Human Trafficking Prevalence and Child Welfare Risk Factors Among Homeless Youth

Phoenix, Arizona

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This report is dedicated to the youth who candidly and at times painfully shared their stories and themselves with us. We are indebted to their candor and only hope for the very best for them and the thousands of other youth who share similar stories.
The Field Center for Children’s Policy, Practice & Research is an interdisciplinary collaboration of the University of Pennsylvania’s Schools of Social Policy & Practice, Law, Medicine, and Nursing, and the Children’s Hospital of Philadelphia dedicated to improving the systemic response to victims of child abuse and neglect. By harnessing the expertise across the University of Pennsylvania, the Field Center facilitates reform through a “think outside-the-box approach.” Our efforts result in improved policies and laws, translating research to practice, and elevating service delivery across systems of care through education and training.

Our Mission

Guided by the Schools of Social Policy & Practice, Law, Medicine, and Nursing, and the Children’s Hospital of Philadelphia, the Field Center for Children’s Policy, Practice and Research brings together the resources of the University of Pennsylvania to enhance and assure the well-being of abused and neglected children and those at risk of maltreatment. By moving beyond traditional approaches, the Field Center utilizes an interdisciplinary model to integrate clinical care, research and education, inform local and national policy, and prepare the nation’s future leaders, for the benefit of children and their families.

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The Field Center completed a three-city study as part of a larger initiative by Covenant House International to research human trafficking among homeless youth encompassing nearly 1,000 young people across 13 cities. The Field Center interviewed a total of 270 homeless youth, 100 in Philadelphia, 100 in Phoenix, and 70 in Washington, DC, to learn about the prevalence of human trafficking, and the history of child maltreatment, out-of-home placement, and protective factors among those who were sex trafficked or engaged in the sex trade to survive.

Three agencies in Phoenix that serve homeless youth participated in this study: Tumbleweed, Native American Connections, and One-n-Ten. Of the 100 youth interviewed, 18% were victims of human trafficking, including 13% who were victims of sex trafficking, 6% who were victims of labor trafficking, and 1% who were victims of both sex and labor trafficking. Additionally, 12% of youth interviewed engaged in “survival sex” to meet their basic needs. A total of 37% of those interviewed reported engaging in a commercial sex act at some point in their lives.
Three-quarters of homeless females reported being solicited for paid sex. For all genders, 33% of those approached while homeless were approached during their very first night of being homeless. Transgender and bisexual youth were particularly vulnerable to being engaged in commercial sex.

For youth who reported that they were victims of sex trafficking, 92% had a history of child maltreatment. Two-thirds reported telling someone that they were abused, and three-quarters of them report that the person they told took some action on their behalf. Among sex trafficking victims who were maltreated, the highest percentage of youth reported being sexually abused (57%), followed by physical abuse at 47%.

A total of 39% of sex trafficking victims were in out-of-home placement at some point in their lives, and many experienced frequent moves. Sixty-two percent did not have a place to live at some point prior to their 18th birthday, and 54% reported involvement with the child welfare system.

LGBTQ youth appear to have experienced a higher level of sex trafficking, with 28% reporting being trafficked, compared to only 5% of straight participants.

For those who were sex trafficked, when asked what could have helped prevent them from being in this situation, the most frequent response was having supportive parents or family members. Youth who lacked a caring adult in their lives were more likely to be victims of sex trafficking.

Education was also distinguished in the data. Victims of sex trafficking were twice as likely to have dropped out of high school than the full sample of homeless youth. Of those who reported being sex trafficked, only 31% had a high school diploma, compared to 56% of those who weren’t trafficked. This, graduating from high school appears to be a protective factor.

“When I don’t want to do [the sexual] things they want, they pull my hair, they slap my face, they threaten me with a gun.”
BACKGROUND

Phoenix offers a diverse array of programming for homeless and runaway youth. Youth were interviewed for the present human trafficking study at multiple sites at three collaborating agencies: Native American Connection’s Home Base, One-n-Ten’s Promise of a New Day Housing Program and Drop-In Center, and Tumbleweed’s Youth Resource Centers and Emergency Housing Program. Several programs that participated in this research lost funding and were forced to discontinue services for homeless youth over the course of this research study, resulting in a reduction of resources for this population.

Respondents varied in their experiences of homelessness at the time of the survey; some resided in housing programs within the organization while others received drop-in services while living independently in outside programs, substandard apartments, couch surfing, or living on the streets.

Respondents in Phoenix reported, with more frequency than other cities in the larger study, an ability to live or sleep outside due to the warm weather. Although some youth experienced homelessness by themselves, many young adults in relationships survived on the streets together or became connected with small groups of homeless young adults who camped in isolated areas together. Multiple youth-serving organizations offer an array of non-residential services utilized by these unsheltered youth, including access to showers and bathrooms, meals and snacks, and laundry and computers, in addition to therapeutic services and case management. In a unique approach to holistic care, many of the organizations allow clients to seek services with their pets and offer basic animal care, acknowledging the trend for homeless youth to continue caring for their pets despite their lack of shelter.

Phoenix was also a desirable destination for youth who became homeless in other locations. Some participants had traveled across the state or country before seeking services in Phoenix. Youth who intentionally settled in Phoenix had done so due to the weather and the frequent availability of community supports, while others still maintained a transient lifestyle and were simply utilizing available services before moving on to another location.

There was a noticeable trend of methamphetamine use as the drug of choice among the homeless youth who participated in the survey in Phoenix. Whether this was a predicating factor leading to future homelessness or a later result of experiencing desperation, respondents shared extensive histories of methamphetamine use and the associated challenges in battling their addictions. Meth was reported to be widely available in the impoverished communities from which respondents hailed, at public city shelters, and on the streets. Many youth directly linked their experiences with exploitation to behaviors they engaged in as a way to obtain drugs.
Overview of Methodology

OBJECTIVES
The objectives of the study are twofold:

1. To examine the prevalence of human trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation among homeless youth in multiple cities through replication of an earlier study utilizing the previously validated Human Trafficking Interview and Assessment Measure (HTIAM-10), and

2. To gain insight into the child maltreatment, child welfare and out of home placement experiences as well as resilience factors for victims of child sex trafficking.

PARTICIPANTS
Participation in the research was voluntary, and anonymity and confidentiality were maintained. The interviewer administered the Human Trafficking Interview and Assessment Measure (HTIAM-10) to all youth. The HTIAM-10 was previously validated by Fordham University and was designed to detect and identify victims of human trafficking, including both sex and labor trafficking.

Participants who identified that they engaged in any commercial sex act were then administered the Child Welfare Supplemental Survey (CWSS), containing additional questions pertaining to potential child welfare risk factors for engaging in commercial sex and potential protective factors. This supplemental instrument, developed by the University of Pennsylvania’s Field Center for Children’s Policy, Practice & Research, asks victims of human trafficking and youth who have engaged in commercial sex about their history of child maltreatment, involvement in the child welfare system, social support networks, living situations, and preparation for independent living.
Results

Of the 100 respondents in Phoenix, 18% were identified as victims of some form of human trafficking. Thirteen percent were victims of sex trafficking, 6% were victims of labor trafficking, and 1% of them were victims of both sex and labor trafficking.

SEX TRAFFICKING

Sex trafficking is defined as a commercial sex act induced by force, fraud or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age.

- 24% of women, 5% of men, and half of the six transgender participants were sex-trafficked.

- 32% of the 32 LGBTQ respondents were trafficked for sex. This was significantly higher than the 5% of heterosexual participants who were sex-trafficked.

- 19% of those who either had a GED, were still in high school, or had dropped out of high school were victims of sex trafficking, more than double the 8% of those who either had a high school diploma as their highest level of education or had at least entered college. Those who dropped out of high school fared the worst, with one-quarter of them having been a victim of sex trafficking.

- Of the 13 respondents identified as having been sex-trafficked, six were classified as victims because they had engaged in commercial sexual acts while under the age of 18, three because he or she engaged in sex because of force, fraud, or coercion, and four were victims of sex-trafficking as both a function of their age and force, fraud, or coercion.

One female participant met her trafficker at a party when she was 14 years old. After entering into a relationship with him that she believed to be based on love, he began pressuring her to sleep with other men to prove that she loved him. Once she began prostituting for him, he threatened to kill her if she ever stopped. She eventually learned that he was pimping out many other women as well and advertising girls for sex on Backpage.com. She often observed him violently beating them when they didn’t obey his orders.
SURVIVAL SEX

Consistent with studies by Fordham and Loyola University New Orleans, this study defined “survival sex” as involving individuals over age 18 who trade sex acts to meet the basic needs of survival (e.g., food, shelter, etc.) without overt force, fraud or coercion of a trafficker, but who felt that their circumstances left little or no other option. While the small sample size limits our ability to generalize to other survival sex/commercial sex victims, we think it’s important to provide some descriptive information about the young people we interviewed.

• 12 participants (12%) engaged in survival sex; nine identified as gay, bisexual, or pansexual. Five were female, five were male, one was transgender, and one declined to provide their gender.

• In contrast with findings on sex trafficking, those with some college had the highest rate of survival sex (33%), followed by those who had dropped out of high school (26%) and those still attending high school (9%).

A young woman described moving into a homeless shelter when she was 21 because she was addicted to drugs at the time and didn’t have family support. While in the shelter, she was recruited into prostitution by a man in his 60's. She described him as a “father figure,” saying “he would take care of the girls like me.”
COMMERCIAL SEX

Any sex act in which anything of value is given or received by any person, and it includes sex trafficking, survival sex as well as commercial sex that does not fall under these categories.

• 37% of respondents engaged in commercial sex at some point in their lives.

• 48% of women, 29% of men, and 67% of the six transgender participants engaged in the sex trade.

• 83% of bisexual participants, 56% of pansexual participants, and 55% of gay participants engaged in commercial sex, higher than the 21% of heterosexual participants.

• 30% who engaged in commercial sex were advertised on the internet.

• Of the 51 who were approached by someone who wanted them to sell sex, 84% were approached while homeless; one-third of them experienced this during their first week of homelessness.

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LABOR TRAFFICKING

Labor trafficking is the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage or slavery.

- Half of the labor trafficking victims were male and half were female.
- Four of the labor trafficked participants identified as straight, one bisexual, and one pansexual.
- Education and race varied among those who were labor trafficked, with no obvious trend among the six victims.

One young man described fleeing his home country and meeting a man who offered to help him find work and go to school. He moved in with this man and worked on a farm and did household chores. He never had access to money, personal resources, a phone, or school, and was under constant threat of being sent back to his country of origin.
“When I was younger, I was raped and molested, so it was like I always thought it was okay to go out and have sex with different people because this happened.”

**CHILD MALTREATMENT**

Of the 37 respondents who engaged in commercial sex, 83% reported having been maltreated at some point during their childhood. Sexual abuse was the most prevalent response (57%) followed by physical abuse (47%) and neglect (30%). Seventy-three percent of those who experienced maltreatment were abused by a biological parent, the most prevalent perpetrator of abuse. Other relatives (excluding siblings) were second at 40%, and other non-family members were the third most frequent source. Of the 26 participants who provided the age at which abuse began, 65% were abused by the age of 5, and all but two were abused by the age of 10. Two-thirds told someone about their maltreatment; of those, 53% of them reported that this person took some action on their behalf. However, 72% reported receiving some type of services or treatment to help cope with the maltreatment.

One female participant who was unhappy at home was exploited through most of high school by the man she believed to be her boyfriend. If she tried to leave him, she said that she would be killed. She finally escaped by lying about physical abuse in her family, resulting in her being placed in out-of-home care.

“When I was younger, I was raped and molested, so it was like I always thought it was okay to go out and have sex with different people because this happened.”
LIVING SITUATIONS
A history of residential instability was prevalent within the sample of youth who engaged in commercial sex. Twenty-eight respondents (83%) reported having lived with someone other than a biological parent, and 39% reported that at some point in their youth they had no place to sleep. Only four reported having lived in only one place (other than with a friend or boyfriend/girlfriend). Twenty (56%) reported that they had some child welfare involvement growing up, and 70% of those experienced at least one out-of-home placement. All of the respondents who were in out-of-home placement were involved in the foster care system, and nine (64%) of these had lived in a group home or congregate care setting as well.

SOCIAL SUPPORTS AND PEER RELATIONSHIPS
Among victims of sex trafficking, many respondents reported the presence of a caring adult (other than a caregiver), especially at present day. Seven of the 13 (54%) reported having a caring adult in their lives prior to turning 18, and 69% reported having a caring adult at the time of the interview. These supports varied widely, from parents to siblings to caseworkers and others. Of the youth who engaged in any form of commercial sex, 50% of those who did not have a caring adult in their lives were sexually trafficked as opposed to only 28% who reported having a caring adult being sex trafficked. Many also found support among their peers; 39% had a group of friends they could rely on. Twenty-three percent were, at some point, members of a gang.

A male participant joined a gang for protection when he was 13 and, as part of his commitment to the gang, he was forced to sell drugs. He quickly progressed to making money in other ways, accepting money from both women and men for sex, and began pimping women by the time he was 16. After an assault that almost killed him, he decided to leave the gang.
Policy and Practice Recommendations

In light of the findings from this study, which provide the opportunity to make an impact on current policy and practice, we offer the following recommendations:

1. Support continued and increased funding for programming and beds for homeless youth on both state and federal levels. This appears to be of particular concern in Phoenix.

2. Utilize data to identify populations at highest risk for human trafficking and create targeted prevention services.

3. Target street outreach services for newly homeless youth, and support continued funding of this critical service.

4. Promote psychoeducational intervention and access to evidence-based treatment for victims of sexual abuse.

5. As LGBTQ youth were found to be frequent targets, develop and implement victimization minimization services for this population.

6. Promote programs that support youth to remain in school and graduate from high school. Preliminary data indicates that being in school, as opposed to attainment of a GED, may be a protective factor.

7. Support policies that promote out-of-home-placement stability for youth, as multiple moves place them at greater risk.

8. Explore implementing new and innovative out-of-home placement models that are targeted to older youth.

9. Assure that youth who exit the child welfare system are financially literate and are provided with transitional and after-care services to foster a successful transition to independence.

10. Identify and foster emotional attachments for vulnerable children and youth with both family members and other caring adults, including natural mentorship initiatives to help connect at-risk youth with caring adults in their lives. Early identification of and facilitation of such relationships can serve both to prevent youth from becoming victimized and to provide a resource should they end up needing support and assistance.

11. Services and interventions need to acknowledge that being trafficked does not define who youth are, but rather it is something that happened to them. This is likely one in a series of traumas they have faced throughout their lives. Therefore, all services must be trauma-informed.

12. Further explore the impact that meth has on the vulnerability of this population, including whether it is an additional risk factor for victimization.
The photographs on the cover are representative of youth interviewed across all cities in the study and are not photos of actual youth participants.