A REPORT ON THE USE OF TECHNOLOGY TO RECRUIT, GROOM AND SELL DOMESTIC MINOR SEX TRAFFICKING VICTIMS

thȯrn™ DIGITAL DEFENDERS OF CHILDREN

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INTRODUCTION

Thorn's mission is to drive technology innovation to combat the sexual exploitation of children. In an effort to do this most effectively, Thorn commenced a survivor survey in 2012 to understand the ways in which controllers leverage various technology platforms to recruit, groom and sell domestic minors. The purpose of this report is to disseminate the results of the survivor survey and to inform key anti-trafficking stakeholders in the private, non-profit and public sectors about general trends at the intersection of technology and domestic minor sex trafficking.

The questions we sought to answer with the survivor survey include:

IS THE INTERNET BEING USED TO RECRUIT DOMESTIC MINORS FOR THE PURPOSE OF COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION? IF SO, TO WHAT DEGREE? WHAT SITES ARE USED?

IS THE INTERNET BEING USED TO GROOM DOMESTIC MINORS FOR THE PURPOSE OF COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION? IF SO, HOW?

HOW OFTEN IS THE INTERNET USED TO SELL DOMESTIC MINORS FOR THE PURPOSE OF COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION? WHO POSTS THE ADS? WHO COMMUNICATES WITH THE BUYERS? HOW DO THEY COMMUNICATE WITH THE BUYERS?

WHAT LEVEL OF ACCESS DO TRAFFICKING VICTIMS HAVE TO THE INTERNET AND OTHER TELECOMMUNICATIONS DEVICES? TO WHAT EXTENT IS THEIR ACCESS MONITORED?

HOW CAN THE INTERNET AND OTHER TELECOMMUNICATIONS DEVICES BE LEVERAGED TO ASSIST VICTIMS AND HELP THEM ESCAPE THEIR SITUATION?

In order to create technology-based programs to address domestic minor sex trafficking, it is important to understand how controllers and survivors utilize technology. This knowledge will inform our approach to disrupt extant methods used by controllers and create new and innovative interventions. We believe this report is a critical first step in that direction. However, this is only the beginning of an ongoing effort aimed to track changes overtime in the ways in which technology is used to exploit children. Thorn will continue to field the survivor survey and produce periodic reports on trends at the intersection of technology and domestic minor sex trafficking.

OVERVIEW OF SURVEY & PARTICIPANTS

SURVEY PROCEDURE

Thorn made initial email contact with 73 anti-trafficking organizations across the country asking them if they would like to participate in the survivor survey. Of the 73 organizations contacted, 26 declined to participate, 28 did not respond to multiple follow-up emails, and five agreed to participate but still had not returned surveys as of the writing of this report. Thus, 14 organizations from across the country participated in the survivor survey, and this generated a total of 115 respondents.[1] Thorn compensated the organizations/participants for their time in the form of a check or gift card, depending on the organization's stated preference.

TABLE 1: PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

ORGANIZATION	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	CITY
GEMS	33	New York
There Is Hope For Me	25	Miami
My Life, My Choice	9	Boston
SAGE	9	San Francisco
Breaking Free	8	St. Paul
Fair Girls	5	Washington, DC
Polaris Project	5	Newark
Safe House San Francisco	5	San Francisco
Covenant House	4	New York
New Friends, New Life	7	Dallas
LA Probation	2	Los Angeles
Bilateral Safety Corridor Coalition	1	San Diego
Generate Hope	1	San Diego
GraceHaven	1	Columbus
14 ORGANIZATIONS	**115 RESPONDENTS**	**11 CITIES**

1 There were four respondents that the researchers deemed were not human trafficking cases, and therefore dropped from the sample. The respondents were older than 18 years of age when they entered prostitution, they reported that they did not have a pimp, and there was no indication of any force, fraud and coercion in the interview transcript.

Organizations that agreed to participate were emailed a copy of the survey instrument and the informed consent form (see Appendix A for copy of survey and informed consent). Survivors understood that participating in the survey was completely voluntary, that their responses were anonymous and confidential, and that they could stop at any time or refuse to answer any question. After they agreed to participate, per the informed consent procedure, survivors completed the paper surveys, sometimes on their own and sometimes with the assistance of a case worker. Paper surveys were generally sent back to Thorn in the mail, although some were scanned and emailed. Thorn then coded the paper surveys into a dataset in preparation for analysis.

In addition to the paper surveys, we asked case workers to audio record follow up semi-structured interviews with the victims. The purpose of the interviews was to obtain more detailed information and to clarify points that may not have been made explicit on the paper survey. Some case workers and organizations were willing, while others were not. In total, we obtained audio recordings of follow-up interviews from 77 respondents. The audio recordings were then transcribed verbatim in order to conduct additional qualitative analysis.

SURVEY PARTICIPANTS

The demographics of the respondents are found in Table 2 below. Among the most important things to note is that, among the 111 respondents of this survey, the average age when first trafficked was 16. This is important for both internal and external validity. First, in terms of internal validity, the purpose of the survey is to understand how technology is used in the recruitment, grooming and sale of domestic minors; therefore, we must be sure we are surveying the correct population (i.e., domestic minors). Second, in order to make generalizable inferences beyond the victims surveyed, we need a relatively large sample population of domestic minor victims of sex trafficking. Seventy-five percent of our sample was 17 years old or younger when they were first trafficked.

TABLE 2: DEMOGRAPHICS OF RESPONDENTS

VARIABLE	MEAN	ST. DEV.	MIN	MAX
Age when first trafficked	16	4.49	5	36
Age when interviewed	23	9.42	14	56
Years since recruitment	7	8.53	0	41

Although the vast majority of the respondents were minors when they were first trafficked, at the time of the survey, the vast majority were adults. The average age when interviewed for this research was 23, and 78 percent of the respondents were 18 years of age or older at the time the survey was taken. Thus, the average number of years since respondents were first recruited is seven years ago (see the mean for "years since recruitment" in Table 2). This is important to note because we expect technology to play a greater role today in trafficking minors than it did five to ten years ago.[2]

For this reason, the forthcoming analysis will use "years since recruitment" to measure correlations between technology and domestic minor sex trafficking. This measure was obtained by subtracting "age when first trafficked" from "age when interviewed." It is the most appropriate measure for at least two reasons: 1) it inherently captures, and is thus a proxy for, "age when interviewed." Indeed, the two variables are very highly correlated ($r=0.88$***).[3] The longer it has been since an individual was recruited, the older they are; and 2) it is a measure of how long ago they were first trafficked. The further in the past they were first trafficked (even if they were a minor when they were first trafficked) the less likely it is that technology was used in the recruitment and grooming process.

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2 This is one reason why it will be extremely important to continue track changes overtime.

3 Throughout the remainder of the report, Pearson correlation coefficients (r) are reported in parentheses with either one, two, or three asterisks. One asterisk means the relationship between the two variables is significant at the 0.10 level, or that we can be 90% confident that the relationship is not due to random chance. Two asterisks means that we are 95% confident, and three asterisks is 99% confidence.

In other words, using "age when first trafficked" in the analysis of the relationship between trafficking and technology is an inaccurate measure because, even if respondents were first trafficked as a minor, that could have been over 10 years ago, in which case we would not expect technology to play a large role. On the other hand, using "age when interviewed" lacks validity because the majority of the sample was not minors when they were interviewed, and there is no way to establish with that measure alone whether they were once minor victims. Thus, the measure of "years since recruitment" was generated as it allows us to test for differences in technology between *minor victims that are still minors and adult victims that were first trafficked as minors.* We hypothesize that the use of technology in the recruitment, grooming and sale of the former group is more pronounced than in the latter. Figure 1 below breaks down the sample based on years since recruitment. Almost 40 percent of the respondents were recruited less than three years ago.

FIGURE 1: NUMBER OF YEARS SINCE RECRUITMENT

4 TO 9 YEARS **40%**

OVER 9 YEARS **21%**

3 YEARS OR LESS **39%**
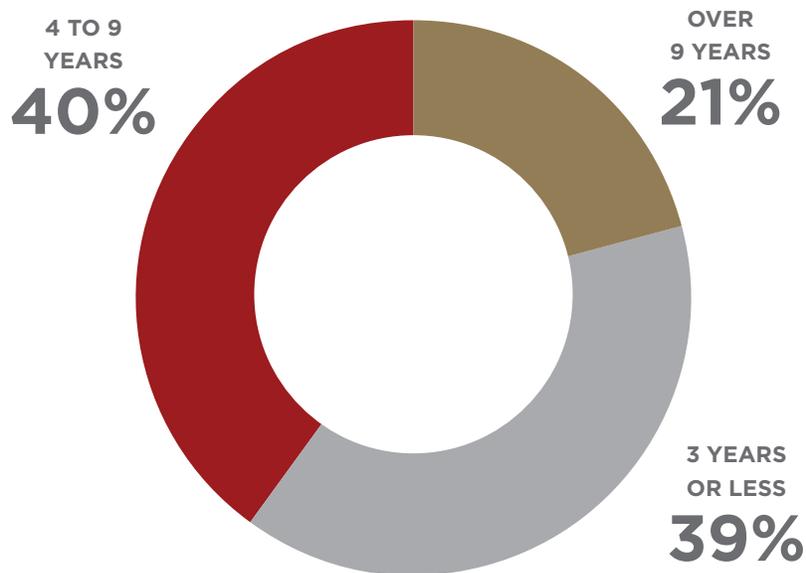
MEETING & PSYCHOLOGICAL COERCION

The vast majority of respondents (81%) reported meeting their controller in person. Only 14 percent met their controller online. *It is important to note, however, that respondents recruited more recently are significantly more likely to have met their controller online* (r=0.22***). Of the 16 total respondents that met their controllers online, 77 percent of them were 18 years old or younger when they met their controller online. Thus, although it will be important to continue to track changes over time, our preliminary finding from the survivor survey is that the majority of victims are still meeting their controllers in person, but that younger victims who have been recruited more recently are significantly more likely to meet their controllers online.[4]

FIGURE 2: METHOD OF MEETING CONTROLLER

PHONE
5%

INTERNET
14%

IN PERSON
81%
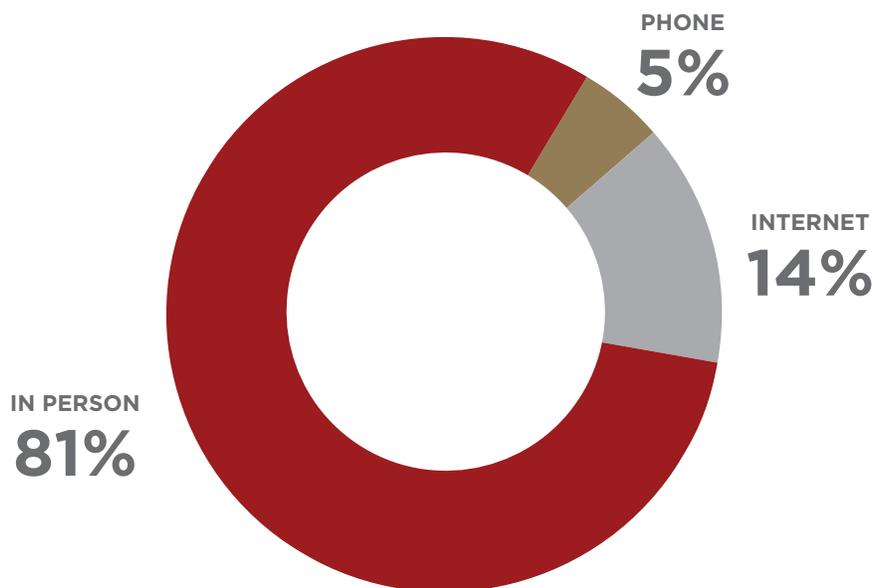
4 Respondents who met their controllers online were asked to indicate the website where they first met. All of the following websites were mentioned by at least one respondent: mofos.com, backpage.com, fabscout.com, facebook.com, usasexguide.com, craigslist.com, tagged.com, mocospace.com, myspace.com.

In addition to meeting online, we asked respondents about the method of communication used to develop a relationship with their controllers, and even fewer use the Internet for this purpose. Again, the vast majority developed a relationship with their controllers in person. However, per Figure 3, younger victims recruited more recently are more likely to use the Internet to develop a relationship with their controllers (r=0.16*).[5] Of those that developed a relationship with their controller over the Internet (11 respondents total), only 3 did not meet their controller online. Of the respondents that met their controller online, half of them also developed a close relationship with their controller online. Our tentative finding, therefore, is that younger victims who have been recruited more recently are more likely to use the Internet to meet and develop a relationship with their controller.

This finding is particularly troubling given that younger respondents express less reticence to meet people online in general. In particular, the younger respondents in our sample were significantly more likely to believe that the Internet is a safe place to meet people (r=0.20**).

Forty-eight percent of respondents report that the controller earned their trust within the first month of meeting, and a total of 82 percent report that the controller earned their trust within the first four months. There appears to be three main reasons that the controllers are able to gain the victims' trust so quickly. First relates to the victims' desire for family and belonging. Although the semi-structured interviews did not explicitly ask about family dynamics, 73 percent of those interviewed mentioned lacking love in their lives and/or having a bad family situation, which made them desire a close family.[6] One survivor who ran away from home stated, "I just wanted love from my mom. From him." Another survivor, after being orphaned at age 12 when both of her parents passed away, said she "wanted a family." Even while her mother was alive she "wasn't there because she had mental – she was really addicted to cocaine and other drugs." A third victim, when asked what kind of help she wanted, stated, "just help as in being a family, just being a regular kid, with none of the issues, and just, you know, a family setting, I guess."

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5 Percentage total is greater than 100 because respondents could select more than one answer for how they developed a close relationship with their controller. However, most respondents used only one mode of communication to develop the relationship.

6 It is important to reiterate that these comments about bad family relationships were unsolicited. The semi-structured interview protocol did not ask about family dynamics. Thus, we believe that this is a conservative figure, and that it is likely that more than 73 percent of the 77 interviewed had a difficult family life.

FIGURE 3: COMMUNICATION METHODS USED TO DEVELOP A RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CONTROLLER BASED ON THE NUMBER OF YEARS SINCE THEY WERE RECRUITED
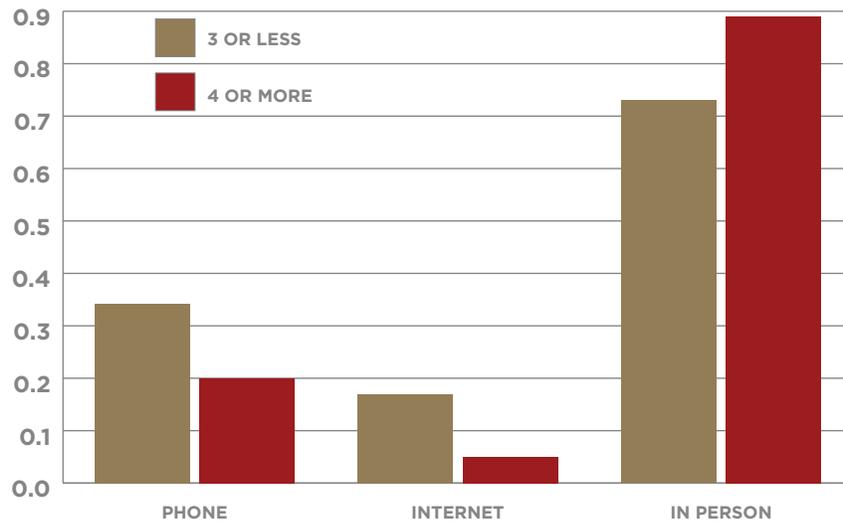
In addition to belonging, controllers earned victims' trust quickly because controllers made them feel loved and cared for, as part of a family. Seventy-seven percent of those interviewed mentioned in some manner that the controller gave them the love for which they were searching. One survivor said he made her feel like she was "joining a part of a family, that I didn't have at home."[7] Another said that the controller served as the father figure she never had: "I never had like fatherly love." In many cases, the controllers promised that they would take care of them: "He said that I'd never starve and that as long as I'm with him, I don't have to worry about no money, and that was it."

The third reason the controllers earned their trust so quickly is the way they woo the victims with promises of romance. One survivor said, "Yeah, like he loved me, he wanted me to be his girlfriend, he wanted to take me out of town so that we could see the world together, he would never leave me for another female. When he told me those things he made me feel loved. Like someone actually cared about me."

It follows, therefore, that 61 percent of respondents report having a "very romantic," "romantic," or "somewhat romantic" relationship with their controller. The controllers are extremely adept at using psychologically coercive language and actions that engender trust and feelings of love and romance. One survivor noted, "He kind of played on my emotions to get me to stay. I don't want you to leave, you're a part of the household." Another survivor describes the manipulation of her controller this way:

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7 Among the 77 survivors interviewed, all of them had male controllers. It is important to note, however, that controllers are not always male.

In the beginning he made me feel like I was walking on clouds. And then he started beating on me, and started making me feel bad, like low. Then when I started selling my body, I was just like, wait. This is not – I felt really dirty and stuff like that, but I mean, through all of that, I still felt like I loved him.

The psychologically coercive tactic of flip-flopping from nice and loving to emotionally and physically abusive was common among those interviewed. One survivor said, "Yeah, he was really nice at first. And then after like a while, I don't know, he wasn't as nice. But I thought he was nice. Then he'd always tell me he was sorry and he would make it better." In short, psychological coercion is very high, and there is no statistically significant difference in terms of usage of these tactics based on age when first trafficked, age when interviewed, or years since recruitment.

RECRUITMENT & FRAUD

Respondents were asked what the controllers recruited them to do and then what they actually did. Figure 4 shows the total number or respondents that were told they would perform a certain activity versus the total number of respondents that actually performed that activity.[8] Escort services and street prostitution were the most common activities that respondents were told they would do and that they actually did. This chart is limited, however, in that it does not indicate the level of fraud for individual respondents. Were the same respondents that were being told they would perform a certain activity actually engaging in that same activity, or did the controller deceive them into thinking they would be doing something else?

Figure 5 provides a more accurate picture of levels of fraud based on type of activity. These percentages were calculated by dividing the total number of people that were told they would be doing an activity by the number of those that were told they would be doing it and actually ended up doing it. Thus, higher percentages indicate less fraud (i.e., one person was told they would work in a nail salon, and that person ended up working in a nail salon, therefore the percentage is 100%). Figure 5 shows that only about half of those that were told they would be working in strip clubs actually ended up working in strip clubs and about 60 percent of those told they would work in massage parlors and as waitresses ended up working in that capacity. On the other hand, almost all of those that were told they would be doing street prostitution actually ended up doing street prostitution.

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8 Some of the "other" activities respondents were told they would be doing or actually did include: selling drugs, modeling, dancing/working at parties/casinos/bars, assisting him/driving him around, managing the other prostituted women, swinger parties, and steal money from buyers.

FIGURE 4: NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS TOLD THEY WOULD DO AN ACTIVITY VERSUS NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS THAT DID THAT ACTIVITY
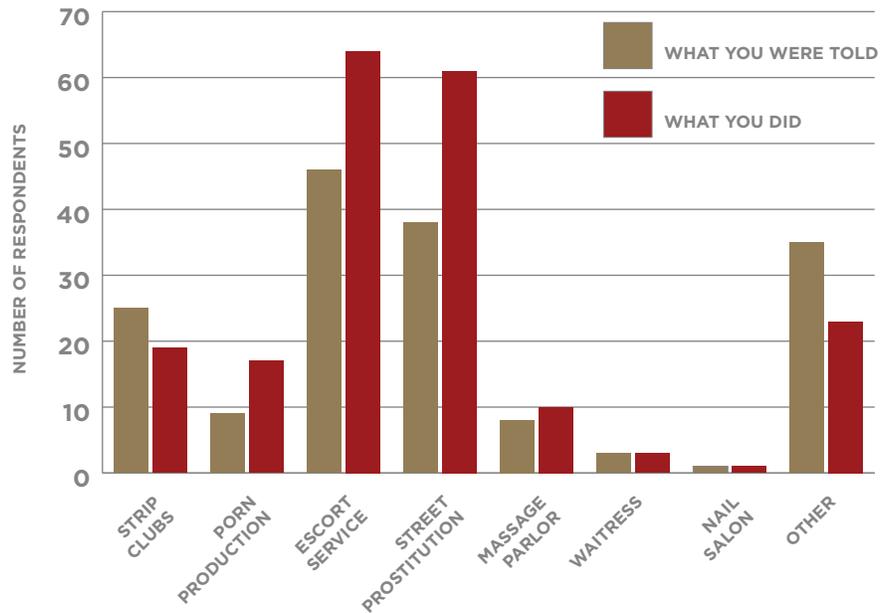
FIGURE 5: PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS TOLD THEY WOULD BE DOING AN ACTIVITY THAT THEY ACTUALLY ENDED UP DOING
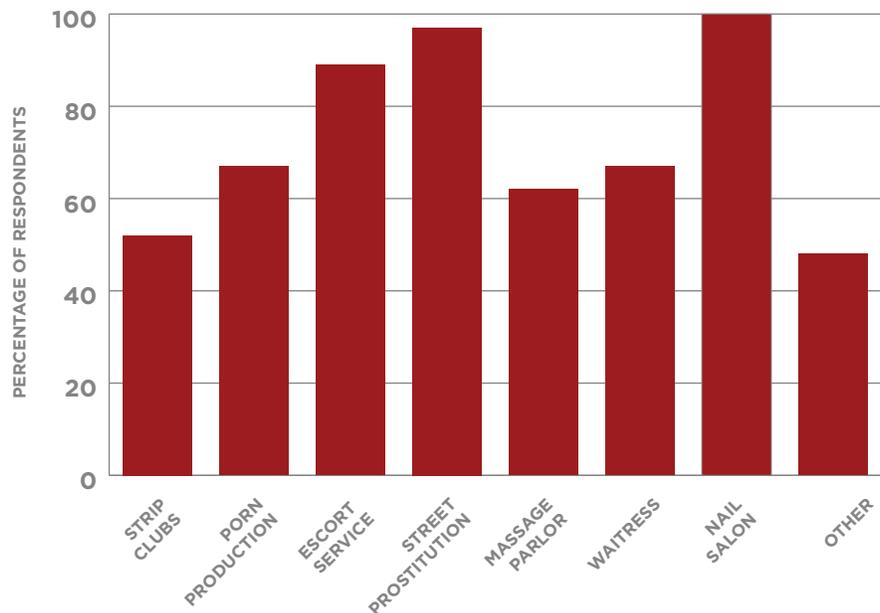
It is important to note that about half of the respondents reported engaging in more than one of the above activities, so it is also appropriate to measure fraud in terms of the number of activities in which the victims were told they would be engaging versus the number in which they actually engaged. Were they told they would do only one activity, and then forced to do more? The mean number of activities victims were told they would be doing is 1.58, and the mean number in which they actually engaged is 1.86. A difference in means test indicates that these are significantly different from one another (p=0.01). Therefore, our finding is that there was fraud in the recruitment process in terms of the types and number of different activities in which respondents were told they would be engaging.

The interview transcripts reveal no pattern regarding whether the victims thought they would be doing commercial sex work or something totally different when they were recruited. One thought she would be working in a business setting: "Well I mean, he talked very business relations and like, you know, business hosting, business events, gonna be like executive hosts and that kinda thing, I never thought it would be pimping." Others knew it would be some type of commercial sex work, but not prostitution. For example, "Pretty much he told me that we were going to be in clubs giving lap dances for money. He never told me I was going to have to sell my vagina."

COMMUNICATION, ADVERTISING & AUTONOMY

As reported in Figure 7, the majority of respondents had cell phones and 42 percent of respondents report that they had access to the Internet while they were being trafficked.[9] Of those with Internet access, a little over half report having full access with no monitoring on the part of the controller.

FIGURE 7: COMMUNICATION OPTIONS WHILE BEING TRAFFICKED


PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS

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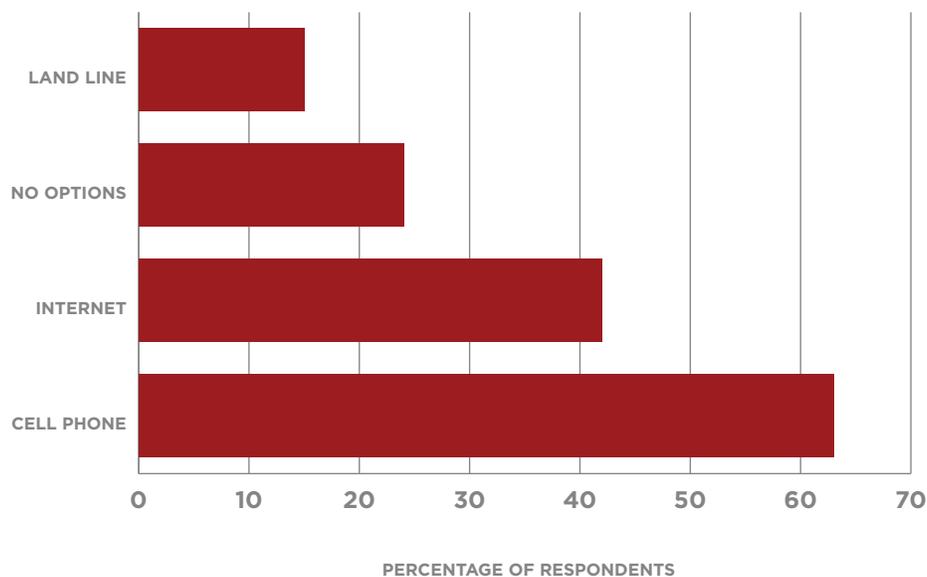
9 Some of the "other" activities respondents were told they would be doing or actually did include: selling drugs, modeling, dancing/working at parties/casinos/bars, assisting him/driving him around, managing the other prostituted women, swinger parties, and steal money from buyers.

However, a deeper look into these findings reveals that it is the younger victims recruited more recently who are significantly more likely to have access to cell phones (r=0.28***) and the Internet (r=0.20***), while those recruited further in the past are significantly more likely to report having no communication options at all (r=0.23***). Figure 8 provides additional insight. Specifically, for those recruited three or less years ago, about 60 percent report having cell phone access, and about 40 percent report having Internet access. Those recruited between four and nine years ago report the most communication options, with close to 80 percent reporting access to cell phones and a little over half reporting access to the Internet.[10] The older respondents recruited 10 or more years ago are least likely to have access to cell phones and the Internet, and those that do have Internet access are significantly more likely to report that this access is monitored (r=0.23***). *These combined results indicate that younger respondents recruited more recently are more likely to have cell phone and Internet access, and their Internet access is less likely to be monitored.*

FIGURE 8: CELL PHONE AND INTERNET ACCESS BY YEARS SINCE RECRUITMENT
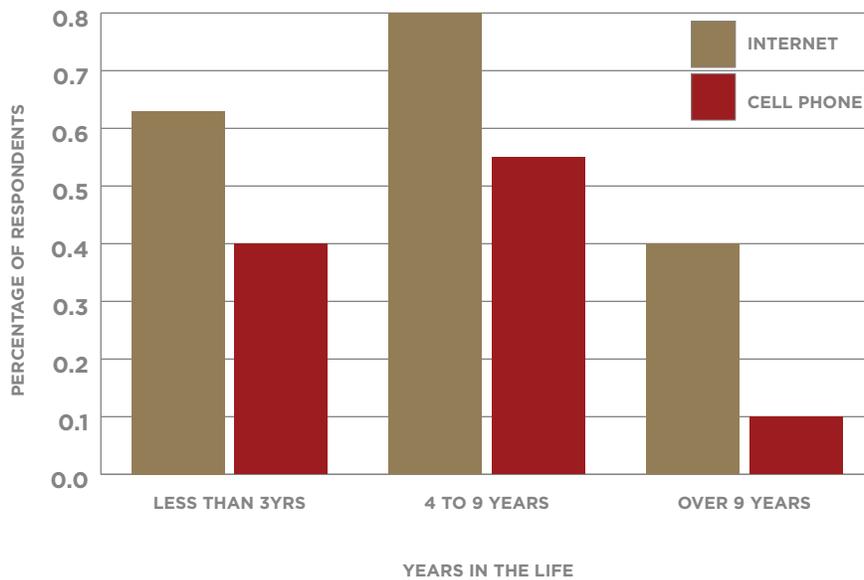
Among those who were allowed to access the Internet, when asked what specific sites they were allowed to access (either with or without being monitored), the major websites listed are Craigslist, Facebook, Backpage, MySpace and email accounts, including Yahoo Mail and Gmail. While these are sites where sex can be advertised, it is not clear from the survey or transcripts whether they were going to these sites specifically to advertise. One respondent reported she was allowed to access only "prostitution sites," which may be a trend among the respondents' access to the Internet.

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10 It is unclear why there is a bell shaped distribution based on years since recruitment. Future deployments of the survivor survey will seek to investigate this pattern further.

Regarding the ways in which the controllers advertised the victims, 63 percent report being advertised online.[11] Those recruited more recently are significantly more likely to be advertised online (r=0.43***). It appears that the Internet is being leveraged increasingly by controllers to meet, develop relationships with, and advertise for sale younger victims for the purpose of commercial sex. Yet, these same victims have more and freer access to various communication devices, including cell phones and the Internet. Therefore, there is significant opportunity to leverage the Internet to 1) prevent recruitment in the first place, and 2) inform young victims once they have been recruited about options to seek help.

The interview reports provide information on the process of posting the advertisements online, including who posts the ads.[12] The findings suggest that the controllers post the ads more often than the victims. Eighteen percent of victims report that only they posted their own ads online, 56 percent of victims say only the controller posted the ads, and 17 percent report that both they and their controller posted the ads.

Many of those that posted their own ads were required to post a certain number of times a day. For example, "I would have to copy and paste what he wrote and then repost. Cause I had to post a certain amount of times a day." Another respondent said she posted "morning, afternoon, and night." Several survivors said they were allowed online only for as long as it took to post ads, and that time varied for different websites given different pay structure for the sites. One said she could be online for "probably like 10, 10 or 15 [minutes]. Cause Craigslist you don't have to go through all the putting your credit card and number and all that. Backpage you have to put your credit card number and all that stuff. So depending on, I guess, we used to do both, so I guess it would take me probably like half an hour."

Among those that report being advertised online, Backpage[13] is the most common website used with almost half reporting they were advertised on Backpage.[13] Craigslist and Facebook were the second most popular websites for advertising.[14] Younger respondents reported that advertisements sometimes used words and phrases that signaled their age, including: fresh meat, young, virgin, prime, coochie (shaved), non-pro, new, barely legal/18, college student/girl, lovely, daddy's little girl, sweet, 1986 Firebird, new in the life, liked girls, youthful, and fantasy. Others of those interviewed said that they did not use key words to communicate their age because "most people who are going to like pay for sex don't care how old you are. Cause actually the younger you are, the better it is for them. The younger you are, the more money it is. Because, innocence. And that's what everybody wants."

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11 This is in contrast to only 9 percent that were advertised in print/newspaper. However, a large number report being advertised "in person," as well (66%). In fact, the majority of those advertised in person were also advertised online (53%), and a majority of those advertised online were also advertised in person (57%). Controllers appear to take a two-pronged approach to advertising as a way to maximize the customer base, as those buying online tend to be a different demographic than those buying in person.

12 The survey did not explicitly ask who posted the advertisements online. We were able to obtain this information from unsolicited comments made about the process of posting the advertisements in the interviews.

13 Although the interviewers did not regularly ask questions about how the traffickers paid for the ads, one survivor noted that her pimp used prepaid credit cards.

14 Other websites mentioned by at least one respondent for the purpose of advertising online include: sugardaddy.com, cityvibe.com, erosguide.com, modelmayhem.com, bangbros.com, mofos.com, fabscout.com, friendfinder.com, myredbook.com, usasexguide.com, and tna.com.

FIGURE 9: PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS THAT WERE ADVERTISED ONLINE THAT REPORT BEING ADVERTISED ON THESE WEBSITES

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS
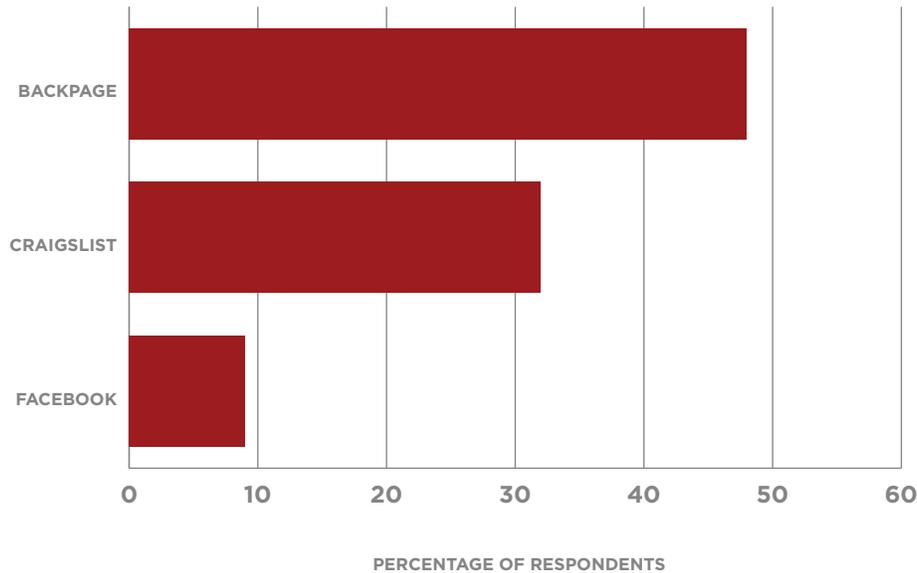
As shown in Figure 10, the majority of respondents report that pictures were almost always used in the advertisements. However, those recruited more recently are significantly less likely to report photos being used to advertise them (r=-0.27***), and significantly more likely to report that the pictures used to advertise them were actually pictures of someone else (r=0.23***). *These results indicate that if there is no photograph posted with the ad, there is a greater chance that this ad is for a minor. Moreover, pictures that are used to advertise minors are very likely to be pictures of someone else in order to hide visual allusions to the actual victims' young age.*

This comports with the anecdotal evidence from the interviews. One of the survivors said, "When I hit 17, 18, I stopped hiding my face. I was hiding my face because he felt like I was real young and had a baby face. So when I hit 17, 18, he started unblocking my face." Another survivor stated something similar: "I think it was hidden because people could obviously see that I was young." On the other hand, there were other respondents that said that they either did not know why their face was hidden, or that their face was hidden so that people could not recognize them. "I hid my face in all of them because I didn't want anyone else to be able to recognize me. Also I had fake ads as well. So I didn't want them to be like, this is this girl. It would mess up business."

FIGURE 10: HOW OFTEN PHOTOGRAPHS USED IN ADVERTISEMENTS

SOMETIMES
13%

MOST
20%

RARELY
4%

NEVER
19%

ALWAYS
44%
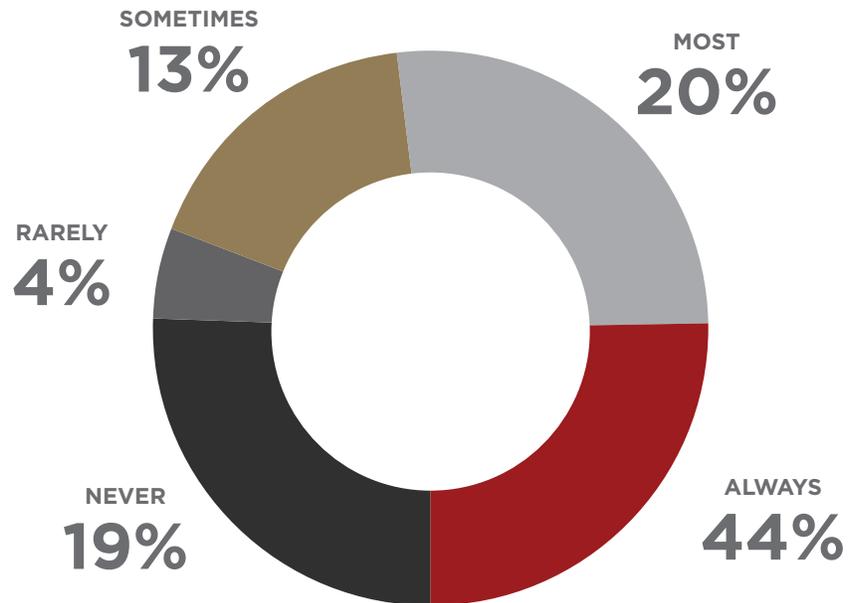
The devices used to take pictures of the victims varied, but, as represented in Figure 11, the vast majority of those interviewed reported that cell phones were used to take their photographs. Respondents recruited more recently are significantly more likely to have their picture taken with cell phones (r=0.55***), and significantly less likely to have their picture taken using disposable cameras (r=-0.26***). Of the 53 victims that were recruited in the last 5 years, only two of them used disposable cameras, whereas 46 of them had used cell phones to take their pictures.

**FIGURE 11:** DEVICE USED TO TAKE PICTURE

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS
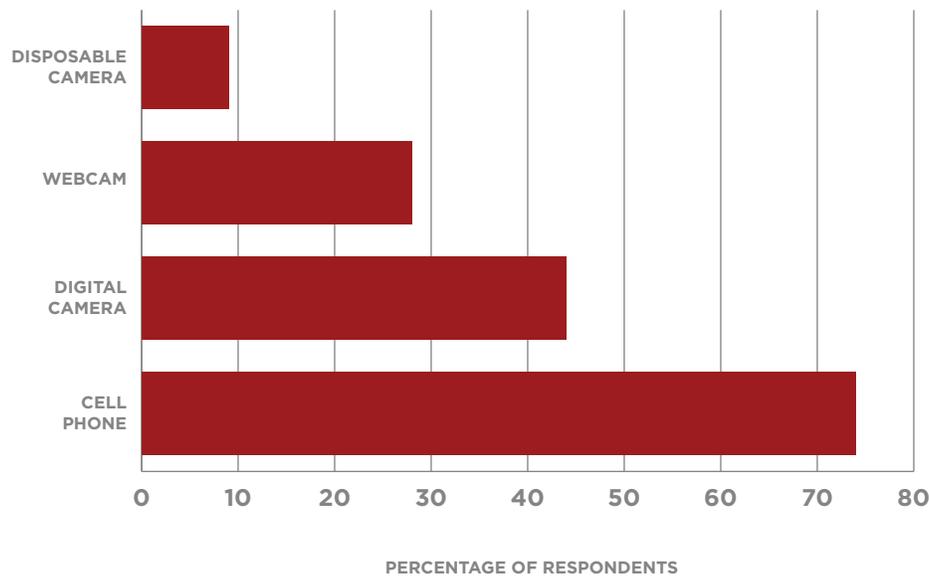
The survey also asked the victims what modes of communication technology were used to communicate with the buyers. The vast majority of respondents reported that phone calls were used and over half of the respondents reported that they used text messaging. There is no significant difference in the mode of communication used to communicate with buyers based on the number of years since recruitment except for text messaging. Those recruited more recently are significantly more likely to report using text messaging to communicate with buyers (r=0.26***). Figure 12 provides a more detailed look at text message use to communicate with buyers according to number of years since being recruited. Almost 70 percent of those recruited three years ago or less report texting to communicate with buyers, and the same is true for those recruited between four and nine years ago; on the other hand, only 40 percent of those recruited over nine years ago use text messaging to communicate with buyers. It is apparent, therefore, that *younger victims recruited more recently are significantly more likely than older victims to communicate with buyers via text messaging.*

The survey asked the victims whether they or their controller mostly communicated with the buyers. Fifty-three percent report that they communicated with the buyers, and 29 percent said the controllers did. Interestingly, there is a significant correlation between personally communicating with the buyers and the number of years since recruitment. Respondents recruited more recently are more likely to personally communicate with the buyers (r=0.22**). Those who personally communicated with the buyers are significantly likely to communicate with the buyers via escort sites (r=0.28***) and email (r=0.16*). Also of note, those communicating with the buyers are significantly more likely to have access to a cell phone (r=0.38***). *In short, younger victims appear to have more autonomy, are more likely to personally communicate with the buyers than older victims, and are using text messaging, escort sites and email to do so.*

FIGURE 12: PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS COMMUNICATING VIA TEXT MESSAGE BY YEARS SINCE RECRUITMENT
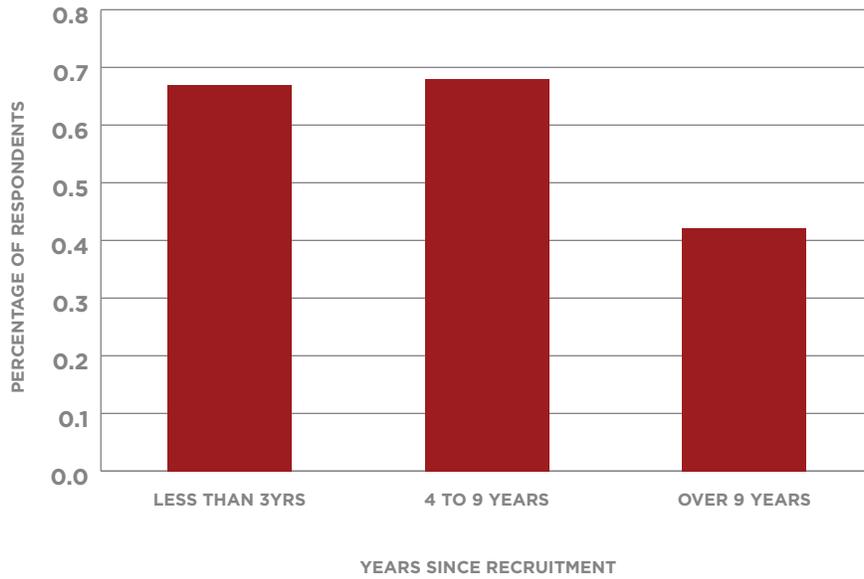
FIGURE 13: METHOD OF COMMUNICATION WITH THE BUYERS
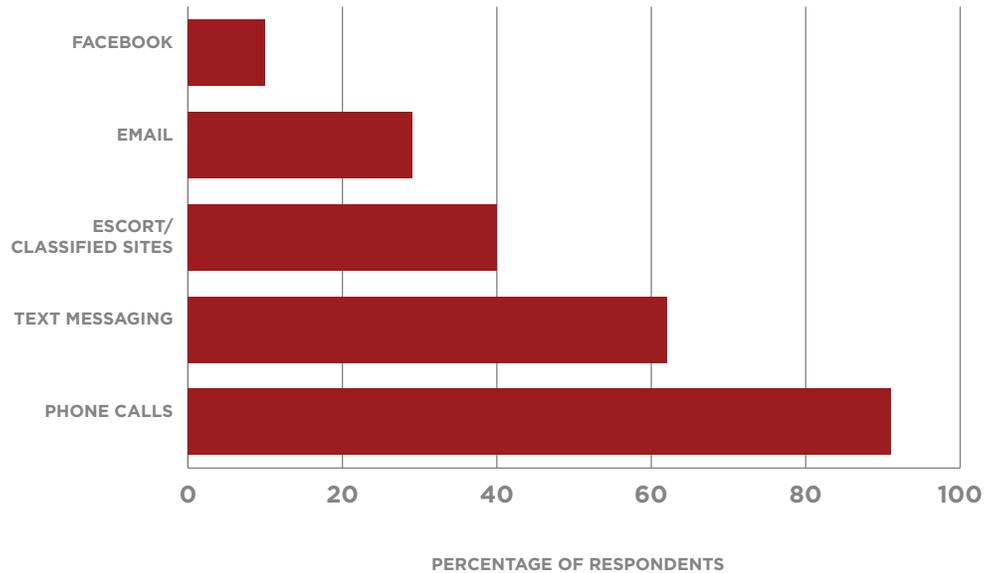
This is a meaningful finding for a variety of reasons. First, it indicates that the text short code that Thorn developed in collaboration with Polaris Project and Twilio has promise to reach domestic minor sex trafficking victims. Second, it indicates that there is room for additional technology interventions to assist domestic minor victims of sex trafficking beyond the text short code. Potential technology interventions can include such platforms as email and escort sites that are being accessed regularly by victims.

The interviews revealed that, for some, the person and process of communicating with the buyers depended on the mode of communication. One survivor said that she communicated with the buyers, but "only if it was phone calls and in the street. My trafficker only if it was online, cause they didn't know if it was him or me. So he would write as if it were me." Another survivor noted the same: "I mean he did the text. And I just always answered the phone."
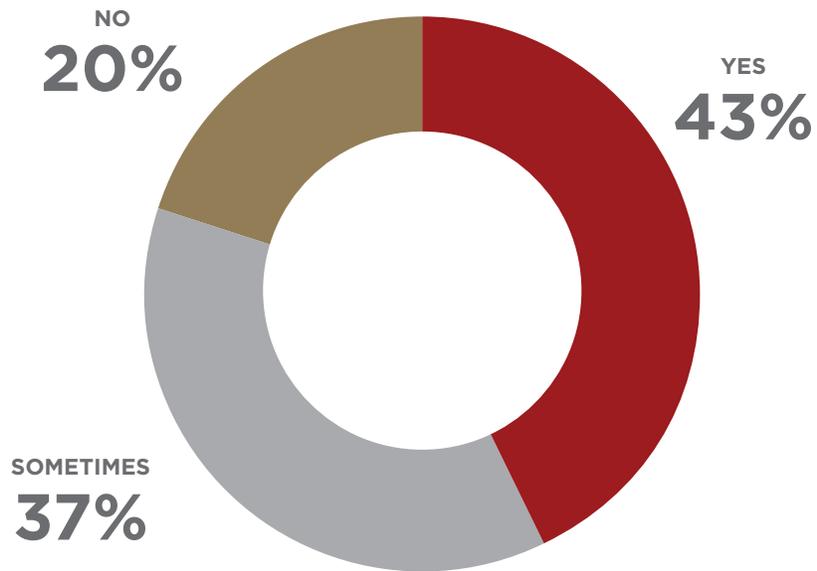
HELP AND ASSISTANCE

Eighty percent of victims reported that they wanted help while they were being trafficked at some point. Forty-three percent said unequivocally that they wanted help, while an additional 37 percent reported wanting help sometimes. Those who did not want help typically had greater autonomy, including completely unmonitored access to the Internet (r=0.23***). Those that report less autonomy are significantly likely to report wanting help. In particular, victims reporting that their controller communicated with buyers are significantly more likely to want help while in the life (r=0.22***). Women working in strip clubs, pornography production and street prostitution showed no significant patterns regarding whether or not they wanted help; however, women working in escort services were significantly likely to report that they wanted help while they were in the life (r=0.22**).

The interview data reveals an interesting pattern of the survivors desiring help after they had been physically abused. The level of physical brutality that many of the survivors endured is alarming. There are numerous stories of wanting to escape when they were beat, hit, threatened at gunpoint, put in the basement without eating, and required to stand outside "half-naked" in the cold. One described her situation in this way:
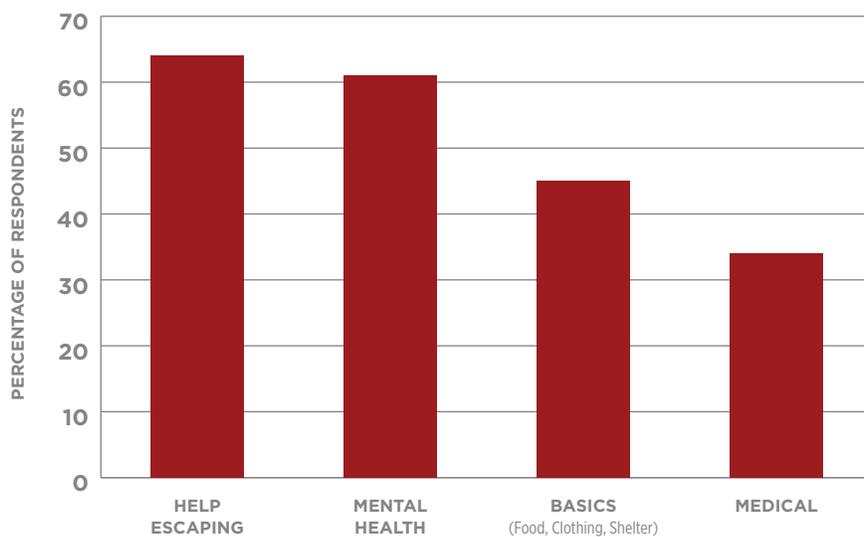
> *When he almost killed me, or whatever. One time he was beating me up with his hands, with a bat or whatever, and this time not even no, it wasn't even a bat, that was before, he was hitting me with a [sic], from the thing, he kept hitting me, hitting me with it, and I was like crying, I was like [sic] then kicking me, kicking me, kicking me, so he made me, he put the water mad hot, and made me put my feet in it, you know like scalding hot water, and told me to stay with my feet in it, and I kept saying ouch or whatever, I was really, I was just really hurt.*

Figure 15 reports the percentage of respondents that wanted help in four different categories: help escaping, mental health assistance, basic needs and medical assistance. The most important thing to note is that 64 percent of the victims interviewed said that they wanted help escaping and 61 percent said that they wanted mental health assistance. More respondents reported wanting help with escaping and mental health assistance than basic needs or medical assistance. There is no significant difference in terms of who wanted each type of help based on number of years since recruitment. Older and younger victims are equally as likely to report wanting help in each of the four categories.

FIGURE 14: PERCENT RESPONDENTS REPORTING WHETHER THEY WANTED HELP

NO
20%

YES
43%

SOMETIMES
37%

FIGURE 15: PERCENT RESPONDENTS WANTING DIFFERENT TYPES OF HELP

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS

70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0

HELP
ESCAPING

MENTAL
HEALTH

BASICS
(Food, Clothing, Shelter)

MEDICAL

About one-third of the respondents reported wanting only one type of help. Of the victims wanting only one type of help, 53 percent said that they only wanted help escaping and 32 percent said that they only wanted help with mental health issues. Similarly, among those wanting two or three types of help, the most common two types of help requested were help escaping and help with mental health.

Generally, there were no distinct patterns regarding the total number of categories with which respondents wanted help and the type of work they were doing, except for the survivors who worked in pornography production and street prostitution. Those working in pornography were significantly likely to report that they wanted help across multiple categories (r=0.18**), as were those in street prostitution (0.16*).

Given that the most common form of help that the respondents desired was help escaping, there is clearly a strong need for programs that assist them in getting out. These can include prostitution diversion or probation programs that assist with job training, housing and counseling, or other specialized programs that meet the unique needs of this particular demographic. Most noteworthy is the fact that the majority of respondents did not want to be in the life and desired help getting out.

FIGURE 16: PERCENT RESPONDENTS WANTING HELP IN 0-4 DIFFERENT CATEGORIES
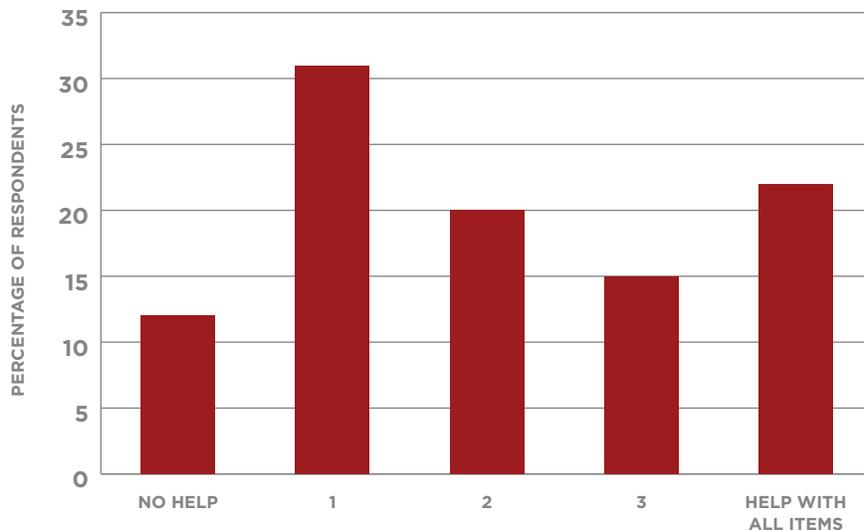
Unfortunately, although the majority of respondents wanted some type of help at some point while they were in the life, 65 percent report that nobody ever or hardly ever reached out to help them while they were in the life. Among those interviewed, there was not a clear indication of the best ways people can reach out to help them. One survivor stated that people should proactively reach out and help. "[T]he only way they could have reached out to me was a phone call. Like to find my ad posted on Backpage, like, 'Hey, you don't have to do this no more, here's help, call this number and I need you to go here.

Cause this is going to help you turn your life around.'" On the other hand, another survivor said that the help should come in more passive forms, and that the proactive move should be on the part of the victim. She put it this way:

> *I think that the person who is being trafficked should contact you. Because if you try to step in, they're going to think that – they feel like you can't help them even if you want to. Even if they want the help they'll want to be stubborn. So I would say like a billboard, phone numbers, Internet sites. Let them come to you. If they want help they're going to be looking for like signs and things on the way.*

Other survivors' stories indicated that without the help of another, they would still be in the same situation. Teachers, police officers and males posing as buyers were all mentioned as individuals that helped.

There were several poignant stories of teachers and school administrators reaching out to assist victims. One survivor shared a powerful story of her teacher who persisted in reaching out:

> *I had a teacher at school that saw the guy waiting for me when she got out of work. This woman. If it wasn't for her, I swear to god I would be dead right now. She's an older woman and she was quiet about it. But she saw everything. She saw the way he would be there, dropping me off and be there at the end. And she said, "That guy looks kinda old. Is he your boyfriend?" and I was like, "yeah, he's my boyfriend." And then she's like, "Interesting." . . . And then she said, if you ever need help with anything just let me know. And I was like, I don't need help with shit. Stay out of my business. And she was trying to get me to go see the school counselor, get me to stay with her extra hours after school. At first I saw what she was trying to do and I was offended. "How could you think that?" But then I was like, that's what it is, what am I getting upset for? . . . And she asked me if I had a phone, and I said, "I don't have one." And she came to class two days later with a cell phone, a simple little phone for me. And she put her number in it and said if you ever need help, call me. And there was nothing I can say. I was like, I'm not going to be mean to her cause I need one now. And I was like, I can't believe she's doing this. And like, I think the next day he wanted me to go to Brooklyn and he wanted me to come back and do the swinger party. And I said, I don't feel like it. Because she kinda buzzed in my ear a little bit. She told me something like, when someone loves you they wouldn't hurt you. They'll listen to you." And then I went to school the next day and he was there. And my teacher called the cops.*

FIGURE 17: PERCENT REPORTING SOMEONE REACHED OUT TO HELP

YES, OCCASIONALLY
22%

YES, FREQUENTLY
13%

YES, HARDLY EVER
26%

NO, NEVER
39%
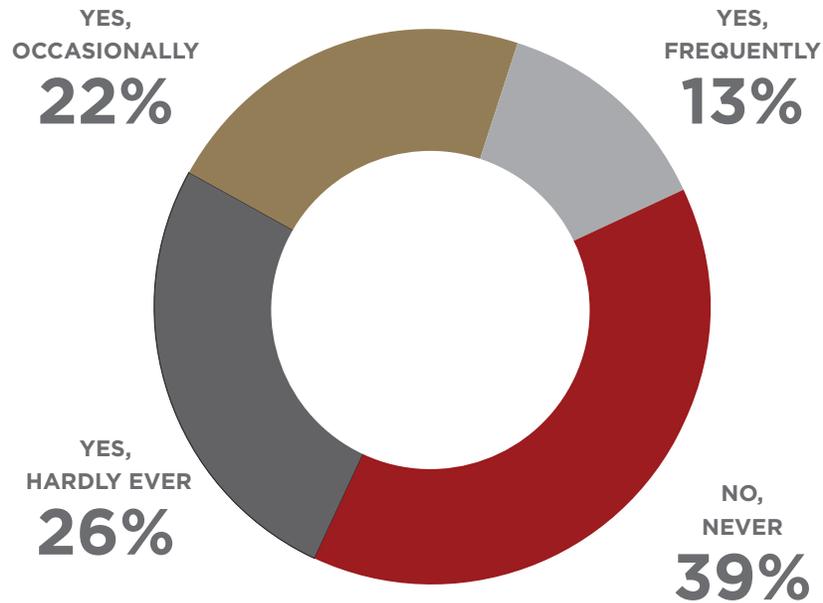
Police officers also played a role in helping the survivors by offering to "lock up bad dates," putting a restraining order on the controllers, setting up domestic violence cases against controllers and working with schools to investigate the cases. A number of the survivors noted that the easiest and best escape is to get arrested. However, among those that stated that getting arrested was the best thing for them, it is critical to note that all of them received services as part of that experience. One survivor describes why these services are so important:

> *Like when you get arrested and they make you go to court, pay fines, and sit in classes? Instead of sending someone to a class, who tells you that you're an evil person and that your soul will burn in hell because you're a prostitute, they should offer you services. They should offer hard skills. Don't just tell me not to do it. I had to pay $300 for classes, and $300 for fines. Plus rent and feed and clothe myself. How am I supposed to get the money? If I have no skills to get a job, how do I get a job? But if I don't get a job I can't pay the fine and go back to jail? But if I go out and get some money I can pay the fine, I can pay the rent, and I might go back to jail.*

Although police were helpful in a variety of ways for some survivors, there were other survivors who described situations where contact with law enforcement made their situation worse. Multiple survivors mention the lack of help, understanding and compassion they received from law enforcement.

> *I just hate cops. They treated me like I was a disgusting hooker instead of a 15 year old who got caught. . . They kept saying, 'You're over 18. Stop lying to us.' And I was like, 'No,*

you bastards, I'm 15. What do you want? A cookie? Want a trophy for being a good cop and a horrible person?' So cops—they need more sensitivity training.

[The police] would come because [the pimp] was beating me up or something, and I would tell them I was underage, and they wouldn't do anything. And they'd be like, 'Oh, take a walk.' And I'd say, 'Could you just bring me home?' And they would say, 'We're not a cab service. You wanna go home, go home.' And I would be like, 'It's not that simple. It's not that easy to just get up and leave.' So I guess if they would have actually brought me home, or brought me to a hospital to see if I was ok."

In addition to schools and police, some survivors indicated that the buyers themselves could help. One woman told her story: "One of my tricks helped me escape from [the controller]. If it wasn't for him, I would still be in the life right now."[15] Two others noted that men could pretend to be "tricks" in order to help them escape and provide them with phone numbers and resources to receive help.

However, one survivor expressed feeling annoyed by her experiences in which men pretended to be buyers, and she felt they were wasting her time. She said, "I've had a few people call me to do dates and then they come in and they preach to me. They're just like, 'There's a way out.' And I'm like, 'Yeah, the front door. You're wasting my time. I'm making money. Get out of my face cause, like, I'm happy.' Cause I think I'm making 200 dollars, and then they come in with the BS." Yet, this same survivor also noted that she found herself wishing someone reached out to help her on "busy days, when I'm seeing over [15] people a day and I'm just disgusted with myself. I'd want a way out."

When respondents were asked if they had ever seen a number for a hotline offering help, 72 percent reported never seeing any number at all. This is disconcerting, as 50 percent said they would have wanted to receive a national hotline number or information about a local agency that could help.

In terms of the best potential ways to receive information offering help, respondents report that the three most effective methods include: hotels, billboards, and text messages. In addition, respondents with cell phones ($r=0.21**$), landlines ($r=0.32***$) and internet access ($r=0.27***$) were significantly likely to say that online advertisements would be the best way to receive help messages. Those that had zero communication options while being trafficked were significantly less likely to state that online advertisements were an effective method ($r=-0.25***$). In fact, respondents with no options to communicate are not significantly likely to view any method of receiving information as being effective. While this finding makes sense intuitively, it also highlights the difficulty of reaching out to and finding those who are kept completely isolated by their controllers.

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15 More often, the survivors would describe having a "bad date" and getting hurt by the "tricks." One said, "They treat you like you're not even a human anymore. You're just a prop. A little box of cereal in Wal-Mart. They just pick you and pay for you."

Older respondents who were recruited less recently are significantly more likely to report that the non-technology options to receive helpline information would be most effective. Specifically, those recruited further in the past state that it would be helpful to receive helpline information via print advertisements in the newspaper (r=0.24***), on a billboard (r=0.40***), or in a hotel (0.24***).
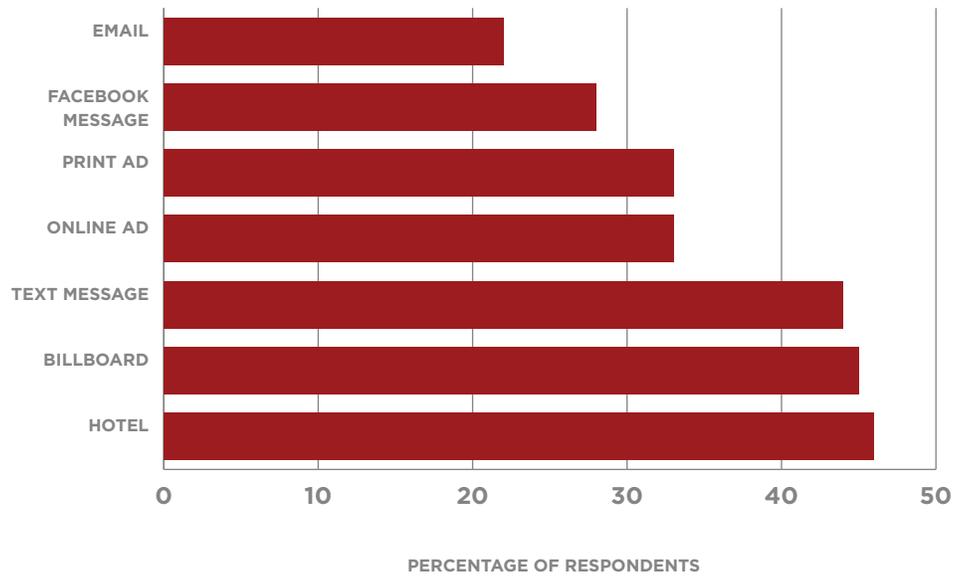
Although the survey does not directly ask about specific outlets where it might be helpful to advertise a helpline, some of the interviewees recommended posting ads on the very escort sites where many of the women and controllers post their advertisements. One survivor recommended the following:

> *Cause I think if it's in the Village Voice – in the back of that they have all those ads for escorts. If they had an ad for like, if you're in an abusive situation, if you're being forced to do this against your will, here's this number. Because people look at Backpage all the time, and you never – somebody might see the number and say, hey I really do need help. It's not like I could have searched online, "help for people being trafficked." I didn't even know that I was being domestically trafficked. You know what I'm saying? . . . Even like shady areas where you know that have been tracks for years. They could have a poster up there. They could do something.*
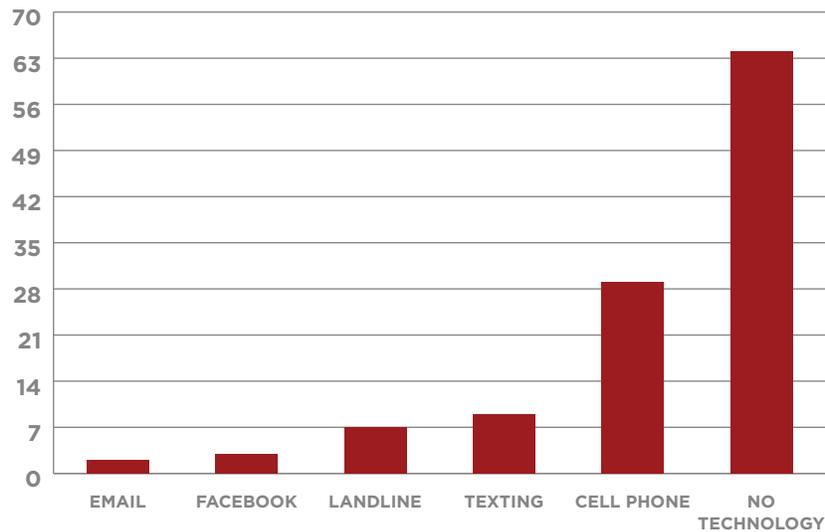
Although technology is being used by trafficking victims while they are in the life, by and large, they are not using technology in order to help them escape the life. Indeed, 64 percent of respondents report that they did not use technology at all in their escape. Of those that did use technology, cell phones were used the most, although they were generally used to call someone, rather than used to text message for help.

It is important to note that several of the survivors interviewed indicated that their controller often checked their text and phone history. Checking their phone and text history was a form of psychological control that generally worked. For example, one survivor said, "He would go through [my phone and text history]. I didn't really do anything because I didn't want to make him mad." Another survivor stated, "Yeah, he would check my phone – my calls. And who I was calling, and what I said in my text messages." She went on to explain that she would get in trouble for calls and texts that she was not allowed to make. "The phone was supposed to be strictly for business or to speak to him. Or if I was like, talking to people and it wasn't directly about an exchange of sex for money – just talking to them I would get in trouble, because there's no purpose in just talking to people."

FIGURE 18: MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS TO COMMUNICATE HELPLINE INFORMATION

EMAIL

FACEBOOK
MESSAGE

PRINT AD

ONLINE AD

TEXT MESSAGE

BILLBOARD

HOTEL

0   10   20   30   40   50

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS

FIGURE 19: USE OF TECHNOLOGY TO ESCAPE

70
63
56
49
42
35
28
21
14
7
0

EMAIL   FACEBOOK   LANDLINE   TEXTING   CELL PHONE   NO
TECHNOLOGY

Given various testimonies of other survivors, "getting in trouble" most likely means being beaten, as this was the consequence other survivors faced. "When he told me not to call my mom and I would I would get in trouble, and he would beat the shit out of me and I would go downstairs in the basement and I wouldn't be able to eat or drink for three days.

Just water basically, that's it." Another survivor said, "I used to get beat after I talked to my mom or my friend. I couldn't even talk to my mother."

Based on the survey responses, it seems appropriate to design proactive programs and attempt to reach out to the victims directly via text or phone. However, these survivor testimonies demonstrate potential problems that this could create for victims. Any proactive attempts to reach victims directly should be thoughtful and done with extreme caution as it could lead to unintended consequences for the victim.

TEXT ANALYSIS

In addition to analyzing the survey results and triangulating them with the anecdotal evidence from the interview transcripts, the transcriptions of all 77 interviews were analyzed using Linguistic Inquiry Word Count software (LIWC).[16] This software allows us to evaluate the percentage of the transcripts that included various psychological and biological constructs and personal concerns, including, but not limited to: positive emotion, negative emotion, anxiety, anger, sadness, insight, sex/sexuality, work, achievement, leisure, money and death.

Table 3 divides the content of the transcripts into five overarching categories: cognitive, social, affective, perceptual, and biological processes. The cognitive category measures words that indicate the ways in which survivors are *thinking* about their situations. The social category measures *relational* content from the transcripts. The affective category measures the positive and negative *emotional* content. The perceptual category measures the *physical senses* such as seeing, hearing, and feeling. Finally, the biological category is a measure of words relating to the physical body. Overall, LIWC is a unique analysis of the content of the transcripts; it catches implicit meaning and subtle messages that may otherwise be overlooked. Reported in Table 3 are the means and standard deviations for each of the LIWC measures.

It is immediately notable that cognitive processes appear more in the transcribed interviews than social, affective, perceptual, and biological processes. There are several reasons that the transcripts might reveal this pattern of survivors *thinking* about their situation rather than expressing *feelings*. First, the mode of communication was an interview with prescribed questions. With another person asking questions, survivors may feel more inhibited expressing emotions. For example, we might see a different trend if the analysis was based on journal entries rather than interview transcripts. Second, the interviews were semi-structured and followed a relatively defined set of questions. There was less space and opportunity for survivors to discuss their situations through a stream of consciousness. Also, the interviews were structured around the survey instrument as a means of asking clarifying questions, and the nature of the survey was to obtain very specific information about the use of technology in the recruitment, grooming, and sale of domestic minors for sex. For each of these reasons, it is not necessarily surprising that cognitive processes overshadow the other categories in the LIWC analysis.

16 With LIWC, each transcript is run through the software, which generates a newly designated Excel file with approximately 80 output variables written as one line of data. This data includes 4 general descriptor categories (total word count, words per sentence, percentage of words captured by the dictionary and percent of words longer than six letters), 22 standard linguistic dimensions (e.g., percentage of words in the text that are pronouns, articles, auxiliary verbs, etc.), 32 word categories tapping psychological constructs (e.g., affect, cognition, biological processes), 7 personal concern categories (e.g., work, home, leisure activities), 3 paralinguistic dimensions (assents, fillers, nonfluencies), and 12 punctuation categories (periods, commas, etc.). For more information on LIWC, see liwc.net.

Future research might explore ways to allow survivors to express their stories in a non-structured, more open-ended format (e.g., journaling) to evaluate how this might change the distribution of the various psychological processes at play.

Beyond examining the overall descriptive statistics, it is useful to investigate these results for different groups of survivors. Specifically, how do older respondents recruited further in the past differ in their cognitive, social, affective and perceptual processes from the younger victims who were recruited more recently?

Those recruited further in the past are significantly more likely to mention family (r=0.36***). They are also significantly more likely to register negative emotions (r=0.27**) and anger (r=0.35**). Their cognitive processes are also much stronger (r=0.26**). Interestingly, their level of insight is significantly greater (r=0.37***), yet they tend to speak in less certain terms (r=-0.22*). Those recruited further in the past register more feeling (r=0.26**) and use more inclusive language (r=0.34***). Moreover, their openness, and perhaps awareness, of their biological processes is also much greater (r=0.28**), with significantly more mentions of health (r=0.22*), sex/sexuality (r=0.32***), and ingestion (r=0.23**). Finally, those recruited further in the past mention religion (r=0.19*) and death (r=0.22**) significantly more than those recruited more recently, and they are significantly less likely to use assenting language (r=-0.32***).

These combined results indicate that older respondents who were recruited further in the past have a level of awareness and openness that the younger victims do not have, even in a semi-structured interview format. Their increased expression of anger and other negative emotions may be a function of their heightened insight into their thoughts and emotions, rather than an indication that they are actually more angry and negative. They are also more open and willing to discuss uncomfortable subject matter. In general, the LIWC reveals a maturity among the older respondents compared with the younger respondents.

Further insight is gained by investigating the LIWC variables as they relate to those respondents with free access to communication options. Those with free access are significantly more likely than those without to register positive emotions (r=0.20*). Their perceptual process of feeling is also significantly more pronounced than those without communication access (r=0.22*). These combined results indicate that free access to communication options is a significant predictor of a survivor's emotional wellbeing while in the life.

Also of note is that those with open communication options are significantly more likely to discuss money (r=0.28***). Although it is unclear why there is a significant relationship between open communication options and discussing money, future research should dig more deeply into why this relationship exists. For example, is this an indication that those with open communication options also face more or less autonomy over their earnings?

Interesting patterns also emerge among survivors who were involved in different parts of the commercial sex industry. First, survivors trafficked into pornography production are

significantly less likely to use words that are social in nature (r=-0.20*), and significantly more likely to use exclusive language, such as but, without or exclude (r=0.23**). They also are significantly less likely to use motion words, such as arrive, car and go (r=-0.28**). These combined results suggest that the survivors who reported being trafficked into pornography production face more social isolation and a lack of ability to move from one place to another. One survivor who had been trafficked into pornography production said, "I would have been out sooner than I was if I had just somebody there, it would have been totally different."

Survivors who reported working in strip clubs were significantly less likely than those who did not work in strip clubs to mention friends (r=-0.22**) and to register any affect (r=-0.20*), indicating that women in strip clubs might be lonely and emotionally numb. On the other hand, they were significantly more likely to discuss work (r=0.20*), achievement (r=0.21*), and leisure (r=0.26**). These combined patterns tentatively suggest that survivors who worked in strip clubs reached a level of resignation with their situation, accepting it, to a degree, as their job or lot. However, reaching this resignation required some level of emotional dissociation.

In addition, survivors who worked in strip clubs are significantly more likely than survivors who worked in other parts of the commercial sex industry to mention money (r=0.43***). The substantive and statistical significance of this relationship is much greater than the relationship between survivors with open communication options who mentioned money. The reasons behind this relationship are not immediately apparent. It could be that women in strip clubs have more or less autonomy over their earnings, but these results warrant further investigation.

Women working in escort services reveal yet another pattern. They are significantly more likely than those that did not work for an escort service to use words that indicate sadness (r=0.28**) and exclusion (0.28***). Additionally, they are significantly more likely than survivors of other types of commercial sex work to mention work (r=0.23**). The tentative findings here suggest that women working in escort services also feel socially isolated and acknowledge the sorrow this isolation engenders. Similar to women working in strip clubs, women working in closed-door prostitution via escort services likely acknowledge this as "work" but, unlike those in strip clubs, those in escort services allow themselves to feel.

These results are interesting in the context of the public nature of strip clubs versus the private nature of closed-door prostitution. Strip clubs are social by nature—it is a gathering of people in a public place—thus, rather than being physically isolated, women in strip clubs are among a crowd. On the other hand, women working in escort services are physically isolated—usually confined to a private room with strangers. Where the social setting appears to be correlated with emotional dissociation, the isolated setting is correlated with an acknowledgement of sadness.

Finally, survivors involved in street prostitution are significantly less likely than women in other types of commercial sex work to mention family (r=-0.22*), friends (r=-0.23**), and positive emotions (r=-0.24**). These findings might suggest that women in street prostitution lack social and emotional bonds, but are not isolated in the same way that

those in porn production and escort services are. Survivors of street prostitution are also more likely to discuss biological (r=0.39***) and sexual (r=0.38***) processes. While each type of commercial sex work is different, they all involve some biological/sexual component; therefore, it is not clear why survivors of street prostitution are more likely to mention these processes. Finally, women in street prostitution are significantly more likely to use language that is relative (r=0.29***), including space, such as down, in, or thin (r=0.33***). This is not surprising given that women in street prostitution discuss walking "the tracks" and being on "the streets."

Overall, the results of the LIWC reveal that there is a great deal of variance in the social, affective, cognitive, perceptual, and biological processes of different women that have been trafficked into commercial sex. Variance is evident along a range of dimensions, from years since recruitment to the type of sex work into which survivors were trafficked. These preliminary results indicate that victims of sex trafficking in the United States are very different from one another. Their age, the length of time they were trafficked, the type of work they performed, and their level of autonomy and freedom to communicate with the outside world all must be taken into consideration when developing different mechanisms of intervention, assistance and rehabilitation. Still, the results of the LIWC consistently reveal that positive affect, inclusion, and belonging are rarely felt among trafficking victims. Therefore, we can reasonably conclude that social isolation is among the most challenging barriers to effective outreach.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the preliminary findings in this report, there are a number of recommendations at the intersection of research, policy and technology that can impact strategies which combat domestic minor sex trafficking, protect victims, and help prosecute controllers. These recommendations are enumerated below.

1. REVISE AND CONTINUE TO FIELD THE SURVIVOR SURVEY

The survivor survey has assisted in the collection of unique data that has produced invaluable insight into the use of technology for the recruitment, grooming, sale and escape of domestic minor sex trafficking victims. However, technology is a dynamic field. With new trends constantly emerging, we can expect controllers to adapt quickly. When one method is compromised, their adjustments will likely align with new technology options. Thus, we should expect sometimes dramatic changes in the role technology plays in domestic minor trafficking situations over relatively short increments of time. A sustained survivor survey can help track and understand these changes.

Continued efforts to revise and field the survey will provide updated data, including new websites, new keywords, and new methods of recruitment and sale, such as technology and communication strategies. This information will continue to inform evidence-based policy and practice in combating domestic minor sex trafficking.

Therefore, it is recommended that this survey be revised and adapted every two years. To that end, simultaneous to the publishing of this report, Thorn has deployed the second wave of the survivor survey. Thorn welcomes partnership with any organization that would like to collaborate.

2. INTERNET STRANGER DANGER CAMPAIGNS

This research suggests that there is an increasing trend among domestic minor sex trafficking victims of online recruitment, sometimes on gaming websites and Facebook. One strategy to combat this trend is to develop advertisements and PSAs that draw the attention of young people and send a clear message that meeting new people on the Internet is not always safe. These should be linked to resources individuals can access if they need help or are in an uncomfortable situation.

3. INTERNET HELP ADS

The survey also revealed that many victims do have Internet access, especially younger victims, and we believe this trend will only increase overtime. This provides an opportunity to leverage the Internet to increase online messaging to get the National Human Trafficking

Resource Center hotline and corresponding text short code into the hands of those who need it most. The majority of victims surveyed said that they wanted help escaping, but did not know how or where to receive that assistance. For victims with access to the Internet, one suggestion is to display helpline information in bold ads on strategic websites where victims post their advertisements. Thorn has started this process and welcomes partnerships with any organizations that would like to collaborate.

4. EXPLORE OPPORTUNITIES TO EXPAND TEXT SHORT CODE

Continued research and exploration into proactive marketing of the text short code is recommended. This would need to be done in a very cautious way, as multiple victims report strict monitoring of their communications and violent reactions from controllers when they communicate with unauthorized individuals. However, some victims report less restricted communication options and could benefit from more proactive measures. With continued research into the different types of escort page postings, it may be possible to predict with some degree of certainty which ads are linked to individuals under tighter control.

5. COMPREHENSIVE SAFE HARBOR LEGISLATION

Minor victims of sex trafficking suffer severe forms of abuse; they are not criminals or juvenile delinquents. Accordingly, they should not be prosecuted as criminals. They deserve various social services, including prostitution diversion programs and child protective services. Many states have recognized this as a matter of law, including New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, Vermont and Washington. Moreover, in 2010, the Texas Supreme Court ruled that minors engaged in prostitution are victims, not criminals, and should qualify for child protective services. All states should move to adopt comprehensive safe harbor legislation for domestic minor sex trafficking victims that not only provide immunity or diversion for victims, but also establish holistic services for the rehabilitation and reintegration of these child victims.

6. IMPROVED SERVICES FOR DOMESTIC MINOR SEX TRAFFICKING VICTIMS IN JUVENILE DETENTION

The results of this survey indicate that minors arrested for prostitution and placed in juvenile detention are not being given the services that they need. Juvenile detention centers across the country must recognize the unique needs of children that have been trafficked and should partner with qualified service providers to increase counseling, education and job training opportunities available for domestic minor sex trafficking victims while in juvenile detention. Rather than a lost opportunity, victims' time in juvenile detention could be life changing with the right combination of rehabilitation and reintegration services that enable them to live healthy and productive adult lives.

TABLE 3: EXAMPLES AND DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR LIWC VARIABLES

CONSTRUCT	EXAMPLES	MEAN	ST. DEVIATION
Social Processes	mate, talk, they, child	14.42%	2.90%
Family	daughter, husband, aunt	0.38%	0.49
Friends	buddy, friend, neighbor	0.41%	0.34
Affective Processes	happy, cried, abandoned	3.18%	0.95
Positive emotion	love, nice, sweet	2.30%	0.87
Negative emotion	hurt, ugly, nasty	0.85%	0.45
Anxiety	worried, fearful, nervous	0.12%	0.15
Anger	hate, kill, annoyed	0.28%	0.29
Sadness	crying, grief, sad	0.08%	0.11
Cognitive Processes	cause, know, ought	19.53%	3.06
Insight	think, know, consider	2.23%	1.07
Causation	because, effect, hence	1.58%	0.64
Discrepancy	should, would, could	2.97%	0.96
Tentative	maybe, perhaps, guess	3.39%	1.38
Certainty	always, never	1.46%	0.61
Inhibition	block, constrain, stop	0.30%	0.21
Inclusive	and, with, include	5.54%	1.59
Exclusive	but, without, exclude	3.61%	1.36
Perceptual Processes	observing, heard, feeling	1.45%	0.7
See	view, saw, seen	0.52%	0.36
Hear	listen, hearing	0.57%	0.42
Feel	feels, touch	0.33%	0.25
Biological Processes	eat, blood, pain	1.34%	0.62
Body	cheek, hands, spit	0.32%	0.32
Health	clinic, flu, pill	0.48%	0.3
Sexual	horny, love, incest	0.42%	0.36
Ingestion	dish, eat, pizza	0.17%	0.25
Relativity	area, bend, exit, stop	13.03%	2.43
Motion	arrive, car, go	2.24%	0.85
Space	down, in, thin	5.40%	1.36
Time	end, until, season	6.42%	1.33
Personal Concerns			
Work	job, majors, xerox	1.02%	0.71
Achievement	earn, hero, win	0.84%	0.35
Leisure	cook, chat, movie	0.94%	0.68
Home	apartment, kitchen, family	0.67%	0.49
Money	audit, cash, owe	0.64%	0.47
Religion	altar, church, mosque	0.07%	0.15
Death	bury, coffin, kill	0.02%	0.05
Other			
Fillers	Blah, Imean, youknow	1.07%	0.8
Assent	agree, ok, yes	2.03%	1.66