



BLUEPRINT

A MULTIDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO THE
DOMESTIC SEX TRAFFICKING OF GIRLS

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CENTER ON POVERTY and INEQUALITY

GEORGETOWN LAW

Based on the Conference

**“CRITICAL CONNECTIONS: A MULTI-SYSTEMS APPROACH TO
THE DOMESTIC SEX TRAFFICKING OF GIRLS”**

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**HUMAN RIGHTS
PROJECT FOR GIRLS**

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The sex trafficking of American children is one of the most shocking and hidden crimes against our nation's youth. Approximately 83 percent of confirmed sex trafficking victims in this country are United States citizens, and 40 percent of cases involve children. In total, from what few statistics have been gathered, at least 100,000 American children every year are victims of commercial sexual exploitation.¹

These children have fallen through the cracks of our public systems. They remain invisible and unidentified. Yet these girls² are known to us. They attend our schools, live in our communities, and many have passed in and out of our child welfare and juvenile justice systems.³ We can, and must, do better for our girls.

This report grows out of a conference held on March 12, 2013, that was hosted by Georgetown Law's Center on Poverty and Inequality; the Human Rights Project for Girls; and The National Crittenton Foundation. The conference, "Critical Connections: A Multi-Systems Approach to the Domestic Sex Trafficking of Girls," gathered survivors, direct service providers, advocates, and state and federal government officials to discuss the challenges of addressing the domestic sex trafficking of children and the importance of working collaboratively to help identify and support survivors.

The first half of this report identifies the core components of a comprehensive and collaborative approach to the domestic sex trafficking of girls.⁴ This approach, often referred to as "cross-system" or "multidisciplinary," requires cooperative work by relevant agencies and experts to identify and assess survivors' needs and provide the treatment and tools the girls require to heal and to succeed.

The second half of this report describes how three jurisdictions have created a multidisciplinary response to the sex trafficking of children, each from a different system perspective: groundbreaking work was initiated in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, by a child advocacy center; in Los Angeles County, by the juvenile justice system; and in Connecticut, by the child welfare system.

We elevate these three jurisdictions as models of promising collaborative approaches to the sex trafficking of children. It is our hope that other communities can adapt these models to their unique needs, networks, and sets of systems to improve their recognition and response to these children and this national tragedy.



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"We are all survivors of something."
— *Withelma "T" Ortiz Walker Pettigrew, Survivor*

SHIFT THE PERSPECTIVE: TRAFFICKED GIRLS ARE VICTIMS — NOT OFFENDERS.

Girls who are bought and sold are the victims, not the perpetrators, of the crime of sex trafficking. Yet most jurisdictions treat victims of sex trafficking as offenders if they recognize them at all: girls are arrested on charges of prostitution or related offenses and detained in custody, often without access to support or treatment.⁵

Public agencies must learn to recognize key indicators of victimization and how to work with child survivors of sex trafficking. Critical to this effort is an informed understanding of the connection between girls' background of violence, abuse, or other trauma, and a particular vulnerability to domestic sex trafficking, as well as the profound and complex effect of the trauma of being trafficked itself.

Recognize the History of Violence and Trauma That Frequently Leads to Girls' Vulnerability to Sex Trafficking, and the Near Impossibility of Escape.

Many, if not most, child survivors of sex trafficking were abused, neglected, or otherwise exposed to trauma prior to being trafficked; many of them were runaways, thrown out of their homes, placed in multiple foster care or group homes, or detained in jail.⁶

Such histories may make girls more susceptible to a pimp's promises of love, shelter, food, or money that they otherwise lack. A 2009 report on teen sex trafficking noted: "[O]n many occasions . . . it is not the pimps who create this vulnerability — mostly they take advantage of it."⁷

Other victims of sex trafficking are coerced, kidnapped, or otherwise forced under the control of pimps, who target spaces that girls inhabit — near problematic group homes, at school, in shopping malls, or online.⁸

Regardless of the path that leads them there, an escape from the world of sex trafficking is virtually impossible for these children. Even when not physically held captive, girls may stay with pimps for a variety of reasons: fear, threats, torture, gang rape, addiction to drugs, or the need for money that their pimp provides — or simply because they have nowhere safe to go.⁹ Complex psychological factors also hold victims captive to a pimp, including traumatic bonding (similar to Stockholm Syndrome)¹⁰ and pimps' psychological manipulation of girls, which leads them to perceive fleeing as impossible, or even undesired.¹¹ A recent report on child sex trafficking

issued by Shared Hope International found: "Traffickers/pimps make it their business to understand the psychology of youth and to practice and hone their tactics of manipulation. The trafficker's goal is to exploit and create vulnerabilities and remove the credibility the minor holds in the eyes of their families, the public, and law enforcement."¹² Even when the handcuffs to a life of sex trafficking are invisible, they are still very real.

Survivors of Child Sex Trafficking Should Not Be Detained.

When victims are identified, instead of receiving appropriate treatment, they are routinely sent into the juvenile justice system on prostitution and related charges.¹³ This outcome is fundamentally problematic. When we lock up victims and treat them as offenders, we fail to recognize and address the root cause that led them there: the trauma of the serial rape and abuse that they have experienced as victims of trafficking and, often, before that as well. The juvenile justice system rarely offers the treatment and services that every survivor needs.¹⁴ To the contrary, detention officials typically treat girls punitively, which risks re-traumatization¹⁵ and may ultimately negate the good accomplished by a girl's escape, as she may be more likely to return to her pimp if she decides that his promises are preferable to her experience in the justice system.¹⁶

The question of whether it is ever appropriate to detain child victims of trafficking can be complicated and even divisive, often requiring informed, thorough discussions among anti-trafficking stakeholders to reach agreement. Ideally, survivors should not be detained except as a last resort when there is truly no other safe alternative.¹⁷ In those cases, detention should be as brief as practicable,¹⁸ and no charges should appear on the youth's record. Under no circumstances should a child victim of sex trafficking be placed in the adult criminal justice system or solitary confinement.¹⁹ Instead, survivors should receive gender-responsive, trauma-informed treatment to begin the healing process without delay.²⁰

Build Relationships and Take the Long View When Working with Survivors of Sex Trafficking.

Victims' histories of trauma, their prior negative experience with public systems, and the coping strategies they have developed in response can translate into what law enforcement, judges, and case workers view as recalcitrant, negative, or aggressive behaviors — leading them to see

survivors as “bad girls” who reject or otherwise frustrate their attempts to help. According to the American Bar Association, “[g]irls may react especially negatively to outside controls and may be labeled ‘oppositional,’ although their aggression is often a self-defense mechanism against past abuse.”²¹

Training can help workers learn to see these behaviors as manifestations of the trauma that the girls have experienced.

*Youth who have been victimized [by sex trafficking] have often experienced complex trauma ... that results in traumatic behavior responses that may inhibit their ability to reach out for or trust in the support being offered. Special care must be taken devising programs that will draw youth in rather than re-creating for them the distinct feeling that they are once again being abused, neglected or violated.*²²

It is also important to recognize that domestically trafficked girls may not conform to our cultural and social stereotypes of girls whom we view as “victims.”²³ As stated in one analysis of teen-survivor interviews:

*[T]een [victims' histories] reflect themes of harm and survival and even agency that any portrayal of [them] as one-dimensional “victims” or “offenders” misses. Yes, in no uncertain terms they have been victimized . . . The complexity of their lives and their survival skills, however, often are not taken into account in common depictions of the prostituted teen . . . [T]he portrayal of the weak, “innocent,” helpless victim is directly challenged by the teen [that] the police or a would-be service provider encounters in the field. Instead of a sad-eyed victim, they confront a strong, willful survivor who looks and acts quite differently from the victims portrayed in the media.*²⁴

Indeed, trafficked girls often do not initially self-identify as victims. They may need time to identify and recognize the trauma and exploitation they have experienced and the viability and value of accepting assistance, leaving pimps, and forming new connections. Striking a balance between

supporting a girl in recognizing that she is a survivor of a crime and treating her with respect and an appropriate level of autonomy is critical to helping her recover.

“We are not charity cases; we are strong young ladies.”²⁶ — Jessica Midkiff, Survivor, L.A. County

Rather than the role of rescuer, those who work with trafficked girls are most helpful when they see themselves as girls’ partners, working together with girls toward their success. Many girls do not view the framework of “rescue” as appropriate because their survival alone can serve as proof of their independent success in overcoming the abuse, hunger, homelessness, poverty, or violence that they have frequently experienced.²⁷ Workers can help girls build and value secure, supportive relationships with trustworthy mentors and friends outside the influence of their former sex-trafficking circles to enrich their networks of support and opportunity.²⁸

“The journey to wellness is not a straight trajectory.”²⁹ — Joyce Capelle, Crittenton Services of Orange County

It is never an overnight process. Removing herself from the immediate trafficking environment is only a small step on a girl’s long journey toward health and healing. The commitment to helping a survivor find stability must be long-term.³⁰

In general, children who have been abused or neglected need nurturance, stability, predictability, understanding, and support. They may need frequent, repeated experiences of these kinds to begin altering their view of the world from one that is uncaring or hostile to one that is caring and supportive. Until that view begins to take hold in a child’s mind, the child may not be able to truly engage in a positive relationship. And the longer a child lived in an abusive or neglectful environment, the harder it will be to convince the child’s brain that the world

**“Initially, law enforcement thought they would rescue kids, but now they see their role when they meet a youth as starting a relationship.”²⁵
— Susan Goldfarb, Children’s Advocacy Center of Suffolk County**

*can change. Consistent nurturing from caregivers who receive training and support may offer the best hope for the children who need it most.*³¹

On the path toward healing, girls frequently return to their pimps.³² Such setbacks should not deter efforts to work with survivors, who often return if relationships and trust have been established.

“We must have the patience to welcome [survivors] back. Once a girl realizes that she can trust you, that she has a place to go and can get help, she will return for a little longer each time.”³³ — Michelle Guymon, L.A. County Probation Department

Former victims’ needs are complex and varied, and they change throughout the process of ending a life of being trafficked. Girls need a path back to school and toward economic independence so that they can build a viable alternative to their former life of commercial trafficking.³⁴ One important way to achieve this goal is to provide girls with meaningful educational and skill-building opportunities while recovering, both inside the juvenile justice system and out.³⁵ In addition, survivors require mental health services, culturally competent counseling, and gender-responsive, trauma-informed care, and they may need support in learning fundamental life skills to transition toward independence. One survivor at the Critical Connections conference discussed how overwhelmed she felt when she first had to pay monthly credit card bills, or when the cable television company asked her to choose the hour and date of service.³⁶ Life coaches and other direct service providers, as well as various specialized curricula designed for survivors, can help girls learn these skills.

“Surround the girls by offering love, belonging, community, and a place to make money — all the things the pimps gave them.”³⁷ — Lisa Goldblatt Grace, My Life My Choice

In essence, survivors need comprehensive services and support that can adapt to their evolving needs. One review of sexually exploited teens states:

*[A] successful strategy for care and support of these youth may be achieved only through the development of meaningful partnerships between the youth and social services. Without such partnerships that provide the youth a pathway to achieve freedom from incarceration and some meaningful control over their lives..., there may be little likelihood of success.*³⁹

“Get girls to change one economic system for another.”⁴⁰ — Melinda Giovengo, YouthCare

IMPROVE PUBLIC SYSTEMS’ IDENTIFICATION OF VICTIMS OF CHILD SEX TRAFFICKING, ASSESSMENT OF THEIR NEEDS, AND PROVISION OF TRAUMA-INFORMED SUPPORT AND SERVICES.

The victims of child sex trafficking live among us and in our local public systems.⁴¹ Although we can help these girls if systems work together to identify them and understand their needs, many workers remain unaware of the girls’ presence in their midst. A 2001 report on the child welfare system’s response to child trafficking found:

*[M]any state child welfare advocates and professionals indicated that they had encountered trafficked children or youth previously in their work, but because they did not know it at the time, the children slipped through the cracks and were never identified as trafficking victims.*⁴²

Improving the identification and assessment of survivors and the trauma they have experienced is key, especially given victims’ tendency not to identify themselves as such. A 2011 Shared Hope International report notes that “[t]he recognized failure of victims to self-disclose or self-identify makes it critical for those likely to come into contact with victims to have intake procedures, victim-centered questioning techniques, and training to properly identify these children as victims.”⁴³

In addition, systems should become trauma-informed to improve their approach to survivors and provide an appropriate continuum of care.⁴⁴ As stated in a recent report on the intersection between sex trafficking and the child welfare system:

Organizational practices and policies need to be examined for child welfare assessments to appropriately capture the enormity of trauma [that] child victims of human trafficking have experienced and accurately identify the treatment needed. Standard treatments ... for child sexual abuse ... may not be appropriate. ... [G]roup work may require extra sensitivity to the victims' fear of exposure, lack of anonymity, and fear of deadly harm to family members abroad.⁴⁵

The unique history and experience of survivors should also play important roles in creating treatment plans:

Because of the diverse backgrounds of child human trafficking victims, culturally competent practices, such as respecting cultural norms and tradition, and policies that dignify the victims also need to be established in public ... agencies to enhance well-being and empower the victims.⁴⁶

to begin to identify, accept, and treat child survivors of sex trafficking. Of course, trafficking cases are complex, resource-intensive, and time-consuming. But a recent study found that most child welfare advocates and service providers are not aware of resources that are available to help.⁴⁸ By working together, systems can increase efficiency, pool information and resources,⁴⁹ and share training curricula and experience. In addition, government funding is available to support the creation and development of girl-centered programs.⁵⁰ Private service providers have developed specialized staff trainings and programs that can be made available to public systems.⁵¹

Helping child victims of sex trafficking should be seen as an imperative of any child-centered public agency: survivors are already in these systems, and they have been serially abused. When these agencies fail to engage in this challenge and to meet the needs of these youth, they violate their mission, and duty, to serve children.⁵²

“We, at this point, can accept a case even if a parent or guardian is not the alleged perpetrator. ...[O]ne of the challenges is when the pimp or the john, the abuser, is not the caretaker, ... most states cannot accept those cases. We now accept those cases. And that is not legislatively mandated. That is a commitment from the department.... [M]ost of these girls ... are known to our system. But even if they're not, this is abuse, and we feel the need to be able to respond.”⁵³ — Tammy Sneed, Connecticut Department of Children and Families

Throughout the process, the girl's experience and opinions should be heard.

[S]uccessful trafficking programs ... must be individualized to take into account the survivor's unique circumstances and particular vulnerabilities. By developing a service plan, shaped by the survivor's goals and talents, services are more likely to be successful.⁴⁷

“Some state systems may think they do not have the resources to help these girls. But in many cases, they are already treating these girls.”³⁸ — Tammy Sneed, Connecticut Department of Children and Families

The fact that survivors already exist within these systems' populations should help overcome institutional reluctance

FORM MULTIDISCIPLINARY TASK FORCES TO COMBAT THE DOMESTIC SEX TRAFFICKING OF GIRLS

Multidisciplinary teams (MDTs), which incorporate the knowledge and resources of the public systems in which the victims are involved, are a nationally recognized, evidence-based practice that is mandated in many states to address child abuse.⁵⁴ According to the U.S. Department of Justice, “It is now well accepted that the best response to the challenge of child abuse and neglect investigations is the formation of an MDT.”⁵⁵ For similar reasons, this is the most effective approach to child victims of sexual exploitation,⁵⁶ in part because so many survivors are involved in multiple public systems — sometimes labeled “cross-over youth”⁵⁷ — and are subject to multiple jurisdictions.⁵⁸

[M]ore often than not, there is a direct correlation between the reasons for the girl's involvement in [multiple] systems. Communication among lawyers, case workers, mental health providers, detention staff, and probation officers can prevent girls from moving deeper into systems that are not designed to meet their underlying needs and that create greater risks of poor outcomes.⁵⁹

The input, perspective, and sharing of information across systems with which survivors interact — child welfare, schools, law enforcement, juvenile justice, and juvenile courts, among others — can help create placement and comprehensive treatment plans that reflect the unique experience of each girl.⁶⁰ Yet many agencies continue to act in isolation in their approaches to sex trafficking victims.⁶¹

Based on the model of MDTs, communities should form and fund local emergency response teams and long-term anti-trafficking task forces that include diverse members of cross-cutting relevant agencies with complementary areas of expertise.⁶² Ideally cooperating under a memorandum of understanding (MOU) signed by all participant agencies and adhering to an agreed-upon protocol, these groups can foster collaboration and communication to identify and assess victims and create optimal treatment and placement plans. Public systems can then become part of the anti-trafficking solution, rather than part of the problem.

ROLES FOR THE COMMUNITY TO HELP FIGHT SEX TRAFFICKING:

Direct Service Providers and Advocates:

- Connect with public agencies and build relationships to form a multidisciplinary approach to sex trafficking
- Train those most likely to interact with survivors on child sex trafficking and how to identify survivors and assess their needs
- Partner with public agencies to provide support and services to survivors
- Provide training to local neighborhoods about trafficking
- Raise awareness in the community:
 - > Offer free trainings
 - > Engage in a public awareness campaign to raise awareness of trafficking and available resources, including hotline numbers
 - > Take advantage of education opportunities presented by President Obama's designation of January as National Slavery and Human Trafficking Prevention Month

- Draw attention not only to the problem of sex trafficking and how to address it, but also to the issue of decreasing demand, including buyers' use of social media and increased demand during widely attended athletic and other events

Residents:

- Demand a comprehensive, locally based, multidisciplinary anti-trafficking task force in your community
- Learn about sex trafficking and key indicators to become more aware of what's happening in your neighborhood
- Understand survivors' experiences as victims, not offenders
- Demand greater penalties against buyers and more aggressive action to educate buyers as a means of decreasing demand
- Connect with local law enforcement to see how you can help



Bill Petros Photography

After introducing keynote speaker Tina Tchen, the Executive Director of the White House Council on Women and Girls, Withelma "T" Ortiz Walker Pettigrew, a survivor of sex trafficking and now a college student and anti-trafficking advocate, gives her a warm welcome. Critical Connections conference, Georgetown Law, March 12, 2013.

GATHER INFORMATION ABOUT SEX TRAFFICKING IN YOUR COMMUNITY AND ENLIST SUPPORT TO ADDRESS IT.

Federal, state, and local governments, as well as private funding sources, can serve as the building blocks of anti-trafficking efforts. Sustainable funding can be critical not only to initially forming effective teams, but also to providing long-term care for survivors.⁶³ In addition to giving financial support, government officials can use their influence to bring reluctant agencies to the table and help raise public awareness and forge working partnerships. In the experience of the jurisdictions highlighted in this report, the most persuasive method of gaining support is to present concrete evidence and personal stories about sex trafficking in the area and victims who have entered local public systems. Tracking cases, collecting data, and collecting narratives are key to this process.⁶⁴

Communities are also vital sources of anti-trafficking support. Public awareness campaigns can help draw attention to the problem of trafficking in the area. Once schools and neighborhoods have been educated about the issue, they can help identify the occurrence of sex trafficking and any victims that they may witness. Residents can also participate in anti-trafficking efforts.

IDENTIFY PARTNERS WITH COMPLEMENTARY EXPERTISE.

At its most basic, a multidisciplinary anti-sex-trafficking team should include representatives from law enforcement, the child welfare system, and the juvenile justice system.

- **Law enforcement** officers typically make the first contact with survivors. They must be trained to recognize sex-trafficked girls as victims, interact with them appropriately, avoid unnecessary charges, and refer victims to an appropriate agency or response protocol if not already mandated by law. Federal, state, and local law enforcement should be considered, including any local FBI Innocence Lost task force members.⁶⁵
- Representatives of local **child welfare** agencies are indispensable members of first-response and long-term anti-trafficking teams because a significant proportion of victims have been involved in the system before being trafficked. Staff can use their knowledge of the girls to help

identify them and create appropriate treatment and placement plans for them.⁶⁶ In addition, they can contribute their expertise in addressing sexual and physical abuse.

- Similarly, **juvenile justice** system staff are crucial to anti-trafficking efforts because they can help identify victims who have been previously arrested or detained, or who have outstanding bench warrants or other charges pending.

By bringing these three public systems together, multidisciplinary anti-trafficking teams can reinforce and support each agency's commitment to helping victims, as well as continue to inform and educate themselves about developing appropriate approaches to child sex trafficking.

Each community should make its own careful assessment of which additional agencies and other professionals should be part of the multidisciplinary team. Relationships must be built and carefully maintained to ensure members' long-term investment and cooperation. Examples of candidates to consider including on the team are as follows:

- A **case coordinator** to act as liaison among the victim, the services that she requires, and the agencies and systems with which she interacts.
- **The survivor and/or her advocate**, to ensure that the girl's voice is heard in determining the best direction forward from her perspective.
- **Schools.** Central to every community, local education systems know the community's children and can provide valuable assistance in identifying victims and servicing at-risk girls.
- **Runaway and homeless youth community.** Because a significant number of trafficked youth are runaways or homeless,⁶⁷ members of this community can help identify survivors and provide helpful input about placement and treatment plans.
- **Service providers and child advocacy centers.** Service providers and child advocacy centers have extensive experience with survivors, knowledge of available local resources, and many of them have developed and implemented gender-responsive curricula specifically targeted to survivors of sex trafficking. Their staff can

train others, offer direct support and services to survivors, and act as liaisons among partner groups.

- Members of the **judicial system** who have jurisdiction over sex-trafficked youth, including judges, the defense bar, and prosecutors. These team members can help develop an appropriate plan for survivors who are before the court and ensure that cases move through the system swiftly. In longer-term task forces, they can also play a critical role in helping implement judicial initiatives focused on survivors.
- **Mental health providers, medical providers, substance abuse counselors**, and others with expertise relevant to vulnerable youth. Ideally, members from these fields would be specifically knowledgeable about child sex trafficking, gender-responsive interventions, and trauma-informed treatment.

BUILD THE TEAM⁶⁸

- Educate all members about each agency and the discrete role that it plays in the task force. “[S]uccessful collaboration requires knowledge and understanding of each discipline’s role.”⁶⁹
- Walk through case studies to determine how collaboration among agencies can best improve services and support of survivors.
- Identify existing gaps in services provided to survivors.
- Establish a mission mutually agreed upon by all members. Ideally, the mission should include diverting survivors from the juvenile justice system and helping them rebuild their lives through access to education, physical and mental health services, and other appropriate treatment and programming.
- Enroll members in trainings on the commercial sexual exploitation of children, with a local focus on existing cases and challenges.
- Share information related to survivors’ needs for services, treatment, and placement, while addressing privacy concerns and agencies’ confidentiality rules.⁷⁰

- Create a plan to resolve conflict when it arises “based on mutual respect and recognition that [trafficking] investigations are complex, demanding, and frustrating[,] but that they are also important, meaningful, and rewarding.”⁷¹
- Conduct “periodic self-analysis and outside evaluation of the team so that it continues to achieve the purposes for which it was formed.”⁷² These evaluations can also serve as a basis for models for other communities, and can be used to help persuade authorities to support anti-trafficking teams.
- Draft a memorandum of understanding to memorialize the team’s purpose, protocols, and procedures, to be signed by all members to signify their commitment to the team and its mission.
- Meet regularly to update the team’s protocol, resolve complex issues and conflict, and share information. Periodic case reviews and task force meetings help foster a cooperative approach and follow a youth through systems,⁷³ as well as boost members’ involvement in the team.

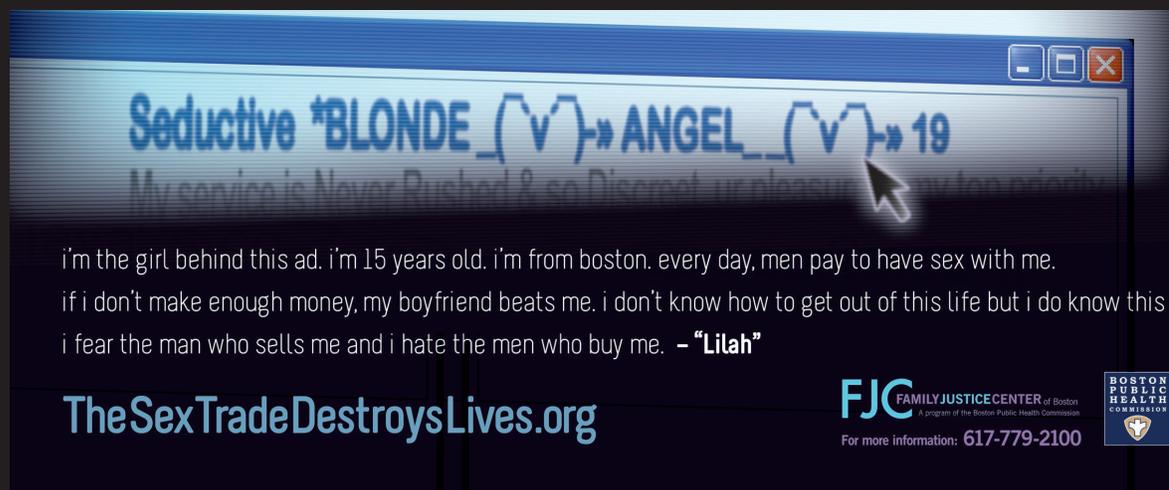
IMPLEMENT A COMPREHENSIVE ANTI-TRAFFICKING ACTION PLAN

- Design a **first-response protocol**. Ideally codified in a written document, protocols clearly define the roles and responsibilities of each team member and set a prompt timeline to help survivors immediately upon identification.
- Establish a trafficking **hotline**, or restructure existing child welfare hotlines, to accept trafficking cases by recognizing child sex-trafficking as a form of abuse and neglect — even when the alleged perpetrator is not a caretaker. Train hotline staff to recognize trafficking cases even when the caller does not self-identify as a trafficking victim. These procedures will help identify more sex-trafficking victims and trigger a response upon referral.⁷⁴
- Gather **data** from agencies that interact with child-trafficking victims to assess the extent of the problem in the community.⁷⁵

- Develop specialized, uniform **identification and assessment tools** to better serve victims who may otherwise go unrecognized.
- Provide **training** to community groups and agencies most likely to come into contact with victims of child sex trafficking.
- Engage in **public awareness campaigns** to help community residents understand that the problem of child sex trafficking exists where they live, and motivate them to support anti-trafficking efforts.
- Form a **long-term task force** comprised of a wide cross-section of agencies to address issues relating to sex trafficking on a broader basis, such as legislation, policy, updates to protocols and rules, and sustainable funding opportunities.

CASE STUDIES OF MULTIDISCIPLINARY ANTI-TRAFFICKING TEAMS

13



Used with Permission of the Family Justice Center

One of four posters designed for a transit ad campaign by the Family Justice Center of Boston, a program of the Boston Public Health Commission, to develop community awareness of commercial sexual exploitation and the sex trade industry in the city.

SUFFOLK COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

A Children's Advocacy Center Worked with Partners to Form a Local Multidisciplinary Anti-Trafficking Team.

After the widely publicized 2001 murder of a child in Boston who had been commercially exploited, awareness of the sex trafficking of children increased in that community.⁷⁶ Informal groups formed to tackle the problem. By 2005, participants agreed that formal action was needed to improve coordination and cultivate a network of connections among providers and agencies. It was the agencies' consensus that the Children's Advocacy Center of Suffolk County (CAC), an independent, nonprofit organization, should take on that role: it was seen as an objective, neutral organization that already had established relationships with multiple agencies that serve children. The CAC, acting with the local District Attorney's office,⁷⁷ spearheaded Massachusetts' first multidisciplinary anti-trafficking team — and still one of the only groups of its kind in the state: the Support to End Exploitation Now (SEEN) Coalition.⁷⁸

Participation was open and grew rapidly. From the beginning, members agreed that a broad cross-section of organizations that interact with high-risk youth was key. The group included:

- Boston Juvenile Court
- Boston Police Department
- Boston Public Schools
- City of Boston
- Community groups
- Department of Children and Families
- Department of Mental Health
- Department of Probation
- Department of Public Health
- Department of Transitional Assistance
- Department of Youth Services
- Executive Office of Health and Human Services
- Federal Bureau of Investigations
- Governor's Commission on Sexual and Domestic Violence

- Medical providers
- Service providers
- Suffolk County District Attorney's Office
- United States Attorney's Office
- Youth Advocacy Division of the Committee for Public Counsel Services
- Survivors themselves⁷⁹

This inclusive approach, based on a commitment to relationship-building, established a solid foundation for members' mutual trust, cooperation, and dedication to the coalition's mission.⁸⁰

The Team Established Its Purpose.

The SEEN Coalition grew out of the shared belief that the commercial sex trafficking of children is child abuse and that exploited youth are victims — not delinquents. SEEN's fundamental philosophy is to shift the community's response from blaming exploited youth to supporting them.

SEEN's overarching goal is to aid survivors' recovery, as opposed to a short-term mission of "rescue."⁸¹ In addition, its mission is to increase the awareness and identification of child sex-trafficking victims, improve survivors' physical and psychological security and access to services, and hold exploiters accountable.⁸² Specifically, members cooperatively develop a safety and service plan with and for each child victim, discuss the investigation of perpetrators, and help equip survivors to make healthy and safe life choices.⁸³

The SEEN Coalition Established a Framework for Joining and Maintaining Membership.

Within the coalition, each agency has a clearly defined and distinct role, which is documented in the guidelines.⁸⁴ Before joining the team, each member is fully trained on the sex trafficking of children, the essential elements of the multidisciplinary process, and the role of each agency in the response protocol.

*"The [survivor's] safety net is successful when all of these roles are connected as part of the team."⁸⁵
— Susan Goldfarb, Suffolk County Children's Advocacy Center*

SEEN's policy also recommends that agencies conduct continual internal trainings on topics relevant to the coalition's effective operation, including multidisciplinary intervention, the agency's specific role, and SEEN's goals. In addition, SEEN's guidelines suggest that member agencies identify additional supports, resources, and policies to the coalition as necessary.⁸⁶

Above all, the coalition has prioritized the building of relationships among members to foster a collaborative spirit. To do so, it first brought members together with experts from across the country to learn about sex trafficking as a team, under the guidance of an outside facilitator. The group also maintained a consensus approach to decision-making.⁸⁷

interview, and an assessment of the pimp's continued danger to the victim.⁹¹ In addition, whenever possible, the youth is promptly assigned to a mentor from the My Life My Choice program or a life coach from the Roxbury Youthwork's GIFT program.⁹² Throughout this process, the case coordinator helps the youth navigate the various public systems in which she is involved, encourages collaboration among the interdisciplinary partners, and ensures a centralized, coordinated, and prompt response.⁹³ (See Appendix A.)

Agencies Share Information.

All providers who attend SEEN case meetings are permitted to share information about the child and trafficker.

"Relationships matter."⁸⁸ — Susan Goldfarb, Suffolk County Children's Advocacy Center

The Team Created a Multidisciplinary First-Response Protocol to Respond to Each Victim Comprehensively.

One of the group's first tasks was to create multidisciplinary guidelines to respond to victims. The group split into committees to divide tasks according to areas of expertise.

Under the resulting protocol, as well as state law, mandated reporters file a report with child protective services and contact SEEN's case coordinator. Upon identification of a trafficking victim, the child welfare system refers the case to the district attorney and police, triggering a response by a multidisciplinary team that meets to address the case.⁸⁹ The coordinator acts as a preliminary point of contact and central clearinghouse for information about each survivor. She gathers initial information from coalition members who have had contact with the victim or otherwise have relevant knowledge.

Within twenty-four to forty-eight hours of identification, the coordinator convenes a case conference, in person or telephonically, with all relevant coalition members. During this call, the multidisciplinary team shares information and develops a case-specific, coordinated service and safety plan for the girl. The plan, developed with the survivor's involvement,⁹⁰ includes provisions for placement, psychological treatment, medical evaluation, an investigative

Under state law, team members are considered employees of the department for purposes of confidentiality, which facilitates the sharing of necessary information.⁹⁴ The SEEN case coordinator maintains responsibility for communication among agencies, including obtaining consent to share information as necessary. At the start of each case conference, the case coordinator reminds members that each agency is responsible for its compliance with internal confidentiality policies.⁹⁵

The Coalition Created Long-Term Committees to Complement the Work of the Multidisciplinary Emergency Response Teams.

Over time, the SEEN Coalition has developed several multidisciplinary committees to work on longer-term trafficking issues. For example, a steering committee chaired by the CAC and composed of a cross-section of senior agency representatives meets monthly to discuss the coalition's progress and oversee the development of new policy and legislation, as well as any necessary updates to SEEN's intervention guidelines.⁹⁶ In addition, an advisory committee, open to youth-serving professionals in the community, advises SEEN on new developments and resources and provides opportunities for networking and training to members.⁹⁷

The Coalition Conducts Extensive Outreach and Training.

From the earliest years of the SEEN Coalition, members have conducted extensive outreach and training about the commercial sexual exploitation of children to providers and community groups. In addition, one of its direct service

and rules of participation. In the event that an organization acts inconsistently with the MOU, the case coordinator contacts its representatives in an attempt to resolve the issue. Case-specific concerns are typically resolved through education and training about the SEEN process and team member roles. If concerns continue regarding an agency's

“The ability to move beyond differences has strengthened the team’s work.”
 — *Susan Goldfarb, Suffolk County Children’s Advocacy Center*¹⁰⁴

provider members, My Life My Choice, worked with SEEN partners to spearhead a public awareness campaign in the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority (MBTA) system. Posters were placed in and around Boston T stations that were directed at exploited and at-risk girls, providing information about connecting to services in the area. A second campaign, led by the Family Justice Center of Boston, was aimed at the community. Its posters educated the public about the existence of sex trafficking in the Boston metropolitan area.⁹⁸

The Coalition Adopted Guidelines to Address Inter-Agency Conflict.

Acknowledging the difficulties inherent in multidisciplinary collaboration, SEEN developed guidelines for conflict resolution. The final chapter of the SEEN guidelines is dedicated to this issue to increase team members’ awareness of the likelihood of conflict in cross-agency work,⁹⁹ deepen their understanding of likely sources of conflict, and suggest options for seeking resolution. It suggests that “[b]y acknowledging and engaging conflict, groups can improve their cohesiveness and ultimately develop more productive relationships.”¹⁰⁰ The guidelines cite potential organizational¹⁰¹ and personal¹⁰² sources of conflict and suggest approaches to resolution.¹⁰³

The SEEN case coordinator facilitates the conflict resolution process in the context of case-specific challenges. The SEEN steering committee handles any conflict that rises to a policy or programmatic level.

Members Signed a Memorandum of Understanding.

In 2007, thirty-seven agencies signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) that outlines member expectations

participation in the model, the steering committee meets to strategize about an appropriate response.¹⁰⁵

The Coalition’s Provider Agencies Offer Girls Mentorship and Community-Based Programming.

The SEEN Coalition partners offer several specialized programs to survivors.¹⁰⁶ For example, My Life My Choice, a program of the Justice Resource Institute, assigns survivor-mentors to girls. It also offers a comprehensive curriculum to help guide girls in rebuilding their lives after the trauma they have experienced. In addition, the community-based Roxbury Youthwork’s GIFT (Gaining Independence for Tomorrow) Program provides life coaching to support and guide survivors.¹⁰⁷ Other members of the coalition provide complementary services.

Outside Support Buoyed the Coalition’s Efforts.

The group was awarded government funding under Title II of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDP A) to launch the official coalition. The coalition later obtained additional funding from government and private sources, the majority of which has been used to fund the case coordinator position. In addition, SEEN benefitted from non-financial public support: local and state government offices helped launch the coalition, for example, and guided anti-trafficking bills through the legislature, as outlined below.¹⁰⁸

SEEN’s Work Spurred State-Wide Action.

In 2011, Massachusetts enacted safe harbor legislation that had been drafted by the SEEN Steering Committee and the Suffolk County District Attorney’s Office.¹⁰⁹ The law, effective February 2012, establishes the presumption

that any youth charged with prostitution is a victim of sex trafficking, which is defined as a form of child abuse. In addition, the law expands mandated reporting requirements to include sexually exploited children, and requires multidisciplinary teams, acting under the auspices of the child welfare system, to recommend, review, and develop a service plan for each survivor.¹¹⁰

In addition, the law required the Attorney General to establish an Interagency Human Trafficking Policy Task Force. In August 2013, that task force released a report that

provides recommendations about how to improve services to victims, fight trafficking, and raise awareness of child sex trafficking throughout the state. Citing SEEN's work as "ground-breaking,"¹¹¹ the report recognizes the central importance of the multidisciplinary team approach.¹¹²

"[SEEN] was important to me because it showed me I wasn't alone in this. It was good to have a community of people support me that I knew had my back. It made me feel like I mattered." — Survivor, Massachusetts¹¹³

LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIFORNIA

The LA County Probation Department Gathered Information and Support to Address Child Sex Trafficking.

In 2003, the FBI identified Los Angeles as one of thirteen “high-intensity child prostitution” areas in the country.¹¹⁴ In response, the county began to form task forces and committees on child sex trafficking. In 2010, the county’s Inter-Agency Council on Child Abuse and Neglect’s Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children committee formed the Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking Subgroup, which was instructed to take a multidisciplinary approach to the development of policy and programming for survivors, including “an effective diversion process and rehabilitative services for sexually exploited [child welfare] and probation department youth in the county.”¹¹⁵ During the subcommittee’s meetings, managers in the county’s probation department learned about the growing problem of commercial sexual exploitation of children and immediately took action within their own agency.

They began to travel around the country to gather information about other communities’ responses to the issue, and grew increasingly concerned.

“You don’t think it’s [the commercial sex trafficking of children] happening until you start talking about it — then you realize it’s everywhere.” — Michelle Guymon, L.A. County Probation Department¹¹⁶

They observed that girls were being arrested on prostitution charges at an average age of twelve to thirteen years old. To them, the girls’ age alone was sufficient proof of coercion.¹¹⁷ Moreover, the managers learned that before girls had been trafficked, they had come into contact with local authorities an average of thirty-three times — whether law enforcement officers, social workers, or health care workers.¹¹⁸ These facts suggested that current anti-trafficking efforts were insufficient and convinced the managers that the problem required a multi-agency response.¹¹⁹

“There was a missing connection; so we decided that we had to look at a cross-system response. Individually, you won’t be as effective.” — Hania Cardenas, L.A. County Probation Department¹²⁰

Support from the managers’ supervisors was indispensable to creating a new, comprehensive anti-trafficking team at home. Chief Probation Officer Jerry Powers encouraged these efforts immediately, especially after learning that survivors already existed in the juvenile justice system and needed special assistance. The managers also met with senior Probation Department officials to present their research on child victims in the area and received a supportive response. Hania Cardenas, Director of Placement Aftercare/WRAP in the L.A. County Probation Department, noted:

They were stunned — they didn’t know [the extent of sex trafficking in the area], and they didn’t know about recruitment tactics, or how girls are introduced into prostitution — the force and coercion. We presented some examples. One of the girls I’d been closely working with had been guerrilla-pimped: she was held captive, repeatedly beaten and raped, for four months. He threatened to kill her mom and younger autistic brother. Once we presented this information, because they hadn’t realized the extent of the problem, the Department agreed that this was a terrible problem, and that we must do something about it.¹²¹

The Probation Department and Child Welfare Department Joined the FBI’s Anti-Trafficking Initiative to Establish a Comprehensive Emergency Response Team.

In 2011, the local FBI Innocence Lost task force invited the Probation Department to join a new emergency anti-trafficking response team, along with the child welfare department (the Department of Child and Family Services, or DCFS), the Los Angeles Police Department, and the District Attorney’s office. The FBI recognized the invaluable assistance these agencies could provide in identifying sex-trafficking victims because of their prior exposure to the girls in their systems. Cardenas described the role of the probation department and child welfare system:

Probation was a link that had been missing, because a lot of girls would have bench warrants for offenses such as running away, so they were already in our system. So when the Innocence Lost task force identifies a girl as a victim of commercial sex exploitation, they send their information to us and the child welfare system, and we see whether the girl is known to us.¹²²

Calls began to come more frequently than Probation Department managers had expected. Michelle Guymon,

now the Director of the Probation Department's Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking Project, described her experience: "What I didn't know [when I first joined the team] was that for the next six months my phone would ring non-stop — usually at 2:00 a.m. I would get up, turn on my computer, and [child welfare staff] would get the same call. We'd try to identify the girl, and ask whether she was known to child welfare or the probation department. 'Can we identify her at all?'"¹²³

Under current procedure, after a girl is identified and interviewed by the Innocence Lost task force, the group cooperatively creates a long-term plan that meets her needs. Cardenas explained the multidisciplinary team's focus: "We wanted to develop a continuum of supervision for the period of probation without penalizing the child if she runs away — because that's part of relapse. These kids have been out there forever, and sometimes they need a different home that's better suited for them. But we make these decisions [on placement and supervision] together."¹²⁴

The Probation Department Collected Data and Reviewed Cases to Improve Identification of Trafficking Victims in the System.

To further improve its response to sex-trafficked youth, the Probation Department began to track the number of girls arrested on prostitution-related charges. In the years 2010, 2011, and 2012, the Probation Department identified 174, 211, and 170 such youth, respectively.¹²⁵ Because of the Departments' new efforts to support and identify victims, however, between 2010-2012 an additional thirty-seven to forty girls who had *not* been arrested for prostitution-related offenses disclosed that they were being sexually exploited.¹²⁶

Currently, the director of the Probation Department's Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking Project examines the records and histories of arrested and detained children every day, searching for indicators of sex trafficking. If a likely victim is identified, the Department works with the judicial system to begin moving her out of the justice system as soon as possible.

Ultimately, as described below, the county plans to implement a more formalized identification and assessment protocol, under which all children in juvenile hall will be screened at the point of intake for risk factors indicating sexual exploitation.¹²⁷

The Probation Department Applied for Funding and Received Government Support at the Local and Federal Level to Further Develop its Anti-Trafficking Work.

A federal grant under Title II of the JJDP Act provided significant financial support to the Probation Department to build on its anti-trafficking work. The Department used the funds to develop a program to provide alternatives to automatic detention for child victims of sex trafficking.¹²⁸ Before that time, girl survivors had waited an average of twenty-one days in juvenile hall before being released to services. Under the new program, the Department works with community resources, including placement providers, to move youth out of the juvenile justice system more quickly — or avoid entering it altogether — and immediately provide them with appropriate services.

The same grant also funded the Probation Department's establishment of a multidisciplinary approach to child victims of sex trafficking in the juvenile justice system, as well as improving its assessment process and youth aftercare services.¹²⁹ Further, it allowed the Department to develop a specialized unit dedicated exclusively to sex trafficking. The resulting increase in programming was supplemented by resources that were diverted from other Probation Department reserves.¹³⁰

Finally, the Title II grant funded a new partnership between the Department and the Los Angeles County Juvenile Court to form a collaborative court specifically designed for child victims of sex trafficking.¹³¹ Modeled on juvenile courts, the purpose of the Succeeding Through Achievement and Resilience (STAR) court is to offer survivors alternatives to detention whenever possible. The court uses a multidisciplinary team approach that includes representatives of the child welfare and juvenile justice systems, the Los Angeles Police Department, the District Attorney's office, an educational rights attorney, the survivor's attorney, the survivor, and advocacy groups. The STAR team makes decisions about treatment, placement, and school re-enrollment plans for each girl; determines the lead agency for each case; links girls to physical health, mental health, and education services programs; and connects them to survivor-mentors.¹³² The survivor and the team meet regularly to discuss progress and any necessary changes.¹³³

“[T]his isn’t a probation issue, this is a child welfare issue. These kids shouldn’t be in the juvenile justice system.”¹³⁴ — Michelle Guymon, L.A. County Probation Department

Finally, the Department cultivated support from local government by presenting its work to the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors. Several Board members became fully involved in anti-trafficking efforts as a result. Significantly, they played a vital role in engaging key public agencies in multidisciplinary anti-trafficking efforts, including those that were initially reluctant to participate. Board members continue to maintain strong connections with the Probation Department’s anti-trafficking unit, periodically checking in to offer assistance and issuing new directives to improve the county’s response to trafficking.

The Probation Department Trained Child Welfare Staff about Sex Trafficking and the Pre-Existence of Survivors in their Population.

From the beginning, the Probation Department has remained committed to avoiding girls’ entry into the justice system.

With the support and urging of local officials, the DCFS agreed to join the multidisciplinary effort. The Probation Department trained its employees, from high-level management to field workers, about the commercial sexual exploitation of children. Although staff expressed concern that the child welfare system would become overwhelmed by new children entering the system under the new trafficking protocol, the Probation Department responded:

In large part, this is just a newly identified population — a high percentage of victims is already in the system. So this isn’t just about adding new kids, but about asking different questions, especially to kids in the run-away unit. We should get better at identifying and providing services . . .

We [the Probation Department and the child welfare system] had already built systems around identifying kids and their trauma — we just didn’t realize that sex trafficking was part of that trauma. So we didn’t have to start over — we just added another layer of [services and treatment] on top of other treatment for these kids. We showed that to DCFS and they understood: it’s largely the same kids.¹³⁵

Agencies Share Information Within the Dual-Jurisdiction Model.

In California, courts have the authority to designate a victim of sex trafficking as both a dependent child who is under the jurisdiction of child welfare, and also a ward of the juvenile court, thereby also falling within the purview of the juvenile justice system.¹³⁶ Within this dual-jurisdiction system, the juvenile justice and child welfare systems can share information about victims without breaching confidentiality rules. The agencies work cooperatively on victim identification and share responsibility for case management. One agency is designated as the lead, but flexibility is maintained to change that role depending on the girl’s circumstances. The agencies develop treatment and placement plans for survivors together, which provides a more seamless and comprehensive approach to survivors’ continuum of care.

Local Action: Public Awareness Campaigns and Community Trainings Continue.

In February 2011, the Probation Department began to organize training sessions throughout the county. By contracting with direct service providers, including MISSEY (Motivating, Inspiring, Supporting, and Serving Sexually Exploited Youth), GEMS (Girls Educational and Mentoring Services), and My Life My Choice, the Probation Department has been able to offer free training to at-risk youth and their communities about sex trafficking, as well as training to certify survivors and agencies to teach preventive curricula in neighborhoods. To date, the Probation Department estimates that 4,000 people in the metropolitan area, from local residents to staff and managers at large public agencies, have undergone training.¹³⁷ Finally, the Department has offered training to a neighborhood action council,¹³⁸ which can now provide valuable input to law enforcement about sex trafficking.

“The community knows who the girls are, and where this is being hit hard.” — Michelle Guymon, L.A. County Probation Department¹³⁹

Meanwhile, a member of the County Board of Supervisors who also serves on the Board of Directors of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority organized a public awareness campaign in the transit system. Billboards were posted on buses, trains, and stations in English and Spanish that publicized the victimization of children in the community.¹⁴⁰ A press conference to unveil the billboards helped increase local awareness of the problem. The transit system also maintains a “Child Trafficking Awareness” section on its website.¹⁴¹

The County Created Long-Term Multidisciplinary Task Forces to Continue to Examine the Scope of Sex Trafficking and Improve Collaborative Responses.

In November 2012, the County Board of Supervisors established a special task force, led by the Probation Department and the DCFS, to draft recommendations to the Board on improving the county’s response to sex trafficking.¹⁴² After receiving the recommendations, the Board agreed to create “a county-wide interagency response model to assist victims, collect data and provide training to all agencies who serve these victims.”¹⁴³ It instructed law enforcement, probation, education, mental health, medical care, and public health systems, as well as non-

profit organizations, to work cooperatively to serve victims more effectively.¹⁴⁴ A memorandum of understanding is being drafted.¹⁴⁵

In addition, the Department is currently writing a “First 48 Response” protocol for child sex trafficking survivors who are detained in juvenile hall. The Department of Mental Health and the Department of Health Services are working with the Probation Department to design the protocol, which will be triggered at the moment law enforcement identifies a victim and will include enhanced health and mental health screening for victims, advocacy, and initial probation assessment.¹⁴⁶ In addition, the protocol will require assessments of all youth in juvenile hall at the point of intake to improve identification of sex-trafficking victims and those at risk of being trafficked.

Other multidisciplinary task forces have also been formed, including one co-chaired by the Probation Department and DCFS to conduct an analysis of the pattern of children being recruited into trafficking from foster homes. The task force includes members from other agencies most likely to interact with victims, including advocates, children’s law specialists, juvenile courts, survivors, and group homes.¹⁴⁷

“So many kids fly under the radar until they’re eighteen. I was arrested as a child, but the police would just charge me with a curfew [violation]. They didn’t want to do the paperwork, so they’d leave me in a motel [and I’d go back to The Life].

“But since the Probation Department and DCFS have been stepping up and collaborating to work with children, I’ve seen a lot of great results [E]ven if the [kids] relapse, you see growth in so many different areas. You see a child who may have shut down and not want to contact any agency start to reach out to one or two people, or trust a mentor enough to call a probation officer to map some things out.

“There used to be communication barriers between agencies. But now, if a child wants to speak to a social worker but not a probation officer, the social worker may have that little piece of information that can better assist the child, and she can share it with probation. [Agencies] can come together and get the child the services they need, instead of guessing.

“And they can all communicate with the child and ask the child, ‘What do you need, what are you looking for?’ It’s a support system built up around the child. And the child sees all this support.” — Jessica Midkiff, Survivor, L.A. County¹⁴⁸

CONNECTICUT

The Child Welfare System Learned About the Need to Plan a Response to Child Victims of Commercial Sexual Exploitation.

Connecticut's early anti-sex-trafficking efforts focused on adult, foreign victims. In 2008, however, authorities notified the child welfare agency's human trafficking liaison and director of multicultural affairs of an impending police raid in which a child victim was likely to be brought into the system (the Department of Children and Families, or DCF). DCF had no plan in place to receive child survivors of sex trafficking,¹⁴⁹ so staff acted quickly. Managers, hotline staff, and members of the DCF legal department met with an anti-trafficking organization, the International Institute of Connecticut, to construct a response plan. Within three hours, they created the first trafficking response protocol in the state.¹⁵⁰ It provided for bilingual staff to be available after hours, an on-call physician notified, and the victim brought to a designated emergency room, with guidelines provided about any requested evaluation. In addition, the protocol required after-hours DCF staff to remain with the victim until regular weekday shifts began, and for the victim to be taken to a hospital if necessary.¹⁵¹

Over the next few months, three more episodes took place in which law enforcement warned DCF that child victims of sex trafficking would likely enter the system. Significantly, the victims of all three incidents were American children who had run away from the homes in which DCF had placed them. William Rivera, DCF's director of multicultural affairs, remembers: "That was our 'aha' moment; that night [that we got the third warning about an American DCF victim]. I pulled a team together, because I realized that although we'd been ready to receive kids from other countries, all three of these kids were [domestic] DCF kids, and we needed to look at [our population] differently."¹⁵² In fact, since that time, all reports made to DCF regarding CSEC victims have been about American children who have already entered the child welfare system.¹⁵³

Staff at DCF began conducting focus groups and consulting an advisory board of experts about the sex trafficking of children. They learned that many girls run away from child welfare placements in part because of their histories of trauma, and they are trafficked while on runaway status. DCF staff realized that many trafficking victims were already in their population, as yet unrecognized. Ultimately, they organized a multidisciplinary runaway task force

that included social workers, parole officers, and other experts to discuss youth in the juvenile justice and child welfare systems who had often been sexually abused or exploited while on runaway status. Its work enabled DCF to assess the magnitude of this problem while re-examining assumptions about girls who become trafficking victims after running away.¹⁵⁴

DCF Developed a Multidisciplinary First-Response Protocol.

Building on these developments, DCF built a comprehensive anti-trafficking team in 2009.¹⁵⁵ This team, led by the director of multicultural affairs, included a psychiatrist, a pediatrician, the hotline manager and supervisor, legal directors, and the agency's director of pediatrics. Together, the group created a screening tool for the hotline staff that included specialized language and prompts to use in response to trafficking cases. It also developed new codes that enable the hotline to accept sex-trafficking cases even when the report does not meet statutory definitions of abuse and neglect.¹⁵⁶

Today, the response team is known as the Human Anti-Trafficking Response Team (HART). HART drafted a multidisciplinary protocol and practice guide that was completed in 2012.¹⁵⁷ Under that protocol, mandatory reporters, including law enforcement and emergency medical staff, immediately call the child welfare hotline when a victim is identified. DCF is notified right away, and the hotline responds within two hours. (See Appendix C.)

Pursuant to the practice guide, the victim is picked up and taken to a designated emergency room, congregate care, specialized foster care, or family, as appropriate.¹⁵⁸ The youth is met by DCF staff and a case worker, who stay with the child until a placement plan and appropriate services are determined.¹⁵⁹ She then undergoes a medical evaluation that comprehensively addresses physical, sexual, and substance abuse issues, as well as a dental assessment to screen for acute needs and routine care. The team also adheres to a mental-health protocol for every survivor, which includes screening and assessment.

Meanwhile, as soon as possible after identification, DCF convenes a case conference led by a special trafficking liaison for the identified region, known as a mini-HART. The conference typically includes local and federal law enforcement, advocates, clinical and medical professionals, and family. If the victim is involved in the juvenile justice system, members of that system also attend. The group

discusses the legal aspects of the case and consults on placement options, assessment of needs, resources, and next steps. DCF drafted a conceptual roadmap of youth placement options for this purpose, which emphasizes alternatives to detention.¹⁶⁰ All staff of available programs are trained on the issue of the commercial sexual exploitation of children.

The Long-Term Anti-Trafficking Team Discusses Overarching Issues.

To complement its emergency response work, HART meets monthly to discuss the larger picture, including monitoring, revising, and strengthening the state's response to trafficking cases, as well as its service design, treatment approaches, and training. This multidisciplinary group includes hotline staff, representatives of psychiatric providers, legal teams, workers in the education system, law enforcement, private direct services providers, medical providers, the Office of the Victim Advocate, as well as regional DCF staff.¹⁶¹ Members of mini-HARTs attend these meetings to report on work in their regions and consult with the chairs of HART.¹⁶²

The HART group initially reviewed all child sex-trafficking cases. Over time, however, as the team grew in membership, confidentiality concerns prevented in-depth and wide-ranging discussion. Currently, although the group continues to review case dynamics on a more generalized level, its primary focus is to refine the state's response to child sex trafficking, including the practice guidelines and protocol.¹⁶³

DCF Developed Internal and External Training Curricula.

DCF requested internal trainings from two direct service providers: Love 146 and Lisa Goldblatt Grace, the creator of My Life My Choice. Most trainings were provided free of charge. DCF also drafted internal training curricula to educate staff about the commercial sex trafficking of children, which is now offered monthly to DCF staff and is required for any staff who work directly with adolescents and respond to abuse and neglect reports.¹⁶⁴ The involvement of the juvenile justice system, including the proba-

tion department, began more recently. Once again, when DCF presented its findings on the nature and prevalence of the commercial sex trafficking of children in the state, as well as the fact that many victims were already in the juvenile justice system and what the key indicators are, its audience was quick to respond. Tammy Sneed, director of girls' services at the Academy for Family and Workforce Knowledge and Development in Connecticut's Department of Children and Families, stated: "Through training, we're helping [juvenile justice system workers] to see that we're serving the same kids, that a lot of kids that are arrested are kids who are vulnerable, with extensive histories of neglect, that makes them more vulnerable to being exploited."¹⁶⁵ DCF has begun training key juvenile justice system employees who interact with victims and expects eventually to train all staff.

Because DCF maintains jurisdiction over the juvenile parole department, it was able to move more quickly to train parole officers on the commercial sexual exploitation of children. After they learned about key indicators, staff began identifying victims within their population right away. DCF also trained all officers, caseworkers, and nurses at the state Department of Corrections, which serves female youth offenders and young adults.

DCF has also trained juvenile court judges and assistant district attorneys on child sex trafficking, as well as specialized liaisons who work with the Court Support Services Division (CSSD). These liaisons are posted in the courts to monitor trafficking cases and ensure that they move smoothly, with an emphasis on avoiding the detention of survivors. As a result, there has been a marked reduction in detentions.¹⁶⁶ Ultimately, DCF plans to train all CSSD staff on child sex trafficking.¹⁶⁷

Recently, DCF began implementing other anti-trafficking programs, including a ten-week MAN-UP curriculum designed to fight the commercial demand for child sex trafficking by educating boys in the juvenile justice system about the harmful effects of pervasive cultural and media messages about girls. (See Appendix D.) Plans for a formal evaluation of this program are underway.¹⁶⁸

"When you start talking about who these kids are — and most of these are our [DCF] kids — they listen, and they get it." — Tammy Sneed, Connecticut Department of Children and Families¹⁶⁹

DCF Obtained State Government Support for Anti-Trafficking Work.

Remarkably, DCF's anti-trafficking efforts have not been supported by any additional funding.

"Getting through the door was really all I needed to do. Until others how horrific this situation is, and realize that it's happening here, it's safer to feel it's not a priority, and that 'we don't have the funds, it isn't a big deal here — let's not pay attention to it.' ... [E]ven if you don't have the resources ... start to think about this issue in your state.... We never received any money for any new programs. ... [Would I like to procure] additional money some day for some special programs? — Absolutely. But it's not an excuse." — Tammy Sneed, Connecticut Department of Children and Families¹⁷¹

Non-financial support from state government officials, however, has been significant. After its anti-trafficking work had been established, DCF presented its findings and programs to a state commissioner, who became convinced of the need for support. She put the weight of her authority behind DCF's efforts, making Connecticut's response to the trafficking of children one of her top three administrative priorities. She has testified before the House Finance Committee and made numerous other public appearances to raise public awareness of trafficking as a Connecticut issue.¹⁷² According to managers, the most persuasive evidence that DCF presented to the commissioner was the number of victims who were Connecticut residents, as well as the girls' personal stories.

Meanwhile, in conjunction with the Center for Children's Advocacy, DCF helped develop state legislation to aid vic-

tims of child sex trafficking, which were enacted in 2010 and 2011.¹⁷³ The 2010 Safe Harbor Act establishes that youth under sixteen years of age cannot be charged with prostitution and establishes a presumption of coercion for sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds.¹⁷⁴ In addition, 2011 legislation requires police to report suspected abuse to the DCF hotline upon the arrest of a minor for prostitution.¹⁷⁵

DCF Cooperates with Federal Law Enforcement to Improve Investigations of Traffickers.

Over the last few years, DCF began to meet regularly with the FBI and the U.S. Attorney's Office to discuss cases that appear to involve sex trafficking. In particular, DCF shares information with law enforcement officers that is likely to be relevant to investigations of traffickers. This has led law enforcement to interview more DCF girls, which in turn has improved communication, mutual understanding, and relationships between law enforcement agents and survivors.¹⁷⁶

DCF Has Raised Public Awareness in Local Communities and Trained a Broad Cross-Section of Residents About Child Sex Trafficking.

In cooperation with the International Institute, Center for Children's Advocacy, and Love 146, DCF arranged free trainings for service providers, as well as other outside groups, including emergency medical response personnel, foster parents, and community members who are most likely to interact with sex-trafficking victims, including private citizens and hospital and school staff.¹⁷⁷

DCF has also developed a two-hour training for police officers who work on child sex-trafficking cases. DCF provides these trainings, as well as roll-call trainings to law enforcement throughout the state.

I have found that a little education goes a long way. At every training or community event, you can see the impact on the faces of the attendees. Sex trafficking is not new to the United States—it has been occurring for many years. But [combatting sex trafficking] is about understanding who are the victims and treating them as such. I would like to see larger-scale community education initiatives, stronger prevention programs at schools across the country, and intense, focused efforts on decreasing the demand. — Tammy Sneed, Connecticut Department of Children and Families¹⁷⁸

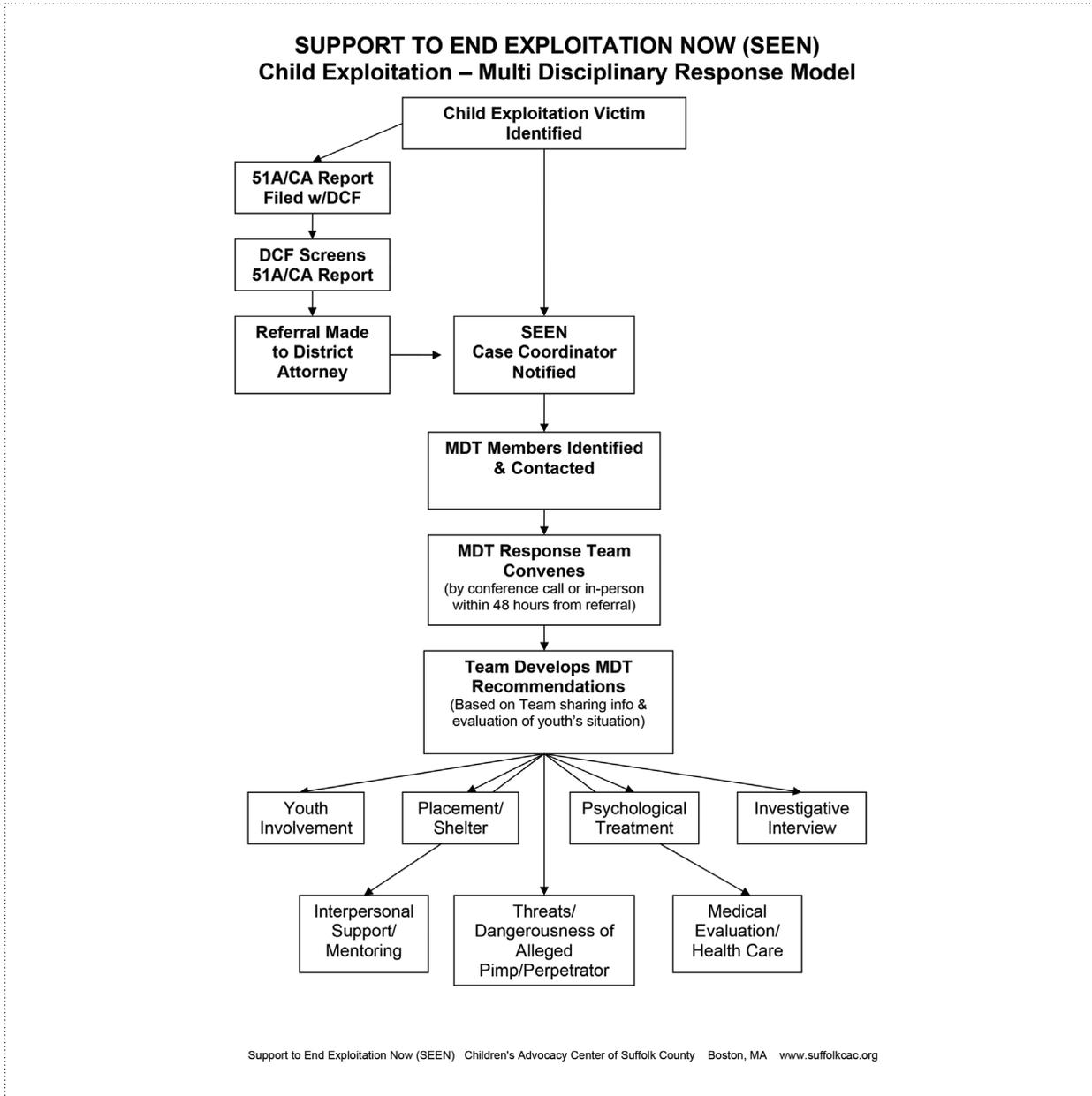


Bill Petros Photography

Photos from the Critical Connections conference. *Left to right:* Melodee Hanes, administrator of the Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention; Congressman Ted Poe; Acting Assistant Secretary George Sheldon; Congresswoman Karen Bass; Professor Peter Edelman, faculty director of the Center on Poverty.

APPENDIX A

SEEN COALITION MDT RESPONSE MODEL



APPENDIX B

SUPPORT TO END EXPLOITATION NOW (SEEN) COALITION GUIDE TO RESPONDING TO EXPLOITED YOUTH

What to look for?

Step 1: Any youth who discloses or raises concern that he/she may be trading sex for shelter, food, money, drugs, etc. Risk factors or signs may include: frequent running away, has new clothes or accessories with no explanation, has been associated with a known pimp or prostitute, has been located in an area known for prostitution has scars or “branding” (i.e. tattoos/pimps name).

What to do?

Step 2: File a report of suspected child abuse with DCF (51A). If you are not a mandated reporter, you can file a 51A or contact the SEEN Case Coordinator directly.

Step 3: Whenever possible, alert the SEEN Case Coordinator that you have made this report by calling Elizabeth Bouchard at 617-779-2145 or emailing Elizabeth.Bouchard@state.ma.us

What will happen?

Step 4: DCF will likely screen-out the report and make a discretionary DA referral. If there are also protective concerns with the child’s caretaker, the report may be screened in for an investigation.

Step 5: The DA referral will be sent to the SEEN Case Coordinator.

Step 6: The SEEN Case Coordinator will contact by phone or email each provider connected to the child and convene a Team conference call (ideally within 48 hours of receiving the referral).

What will my involvement be?

Step 7: During the conference call, each Team member will share what he/she knows about the child’s experience of exploitation, including (if known) level of involvement, nature of recruitment, connection to the perpetrator and stage of recovery.

Step 8: The call will result in “action steps” in the following areas: shelter/placement, interpersonal support, mental health care, medical/health care, criminal investigation of the alleged perpetrator and perpetrator lethality. Follow-up steps in each area will be articulated and a Team member will be identified as the person responsible for executing these steps.

Step 9: The Case Coordinator will facilitate ongoing communication among the Team, primarily via email. Team members will forward updates or changes to the MDT plan to the Case Coordinator who will then inform the rest of the Team.

Why is this process necessary?

Sexually exploited youth have a variety of needs – that no one agency or discipline can meet. This Team response ensures (1) each victim will have access to the programs and services of the SEEN partnership (over 35 agencies in Boston region), (2) no victim is further victimized by the system and a lack of proper communication and coordination, and (3) pimps and other offenders are held accountable.

Who can I contact if I have questions?

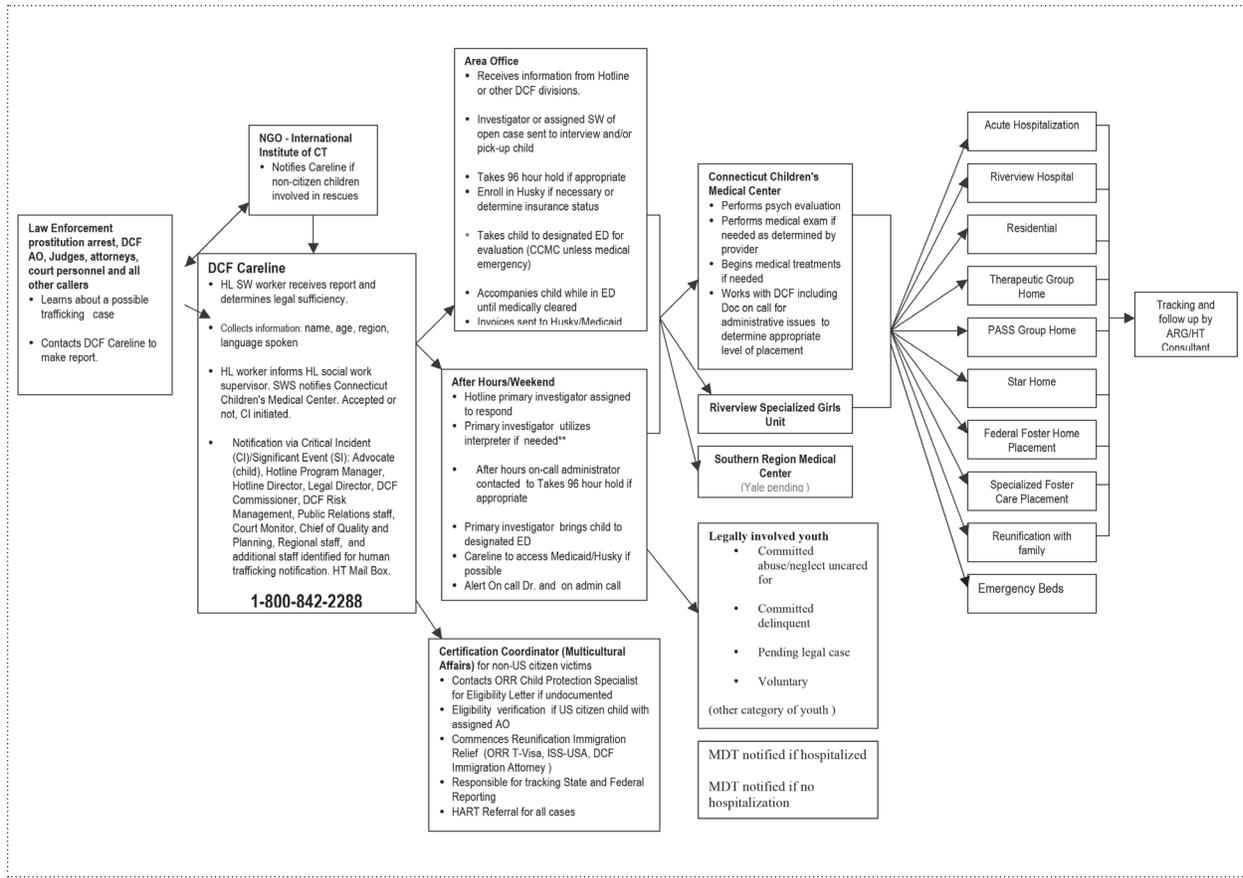
SEEN Case Coordinator: Elizabeth Bouchard at 617.779.2145 or Elizabeth.Bouchard@suf.state.ma.us
Support to End Exploitation Now (SEEN) Coalition, Children’s Advocacy Center of Suffolk County 2013

www.suffolkcac.org

APPENDIX C

CONNECTICUT DEPARTMENT OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES' PROTOCOL FOR HUMAN TRAFFICKING/DMST

This protocol was created during the early stages of Connecticut's anti-trafficking effort. Since that time, the staff of Connecticut's Department of Children and Families have made substantial revisions. The updated guide was in the final stages of approval as of the time of this printing.



** Check Multicultural Affairs site for authorized interpreters.
<http://www.ct.gov/dcf/cwp/view.asp?a=2546&q=314438>

Principles:

- Children who are victims of DMST/Trafficking shall be identified as such. Their best interests shall be considered paramount at all times. Child victims of trafficking shall be provided with appropriate assistance and protection. Full account shall be taken of their special vulnerabilities, rights and needs.
- The human rights of trafficked persons shall be at the centre of all efforts to prevent and combat trafficking and to protect, assist and provide redress to victims.
- States have a responsibility under international and federal law to act with due diligence to prevent trafficking, to investigate and prosecute traffickers and to assist and protect trafficked persons (TVPA 2008)
- Anti-trafficking measures shall not adversely affect the human rights and dignity of persons, in particular the rights of those who have been trafficked, and of migrants, internally displaced persons, refugees and asylum-seekers.

Abbreviations:

DMST- Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking
 ORR- Office for Refugee Resettlement (obtains Trafficking VISA)
 ISS-USA - International Social Services USA
 USCCB - Council of Catholic Bishops
 LIRS - Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service
 NGO - Non governmental organization
 HART- Human Anti-trafficking Response Team

Treatment: (staff at facility)

- Performs trauma-based assessment
- Develops recommendations
- Initiates treatment (depending on LOS)
- Identified Trained Sites call PD for alert
- MDTs do forensic evaluations and provide trauma-based services

APPENDIX D

Exerpt from:

MAN UP: TRANSFORMING THE MALE PERSPECTIVE OF WOMEN, THEMSELVES, AND THE IMPACT ON SEXUAL AND YOUTH EXPLOITATION

*Developed by Anthony Gay, Bryan Hall & Stefania Agliano, State of Connecticut, Department of Children and Families (2014)**

Introduction and Purpose

The Department of Children and Families (the Department/ DCF) has taken an active role in ending the sale of our children in Connecticut via Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking. As an agency, we know that if we are ever to make a dent in the abolition of sex slavery there must be a focus on ending the Demand; which ultimately creates the need for a continued supply of young, vulnerable children to be exploited. What DCF has learned through the exhaustive research conducted, is that while the young girls we service at DCF are often the victims of this heinous crime, all too often our young men involved with DCF fall victim to becoming perpetrators of abuse for many reasons, some of which were never in their control.

The Department has raised the consciousness of its staff via training and will continue to expand our knowledge base, we have begun to critically examine the services that are in place for our young girls, and we have begun to look at prevention services for youth, (mainly females). While all of these are major steps in terms of addressing the issue, if we fail to educate and intervene with our young men our efforts will have minimal impact.

To that end, this youth series has been developed to challenge young men in ending the demand that perpetuates the sexual exploitation of women and children by defining and reshaping what manhood means to them. In doing so, young men are asked to examine how they interact and impact the world around them. Young men will be challenged to see the greatness they have within themselves and to avoid being stereotyped by social media and popular culture, which can limit the opportunities they see for themselves.

Session One

Introduction: Laying the Foundation of the Bro Code

Session Time: Two Hours

This session focuses on building the foundation for the program. Youth will begin to define what being a male means to them and how they define respect for women.

Session Two

Introduction to Sexual Exploitation and Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking

Session Time: Two Hours

This session focuses on defining the issues of sexual exploitation and domestic minor sex trafficking. Emphasis will be placed on the violence associated with pimp control and the dehumanizing of women.

Session Three

The Message to Youth about Women

Session Time: Two Hours

This session will introduce the video, "Hip Hop: Beyond Beats and Rhymes; directed by Byron Hurt. In this session, youth will examine the role that hip hop plays in their life and how it has shaped some of their world view. Through this session, youth examine the roles and messages regarding women in social media and its direct impact on exploitation.

Session Four

The Message to Youth about Themselves

Session Time: Two Hours

Building on session three, youth to explore the images in social media and the impact on how youth view themselves.

*This program is currently being developed and evaluated. For more information about the Man Up program, contact DCF Supervisor Stefania Agliano, MSW, at STEFANIA.AGLIANO@ct.gov

Session Five*Who Are Your Role Models**Session Time:* Two Hours

This session will be a continuation of previous sessions and will challenge youth to explore the men they idolize and the role models they attempt to emulate.

Session Six*What a Girl Wants**Session Time:* Two Hours

This session will explore how mainstream media has increasingly sexualized women and adolescent girls, often creating a fictional portrayal of what women and young girls want and who they are.

Session Seven*Sex and Sexuality**Session Time:* Two Hours

This session will explore the differences between sex and sexuality providing youth an understanding of healthy sexual relationships and the importance, responsibility, and their role in having safe sex. This session is co-facilitated by Erin Livensparger of Planned Parenthood.

Session Eight*Relationship Repair: Man Up***Session Time:** Two Hours

This session will connect the previous sessions and explore the various ways youth may have disrespected a woman and identify what behaviors within themselves they may need to change.

Session Nine*What Defines Greatness**Session Time:* Two Hours

This session is primarily activity based and will focus on what the definition of greatness is to youth and how they see themselves interacting with the world around them. Youth will be asked to examine how they define the man they want to become in the future.

Session Ten*Taking Action and Giving Back**Session Time:* Two Hours

This session will focus on ways on taking action to end the sexual slavery of young women in America, making amends to those who they have disrespected and planning for the group closing.



Bill Petros Photography

Photos from the Critical Connections conference. *Left to right:* Tina Tchen, executive director of the White House Council on Women and Girls; Withelma "T" Ortiz Walker Pettigrew, survivor and anti-trafficking advocate.

INTRODUCTION

1. *Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Crime, Terrorism, and Homeland Sec. of the H. Comm. on the Judiciary*, 111th Cong. 138 (2010) (statement of Ernie Allen, President and CEO, Nat'l Center for Missing & Exploited Children), available at http://judiciary.house.gov/hearings/printers/111th/111-146_58250.pdf. There is a dearth of statistics regarding the number of sex trafficking victims. NCCD CENTER FOR GIRLS AND YOUNG WOMEN, *Sexual Exploitation of Girls Position Statement 1-2* (July 2009) (noting problems of undocumented cases and limited access to hidden victims).
2. Our concentration on girls in this report and the Critical Connections conference is a reflection of the focus of our Marginalized Girls policy series. Girls make up the overwhelming majority of domestic sex trafficking victims. Kimberly J. Mitchell, David Finkelhor & Janis Wolak, *Conceptualizing Juvenile Prostitution as Child Maltreatment: Findings from the National Juvenile Prostitution Study*, 15 CHILD MALTREATMENT 18, 25 (2009), available at <https://www.unh.edu/ccrc/pdf/Mitchell%202010%20conceptualizing.pdf> (describing survey of law enforcement agencies across the country regarding juveniles arrested or detained for prostitution, in which 100% of reported victims of third-party exploitation were girls), cited in HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT FOR GIRLS, *DOMESTIC CHILD SEX TRAFFICKING AND THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM 1*, available at http://media.wix.com/ugd//807686_6fda27026217e595da0d-90abd2c933db.pdf (listing "being female" as one risk factor for being trafficked). Boys' experience and challenges as victims of sex trafficking often differ from girls'. See Shelby Schwartz, *Harboring Concerns: The Problematic Conceptual Reorientation of Juvenile Prostitution Adjudication in New York*, 18 COLUM. J. GENDER & L. 235, 239 (2008) ("Male juvenile prostitution appears generally to take a very different form than female juvenile prostitution, with male juvenile prostitutes more likely to be older and to work without pimps.") (citing OFFICE OF JUV. JUSTICE & DELINQUENCY PREVENTION, U.S. DEP'T OF JUSTICE, *PROSTITUTION OF JUVENILES: PATTERNS FROM NIBRS*, JUV. JUSTICE BULL. 6, June 2004, available at <http://www.ncjrs.gov/html/ojjdp/203946/page6.html>); see also R. BARRI FLOWERS, *THE PROSTITUTION OF WOMEN AND GIRLS* 141 (1998) ("Boy prostitutes sell their bodies primarily to survive financially Money is the most important motivation for male juveniles to become and remain prostitutes."). Despite these differences, however, much of the analysis in this report is applicable to male survivors.
3. HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT FOR GIRLS, *supra* note 2, at 1 (citing conclusion of Mitchell, et al., *supra* note 2, that 43% of girls arrested as "juvenile prostitutes" had history of prior arrests or detentions); *id.* (citing studies revealing that in 2012, Connecticut reported that 86 out of 88 child victims of sex trafficking were child-welfare-involved; in 2007, 75% of identified child victims of trafficking in New York City experienced some contact with the child welfare system; between August 30, 2006, and September 30, 2007, 55% of victims in Alameda County, California were from foster youth group homes; in 2010, 70% of victims identified in Florida were estimated to be foster youth).
4. Domestic sex trafficking is defined under the Trafficking Victims Protection Act as the "recruitment, harboring . . . or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act" where the victim is a U.S. citizen under the age of eighteen. Trafficking Victims Protection Act, 22 U.S.C.A. § 7102(10) (West, Westlaw, current through P.L. 113-36 approved 9-18-13). Several terms can refer to the domestic sex trafficking of children, including the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC), Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking (DMST), and child prostitution. We view these terms as interchangeable for purposes of this report.

CORE COMPONENTS

5. See *FAQs: Human Trafficking Stats*, TRAFFICKING HOPE, <http://www.traffickinghope.org/faqsstats.php> (last visited July 14, 2013) ("In most cases the [sex-trafficking] victim is arrested as a prostitute."); HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT FOR GIRLS, *supra* note 2, at 2 ("Too often, children who fall victim to domestic child sex trafficking move through our educational and child welfare systems unidentified – eventually landing in the juvenile justice system for "juvenile prostitution" or under innocuous offenses such as running away and other non-violent status offenses."); SHARED HOPE INT'L, *THE NATIONAL REPORT ON DOMESTIC MINOR SEX TRAFFICKING: AMERICA'S PROSTITUTED CHILDREN 20* (2009) ("[M]any of the child victims are arrested and charged with the crime committed against them."); see also *id.* at 50–51 (finding that victims of child sex trafficking are systematically arrested and detained).
6. SHARED HOPE INT'L, *supra* note 5, at 31–36 (finding that child victims of sex trafficking typically experience chronic victimization and abusive encounters that start at an early age); KATE WALKER, CAL. CHILD WELFARE COUNCIL, *ENDING THE COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITA-*

- TION OF CHILDREN: A CALL FOR MULTI-SYSTEM COLLABORATION IN CALIFORNIA 16 (2013), available at http://www.youthlaw.org/fileadmin/ncyl/youthlaw/publications/Ending-CSEC-A-Call-for-Multi-System_Collaboration-in-CA.pdf (“[A] childhood burdened with abuse and neglect can result in CSEC.”). See also HEATHER J. CLAWSON, NICOLE DUTCH, AMY SALOMON & LISA GOLDBLATT GRACE, U.S. DEP’T OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVS, ISSUE BRIEF: HUMAN TRAFFICKING INTO AND WITHIN THE UNITED STATES: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE 10 (2009), available at <http://aspe.hhs.gov/hsp/07/HumanTrafficking/LitRev/index.pdf> (“Research consistently confirms the correlation between running away and becoming exploited through prostitution.”); HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT FOR GIRLS, *supra* note 2, at 1 (citing a study that showed that 82% of Alameda County, California, victims had previously run away from homes multiple times); ILL. DEP’T OF HUMAN SERVS., Human Trafficking Victim Dynamics, available at <http://www.dhs.state.il.us/page.aspx?item=49597> (listing “Risk and Vulnerability Factors to Becoming a Victim” as including “[c]hildren involved in the foster care system and child protective services[,] [c]hildren involved in the juvenile justice system[and] [i]ndividuals with past history of physical, sexual, or emotional abuse or neglect.”); Cheryl Hanna, *Somebody’s Daughter: The Domestic Trafficking of Girls for the Commercial Sex Industry and the Power of Love*, 9 WM. & MARY J. OF WOMEN & L. 1, 21 (2002) (“Those who run away from home, run away from group foster homes, juvenile or other institutions, are throwaways, or are homeless, are the most at risk of becoming commercially exploited.”) (internal citation removed).
7. LINDA M. WILLIAMS & MARY E. FREDERICK, PATHWAYS INTO AND OUT OF COMMERCIAL SEXUAL VICTIMIZATION OF CHILDREN: UNDERSTANDING AND RESPONDING TO SEXUALLY EXPLOITED TEENS 19 (2009). See also SHARED HOPE INT’L, *supra* note 5, at 31 (“Often, [pimps’] primary method of manipulation is to secure a seemingly loving and caring relationship with the youth to establish trust and allegiance The more time they invest in the romance period[,] the more tightly they can psychologically bind the victim”), 37-40; *Sex Trafficking and Exploitation in America: Child Welfare’s Role in Prevention and Intervention: Hearing Before the S. Comm. on Fin.*, 113th Cong. 3-4 (2013) (statement of Michelle Guymon, Prob. Dir., L.A. Cnty. Prob. Dep’t) (“She [the exploited girl] is running from something, not to something, making her particularly vulnerable. A pimp or other exploiters prey on this vulnerability.”), available at <http://www.finance.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/06%2011%2013%20Guymon%20Written%20Testimony-1.pdf>. See also FLOWERS, *supra* note 2, at 101 (“Studies reveal that as many as nine in ten girl prostitutes entered the business through the charm and coercion of a pimp or ultimately became involved with one.”).
 8. See LINDA A. SMITH, SAMANTHA HEALY VARDMAN & MELISSA A. SNOW, THE NAT’L REPORT ON DOMESTIC MINOR SEX TRAFFICKING: AMERICA’S PROSTITUTED CHILDREN 7-8 (2009); George Sheldon, Acting Assistant Sec’y, Admin. of Children and Families, U.S. Dep’t of Health and Human Servs., Remarks at Critical Connections: A Multi-Systems Approach to the Domestic Sex Trafficking of Girls (Mar. 12, 2013). See also U.S. DEP’T OF HOMELAND SECURITY, THE BLUE CAMPAIGN, HUMAN TRAFFICKING 101 FOR SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS AND STAFF, available at <http://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/blue-campaign/Blue%20Campaign%20-%20Human%20Trafficking%20101%20for%20School%20Administrators%20and%20Staff.pdf> (last visited Dec. 14, 2013) (“Traffickers may target young victims through social media websites, telephone chat-lines, after school programs, on the streets, at shopping malls, in clubs, or through other students who are used by the traffickers to recruit other victims. In fact, a person can be trafficked without ever leaving his or her hometown.”).
 9. AMANDA WALKER-RODRIGUEZ & RODNEY HILL, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, FBI LAW BULLETIN, *Human Sex Trafficking* (March 2011), available at http://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/publications/law-enforcement-bulletin/march_2011/human_sex_trafficking (“Traffickers use force, drugs, emotional tactics, and financial methods to control their victims Traffickers often take their victims’ identity forms, including birth certificates, passports, and drivers’ licenses. In these cases, even if youths do leave they would have no ability to support themselves and often will return to the trafficker.”); Hanna, *supra* note 6, at 21 (2002) (stating that trafficked girls “often turn to the commercial sex industry to please a so-called boyfriend, to feed a drug habit, and to survive.”).
 10. CLAWSON, *supra* note 6, at 14; Clare Dalton, *When Paradigms Collide: Protecting Battered Parents and Their Children in the Family Court System*, 37 FAM. CT. REV. 273, 294 n.47 (1999) (“[T]raumatic bonding . . . has been analogized to the similar Stockholm Syndrome.”); Jennifer Katz et al., *Individual Differences in Self-Appraisals and Responses to Dating Violence Scenarios*, 12 VIOLENCE AND VICTIMS 265 (1997) (“[T]he Stockholm Syndrome describes the paradoxical tendency of some individuals to ascribe positive

motives to people inflicting them harm A similar phenomena has been termed 'traumatic bonding,' in which the victim develops a strong attachment bond to her perpetrator.") (internal citations removed); Dee L. R. Graham et al., *A Scale for Identifying "Stockholm Syndrome" Reactions in Young Dating Women: Factor Structure, Reliability, and Validity*, 10 VIOLENCE AND VICTIMS 3, 3 (1995).

11. WALKER, *supra* note 6, at 14–16; SHARED HOPE INT'L, *supra* note 5, at 41–45 (analyzing phenomenon of trauma bond between victim and trafficker).
12. SHARED HOPE INT'L, *supra* note 5, at 33 (analyzing vulnerabilities of victims). See also WALKER, *supra* note 6, at 14–16 ("Pimps ... use methods of control and coercion like other batterers ...").
13. See SHARED HOPE INT'L, *supra* note 5, at 52; HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT FOR GIRLS, *supra* note 2, at 2. See also *The Victims*, POLARIS PROJECT, available at <http://www.polarisproject.org/human-trafficking/overview/the-victims> (last visited July 31, 2013) ("Women and girls in sex-trafficking situations, especially U.S. citizens, are often misidentified as 'willing' participants in the sex trade who make a free choice each day to be there.").
14. HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT FOR GIRLS, *supra* note 2, at 2 ("Juvenile court judges and detention center staff are rarely provided appropriate trauma training and are unaware of the damaging impact of policies such as strip searches, physical restraints, and solitary confinement on survivors of sexual violence and trauma."); SHARED HOPE INT'L, *supra* note 5, at 68 ("Juvenile detention staff stated they felt juvenile detention was an inappropriate placement for victims."); HEATHER J. CLAWSON & LISA GOLDBLATT GRACE, U.S. DEP'T OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVS., ISSUE BRIEF: FINDING A PATH TO RECOVERY: RESIDENTIAL FACILITIES FOR MINOR VICTIMS OF DOMESTIC SEX TRAFFICKING 2 (2007), available at <http://aspe.hhs.gov/hsp/07/humantrafficking/ResFac/ib.pdf> ("Within juvenile detention facilities, treatment plans were often aligned with the criminal charges ... and, therefore, they were ineffective in addressing the real issues facing these girls.").
15. POLARIS PROJECT & INT'L JUSTICE MISSION, 2013 LEGISLATIVE BRIEF: HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN CALIFORNIA 1, available at <http://freedomcommons.ijm.org/sites/default/files/Safe-Harbor-Issue-Brief-CA.pdf> ("Arresting, prosecuting, and incarcerating victimized children serves to re-traumatize them and to increase their feelings of low self-esteem, which only makes the process of recovery more difficult."); ERIC WILLIAMSON, N. DUTCH & HEATHER J. CLAWSON, U.S. DEP'T OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVS., ISSUE BRIEF: NATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON THE HEALTH NEEDS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING VICTIMS, POST-SYMPOSIUM BRIEF, available at <http://aspe.hhs.gov/hsp/07/humantrafficking/Symposium/ib.pdf> (last visited Dec. 14, 2013) ("Re-traumatizing victims within ostensibly 'safe' institutions is a serious concern."); SHARED HOPE INT'L, *supra* note 5, at 38–39, 44–57 (documenting the systematic arrest and detention of child victims of domestic sex trafficking and discussing how this can "exacerbate a potential victim's vulnerable state"). See also KAREN M. ABRAM ET AL., OFFICE OF JUVENILE JUSTICE AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION, JUVENILE JUSTICE BULLETIN, PTSD, TRAUMA AND CO-MORBID PSYCHIATRIC DISORDERS IN DETAINED YOUTH 9 (June 2013). ("The conditions of confinement often exacerbate symptoms of mental disorder, including PTSD. Juvenile justice providers must reduce the likelihood that routine processing will re-traumatize youth. Common practices, such as handcuffing and searching, may exacerbate symptoms of PTSD.") (emphasis added) (citation omitted).
16. See, e.g., Lisa Goldblatt Grace, Co-Founder and Dir., My Life My Choice, Remarks at Critical Connections: A Multi-Systems Approach to the Domestic Sex Trafficking of Girls Conference (Mar. 12, 2013) (noting importance of providing girls with the things the pimps gave them — community, love, and a way to earn money).
17. Judge Hiram Puig-Lugo, D.C. Super. Ct., Remarks at Critical Connections: A Multi-Systems Approach to the Domestic Sex Trafficking of Girls Conference (Mar. 12, 2013) (explaining that detention can be the lesser of two evils and is sometimes necessary to keep survivors safe).
18. *Id.*
19. See Liz Ryan, *There's No Excuse: Protect Children from Rape in Adult Jails and Prisons*, TAKEPART (Apr. 5, 2013), <http://www.takepart.com/article/2013/04/05/op-ed-theres-no-excuse-protect-children-rape-adult-jails-and-prisons> (noting that youth are at the greatest risk of sexual victimization in adult jails and prisons, and they are more likely to become depressed and/or suicidal when isolated in solitary confinement in adult prisons and jails).
20. SHARED HOPE INT'L, *supra* note 5, at 68 ("Without specialized services, the child victim cannot be stabilized, which hinders investigations, prosecutions, and restoration."); THE NAT'L CRITTENTON FOUND., SUPPORTING YOUNG WOMEN SURVIVORS OF COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION: LONG TERM SOLUTIONS TO AN AGE-OLD PROBLEM 3 (July

- 30, 2012) (stating that intervention should include “trauma-focused and gender-responsive services”).
21. AM. BAR ASS’N & NAT’L BAR ASS’N, JUSTICE BY GENDER: THE LACK OF APPROPRIATE PREVENTION, DIVERSION AND TREATMENT ALTERNATIVES FOR GIRLS IN THE JUSTICE SYSTEM 10 (2001), available at http://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/publishing/criminal_justice_section_newsletter/crimjust_juvjus_justicebygenderweb.authcheckdam.pdf (“Many delinquent girls have been traumatized by physical and sexual abuse and domestic violence. Girls often use drugs and alcohol to numb the pain of their childhood trauma. Girls who are victims of sexual abuse are more likely to run away, and girls are more likely than boys to be arrested and placed outside the home for this behavior. Depression is common but often not diagnosed in delinquent girls; their behavioral problems are typically the focus of intervention rather than their underlying sadness, isolation, sense of loss, and early trauma.”).
 22. WILLIAMS & FREDERICK, *supra* note 7, at 62.
 23. Angelo P. Giardino & Robert D. Sanborn, *Human Trafficking: Awareness, Data and Policy*, 2 J. OF APPLIED RESEARCH ON CHILDREN: INFORMING POLICY FOR CHILDREN AT RISK 3 (2011) (“The conventional wisdom is that these domestic minor sex-trafficking victims are ‘bad kids’ who chose to use drugs, prostitute themselves on the streets and produce pornographic images of themselves for sale. The reality is that these are kids who find themselves in a ‘bad situation’ which makes them easy prey for criminals’ intent on profiting from sexually exploiting them in a way that stuns the sensibilities of common citizens.”); HEATHER J. CLAWSON, NICOLE DUTCH, AMY SOLOMON & LISA GOLDBLATT GRACE, U.S. DEP’T OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVS., STUDY OF HHS PROGRAMS SERVING HUMAN TRAFFICKING VICTIMS: FINAL REPORT 18 (2009), available at <http://aspe.hhs.gov/hsp/07/humantrafficking/final/index.pdf> (finding in study of 10 HHS-funded programs serving sex trafficking victims that most providers associated trafficking with international victims, and failed to recognize that children with whom they worked who had been involved in prostitution were sex-trafficking victims).
 24. WILLIAMS & FREDERICK, *supra* note 7, at 54.
 25. Susan Goldfarb, Exec. Dir., Children’s Advocacy Center of Suffolk Cnty., Remarks at Critical Connections: A Multi-Systems Approach to the Domestic Sex Trafficking of Girls Conference (Mar. 12, 2013).
 26. Jessica Midkiff, Survivor, Remarks at Critical Connections: A Multi-Systems Approach to the Domestic Sex Trafficking of Girls Conference (Mar. 12, 2013).
 27. WILLIAMS & FREDERICK, *supra* note 7, at 53–54.
 28. CLAWSON ET AL., *supra* note 6, at 23 (stating that research shows that “supportive relationships are a key factor in exiting the Life”). Connections with other survivors are important. Audrey Morrissey, Assoc. Dir., My Life My Choice, Remarks at Congressional Forum on Children at the Intersection of Child Welfare and Domestic Child Trafficking, Senate Caucus to End Human Trafficking (May 16, 2013), available at <http://www.blumenthal.senate.gov/issues/human-trafficking> (“Survivors are uniquely able to decrease a victim’s sense of isolation . . . [and] can demonstrate a life after exploitation.”). But a wider array of contacts is also critical. “After all, we are all survivors of something.” Withelma “T” Ortiz Walker Pettigrew, Survivor, Remarks at Critical Connections: A Multi-Systems Approach to the Domestic Sex Trafficking of Girls Conference (Mar. 12, 2013).
 29. Joyce Capelle, Chief Exec. Dir., Crittenton Servs. of Orange Cnty., Remarks at Critical Connections: A Multi-Systems Approach to the Domestic Sex Trafficking of Girls Conference (Mar. 12, 2013).
 30. THE NAT’L CRITTENTON FOUND., *supra* note 20, at 3 (“[R]ecognizing girls as victims and referring them to safe havens are only short-term solutions to a long-term process.”).
 31. CHILD WELFARE INFO. GATEWAY, ISSUE BRIEF: UNDERSTANDING THE EFFECTS OF MALTREATMENT ON BRAIN DEVELOPMENT 14 (2009), https://www.childwelfare.gov/pubs/issue_briefs/brain_development/brain_development.pdf (citing Committee on Early Childhood, Adoption and Dependent Care, *Developmental Issues for Young Children in Foster Care*, 106 PEDIATRICS 1145–50 (2000)).
 32. “[A] lack of trust or sense of worthlessness may lead teens to run away from assistance and supports.” WILLIAMS & FREDERICK, *supra* note 7, at 62.
 33. Telephone Interview with Michelle Guymon, Dir., Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking Project, L.A. Cnty. Prob. Dep’t (Apr. 30, 2013).
 34. Melinda Giovengo, Exec. Dir., YouthCare, & Lisa Goldblatt Grace, Co-Founder and Dir., My Life My Choice, Remarks at Critical Connections: A Multi-Systems Approach to the Domestic Sex Trafficking of Girls Conference (Mar. 12, 2013).

35. See generally LIZ WATSON & PETER EDELMAN, *IMPROVING THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM FOR GIRLS: LESSONS FROM THE STATES* (2012) (noting promising practices of jurisdictions that have improved girls' access to education while in the juvenile justice system); Giovengo, *supra* note 34 (emphasizing the importance of girls' involvement in school and workforce as substitute for the economic system of trafficking).
36. Midkiff, *supra* note 26.
37. Goldblatt Grace, *supra* note 16.
38. Tammy Sneed, Dir. of Girls' Servs., Acad. for Family and Workforce Knowledge and Dev., Remarks at Critical Connections: A Multi-Systems Approach to the Domestic Sex Trafficking of Girls (Mar. 12, 2013).
39. WILLIAMS & FREDERICK, *supra* note 7, at 60.
40. Giovengo, *supra* note 34.
41. See, e.g., CONN. DEP'T OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES, *A CHILD WELFARE RESPONSE TO DOMESTIC MINOR SEX TRAFFICKING 1* (2012), available at http://www.ct.gov/dcf/lib/dcf/humantrafficking/pdf/response_to_domestic_minot_sex_trafficking.pdf (*sic*) (stating that "children who are involved with child welfare services and in the foster care system are at a much higher risk" for being trafficked); WALKER, *supra* note 6, at 5 ("Youth in the child welfare system are particularly vulnerable to [commercial sexual exploitation]. Abuse and neglect, unstable placements, and lack of positive relationships create vulnerabilities that traffickers target."); *id.* at 17 (citing studies that reveal link between involvement in child welfare system and the commercial sex exploitation of children); Malika Saada Saar, Dir., Human Rights Project for Girls, Remarks at Congressional Forum on Children at the Intersection of Child Welfare and Domestic Child Trafficking, Senate Caucus to End Human Trafficking (May 16, 2013), available at <http://www.blumenthal.senate.gov/issues/human-trafficking> ("Many of these girls talk about how they feel that foster care was the training ground for being trafficked.").
42. KATHERINE KAUFKA WALTS, *BUILDING CHILD WELFARE RESPONSE TO CHILD TRAFFICKING* 13 (2011).
43. SHARED HOPE INT'L, *supra* note 5, at 45. See also WALKER, *supra* note 6, at 19 (noting lack of recognition of girls in the child welfare system and calling for identification, assessment, and screening).
44. HEATHER J. CLAWSON, NICOLE DUTCH, AMY SALOMON & LISA GOLDBLATT GRACE, U.S. DEP'T OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVS., *ISSUE BRIEF: TREATING THE HIDDEN WOUNDS: TRAUMA TREATMENT AND MENTAL HEALTH RECOVERY FOR VICTIMS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING* 24-25 (2008) ("[T]o be trauma-informed means . . . to 'know the history of past and current abuse' in the life of the [individual] with whom one is working" and "to understand the role that violence and victimization play in the lives of most consumers of . . . services and to use that understanding to design service systems that accommodate the vulnerabilities of trauma survivors and allow services to be delivered in a way that will facilitate consumer participation in treatment.") (citing Maxine Harris & Roger D. Fallot, *Envisioning a Trauma-Informed Service System: A Vital Paradigm Shift*, in *USING TRAUMA THEORY TO DESIGN SERVICE SYSTEMS* 3, 4 (Maxine Harris & Roger D. Fallot, eds., 2001)). Trauma-informed programs understand the "role that violence and victimization play in the lives" of those in public service systems. HARRIS & FALLOT, *id.* at 4.
45. See Rowena Fong & Jodi Berger Cardoso, *Child Human Trafficking Victims: Challenges for the Child Welfare System*, 33 *EVALUATION AND PROGRAM PLANNING* 311, 314 (2010) ("Child victims of human trafficking have experienced a form of sex slavery and assessment tools need to be able to reflect this trauma.").
46. *Id.* at 315.
47. MASS. INTERAGENCY HUMAN TRAFFICKING POLICY TASK FORCE 20 (2013), available at <http://www.mass.gov/ago/docs/ihfff/ihfff-findings.pdf> (citing MASS. GEN. LAWS ANN. ch. 233, § 20M (West 2013)).
48. WALTS, *supra* note 42, at 13 ("Evaluation results from child welfare professionals trained by [the International Organization for Adolescents] revealed that that the majority of state child welfare advocates and service providers were not aware of federal and state anti-human-trafficking laws or that non-government and government resources and programs exist to help respond to trafficked children.").
49. "A plethora of barriers in child welfare and other public systems impede the identification of children who have been sexually abused. To tackle victim identification, public child welfare workers and social service providers need to work closely with juvenile detention facilities, court system, emergency shelters, and school social workers. Until recently, these entities were completely unaware that U.S. children were being exploited for commercial sex." Fong & Cardoso, *supra* note 45, at 315.

50. *E.g.* Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, 42 U.S.C.A §§ 5631, 5783 (West, Westlaw current through P.L. 113-31).
51. See Fong & Cardoso, *supra* note 45, at 315 (“[A]gencies need to partner with successful treatment programs in private agencies that work with the commercial sexual exploitation of children. Together, they need to identify successful program components and adapt the practices to their systems.”). *E.g.* FLA. COALITION AGAINST HUMAN TRAFFICKING, <http://www.stophumantrafficking.org/training.html> (last visited July 26, 2013); GIRLS EDUCATIONAL & MENTORING SERVICES, <http://www.gems-girls.org/> (last visited July 26, 2013); LABORATORY TO COMBAT HUMAN TRAFFICKING, <http://www.combathumantrafficking.org/what-we-do/training-education> (last visited July 26, 2013); MY LIFE MY CHOICE, <http://jri.org/services/behavioral-health-and-trauma-services/community-based-behavioral-health-services/my-life-my-choice> (last visited July 26, 2013); NATIONAL CTR. FOR MISSING AND EXPLOITED CHILDREN, <http://www.missingkids.com/CSTT> (available only to law enforcement) (last visited Dec. 2, 2013); *National Training and Technical Assistance Project*, POLARIS PROJECT, <http://www.polarisproject.org/what-we-do/training-and-technical-assistance> (last visited July 26, 2013).
52. Tammy Sneed, *supra* note 38.
53. Tammy Sneed, Dir. of Girl’s Servs., Acad. for Family and Workforce Knowledge and Dev., Remarks at Congressional Forum on Children at the Intersection of Child Welfare and Domestic Child Trafficking, Senate Caucus to End Human Trafficking (May 16, 2013), *available at* <http://youtu.be/Gt38WSX-kILM?t=1h58m36s>.
54. CLAWSON ET AL., *supra* note 6, at 28; MARK ELLS, OFFICE OF JUVENILE JUSTICE AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION, U.S. DEP’T OF JUSTICE, FORMING A MULTIDISCIPLINARY TEAM TO INVESTIGATE CHILD ABUSE 4 (2000), *available at* <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/ojjdp/170020.pdf>.
55. ELLS, *supra* note 54, at 17. By 2011, all states had passed laws “addressing or promoting the use of multidisciplinary or multi-agency teams in child abuse cases.” Laura E. Ruzzo, *The Testimonial Nature of Multidisciplinary Team Interviews in Massachusetts: Applying Crawford to the Child Declarant*, 6 SUFFOLK J. TRIAL & APP. ADVOC. 227, 229 (2011).
56. CHILDREN’S ADVOC. CTR. OF SUFFOLK CNTY., FROM “THE LIFE” TO MY LIFE: RESPONDING TO THE COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN: GUIDELINES FOR A MULTIDISCIPLINARY INTERVENTION 17 (2011).
57. Crossover youth are children who “move between the child welfare and juvenile justice systems, or are known to both concurrently.” CENTER FOR JUVENILE JUSTICE REFORM: PRACTICE MODEL, <http://cjjr.georgetown.edu/pm/practicemodel.html> (last visited July 12, 2013).
58. See Karen Baynes-Dunning & Karen Worthington, *Adolescent Girls in Foster Care*, 20 GEO. J. ON POVERTY L. & POL’Y 2, 338 (Winter 2013) (“System-involved girls ... are often involved with multiple public systems”); WALKER, *supra* note 6, at 62 (“Commercially sexually exploited children encounter multiple systems, but are rarely able to access services, specialized placements, or the assistance they need to escape their violent situations.”); SHARED HOPE INT’L, *supra* note 5, at 45 (“[I]dentification mechanisms, trafficking methods, and protocols need to be inter-agency as well as intra-agency given that most human-trafficking cases will involve a multitude of agencies and jurisdictions.”).
59. Baynes-Dunning & Worthington, *supra* note 58, at 339.
60. Concerns about confidentiality can sometimes arise, but can also be misunderstood. Relevant laws should be well researched to allow maximum cooperation within any such bounds while preserving children’s due process rights. See ELLS, *supra* note 54, at 3 (noting evolution of laws to meet competing demands of child protection, due process, and family preservation). See generally Ruzzo, *supra* note 55 (examining admissibility of child victim’s statements during forensic examinations and concluding that the multidisciplinary approach creates inadmissible testimonial statements); SEATTLE CHILDREN’S HOSP., CASE DISCUSSION: CONFIDENTIALITY AND ADOLESCENTS, <http://www.seattlechildrens.org/research/initiatives/bioethics/education/case-based-teaching-guides/confidentiality/case-discussion/> (last visited July 13, 2014).
61. SHARED HOPE INT’L, *supra* note 5, at 68 (“Though several agencies in the ten locations were found to have designed a program for youth at risk or victimized through sex trafficking, these agencies were operating mostly alone in their communities and were rare. This is a problem encountered across the country, resulting in child victims of sex trafficking not receiving needed services.”).
62. See KEVIN BALES, THE SLAVE NEXT DOOR 191–94 (2009). Girl-centered courts are another critical component to addressing survivors of trafficking. The PINS court in Washington, D.C. and the STAR court in Los An-

geles County are examples of attempts to target this population and bring together members of various systems and legal advocates to help survivors. See *Status Offender*, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COURTS, http://www.dccourts.gov/internet/superior/org_social/pins.jsf (last visited Aug. 5, 2013); Letter from Jerry E. Powers, Chief Prob. Officer, L.A. Cnty. Prob. Dep't, to Supervisor Zev Yaroslavsky et al. (Feb. 24, 2012), <http://file.lacounty.gov/bos/supdocs/70403.pdf> (giving a brief overview of the STAR court). See also Patricia Leigh Brown, *A Court's All-Hands Approach Aids Girls Most at Risk*, N.Y. TIMES, Jan. 28, 2014, at All.

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63. See MASS. INTERAGENCY HUMAN TRAFFICKING POLICY TASK FORCE, *supra* note 47, at 21.
64. The National Human Trafficking Resource Center, run by the Polaris Project, produces annual reports of calls received by each state, among other data, that can serve as a valuable resource for communities that are building a case for anti-trafficking support. See generally POLARIS PROJECT, <http://www.polarisproject.org/what-we-do/national-human-trafficking-hotline/the-nhtrc/overview> (last visited Oct. 31, 2013).
65. In 2003, the FBI began its Innocence Lost National Initiative, which addresses the sex trafficking of children. U.S. DEP'T OF JUSTICE, OFFICE OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL, THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION'S EFFORTS TO COMBAT CRIMES AGAINST CHILDREN: AUDIT REPORT 09-08 (January 2009), available at <http://www.justice.gov/oig/reports/FBI/a0908/chapter4.htm> (last visited Nov. 25, 2013).
66. See HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT FOR GIRLS, *supra* note 2, at 2-3.
67. SMITH, *supra* note 8, at 33.
68. For discussions of this subject, see generally CAL. ALLIANCE TO COMBAT TRAFFICKING AND SLAVERY TASK FORCE, HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN CALIFORNIA: FINAL REPORT (2007), available at http://oag.ca.gov/sites/all/files/pdfs/publications/Human_Trafficking_Final_Report.pdf (last visited Nov. 22, 2013); CHILDREN'S ADVOC. CTR. OF SUFFOLK CNTY., *supra* note 56, at 51-52; ELLS, *supra* note 54; MASS. INTERAGENCY HUMAN TRAFFICKING POLICY TASK FORCE, *supra* note 47; SUZANNE PIENING & THEODORE CROSS, FROM "THE LIFE" TO MY LIFE: SEXUALLY EXPLOITED CHILDREN RECLAIMING THEIR FUTURES 24 (2012), available at http://www.suffolkcac.org/assets/pdf/From_the_Life_to_My_Life_Suffolk_Countys_Response_to_CSEC_June_2012.pdf; *Sex Trafficking and Exploitation in America: Child Welfare's Role in Prevention and Intervention: Hearing before the S. Comm. on Fin.*, 113th Cong. 4 (2013); WALKER, *supra* note 6.
69. CHILDREN'S ADVOC. CTR. OF SUFFOLK CNTY., *supra* note 56, at 14.
70. ELLS, *supra* note 54, at 10.
71. *Id.* at 3.
72. *Id.* at 3, 16.
73. Julie Posadas Guzman, Principal, JPG Consultants, Remarks at Critical Connections: A Multi-Systems Approach to the Domestic Sex Trafficking of Girls Conference (Mar. 12, 2013). See also CHILDREN'S ADVOC. CTR. OF SUFFOLK CNTY., *supra* note 56, at 27 (stating that multidisciplinary teams in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, meet regularly to share information).
74. Cases can also be reported to the National Human Trafficking Resource Center, run by the Polaris Project, which can provide helpful resources to victims and maintains a database that tracks cases by state, see *supra* note 64, or to the CyberTipline run by the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, which provides information and tips to law enforcement, <https://report.cybertip.org/index.htm?jsessionid=7A6430CBC2B3DE8A366475AE67A69085.iwt1,or-1-800-THE-LOST>.
75. See, e.g., *id.*

CASE STUDY — SUFFOLK COUNTY

76. PIENING & CROSS, *supra* note 68, at 24.
77. The District Attorney's leadership, which included his decision not to charge sex-trafficking victims as offenders, was critical to supporting and building SEEN's approach. E-mail from Susan Goldfarb, Exec. Dir., Children's Advoc. Ctr. of Suffolk Cnty. (Oct. 2, 2013, 3:37 p.m. EDT) (on file with author).
78. PIENING & CROSS, *supra* note 68, at 11 (citing the uniqueness of the SEEN Coalition as evidence of a need for services systems throughout the state); Telephone Interview with Susan Goldfarb, Exec. Dir., Children's Advoc. Ctr. of Suffolk Cnty., & Elizabeth Bouchard, Case Coordinator, Children's Advoc. Ctr. of Suffolk Cnty. (Sept. 13, 2013).
79. PIENING & CROSS, *supra* note 68, at 17.
80. Telephone Interview with Susan Goldfarb, Exec. Dir., Children's Advoc. Ctr. of Suffolk Cnty. & Elizabeth Bouchard, Case Coordinator, Children's Advoc. Ctr. of Suffolk Cnty. (July 17, 2013).

81. PIENING & CROSS, *supra* note 68, at 8–9.
82. *Id.* at 19.
83. CHILDREN’S ADVOC. CTR. OF SUFFOLK CNTY., *supra* note 56, at 16.
84. *Id.* at 17–23.
85. E-mail from Goldfarb, *supra* note 77.
86. CHILDREN’S ADVOC. CTR. OF SUFFOLK CNTY., *supra* note 56, at 52.
87. When the number of members rendered a consensus model impracticable, the group added a steering committee to serve as a decision-making body. E-mail from Susan Goldfarb, Exec. Dir., Children’s Advoc. Ctr. of Suffolk Cnty. (Sept. 11, 2013, 9:13 p.m. EDT) (on file with author).
88. *Id.*
89. MASS. GEN. LAWS ANN. ch. 119, § 51D (West 2013).
90. Under state law, all sexually exploited children shall have an advocate. MASS. GEN. LAWS ANN. ch. 119, § 39k (West 2013).
91. PIENING & CROSS, *supra* note 68, at 18 (Appendix D).
92. E-mail from Goldfarb, *supra* note 77.
93. *Id.*
94. MASS. GEN. LAWS ANN. ch. 119, § 51D (West 2013) (“The members of the team shall be considered to be employees of the department for purposes of protecting the confidentiality of the data.”).
95. E-mail from Goldfarb, *supra* note 77.
96. Telephone Interview with Goldfarb & Bouchard, *supra* note 80; PIENING & CROSS, *supra* note 68, at 7.
97. E-mail from Goldfarb, *supra* note 87.
98. Telephone Interview with Goldfarb & Bouchard, *supra* note 80.
99. The chapter acknowledges the suggestion of researchers that “the more that individuals or groups interact and rely on one another to achieve common objectives, the greater the potential for conflict.” CHILDREN’S ADVOC. CTR. OF SUFFOLK CNTY., *supra* note 56, at 53.
100. *Id.*
101. The Suffolk County guidelines outline organizational sources of potential conflict that includes: missions/philosophies; decision-making styles; multiple law enforcement jurisdictions; desired case outcomes and measures of success; work styles; communication styles; and interpersonal styles. *Id.* at 53–54.
102. Personal sources of potential conflict include four conflict-resolution styles that can be charted along two axes, an assertiveness axis and a cooperative axis. These can be expressed within four quadrants: competing (assertive and uncooperative); accommodating (unassertive and cooperative); avoiding (unassertive and uncooperative); and collaborating (assertive and cooperative). *Id.* at 55.
103. The guidelines suggest five steps to addressing conflicts: acknowledge conflict; gather information/perspective; assess conflict; develop resolution plan; and seek external support. *Id.* at 56–57.
104. E-mail from Goldfarb, *supra* note 77.
105. *Id.*
106. SEEN also helps coordinate cases involving boys and trans-identified youth, typically referring these cases to Surviving Our Struggle, a program of Boston GLASS of the Justice Resource Institute, which also partners with My Life My Choice to connect youth to a survivor-mentor. E-mail from Goldfarb, *supra* note 77.
107. PIENING & CROSS, *supra* note 68, at 8.
108. E-mail from Goldfarb, *supra* note 77.
109. PIENING & CROSS, *supra* note 68, at 10.
110. MASS. GEN. LAWS ch. 119, § 51D (2013).
111. MASS. INTERAGENCY HUMAN TRAFFICKING POLICY TASK FORCE, *supra* note 47, at 21.
112. *See generally id.*
113. Email from Susan Goldfarb, Exec. Dir., Children’s Advoc. Ctr. of Suffolk Cnty. (Oct. 8, 2013, 12:06 p.m.) (on file with author).

CASE STUDY — LOS ANGELES COUNTY

114. PHILIP L. BROWNING & JERRY POWERS, DEP’T OF CHILDREN AND FAMILY SERVS., L.A. CNTY., RESPONSE TO THE NOV. 27, 2012 BOARD MOTION ON SEX TRAFFICKING TASK FORCE 3 (2013) (on file with author). The FBI’s designation of Los Angeles as a High Intensity Child Prostitution Area signified that the FBI would establish an Innocence Lost task force in the area. U.S. DEP’T OF JUSTICE, OFFICE OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL, *supra* note 65.

115. JERRY POWERS, L.A. CNTY., PROB. DEP'T, COUNTY'S AGGRESSIVE STRATEGY TO COMBAT DOMESTIC SEX TRAFFICKING 3 (2012) (on file with author).
116. Telephone Interview with Guymon, *supra* note 33.
117. Telephone Interview with Michelle Guymon, Dir., Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking Project, L.A. Cnty. Prob. Dep't (Sept. 26, 2013).
118. *Helping Victims of Human Trafficking* (Apr. 1, 2013), available at <http://ridley-thomas.lacounty.gov/index.php/human-trafficking-2/>
119. Telephone Interview with Hania Cardenas, Dir., Placement Aftercare/WRAP, L.A. Cnty. Prob. Dep't (July 8, 2013).
120. *Id.*
121. *Id.*
122. *Id.*
123. Telephone Interview with Guymon, *supra* note 33.
124. Telephone Interview with Cardenas, *supra* note 119.
125. Because there was no other way of capturing data on sex-trafficking victims, the Probation Department initially used prostitution and related charges as a proxy for sex-trafficking involvement. Telephone Interview with Michelle Guymon, Prob. Dir., L.A. Cnty. Prob. Dep't (Oct. 2, 2013).
126. BROWNING & POWERS, *supra* note 114, at 3; telephone Interview with Guymon, *supra* note 117.
127. Telephone Interview with Guymon, *supra* note 117.
128. *Id.*
129. POWERS, *supra* note 115, at 2.
130. Telephone Interview with Guymon, *supra* note 117.
131. L.A. CNTY. JUVENILE COURT GRANT APPLICATION, at 1 (on file with author).
132. BROWNING & POWERS, *supra* note 114, at 3–4; Telephone Interview with Cardenas, *supra* note 119.
133. POWERS, *supra* note 114, at 3.
134. Telephone Interview with Guymon, *supra* note 33.
135. *Id.*
136. “[T]he probation department and the child welfare services department, in consultation with the presiding judge of the juvenile court, in any county may create a jointly written protocol to allow the county probation department and the child welfare services department to jointly assess and produce a recommendation that the child be designated as a dual status child, allowing the child to be simultaneously a dependent child and a ward of the court.” CAL. WELF. & INST. CODE § 241.1(b)(3)(C)(e) (West 2004).
137. Telephone Interview with Guymon, *supra* note 117.
138. *Id.*
139. Telephone Interview with Guymon, *supra* note 33.
140. Bettina Boxall, *Campaign to Halt Child Sex Trafficking Launched in L.A. County*, L.A. TIMES, May 31, 2012, <http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/lanow/2012/05/sex-trafficking.html>.
141. CHILD TRAFFICKING AWARENESS, L.A. METRO, <http://www.metro.net/riding/rescue/> (last visited Nov. 9, 2013) (on file with author).
142. MOTION BY MARK RIDLEY-THOMAS, SUPERVISOR & DON KNABE, SUPERVISOR, TO L.A. CNTY. BD. OF SUPERVISORS (Sep. 24, 2013) (on file with author).
143. *Id.*
144. *Id.*
145. Telephone Interview with Guymon, *supra* note 117.
146. POWERS, *supra* note 115, at 3–4.
147. MOTION BY MICHAEL D. ANTONOVICH, SUPERVISOR, TO THE L.A. CNTY. BD. OF SUPERVISORS (Nov. 27, 2012) (on file with author).
148. Telephone Interview with Jessica Midkiff, Survivor, L.A. Cnty. (Oct. 18, 2013).

CASE STUDY — CONNECTICUT

149. Child welfare systems in many states are prepared only to receive children who have been abused by their caretaker, and therefore have not put a plan in place to receive children of victims of child trafficking, nor children victims themselves. Telephone Interview with William Rivera, Dir., Multicultural Affairs and Immigration Practice, Acad. for Family and Workforce Knowledge and Dev. (May 17, 2013).
150. CONN. DEP'T OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES, *supra* note 41. The superintendent of the Riverview Hospital for Children was later notified of and consulted about the plan. Telephone Interview with William Rivera, Dir., Multicultural Affairs and Immigration Practice, Acad. for Family and Workforce Knowledge and Dev. & Tammy Sneed, Dir. of Girls' Servs., Acad. for Family and Workforce Knowledge and Dev. (Oct. 3, 2012).

151. E-mail from William Rivera, Dir., Multicultural Affairs and Immigration Practice, Acad. for Family and Workforce Knowledge and Dev. (Oct. 3, 2013, 11:35 a.m. EDT) (on file with author).
152. Telephone Interview with Rivera, *supra* note 149.
153. E-mail from Rivera, *supra* note 151.
154. *Id.*
155. Telephone Interview with Rivera, *supra* note 149.
156. Typically, child welfare systems are not required to accept a child if the perpetrator of abuse is not a family member, because most state child abuse laws are not defined to include perpetrators who are non-familial traffickers. See SHARED HOPE INT'L, NATIONAL COLLOQUIUM FINAL REPORT: AN INVENTORY AND EVALUATION OF THE CURRENT SHELTER AND SERVICES RESPONSE TO DOMESTIC MINOR SEX-TRAFFICKING 233–34 (2013) (listing laws by state, concluding that sex-trafficking victims are likely to qualify for child protective services in only twenty states). For a discussion of the issue, see Congressional Forum on Children at the Intersection of Child Welfare and Domestic Child Trafficking, Senate Caucus to End Human Trafficking (May 16, 2013), *available at* <http://youtu.be/Gt38WSXkILM?t=1h58m36s>.
157. The team includes, at a minimum, a response team liaison, an intake manager, a mental health care provider, law enforcement, any ongoing service providers, support services, and the adolescent services unit. E-mail from Rivera, *supra* note 151.
158. DCF worked with the Connecticut Children's Medical Center to designate the hospital's emergency room for survivors who require acute medical and psychiatric assessment and care. Additional hospitals are being added as training is provided and protocols are developed. CONN. DEP'T OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES, *supra* note 40; E-mail from Tammy Sneed, Dir. of Girls' Servs., Acad. for Family and Workforce Knowledge and Dev. (Oct. 3, 2013, 12:22 p.m. EDT) (on file with author).
159. *Id.*
160. *Id.*
161. *Id.*
162. E-mail from Tammy Sneed, Dir. of Girls' Servs., Acad. for Family and Workforce Knowledge and Dev. (Oct. 7, 2013, 10:40 a.m. EDT) (on file with author).
163. Telephone Interview with Rivera & Sneed, *supra* note 150.
164. CONN. DEP'T OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES, *supra* note 41.
165. Telephone Interview with Rivera, *supra* note 149.
166. Telephone Interview with Rivera & Sneed, *supra* note 150.
167. E-mail from Sneed, *supra* note 158.
168. CONN. DEP'T OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES, *supra* note 40; Telephone Interview with Rivera & Sneed, *supra* note 150.
169. Tammy Sneed, *supra* note 38.
170. *Id.*
171. Sneed, *supra* note 53.
172. E-mail from Rivera, *supra* note 151.
173. CONN. DEP'T OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES, *supra* note 41, at 3. In addition, C.G.S. Sec 17a-106a, enacted in 2011, requires multidisciplinary teams to provide the emergency response to sex trafficking victims.
174. 2010 Conn. Pub. Acts 115.
175. 2011 Conn. Pub. Acts 180.
176. Telephone Interview with Rivera & Sneed, *supra* note 150.
177. *Id.*
178. E-mail from Sneed, *supra* note 158.



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The Center on Poverty and Inequality works with policymakers, researchers, advocates, and others to identify, develop, and disseminate effective policies and practices to alleviate poverty and inequality in the United States.

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