social networks characterized by relative shortages of normative social capital.

Although over one-third of the sample had visited (many on a regular basis) a youth-based social service agency, these findings suggest that many of these youth do not seek the help of a counselor or do not fully disclose their situation to their counselor. They would rather seek the help of a friend, partner, etc., or are too ashamed to speak to anyone about their issues. As a result, the youth stunt their ability to build normative social capital both in the present and in the future. The next chapter will focus mainly on youth who do not have pre-existing normative social capital, and will examine whether the lack of alternatives available to prostituted youth constrain their choices to the point where they have very few options (if any) but to engage in the CSEC market in order to survive.

Chapter 6

Constrained Choices and Lack of Agency among the CSEC Population

Introduction

The previous two chapters have provided insight into the social network attributes of the CSEC population and how certain demographic and social capital influencing variables affect the youths' ability to build normative social capital. This chapter will use qualitative data gathered from the study to investigate the following hypothesis: The lack of alternatives available to prostituted youth constrain their choices to the point where they have very few options (if any) but to engage and remain in the CSEC market in order to survive. In order to better understand how constrained choices and lack of agency prevent prostituted youth from attaining social capital in conforming social networks, the chapter will look specifically at recruitment into the CSEC market and leaving "the life." Narratives taken directly from the interviews were used, in addition to descriptive statistics, to support this hypothesis.

Methodology

To identify categories and concepts that emerged from the transcriptions and link the concepts into with theories of social capital, a grounded theory approach was used (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). "Grounded theory" discovers patterns of behavior or thought in a set of texts (Bernard, 2000). Themes were drawn from the narratives given by the youth to the following questions: How did you first become engaged in the market? Is there anything you like about "the life"? Is there anything you dislike about "the life"? What do you need in order to leave "the life"? Is

there anything else you would like to add? Once the themes were identified, they were linked to the concepts evident in social capital theories. These themes in particular appeared to support several of the ideas and findings found in studies and theoretical discourse on social capital. More specifically, these narratives provide an explanation for why youth continue to engage in the CSEC market, and what is preventing them from leaving. Quotes were then selected from the interviews that illuminated the theories.

Discussion

Recruitment into the CSEC market

Economic desperation

Since youth are "more likely to be influenced by the norms and behaviors of teens with whom they spend time because they are more exposed to them," (Adamczyk & Felson, 2006, p. 928; Akers, 1985, 1998; Regnerus, 2002; Sutherland, 1960) it should come to no surprise that the majority of youth in this study first got involved in the CSEC market through a friend (see Table 6.1). However, this opposes the widespread belief that adults – especially pimps – are directly responsible for the entry of youth into CSEC markets. Adults preying on vulnerable youth was not the most frequently mentioned route into commercial sexual abuse reported by youth in the sample: nearly half (47%, n=116) claimed that it was "friends" that introduced them into the CSEC market. Girls and boys reported similar (though, surprisingly high) percentages of their "friends" as responsible for their entry to CSEC markets (46% and 44%, respectively), but transgender youth reported that 68% of the time, "friends" initiated them. Although

"friend" was loosely defined by the teens, there was little evidence to suggest that these friends were not already a part of the youths' social network.

Many of the youth claimed that a lack of viable alternatives provided them with little choice but to engage in the CSEC market in order to survive. Friends and acquaintances were often important actors in initiating youth into CSEC markets, and many of these cases seemed to be accompanied by narratives of economic desperation that drove them to enter the market. One 17-year old Caucasian male from Maryland, "was desperate for money, hungry and sleeping in the streets. I met some people who were doing it and they kind of introduced me to it. So I've been stuck with it as my source of income." Another 16-year old Caucasian female was alone and destitute and met some other youth on the streets who were in a similar situation:

> My dad passed away and I had no family members. And I never knew my mom. I didn't have no money in my pocket – I didn't know how to survive so I just went on the streets. So I knew some people around here. And they just told me you know, that they are in the same place that I am. So I just sold my body, just to survive and to eat.

Table 6.1: *How youth got involved in the CSEC market by gender*

How Youth Got Involved	Females (n=119)	Males (n=111)	Transgender (n=19)	Total (n=249)
Friend	46.2%	44.1%	68.4%	47.0%
Customer Approached Me	16.2%	32.4%	10.5%	23.1%
Market Facilitator	16.2%	0.9%	0.0%	8.1%
Homeless	7.7%	2.7%	10.5%	5.7%
Internet	2.6%	3.6%	5.3%	3.2%
Relative	0.9%	2.7%	0.0%	1.6%
I Approached Customer	0.9%	2.7%	0.0%	1.6%
Bar	0.0%	2.7%	0.0%	1.2%
Party	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%
Club	0.9%	0.9%	0.0%	0.8%
Escort Service	0.0%	0.9%	0.0%	0.4%
Other	6.0%	6.3%	5.3%	16.1%

Homeless teens have no one to turn to for help and are thus forced to learn coping and survival methods from other homeless and street youth. The absence of familial relations or relationships with individuals in good societal standing lends to a lack of legitimate alternatives. Thus, in numerous stories, youth engaged in the CSEC market as a means for survival.

Family support and neglect

Not all the youth who engaged in the CSEC market as a means of survival were homeless and alone. Several of the youth lived at home with their family; however, because their family was in economic dire straits, and the youth were unable to find a conventional job, they sought other ways to make money to help their family out. One 18-year old Hispanic girl who said that she started at age 17 to help her aunt pay bills and avoid being evicted from her apartment, reluctantly decided to go along with a friend to meet some "guys":

> I was living with my aunt and niece and the bills were pilin' up and I didn't want us to get evicted, so I didn't feel like I had much of a choice. I couldn't get a job, I don't have high school behind me. So, I was out in the South Bronx and this girl who I used to go to school with, she was like, "Yeah, I'm gonna get me some money." She was waitin' for this guy or whatever. And he came over there with another friend of hers and they was like, "Yeah, you know, if you need sumpin', I'll take care a you or whatever." And I'm like, "Um, not really." I didn't feel comfortable with it, but you got a dude offerin' you like $150, and you can't say no to it, you know what I mean?

Similarly, a 16-year old African American girl from Brooklyn, living with her mother and younger brother, was experiencing hard times at home, and a friend introduced her to a guy who was willing to help her out financially:

> I tried it once. It was a…like we were goin through really, really, really hard times, and the electricity was off and everything, and I really didn't wanna disturb my mom's money. So I tried it one time and it worked out. It was uncomfortable, but…it worked out. And it was easy. And, um, after that I started to notice how, like…it was easy.

One recurring theme among the narratives given by the youth was that once parents became unable to meet the needs of their child, the teens turned to their friends to have these needs met. This peer group tends to be young and lacking conventional resources, so they turn to illegitimate alternatives. One 15-year old Hispanic male was recruited into the CSEC market by an entire group of friends in junior high school:

> I was having a hard time at home with my parents. So there's like needs that I needed to do and stuff, and they weren't helping me. So I just decided to do that. Once I got into junior HS, my friends introduced me to it. I met my first customer by a group of friends. We just started hanging out a lot and we ended up having sex.

Another 17-year old African American female did not engage in the CSEC market for money, but rather for the attention and "love" that she did not receive from her family:

> I was with my mother and she had a problem. And that started to us being put in other people's homes, and through the system. And it was a very stressful time for me. And I just didn't feel loved, and cared about, so I started doin things like drinking, smoking and you know, I just kept doin a lot more. So that's what it led up to.

Similarly, one 14-year old Caucasian female from Brooklyn felt abandoned by her family and needed money for food and other necessities:

> I have a tough life. My dad used to beat my mom and they got a divorce. But…they have five kids together. He has other kids with different women, and they don't really care about me. They don't care what time I come home, they don't care what I'm doing. So, like…I needed money. My friends and I were hangin out and I had a very bad night. Just had got in a fight with my parents. I was hungry, I needed food…

Lack of parental support correlates to stronger attachment to peers, which in turn limits the alternatives available to them.

Sub-group norms: Traveler and Transgender youth

While many youth cited either survival or lack of familial support, youth who felt ostracized socially were more likely to flout societal rules. "Group solidarity among members of depleted social networks is strengthened by their shared experiences that have blocked upward mobility, such as discrimination. One result of these shared experiences is an oppositional stance to conventional values and behavior norms" (Reisig, M., Holtfreter, K. & Morash, M., 2002, p.180). This statement is particularly true for the traveler and transgender youth. Traveler youth tend to be runaway and thrownaway teens that move from city to city (depending on the weather) and squat in abandoned buildings with other traveler youth. They are also more likely to be addicted to drugs such as heroin (Clatts, et al., 1998; Clatts & Davis, 1999; Gaetz & O'Grady, 2002; Gwadz, et al., 2005; Kipke, et al., 1995; Yates, et al., 1991). They tend to pool resources, such as money, drugs, food and clothing, and thus create street families that build trust and dependency on one another (McCarthy, B., Hagan, J. & Martin, M., 2002). In this alternative environment, the youth create their own norms and behaviors, which replace the intimacy, support and care normally provided by families. One 18-year old, heroin addicted Caucasian male from Pennsylvania claimed, "The people I was hanging out with in the squat, I guess they kinda desensitized me. I was just flyin a sign one night and somebody propositioned me…" Another 18-year old, heroin addicted Caucasian male from Chicago had a similar story: "I was out in the streets. People just

came back wit shitloads of money. And you know, we were all strung out dopeheads. That's how I got into it…" An 18-year old Hispanic male from New Jersey would use the money he received in the CSEC market to purchase drugs and other necessities for the fifteen other traveler youth with whom he was squatting in Brooklyn:

> I was usin drugs and…like the kids that…the scene I was hangin around in was like, you know, a lotta kids were doing that. It was on the Lower East Side. I would run away from home and then me…foster parents would come and look for me – and put me in Juvey Hall. But the scene I was with…like, a lotta the kids were like, you know, using drugs. And that's one a ways you would get money. A guy offered to gimme money for a specific thing…

Many of these self-identified traveler youth felt that following conventional norms, such as sitting in a classroom or working a nine to five job went against their beliefs and restricted their freedom. They could act on these principles and values by forming bonds with other traveler youth in an insular environment.

Transgender youth are similar to traveler youth in developing their own group norms and values, which are often times borne out of discrimination. As stated earlier, these youth tend to have lower self-esteem and self-worth, and find a means of identification and acceptance within this sub-culture. Because finding acceptance in mainstream society is extremely difficult, transgender youth tend to lack agency which constrains their choices. Engaging in the CSEC market is one of the only viable options for them to make money and gain acceptance within a group. One 18-year old mixed race transgender first engaged in the CSEC market in New Orleans because she was unable to find a job:

> It started in New Orleans, cause you have a rough patch, when I told my parents that I was homosexual. And they got very outta hand, so they kicked me out the house. So in order to survive, I had to start doin my own thing. A job was very hard to find in New Orleans…So my next bet was either go out to the street and make money, or…sell drugs. I mean, the drug thing wasn't my thing, so…

Another 17-year old African American transgender from Georgia complained that she was unable to find a job due to lack of identification and was indoctrinated by another transgendered teen:

> I was livin in a shelter after moving here from Savannah and I was hungry and didn't have any other money. It was hard for me to get a job because a resident at the shelter had stole all my identification. And I had a friend that was doing this – she's a trans – and she was like, you know, you don't have any money so you gotta do what you gotta do.

Transgender youth have very few options for employment, housing, and social support, which would allow them to build normative social capital. As a result, the peer group, which may include alternative deviant norms, is able to gain influence.

Leaving "the life"

According to social capital theorists, access to and use of social resources, such as wealth, power and status, that are embedded in social networks can lead to better socioeconomic status (Lin, Cooke and Burt, 2002; Bourdieu, 1980; Putnam, 1993; Coleman, 1994). However, if an individual's social network does not have access to these social resources, he will find it difficult obtaining these resources outside of his network. Youth "whose human and social capital remains undeveloped are destined for unemployment" (Braithwaite, 2001, p. 242). High levels of human and social capital are usually passed down from parents to their children (Coleman, 1994; Braithwaite, 2001). Yet, for children whose families lack endowments of human and social capital, they are forced to rely on state-funded resources (e.g., welfare, public school education, public housing) and friends that may not help them achieve high levels of normative social capital, but do allow them to survive. Because CSEC youth are classified as dependents,

they are unable to access the state-funded resources on their own; thus, they are forced to rely on family members for their needs. If the family members are unable to access these resources or do not use them to satisfy the needs of their children, the youth are then forced to survive on their own. Youth who are a part of a deviant social network are less likely to establish the human capital (education and job skills) needed to rise above their disadvantageous situations and more inclined to depend on social resources that promote criminal behavior (e.g. selling drugs and prostitution), also known as criminal capital (Reisig, Holtfreter and Morash, 2002). Thus, attempts to leave "the life" grow increasingly more difficult as their ability to develop human capital, which in turn will help build normative social capital, diminishes.

Wanting to leave "the life"

When the youth were asked if they would like to leave "the life", an overwhelming majority, 87% (n=211), stated that they would like to exit if given the opportunity (see Table 6.2). In many ways, this was not a surprising finding because their lives seemed, for the most part, quite difficult and often unpleasant. Most of the narratives included the desire to stop what they were doing and move their lives in another direction. For example, one 18-year old mixed-race female from the Bronx who had been in the market for more than three years told the researchers:

> I think that people should know the only reason why you should start selling your body is if you are...at rock-bottom. And you really don't have anybody. I just wanna advise anybody to please find another way, 'cause it's really not worth it to go through all the crap.

An 18-year old Black female from Brooklyn who said that she started at 16, was decidedly negative about her experience in the market:

> The profession is hard. It take away from you every day that you do it. It's not something that you can do with pride. It's like, it eats at you and like you'll get tired of it. And then you're gonna wanna stop. Like, anything can happen. You can end up pregnant with a disease, and you don't know how you got it. You can get killed, 'cause there's a lotta crazy people out here. It's crazy!

Table 6.2: *Youth that would like to leave to leave "the life" by gender*

Youth Would Like to Leave "The Life"	Females (n=117)	Males (n=107)	Transgender (n=19)	Total (n=243)
Yes	87.2%	85.0%	94.7%	86.8%
No	6.8%	8.4%	0.0%	7.0%
Don't Know	6.0%	6.5%	5.3%	6.2%

Even though the overwhelming majority of youth in this study said that they wanted to leave "the life", most of them did not have a plan to execute it, and many had difficulty even envisioning an exit route. Several of the youth said that reuniting with their family was one potential route, but very few described their families as a hopeful or potential option. For example, one 17-year old Portuguese male from Massachusetts blamed the lack of good parenting as one of the main reasons he strayed toward a deviant social network:

> I was actually a good kid, but my parents weren't around. My father was never there. My mother left me until I was about eight years old. Then she came back, and it just didn't work. So, having good parents…

A 17-year old white female from Brooklyn who moved in with a "friend" at age 13, seemed to hold out some hope that her family could someday be repaired:

> I need a better home life. I want my parents to come to me and really wanna fix whatever problems we have. Whatever problems they have...

But many youth did not mention their family as a possible route out of the market, and their sense of isolation was palpable. An 18-year old white female from out of the city

who said that she started at age 16, seemed resigned to staying in "the life" for the foreseeable future:

> Death definitely isn't scaring me from it. Maybe if somebody that cared came along, then I could have help. Maybe a counselor or a friend... but it's hard to make friends that aren't doing what you're doing.

Some teens seemed to believe that the only way out was to get away from it all. An 18-year old Hispanic male from the Bronx said that he believed that the only way he could move on was by leaving NYC altogether:

> I used to have respect for myself. I always thought I was headstrong and that I was gonna make it -- I had plans. I had plans for my life. And...I'm nowhere. I'm nowhere near that path. I would like to get back on it, but you know, I don't see it happening. If I was to leave New York, I could do it. I know I could do it.

Another 17-year old African American female felt that she had to stop associating with her deviant friends, and in order to do that she had to move out of NYC:

> I have to stop…hangin out with the people I'm hanging out with, and just – change. And maybe move away for a little bit.

Although the desire to leave "the life" is evident, what prevents most of the youth from doing so is precisely what brought them in: the lack of necessary resources and alternatives. They essentially feel "forced" to do what they have to do in order to survive, which includes engaging in the CSEC market.

Narratives on "the life"

Although the reason most cited as to why the youth continued to engage in the CSEC market was that it is "fast and easy money"; in actuality it seemed that some of the youth were trying to justify why they continued to be involved in the market (see Table 6.3). When asked what they disliked the most about "the life", the youth stated reasons ranging from "sex" to "being homeless" (see Table 6.4). However, the most common response

was the fact that they felt that they were left with no choice but to engage in the market in order to survive, even when it went against their belief system. Several of the youth that identified as heterosexual would serve male clientele because they knew that it was what the market demanded of them and it was rare to find female customers. One 18-year old Asian male from Manhattan stated, "I kind of like to think of myself as not homosexual and you know you gotta do…You gotta eat and you gotta live." Similarly, an 18-year old Black male from Brooklyn claimed, "I don't consider myself homosexual at all. I just gotta do what I gotta do and so I can eat every day. I don't like the fact that I have to be with another man just to survive. That's what I hate the most."

Many of the youth talked at length about the shame, stigma, degradation and loneliness they felt on a constant basis while in the market. Many said that being labeled and stigmatized by their family, peers, and society overall, left them with low self-esteem and self-worth, which often resulted in an inability to leave "the life." For one 18-year old transgender from the Bronx, it seemed to be a vicious cycle:

> There are a lotta dangers. There are health dangers, there are dangers with the law. There are dangers with...yourself, because, it's like...when you're doin' something on a routine basis -- you sort of become what you're doing. You sorta label yourself as what you do. But you're not, you're just a regular person, that's who you are. (566)

An 18-year old Hispanic and white female from Brooklyn worried about the stigma:

> A lotta people frown down on it. They frown on what you're doing. But, like, some of them don't know that's like the only way some people can survive.

Another 18-year old white female from Manhattan who lived on the streets said that she was unable to have a healthy relationship with her mother or a boyfriend because of her lifestyle:

> It's degrading. It's dirty. It's shameful. I can't tell my mom what I do. And it's…hard for me to be in a relationship with somebody when I do that. I have to lie to them and go behind their backs most of the time.

Table 6.3: *Things the youth like about "the life" by gender*

Things Youth Like About "The Life"*	Females (n=118)	Males (n=105)	Transgender (n=19)	Total (n=242)
Fast Money	38.7%	38.7%	42.1%	39.0%
Nothing	31.1%	19.8%	31.6%	26.1%
Freedom	14.3%	9.9%	0.0%	11.2%
Everything	3.4%	6.3%	15.8%	5.6%
Customers	2.5%	5.4%	5.3%	4.0%
Drugs	2.5%	0.9%	10.5%	2.4%
Sex	0.8%	3.6%	5.3%	2.4%
Other	10.1%	17.1%	15.8%	13.7%
Don't Know	0.0%	1.8%	0.0%	0.8%

*youth chose more than one answer

Table 6.4: *Things the youth dislike about "the life" by gender*

Things Youth Dislike About The Life*	Females (n=116)	Males (n=105)	Transgender (n=19)	Total (n=240)
Sex	28.6%	24.3%	21.1%	26.1%
Everything	20.2%	9.9%	21.1%	15.7%
Customers	16.8%	8.1%	26.3%	13.7%
Being Homeless	8.4%	13.5%	0.0%	10.0%
Risk of Getting Harmed	6.7%	4.5%	10.5%	6.0%
Nothing	5.0%	5.4%	5.3%	5.2%
Addiction	0.8%	6.3%	0.0%	3.2%
Risk of Getting Caught	0.8%	1.8%	21.1%	2.8%
Money	1.7%	0.9%	0.0%	1.2%
Other	19.3%	28.8%	26.3%	24.1%
Don't Know	0.0%	0.9%	0.0%	0.4%

*youth chose more than one answer

An 18-year old Black male from Brooklyn reflected on his disappointment in living up to the lessons that he learned early in life:

> My mother taught me a lesson. If you're ashamed a sumpin'... don't do it, you know? But at the same time, and I live by that, I live by that rule, but at the same time, when you're in the position that I'm in, it's hard to live by it. You know, because I'm very much ashamed of what I do, you know?

One 18-year old multi-racial male from Arizona who said that he started at age 15, described some of the emails he received regarding his ads on the internet:

> The fact that people think that I'm doing it because I want to, I mean, I get replies all the time on e-mail, and they tell me, "You know, why don't you just get a job?" Well, no shit Sherlock! Honestly! I don't know, I would like someone to be able to offer me something.

Without the positive support from non-deviant relationships and lacking the resources of adequate employment, housing and education, the youth became further entrenched in "the life" and their ability to leave it became increasingly difficult and almost unfeasible.

Resources needed to leave "the life"

Most youth, it seemed, blamed themselves for their predicament, but they also admitted that, with help, they might have a chance to get out, or at least, improve their lives. The scarcity of steady employment or a stable place to live was cited by many as the primary factors that kept them in the market (see Table 6.5). For many youth who wanted to get out of "the life", there were deep concerns about finding a job and making money, especially a job that paid as much as they were making and that could support their lifestyle. More than half of the teens interviewed (60%, n=150) said that stable employment was necessary for them to leave the market (followed by education (51%, n=128) and stable housing (41%, n=103)). One 18-year old African American female who was recruited by a pimp at age 15 believed that a lot of girls felt trapped due to lack of options:

> It's extremely hard to get out. It's like a lotta girls, the whole mindset be trapped because…they have no assistance. If I leave this person, am I gonna be able to get housing, am I gonna be able to eat, will I have clothes on my back?

One 16-year old Puerto Rican female, who lived with her family and supported her siblings with the money she earned from sex work, stated, "If I could find a job that paid $8-$10/hr I could support my brothers and sisters." A 16-year old Italian male from Brooklyn noted that:

> If there was another way to make this much money, without, you know, an education. I'm not even graduating high school yet. I have a long way to go in my school career, but if there's another way for a kid my age to make this much money, tell me 'cause I'll do it.

A 17-year old Black/Hispanic female from Brooklyn who said that she started at age 12 said that she felt too entrenched in the market to exit:

> I really wanna stop now, but I can't, 'cause I have no source of income since I'm too young. So it's like that I have to do it, it's not like I wanna do it. As I say, I'm only 17, I got a 2-year old daughter, so that means I got pregnant real young. Didn't have no type of medicaid... Can't get a job, have no legal guardian, I don't have nobody to help me but [friends], so you know, we all in this together.

Table 6.5: *Changes needed to leave "the life" by gender*

Changes Needed to Leave The Life*	Females (n=118)	Males (n=109)	Transgender (n=19)	Total (n=246)
Steady Employment	61.3%	56.8%	73.7%	60.2%
Education	52.9%	49.5%	52.6%	51.4%
Stable Housing	39.5%	45.0%	31.6%	41.4%
Quit Addiction	9.2%	13.5%	10.5%	11.2%
Maturity	8.4%	7.2%	5.3%	7.6%
Positive Support System	6.7%	3.6%	0.0%	4.8%
Other	3.4%	2.7%	10.5%	3.6%
Don't Know	4.2%	5.4%	5.3%	4.8%
Don't Want to Leave	5.9%	6.3%	0.0%	5.6%

*youth chose more than one answer

An 18-year old African American transgender from Brooklyn was particularly bleak when discussing the lack of opportunities afforded to transgender youth in NYC:

> Some of these girls, where we come from, college is not really an option all the time. Like in Brooklyn, they don't always think about college all the time. And then, with the girls, its even worse because some of us don't even think we gonna make it out of our teens, some of us don't think we gonna live to see college. We don't get the same opportunity. Even though we are people just like other people, you really can't tell the difference when we walk down the street. We have the insecurity that somebody's gonna find out, you know?

Without access to these social resources, the majority of the youth in this study felt that they would not be able to exit "the life." However, gaining access to these amenities proved even more difficult given that the youth had a dearth of positive relationships with individuals that could provide the tools needed to build both human and normative social capital.

Conclusion

This qualitative chapter set out to illustrate that the lack of alternatives available to prostituted youth the beliefs that they have very few options (if any) but to engage in the CSEC market in order to survive. Research has shown that "social capital can contribute to inequality by leveling down people's aspirations" (Harper, 2001, p. 12; Ledeneva, 1998, p. 82; Portes, 1998). As a result, groups that struggle with adversity and controvert mainstream society come together and create their own norms and modes of survival. Social scientists have found that the more time youth spend with their friends (sociability), the more they are exposed to group norms which can lead to delinquent behaviors (Adamczyk & Felson, 2006; Felson, 2002). These group norms often prevent the group from attaining normative social capital since their ambitions are leveled downward (Portes, 1998). Youth who do not have the proper resources to build social capital in normative social networks (e.g., positive social support network, stable

housing, and educational opportunities) are more likely to seek out relationships with youth from similar backgrounds. They do not have the comfort level to identify with mainstream groups and norms. Because the majority of the prostituted youth in this study were either homeless or depended on their friends for housing, their attachments to their friends who are in a similar situation grew even stronger.

Juveniles who foster strong attachments to their friends value their friendships more than other relationships in their lives, and will do almost anything not to jeopardize those friendships (Hirschi, 1969). This is especially true for teens that have very little, if any, parental supervision, and rely solely on their friends for support and approval. One study (Radcliffe and Stevens, 2008) found that being part of a drug-taking community can provide a source of identity and provides a sense of meaning to the drug abusers' lives. The same can be said about the CSEC population. By being part of a social network that is involved in similar deviant behaviors, the youth feel less stigmatized and are provided with a sense of identity and trust. As a result, they adopt the behaviors and attitudes of their friends in order to be accepted and not risk weakening the relationships they have grown to depend upon. Because prostituted youth develop social networks with other prostituted and/or deviant youth, their agency is further diminished and their exposure to outside positive influences is decreased; thus limiting their alternatives.

The youth in this study provided a plethora of narratives to support the hypothesis for this chapter. Due to the lack of alternatives available to them, they felt that their only possibility of surviving was to engage in the CSEC market. This deprivation arose from several places: economic desperation, lack of parental support and the group norms and behaviors adapted by the friends within their affiliated sub-groups. Although past

research has indicated that pimps are the main recruiting agent into the child sexual exploitation market, this study has shown that friends have a large part in persuading the youth to partake in the market. However, as the youth become more and more entrenched in the lifestyle, the less hope they have in being able to find legitimate alternatives for survival.

Even if the youth wanted to leave "the life", as most in this study did, the resources needed to do so (e.g. stable employment and housing, education and positive social support) were extremely limited. Being "forced" to do something they wouldn't normally chose to do in order to survive resulted in feelings of guilt, shame and isolation. The youth felt stigmatized by their family, friends and even strangers that they passed on the street. This often prevented the youth from seeking help from the few social service agencies that did have access to some of these resources, and that could possibly help them in establishing the human capital (education and job skills) needed to rise above their disadvantageous situations. Without the ability to establish human capital, the youth have very little chance of building the normative social capital needed to lead a productive life that does not involve deviant behavior.

Chapter 7

General Discussion and Conclusion

This study sought to remove the veil covering the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC), a devastating problem that has been garnering a lot of media attention in the past decade, but is still relatively misunderstood. This dissertation has sought to add value to the extant body of knowledge surrounding this issue. Chapter one introduced the background to the commercial sexual exploitation of children and identified the overarching research question: what are the attributes of the deviant social sub-networks of the CSEC population, and how do these networks affect the youths' ability to build normative social capital. Chapter two contained a review of the research literature on the commercial sexual exploitation and provided alternative explanations to this issue, which were rooted in social capital theories. The consensus is that social capital is based on social networks, and when these social networks are rooted in deviancy, they can create their own group norms which influence the attitudes and behaviors of its members. Chapter three described the methodology used to recruit all 329 subjects, and the challenges the research team faced while trying to collect the data, which led to a number of changes to the original proposal.

The next three chapters tested the individual hypotheses and provided the subsequent results. Taken together, these results provide a picture of the CSEC networks and its members and the role social capital plays in the youths' ability to eventually exit the CSEC lifestyle. A summary of the results is reported in the following section, followed by discussions of the inherent limitations of this research. Methodological,

theoretical and policy implications regarding the commercial sexual exploitation of children and directions for future research are also addressed.

Discussion of the Findings

The hypotheses for this research were somewhat exploratory as very little previous research had been conducted on the attributes of the networks of commercially sexually exploited youth and its members to give direction to this dissertation. To gain a better understanding of the CSEC population in New York City, a sample of 329 youth was recruited using RDS methods to generate a prevalence rate for the CSEC population, provide a reliable and rich description of the attributes of the CSEC networks and its members, examine the role of social capital in the youths' lives and the necessity to possess normative social capital in order to exit "the life". The following section will discuss the overall findings from chapters three through six.

Methodology

The Respondent Driven Sampling method was used to recruit the subjects for this study since this method has previously been effective in recruiting representative samples of hard-to-reach groups by taking advantage of intra-group social connections to build a sample pool (Abdul-Quader, Heckathorn, Sabin, and Saidel 2006; Heckathorn 1997, 2002; Heckathorn, Semaan, Broadhead, and Hughes 2002; Robinson et al. 2006). However, the project challenged all of the researchers involved both methodologically and emotionally. Methodologically, the initial definition of the problem that was based upon previous research and others' experience with the CSEC population, which led the

research team to plan for a study that was substantially different from the methods and techniques that were eventually employed during the data collection phase of the project. The adjustments to the research plan that were made in the field – abandoning the idea of meeting the youth where ever they pleased and interviewing them inside of a rental car, in favor of meeting in a conveniently-located public park where their friends could linger nearby and provide safety – challenged the researchers to quickly shift gears and abandon many of their notions about who the youth were, where and when they could be engaged, and what they were willing talk about.

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

RDS and Population Estimates

To estimate the size of the CSEC population in New York City, the dissertation used two methods. In the first, using a "capture-recapture" methodology, the RDS-generated sample was compared with arrest records provided by the Department of

Criminal Justice Services (DCJS) in 2005 and 2006, to calculate a population size of 3,946 youth. In the second, a new population estimation technique – using “special seeds” – was developed and tested to serve as mutual cross-validation against the "capture-recapture" estimate of the population size. The mean value of the population estimate obtained using the special seeds was 3,769, which is comparable to the population estimate obtained by the traditional capture-recapture technique. The application of the new technique in this study shows considerable promise – as is readily seen in the confluence of estimates obtained through classical "capture-recapture" and the special seed technique (Bouchard, 2007; Bouchard and Tremblay, 2005; Kendal, 1999; Roberts and Brewer, 2006). Future research will need to be conducted to test the theoretical hypotheses in which the special seed technique can be made to reliably generate population estimates.

One important caveat to the population estimates attempted in this study is that they calculate the number of youth that are likely to exist within the universe from which they sample, that is, they estimate the number of youth who stand a chance of getting recruited into the study, but not those who stand no chance of being recruited. The research demonstrated that it was possible to recruit pimped youth into the study, but there are some CSEC sub-groups that are likely to be excluded from this estimate, e.g., those who are trafficked into New York City from other countries to work in tightly controlled in indoor environments, and whose lack of cultural and linguistic skills make it impossible for them to network with the larger universe of CSEC youth. To the degree that these sub-groups exist – and there is no doubt that some do exist – the CSEC population will be larger than what this study has estimated. Unfortunately, the

methodology employed here cannot offer any insight into the size of this component of the CSEC population, and none of the youth that were recruited into the study offered any anecdotal information that hinted at the existence or prevalence of these youth. Other methods of investigation are required to gain insight into the number of these types of youth.

RDS Data and the composition of the CSEC Population

In addition to demonstrating that the commercial sexual exploitation of children currently afflicts approximately 4,000 youth ages 18 and younger in New York City, chapter four also provided results that posed a greater challenge to conventional wisdom. Although it is likely that most CSEC youth are female, the evidence obtained in this study suggests that there is a significant male population as well, especially in the borough of Manhattan. Even with the alterations to the recruitment of research subjects that were implemented to favor the recruitment of girls, boys still outnumbered girls in the sample. Past research has focused on the role that pimps play in the recruitment of young girls into the CSEC market and the coercive tactics they employ to force the girls to remain in "the life" (Bracey, 1979; Gray, 1973; Kennedy, et al., 2007; Norton-Hawk, 2001; Silbert & Pines, 1983). However, as these results demonstrate, boys and transgender youth are just as commercially sexually exploited, if not more so, than girls.

The RDS homophily data showed that both boys and girls were slightly more inclined to recruit other boys into the study. Yet the number of boys in the market is likely to be less than what RDS estimated for them because 35% of the boys were determined to be ineligible for the study (because they were too old or not involved in CSEC activities). Because of the large number of boys that were recruited in the initial

stages of data collection, the project altered the recruitment process to favor girls, especially pimped girls. But one interesting finding from an analysis of the recruitment process was that non-pimped youth, including males, successfully recruited pimped youth, but pimped girls did not recruit other pimped youth. The project demonstrated that it is possible to recruit a sample of pimped youth, but the patterns of recruitment suggest that pimped youth are not very adept at recruiting each other.

The findings from chapter four indicated that most CSEC youth were not trafficked into the country. Foreign-born youth accounted for less than 10% of the interview sample and over half the youth in the sample were born in raised in one of the five boroughs in New York City, a finding consistent with past research which has shown that a large percentage of prostituted youth are often born and raised locally (Robertson & Toro, 1998; Schick, 1981; Yates, et al., 1991). The actual percentage of foreign-born youth may be higher, since the figures are likely to under-represent girls who are trafficked and then tightly controlled by adults in indoor environments. Nonetheless, the results raise questions concerning the true extent of overlap between CSEC and international human trafficking.

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

but the sample appears to have accomplished the goal of geographic representation of youth.

The RDS recruitment process also produced an estimate of the proportions of the various racial, ethnic or national identities claimed by the youth within the overall CSEC population. Black youth were estimated to be the largest single group within the population, but there was a significant presence of other groups, including 23% whites, 23% Hispanics, and 22% of the youth who identified as "multi-racial." But in terms of who recruited whom: white youth were very likely to recruit other white youth; Black youth had a slight tendency to recruit other Blacks, but Hispanic youth were somewhat more likely to recruit non-Hispanics than members of their own group. And multi-racial youth were just as likely to recruit another multi-racial youth as they were a member of another group. This is consistent with findings from past research regarding prostituted youth and racial background (Dalla, 2000; Norton-Hawk, 2001 and Rotheram-Borus, et al., 1992).

The findings from chapter four provided further evidence of a high correlation between drug and alcohol abuse and sexual exploitation (Clatts, et al., 1998; Clatts & Davis, 1999; Gaetz & O'Grady, 2002; Gwadz, et al., 2005; Kipke, et al., 1995; Yates, et al., 1991) since 85% of the youth recruited for the study abused some type of drug or alcohol. Additionally, a large majority of the youth who did not abuse drugs or alcohol still recruited other juveniles who did. This suggests that although there is a small number of youth who do not abuse drugs or alcohol, they are still likely to have a network of friends who do.

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

Demographic profile of a complex and diversifying population of youth

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

African American and "mixed race" youth made up nearly half of the sample, while about a quarter of the sample of youth was white or Hispanic. The average level of education for the sample was approximately tenth grade, with over one quarter dropping out before completing ninth grade. The majority of the youth in the sample said that they were born in New York City, but many were currently homeless, with 32% of them "living in the street," though girls more often than boys described themselves as living in their "family home," in a "friend's home," or in "another home." These findings – that many youth are from New York City and less than half of them are homeless – lend credence to the anecdotal reports from the police and past research (Clatts & Davis, 1999;

Nandon, et al., 1998; Robertson & Toro, 1998; Schick, 1981 and Yates, et al., 1991) that that have characterized an increase in CSEC markets over the last several years as being populated by local youth rather than youth imported from outside of New York City, especially from "down south." There are no reliable statistics that can inform us about the composition of CSEC markets in the past, but it seems entirely plausible that there has been an increase in the number of local neighborhood youth that are participants in CSEC markets, and if so, it begs the question of what is going on in New York City neighborhoods to produce this outcome.

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

Friends and Peers

Girls, boys and transgender youth all reported surprisingly high percentages of their "friends" as responsible for their entry to the markets (46%, 44%, and 68%, respectively), though some of these "friends" seemed as though they were simply acting as surrogate recruiters for pimps. Still, most friends did not appear to have or need pimps; they were already deeply involved in CSEC markets themselves, and many youth said that their friends put them directly in touch with their first customers. Past research has shown that youth with limited access to positive external influences and information create strong bonding networks with friends that are likely to foster deleterious norms of behavior (Ferlander, 2007). The more an individual relies on their deviant network for support and survival, the more embedded he will become in that network. If the role of "friends" in initiating youth into CSEC markets is as large as the data suggest – nearly half of the time – this complicates our view of their victimization, so often seen as the outcome of adult manipulation and exploitation. It suggests that youth turn to their friends first at critical junctures in their lives – perhaps because there are so few choices available to them for help – and that efforts to prevent their entry into the market may benefit from greater attempts to recognize and provide appropriate responses when these crises happen.

Many youths' accounts of their initiation into CSEC markets were accompanied by narratives of economic desperation, but some young people did not talk about their need for money; instead, they described social contexts where sex work seemed integral to their peer networks, and these networks seemed to draw in others over time. This was particularly true among the traveler and transgendered youth. This suggests that

juveniles who foster strong attachments to their friends value their friendships more than other relationships in their lives, and will do almost anything not to jeopardize those friendships (Hirschi, 1969). Thus, CSEC peer groups were not only vital to youths' entry into the market, but also to their ability to engage the market and their decision to remain in "the life." Some of their networks were quite extensive and over one quarter of the teens claimed to know 20 or more CSEC youth, an additional 20% of the youth said that they knew between 10 and 20 other CSEC youth. There was a widespread ethos of among CSEC youth of helping each other out, even if they did not knew each other very well, and this orientation extended into the market and beyond, which often results in the creation of group norms . These group norms often prevent CSEC youth from attaining social capital since their ambitions are leveled downward to those of the group.

Despite the competition that existed in the market, some youth said that they felt an obligation to help their peers find customers, and provide emotional and financial support. This impulse was partially an outcome of the strong bonds that some youth developed with members of their peer group, but was also likely the outcome of the isolation that was so deeply expressed by many youth and the lack of any other source of help to solve their problems. Youth who do not have the proper resources to build normative social capital (e.g., positive social support network, stable housing, and educational opportunities) are more likely to seek out relationships with other youth who come from similar backgrounds since there is a level of comfort and lack of judgment that allow the youth to bond and survive with few tangible resources.

Current Services for Youth

Nearly all of the youth in this sample (87%) expressed a desire to exit; however, felt that the lack of alternatives available to them constrained their choices to the point where they had very few options (if any) but to engage in the CSEC market in order to survive. This was born out of economic desperation, lack of parental support and the group norms and behaviors adapted by the friends within their affiliated sub-groups. In order to successfully exit "the life," the youth highlighted the need for services and support, and identified employment, educational, and housing services as particularly important to build human capital. Their frequent portrayals of family dysfunction, coupled with reports of daily violence and fear in their current lives, suggest a need for intensive counseling services as well. The kinds of needs that the youth expressed in research interviews largely mirrored those that were previously assumed to exist by the city's policymakers.

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

Despite the availability of services to youth in New York City, one-third of the youth in the sample said that they had not visited an agency; some said that they did not need help, others said that they did not know about the agencies or that they were too embarrassed or ashamed to seek help. Aggressive outreach efforts – perhaps through peer-directed recruitment – are needed to engage the segment of the CSEC population that is not currently receiving services. Without access to these resources, the youth have very little chance of building the normative social capital needed to lead a productive life that does not involve deviant behavior.

Reflections on "the Life"

When the youth were asked if they would like to leave "the life", 87% said, yes, but most quickly added that they were doing what they had to do to survive. Many youth talked at length about the shame, stigma, degradation and loneliness that they felt. They added that being labeled and stigmatized by their family, peers, and society overall, left them with low self-esteem and self-worth, which often resulted in an inability to leave "the life." Beside the self-loathing that they experienced from participating in CSEC markets, one of the youths' biggest dislikes was providing sexual services to strangers, and the risk of being raped or killed weighed most on their minds.

Despite the fear that they expressed about the violence and danger of the market, there was an attitude among many youth that they would survive, and that this was simply a stage in their life. Many youth said that they wanted to get out of "the life", but they had deep concerns about finding a job and making money, especially a job that paid as much as they were making and that could support their lifestyle. Even though the overwhelming majority of youth said that they wanted to leave "the life", most of them

did not have a plan for accomplishing it, and many had difficulty envisioning an exit route. Most youth, it seemed, blamed themselves for their predicament, but they also admitted that, with help, they might have a chance to get out, or at least, improve their lives. More than half of the teens said that stable employment was necessary for them to leave the CSEC market, followed by education and stable housing. When asked what kind of help could be useful for teens like themselves, they suggested a number of services, including greater outreach initiatives and more non-judgmental counseling.

Social capital and commercial sexual exploitation of children

Social capital theories were used to explain many of the findings throughout this dissertation. Many of the youth recruited for this study did not possess any normative social capital, but there are some that did. The results from chapter five suggest that those youth who had pre-existing normative social capital, and were able to maintain it while engaged in the CSEC market, were more likely to seek the help of an individual who possesses higher levels of normative social capital. As a result, these youth have a better chance of exiting the market and building more of their own normative social capital.

Prostituted youth with limited access to adults who possess a high level of normative social capital are more likely to create strong bonds with their network of friends, many of whom engage in the CSEC market, which ultimately decreases their ability to build non-deviant social capital of their own. The more embedded CSEC youth are in their deviant social networks, the less likely they will be able to develop relationships outside their social sphere that could provide them with the social support

and resources they need to exit “the life”. Thus, as demonstrated in chapter six, the youths’ agency is further diminished, and as a result, their choices become more constrained and they lack access to positive alternatives. They feel that their only chance for survival is engaging in the CSEC market. One sub-group that is most affected by this is transgender youth. Many have been alienated from their families, and because society in general has a difficult time accepting their gender identity, they feel even more ashamed, isolated and stigmatized. They turn to their friends for support and guidance, and because sex work has become more or less normalized by their peers, transgender youth feel that engaging in the CSEC market is their only chance at survival.

By using social capital theories to explain the issues surrounding prostituted youth, we can better understand what actions need to be taken to help them exit “the life.” Without access to a positive social network that includes adults with high levels of normative social capital, and without the provision of resources, such as stable housing, employment and education, prostituted youth will not be able to build social capital of their own. And, as this dissertation has shown, without normative social capital, prostituted youth have little chance of leaving “the life” and leading healthy productive lives.

Limitations

Despite all of the innovations that were made implementing cutting-edge research methods in the recruitment of sexually exploited youth, a number of compromises were made that weakened the quality of the data. In particular, the original number of 200 youth that the study intended to recruit via RDS proved to be too small to adequately

represent some portions of the CSEC population that were known to exist (especially pimped girls), and thus, the study extended its recruitment goal beyond the original target to help ensure that subgroups within the CSEC population were adequately represented (i.e., that there were a sufficient number of them to perform meaningful statistical measures). At the end of the data collection phase, 329 youth had been recruited by the project, but the limitations of time and money and the desire to ensure that some sub-populations were included in the sample, resulted in the discontinuation of the expansion of the various recruitment trees according to the rules that govern RDS recruitment near the end of the project. As the project approached the target of 200 interviews, there was concern about an insufficient number of girls versus boys in the sample, especially pimped girls, and eventually only girls were recruited for the study. This, of course, considerably diminished the capacity of the project to sustain recruitment trees, and while it did boost the number of girls recruited into the project, it did so at the expense of the quality of the RDS data, which was skewed by this new directed recruitment strategy. One remedy to this problem would be to recruit a much larger sample so that recruitment trees grow long enough to ensure adequate representation from sub-groups in the larger network (or determine that sub-groups are not sufficiently connected to make them part of the extended network), but this project did not have the luxury of time or money to recruit such a large number of youth.

In focusing the questionnaire on current market conditions and avoiding questions that might lead the youth to feel emotionally distressed, the project also compromised the depth of information that might have otherwise been collected about their lives. Yet it could also be argued that much of the information that one might want to know about

these youth – such as which factors from their childhood were most critical to their subsequent entry into CSEC markets – is not best collected retrospectively because people have very selective memories that may edit out the very factors that were critical in their development while focusing attention on others that were not. But despite the intention of focusing on present-day behavior to avoid the emotional trauma or skewed accounts that asking about the past might elicit, many youth insisted on discussing their past anyway, and they often attempted to rationalize their behavior or their experiences with precisely the types of accounts that we were careful to avoid asking about.

One of the goals of this dissertation was to conduct both qualitative and quantitative analyses; however, because the dissertation was born out of a study funded by NIJ, who were mainly interested in a population estimate and the characteristics and needs of the CSEC population, the data collected for this study was almost all qualitatively based, with the exception of the RDS data, which presented several issues during the coding and analysis process. During the data collection stage, certain measures were not taken to ensure that the data being collected would be usable in traditional quantitative statistical methods. For example, interviews did not consistently follow the interview protocol, which resulted in a large amount of missing data for a number of the variables, which rendered them unusable. Additionally, only a limited number of questions were asked that could be coded as continuous variables, which restricted the types of statistical methods that could be employed. As a result, my original research questions and hypotheses had to be modified so that they could be answered using the more reliable variables in the dataset.

There were only two main requirements that were mandated for a subject to participate in this study: the individual must have been 18 years of age or younger and must have been offering sexual services in exchange for money, food, shelter or drugs. Because the majority of the collected data relied on self-reporting, there was a strong possibility of deception, particularly with regards to the age of the subject and his or her involvement in prostitution. Since there was a monetary incentive for participating in the study, an individual was even more inclined to "fit" the subject criteria, and might have went to great lengths to deceive the researcher. As stated earlier, a process was put in place to check the veracity of the interviews, which resulted in the exclusion of 80 interviews. However, this does not meant that the remaining 249 cases did not involve deception. Additionally, self reported data cannot be independently verified, which could have resulted in an under- or over-estimation of the actual population prevalence and network characteristics.

New York City is the most populated city in the United States; however, based on its diverse population, the data collected for this study is not necessarily generalizable to the rest of the country. Thus, some might question the external validity of the research findings. For example, in past studies on CSEC that were conducted on the west coast and the mid-west, a large majority of the research subjects were Caucasian. Yet in New York, African American and Hispanic juveniles make up a large percentage of runaway and homeless youth, and adolescents involved in the child welfare system. Although the findings may not be applicable to all cities, they still provide a better understanding of the CSEC problem, and will hopefully urge others to replicate the study in other cities across the U.S.

Methodological Implications

This study broke new ground in the study of hidden populations. In using Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) methods to recruit a sample of youth, the study demonstrated that the CSEC population was highly networked rather than composed of isolated pockets of youth who were connected by a few fragile bridges. The study also proved that the RDS method was successful in reaching what is considered one of the largest unknown populations. Because the commercial sexual exploitation of children is an issue that affects not only the United States, but many countries all over the world, finding a method that is able to reach all networked sub-groups of the CSEC population in any city, in any country can help us better understand the problem and effectively combat the issue. Although the respondent driven sampling method requires some training for users, the required software is user friendly and could be easily adapted for other studies looking at hidden populations. This study could be replicated in almost any city, state or country if one is granted sufficient funds and has a dedicated staff, which is necessary to successfully employ this method.

Theoretical Implications

Social capital theories have been used to explain phenomena in a wide range of fields including education, the economy, health and well-being, civic duty, democratization and crime and deviancy. Research often measures social capital by looking at variables such as trust, education, cooperation, reciprocity, and volunteering, but few studies look at what foundation and services are needed in order to build normative social capital.

Without non-deviant social capital, an individual will have great difficulty finding stable housing and employment and a positive support system, which are all essential for living a healthy and productive life. This dissertation examined what tools and resources are necessary for a youth to build social capital in rule conforming social networks. Future research will need to be conducted to better understand how social capital fits into these youths' lives, and how building social capital can help them to exit the CSEC market without recidivism.

Policy Implications

Many of the findings from the NIJ study have considerable policy implications, particularly for CSEC initiatives that are currently being pursued by policymakers such as the Safe Harbor for Exploited Youth Act. Although many of the needs cited by the youth were in line with what policymakers already expected among this population, other results propounded a greater challenge to conventional wisdom. Although it is likely that most CSEC youth are female, the evidence obtained in this study suggests that there is a significant male population as well. Yet, this population remains almost invisible in the shadow cast by the stereotypical CSEC victims: pimped girls. In fact, several of the provisions outlined in the Safe Harbor Act target girls exclusively. The evaluation also yielded interesting implications regarding the roles of pimps and customers, and the general policy, expressed by stakeholders and apparent in official arrest data, not to target the solicitors of child prostitution for enforcement.

Based on the information that is now known about commercially sexually exploited youth, the following suggestions could help implement more successful and effective policy changes to the existing legislation:

- As boys and transgender youth make up a significant portion of the CSEC population, the focus can no longer be solely on girls. Services that are currently available to prostituted girls also need to be offered to prostituted boys and transgenders, which include: emergency shelter, long-term housing, intensive counseling, medical services, educational opportunities, life-skills and job training and employment opportunities.
- Mandating youth, either through the court system or by law enforcement, to partake in services will most likely not result in the youth exiting the life. As demonstrated by this study, prostituted youth are significantly influenced by their peers, whether it is through recruitment into the market or reasons to remain in the life. Thus, finding ways to infiltrate the youths' social networks will be instrumental in effectively delivering much needed services. One possible way to do this is to find, with the help of existing youth agencies, individuals with the largest and most diverse CSEC network and have them conduct outreach to their peers.
- Training youth agency staff and law enforcement will be key to gaining the trust of prostituted youth. Without the proper training, agency staff and law enforcement officials could discourage a youth from ever seeking help again. Almost, if not, all sexually exploited youth have severe, deep-seated issues with adults and authority, and if they are not approached in a non-judgmental and sympathetic manner, they will see no reason to leave the life.

To ensure that any and all policy changes are properly implemented, both the state and federal government will be required to set aside appropriate funding for both housing

and services. This will not be an inexpensive endeavor, and will require a dedicated team of professionals to map out an efficient and reliable plan. One fascinating outcome of interviewing the youth was the degree to which the study opened the door on what had been a taboo subject at some of the social service agencies where many of these youth were clients. About a month after the project began interviewing, the director of one agency that had referred some of the initial "seeds" to the project, commented that the interviews had broken the ice on the topic of prostitution, which had never been openly discussed in their group therapy sessions. The interviews, according to him, had opened a floodgate of discussion, but it remained unclear as to whether the reluctance to talk about this topic at social service agencies was because of the shame and the stigma that youth felt, or whether staff members at the agency had been reluctant to bring up the topic for fear of alienating their clients. Yet, with properly trained professionals, the topic of commercial sexual exploitation can be properly broached, and the youth can seek and ultimately receive the help they need without having to worry about being judged or further stigmatized.

A better understanding of the issues and needs surrounding commercially sexually exploited youth will require changing the mindset of not only policymakers, advocates and law enforcement, but also the public at large. If we continue to treat prostituted youth as offenders rather than victims, we will never succeed in combating this issue. Most importantly, more needs to be done to educate criminal justice administrators and the public about the harms of criminalizing the behavior of those who are most vulnerable to being exploited by adults.

Future Research

Since this is a cross-sectional study, only a single time frame was captured. This was sufficient in estimating a prevalence rate and gathering information on the characteristics and needs of the CSEC population, which will ultimately help to inform policy; however, it does not help to explain why and how juveniles "enter and exit" the prostitution market and the fluctuation of prevalence rates over a given time period. Further research will need to be conducted, particularly with a longitudinal framework, in order to answer these questions.

Because this study looked at the CSEC issue from a more macro-level perspective, the issues that specific sub-groups of the population are confronted with, such as drug abuse, risky sexual practices, normalization of sex work, peer acceptance, violence and stigmatization, need to be further investigated in order to better understand the needs of the different sub-groups. By looking at these issues from a microscopic level, we can better inform policy and appropriately serve the needs of the youth so that they can not only successfully exit the CSEC market, but possibly never enter it to begin with. This would entail focusing more narrowly on the characteristics and resources that the majority of the youth possess prior to entering the market, which can better inform professionals on the warning signs which could prevent them becoming commercially sexually exploited.

Now that we know that the CSEC population in New York City was highly networked rather than composed of isolated pockets of youth who were connected by a few fragile bridges, future analysis should be conducted on these social networks so that network topologies can be generated, which would provide more detailed information on

the make-up of these social networks. This would entail collecting network data on an individual level. In other words, it would require the youth to provide information on everyone they know who is involved in the CSEC market so that cycle data and differential degree evidence can be collected which are needed to generate the network topologies. Investigating the make-up of the network will allow us to better understand the density and multiplexity of the CSEC networks, which could ultimately help service providers more effectively serve the needs of this population.

Appendix A: NYS Penal Laws on prostitution related offenses

Prostitution as defined in the NY statute occurs when a "person engages or agrees or offers to engage in sexual conduct with another person in return for a fee." Sexual conduct is not defined within the statute.

In NYS, the five main subcategories of prostitution-related offenses are: prostitution, NYS Penal Law, Section 230.00; patronizing a prostitute (1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th degree) NYPL Sections 230.03-230.07; promoting prostitution (1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th degree) NYPL Sections 230.15, 230.20. 230.32, 230.35; permitting prostitution, NYPL 230.40; and loitering for the purpose of engaging in prostitution offense, NYPL Section 240.37.

Loitering for the purposes of engaging in prostitution is a separate offense defined in NYPL Section 240.37 of the NY Penal Code. This statute prohibits remaining in and/or wandering about a public place in order to engage in prostitution. Beckoning to cars and pedestrians, conversing or trying to converse with people walking by or blocking the sidewalk for the purpose of engaging in prostitution is a criminal offense separate from the crime of prostitution itself. It applies to those acting as prostitutes, those patronizing prostitutes and those who promote prostitution. Loitering for the purposes of prostitution is a violation at the first offense and thereafter, a misdemeanor offense.

Appendix B:

Oral Consent Form

A. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

You are invited to help us do a study of teenagers who engage in sex for money in New York City. The information I will give you can help you make a good choice about joining or not joining the study. We hope that the information we collect will help solve some of the problems that you and others in your situation face, and ensure that these problems become smaller and not bigger.

You are invited to be part of this study because you said you have had sex for money and you said you are less than 18 years of age. This study - sponsored by the National Institute of Justice - is being done by researchers from John Jay College.

B. PROCEDURES

If you agree to take part, you will participate in a 30-40 minute interview about prostituted teenagers in New York City. You may refuse to answer any questions at any time for any reason. If you refuse to answer a question or do not want to participate any further, you will not be penalized in any way.

Since we are interested in interviewing people like yourself who know about teens who have sex for money, after your interview, we will explain how you can help us recruit other people to participate in the study. If you want to end your participation at this point, you will not be penalized in any way. If you don't want to talk with us, you can stop at any time.

C. RISKS

There are minimal risks from being in this study, but our interview may cause you some stress. Remember, you are free to not answer any questions or stop the interview at any time, but our staff is trained to help you with your problems, and not make you anxious. All the answers you give will be kept private and confidential. They will not be given to the police or anyone else.

D. BENEFITS

Benefits you may get from being part of this study include referrals to local social service programs that can offer help for a wide variety of needs, including health and housing, to name a few. Our staff is specially trained in making appropriate referrals for you, and they will provide you with as much or as little help as you request. If you want us to take you to one of the places that can offer you help, we will do that.

Another benefit is that this study will help professionals learn more about how to better deal with the problems that you and others like you face.

E. COMPENSATION

To account for your time in answering questions, we will pay you $20 at the end of the interview or give you a gift certificate for the same amount

If you agree to participate in helping the project recruit additional people to interview, you will be paid $10 (or a gift certificate) for each eligible person that you recruit who completes the interview.

F. PERSONS TO CONTACT

This study is run by Ric Curtis, a professor at John Jay College. His phone number is (212) 237-8962. You may call him with any questions about your participation.

If you have questions about your rights as a study participant or if you feel that you have been harmed, contact Dr. Martin Wallenstein, the Chair of the Institutional Review Board at John Jay College. His number is 212-237-8364.

G. PRIVACY STATEMENT

Your participation in this study is completely confidential. Only a pseudonym (a fake name you pick) will be attached to your responses. No one except the study staff at John Jay College will have access to anything you tell us. The report on our findings will not be written in a way that would let someone who reads it figure out who you are.

While your responses are confidential, there is a very slight chance that an unauthorized person may get access to them. To prevent this from happening, you will not be asked to give your name or the names of persons you know to any member of the study team. Any answers that you give us on surveys or in interviews will be kept in a locked file cabinet at the study office, to which only specific study staff will have access.

H. VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL STATEMENT

This study is VOLUNTARY. You are not giving up any legal claims or rights because of your participation in this study. If you do join, you are free to quit at any time.

I. AGREEMENT

Are you willing to be in this study?

Appendix C

Interview Protocol

Interviewer's name:	Respondent's Serial Number
Date:	Respondent's Recruiting Serial Numbers
Location:	Respondent's Personal Network Size
Time:	Respondent's unique physical marks

Thanks for volunteering to talk to me. The questions I'll ask you are about who you are and where you live; what you do and whom you know; your financial and health concerns; your experience with the police; and lastly I'll ask you about your expectations. Text in italics will be used as probes.

Demographic Characteristics

1. How old are you?
2. What's your date of birth?
3. What's your ethnicity? (*Black/African-American, Hispanic/Latino, White, Asian/Pacific Islander, Native American/Alaskan Native)*
4. What's your gender? (*Male, Female, Transgender)*
5. How many school years have you completed?
6. What's the name of your last school?
7. When did you last go there?
8. What grade were/are you in?
9. For how long have you been a sex worker?
10. Where are you from?
11. Where do you live?

    Who else do you live with?
    How long have you lived there?
    Who pays the rent/bills?

Market Involvement

The questions I'm going to ask you next will focus on your work.

1. How old were you when you first started this work?
2. Tell me how you got involved.
3. Do you work on or off the streets these days?
4. How do you get the customers? (*street, pimp, internet, referral, other)*
5. Where do you go with the customers? (*parks/alleys, hotels, brothel/parlor, bars, own room, client's residence, other)*
6. Who negotiates prices with the customers?

   What prices are charged?
7. About how much money do you make each day/night?
8. About how much money did you make last week?

   Do you share your money with anyone when you make it?
   If yes, with who and how much do you share?
   What's the first thing you pay/buy when you get your pay?
   Do you have any other source of income?
   If yes, what is this source?
9. What are your main expenses? (*rent, food, clothes, other*)
10. Do you owe anyone money?

    If yes, how much, for what and to who do you owe?

    How are you supposed to pay back the money? (kind of installments)

11. Tell me about the tracks.

   Do you usually work the same track?
   If yes, where? If not, how often and why do you change it around?
   About how many hours did you work last week?
   About how many and what days/nights did you work last week?

12. Have you had any trouble with people in the neighborhood where you work? (*boyfriends, residents, store owners, dealers/gangsters, cops, johns*)

   If yes, tell me what happened.

13. Have you ever been in a verbal or physical fight as a sex worker? (*theft, beatings, rape, other*)

    If yes, how often and with who? (johns, pimps, sex workers, residents, the police, other)

    Tell me about your most recent fight.

14. How do you protect yourself against beatings, theft, or other forms of assault?

Network Size and Characteristics

Next I'm going to ask you about the people you come in contact with.

1. Tell me about the customers.

   How many customers do you see in one day/week?
   Who are your customers? (profession, ethnicity, age, residence, marital status, other)
   How many of these would you refer to as steadies?
   How are the steadies important to you?
2. Do you have a pimp?

   If you do, who is he? (physical description, ethnicity, age, other)
   How is the pimp important to you?
   How did you get to know him?
   How do you get along with him?
   Do you know any other pimps?
   How many others work for your pimp? Who are they? (gender, age, ethnicity, other)
   How do you get along with them?
3. How many other sex workers do you know?

   Who are they? (gender, age, ethnicity, other)

   How do you get along with them?

4. How many sex workers under the age of 18 do you know?

   How many of these are boys?

Service History and Needs

Now, I'd like to talk to you about your income, expenses, health.

1. Do you ever use protection against pregnancy and sexual diseases?

   If yes, how often and what kind of protection? (condoms, wash/douche, check-ups with a doctor, other)
   Have you ever had a sexually transmitted disease (STD)?
   If yes, what STD and how have you taken care of it?

2. When was the last time you checked up with a doctor and for what?
3. Do you have any health-related troubles? (*health conditions, financial concerns, other*)
4. What drugs do you take? (*alcohol, cigarettes, pot, cocaine, heroine, other)*
5. How much do you spend on drugs per day?

6. When did you start taking them?
7. Have you talked with any professionals about your problems?
8. Has any social service agency tried to contact you? *If yes, who? What services did they offer? Did you accept help from them?*
9. Who would you go to when in trouble or doubt?

Experience with the Law Enforcement and Courts

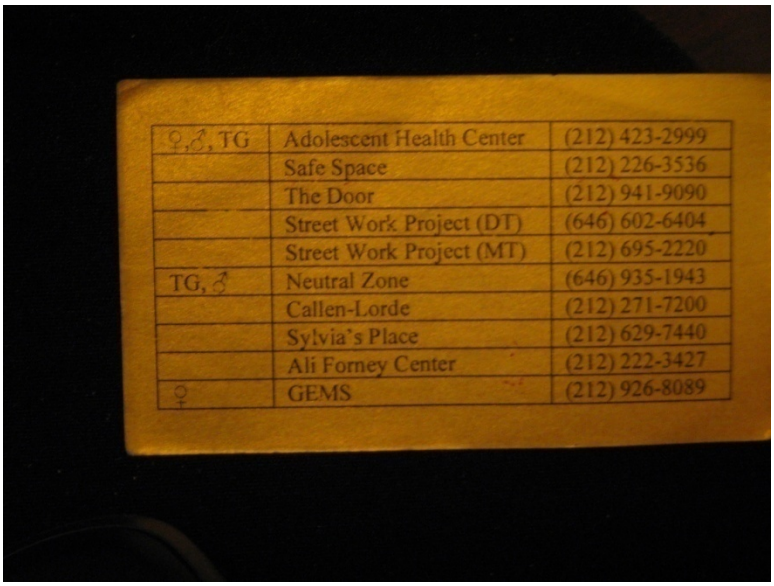
Finally, I'd like to ask you a few questions about your experience with the police.

1. Have you had any run-ins with the police?
   If yes, how often and why?
2. How many times have you been arrested?
3. For what kind of offenses?
4. What happened last time when you interacted with the police or when you were arrested?
5. What do you do to keep away from the police?
6. How many times have you been to court? *For what charges?*
7. What court did you go to last time? *Tell me what happened.*

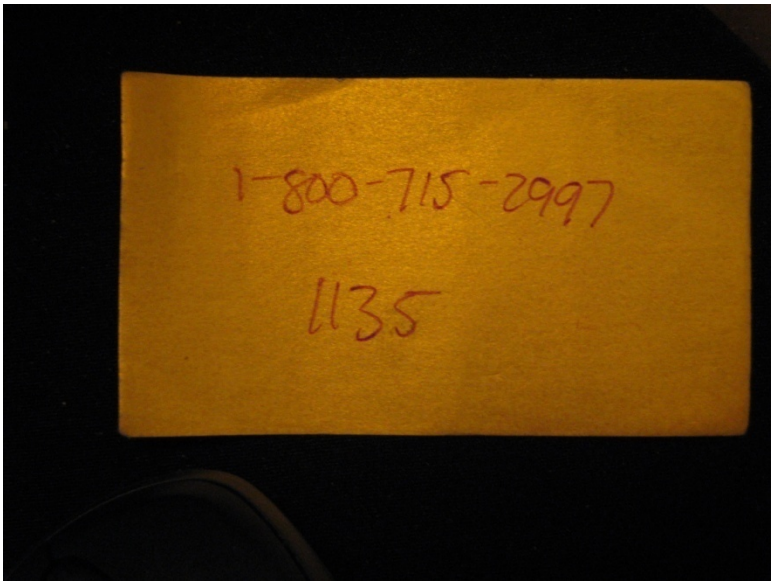
Expectations

1. Are there things that you like about this work?
2. What are the things you dislike about this work?
3. Would you like to leave the sex work?
4. What changes in your life do you need to see to be able to leave?
5. Do you wish there were people who could help you make these changes?
6. Do you ever think of going back to school? *Why or why not?*
7. Would you like to find a better living arrangement? *If yes, what kind of arrangement?*
8. Is there anything else you would like to share with me?

Appendix D: Respondent Driven Sampling Coupns



♀,♂, TG	Adolescent Health Center	(212) 423-2999
	Safe Space	(212) 226-3536
	The Door	(212) 941-9090
	Street Work Project (DT)	(646) 602-6404
	Street Work Project (MT)	(212) 695-2220
TG, ♂	Neutral Zone	(646) 935-1943
	Callen-Lorde	(212) 271-7200
	Sylvia's Place	(212) 629-7440
	Ali Forney Center	(212) 222-3427
♀	GEMS	(212) 926-8089



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