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August 2014

Evaluation of Services for Domestic Minor Victims of Human Trafficking

Final Report

Prepared for

National Institute of Justice
Office of Justice Programs
U.S. Department of Justice
810 Seventh Street, NW
Washington, DC 20531

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RTI Project Number 0212382.001.001

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

RTI International conducted a participatory process evaluation of three programs funded by the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) Office for Victims of Crime (OVC) to identify and provide services to victims of sex and labor trafficking who are U.S citizens and lawful permanent residents (LPR) under the age of 18. The evaluation was funded by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), also part of DOJ. The goals of the evaluation were to document program implementation in the three programs, identify promising practices for service delivery programs, and inform delivery of current and future efforts by to serve this population. Specifically, the evaluation described young people served by the programs, their service needs, services delivered by the programs, the experiences of young people and staff with the programs, and programs' efforts to strengthen community response to trafficked youth.

OVC funded three programs that differed substantially in their organization and service delivery approaches:

- The Standing Against Global Exploitation Everywhere (SAGE) Project, located in San Francisco, serves adults and youth affected by sexual exploitation. Prior to the OVC grant, they provided life skills programs, advocacy, counseling and case management for girls, including those in the juvenile justices system.

- The Salvation Army Trafficking Outreach Program and Intervention Techniques (STOP-IT) program, located in Chicago, was founded by the Salvation Army and grew from that organizations engagement in local trafficking task forces. Under the OVC grant, STOP-IT expanded their services from foreign trafficking victims to domestic youth engaged in sex trades.

- The Streetwork Project at Safe Horizon, located in New York City, serves homeless and street-involved youth with drop in centers, a residential program, counseling, health care, legal advocacy and other services, offered by Streetwork staff and co-located providers.

Methods

For this participatory evaluation, the RTI team worked closely with staff from the three programs to develop instruments and methods. Programs collected information on clients served and on the services provided to these clients between January 2011 and June 2013. The evaluation team made five site visits to each program over the course of the grant period, during which they conducted a total of 113 key informant interviews with program

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staff and partner agencies and compiled case narratives describing the experiences of 45 program clients. The evaluation addressed four questions:

1. What are the characteristics of young people who are trafficked, including both sex and labor trafficking?
2. What services do young people who were trafficked need? What services do the OVC-funded programs provide, either through their own resources or through partner agencies?
3. How is the implementation process viewed by program staff, partner agencies, and those who receive services?
4. How are programs working to strengthen community response to trafficked youth?

Terminology used in this report balances the legal definition of trafficking established by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) and more general terms used by among service providers. The TVPA definition of trafficking includes, "sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age; or 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" (U.S Department of State, 2013, p. 8). Although the term "trafficking" is legally precise, we found it to be inconsistently used and sometimes confusing to key informants. Some use sex trafficking, others commercial sexual exploitation, and some juvenile prostitution or sex work. Therefore, when referring to sex trafficking, we also use the term sex trade engagement, particularly when consistent with language used by key informants. In addition, instead of "trafficker," we also use the term facilitator to refer to a person who arranges clients for someone trading sex, or who benefits financially from someone else's sexual services. This terminology recognizes the diversity of both traffickers and the relationships young people have with them. All references to labor trafficking use that term as defined by the TVPA.

Who Was Served by the OVC-Funded Programs?

The three programs collectively served 201 young people during the study period (January 2011 through June 2013). Young people served by the three programs ranged in age from 12 to 18, with a median age of 17. Each of the programs also served youth over the age of 18, using resources other than the OVC grant. The largest race/ethnicity group was African American, with sizeable numbers of white and Hispanic/Latina(o) clients. Three-quarters of young people served were female. Although all programs served male, female and transgender young people, only Streetwork serving a sizeable minority of males. Challenges to serving males included programs' established reputations as primarily serving females.

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Additionally, law enforcement and service providers were reported as rarely recognizing males engaged in sex trades as trafficking victims.

A significant portion of clients reported mental health issues and substance abuse. However, substance abuse was rarely identified as precipitating engagement in sex trades. Intake data also identified high levels of recent and past experience of neglect, physical abuse, and sexual abuse. Case narrative data describe clients whose parents failed to provide basic necessities, who were ejected from their homes on the basis of their behavior or sexual/gender orientation, and who were sexually abused by parents or other household members. Clients of SAGE and STOP-IT most often lived with parents or relatives, with a sizeable minority living in foster homes or detention centers. Streetwork clients most often lived on the street, with parents or relatives, or with friends, and they were more likely than clients of other programs to report multiple living situations during the past month.

Across programs, at least one-third of young people served were involved in the child welfare system. Case narrative data indicated that, in many instances, the child welfare system did not recognize or respond to young people's sex trade engagement and that young people went to great lengths to avoid child welfare involvement. Nearly two-thirds of SAGE clients were involved in the juvenile justice system, far more than at the other programs.

Of the 201 young people served, 55% were confirmed as currently or previously trafficked, using the TVPA definition. The remaining young people received services because they were believed to have been trafficked. Programs closed cases for these young people if trafficking was not confirmed within 3 months. All instances of confirmed trafficking included sex trafficking. Among sex trafficked clients, 5% also reported labor trafficking. The youth involved in labor trafficking were forced by their sex trade facilitator/trafficker into drug sales or burglary, with the exception of one client where the incidents of sex and labor trafficking occurred independently of each other. Despite efforts to identify domestic minor victims of labor trafficking, programs found that this population remains difficult to identify. Many program staff believed that minor victims of labor trafficking might be found in settings such as magazine sales crews or family owned restaurants. However, they reported that neither law enforcement nor social service providers were looking out for such youth.

No single narrative defined young people's entry to sex trafficking. Across all programs, the two most common scenarios were of runaway and homeless youth meeting survival needs, and of young people who were emotionally engaged by a facilitator. Other narratives described entry as a result of poverty, sensation seeking, and familial exploitation. Force was rarely identified by young people as precipitating initial engagement in sex trades.

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Most SAGE and STOP-IT clients reported involvement with a facilitator, described as either a pimp or a sexual or romantic partner. By contrast, most Streetwork clients reported that they arranged sex trades for themselves. Sex was most often exchanged for money, although shelter and food were reported frequently as well. Force and coercion were frequently identified as dimensions of ongoing engagement, in the form of physical harm or restraint, threats, or promise of future benefits.

How Did Programs Engage and Serve Trafficked Minors?

Referral sources varied across programs, reflecting their agency mission and community setting. At SAGE, the largest referral source was self-referrals, followed closely by juvenile justice and child protective services and shelters. At STOP-IT, the largest referral source was law enforcement, followed by hospitals and the state's attorney's office. At Streetwork, the majority of young people were self-referred or referred by friends, or contacted by the agency's street outreach program. Each of the OVC-funded programs provided extensive training and technical assistance to organizations likely to encounter trafficked youth. These activities frequently resulted in referrals to the OVC-funded programs and built community capacity to serve trafficked youth. Barriers to referrals included established perceptions of each agency, competition among providers, and failure by other programs to identify trafficking among their clients.

Programs used several common strategies to engage young people. At intake, staff focused on establishing an atmosphere of trust and respect and on eliciting information through conversation rather than completing intake forms. Disclosure of trafficking experience frequently required multiple conversations over a period of time. This was particularly true for young people who wanted to avoid involvement with child welfare agencies and therefore did not want to reveal information to program staff who might be required to make a report of abuse or neglect. Other young people focused on addressing needs such as shelter and food rather than trafficking. Strategies to maintain engagement included focusing on services that clients wanted, respecting clients' boundaries, and maintaining an open-door policy in which clients felt able to disengage and re-engage. Tangible resources, such as meals and transit passes, supported both initial and ongoing engagement.

Staff in all programs reported that the majority of young people at intake needed support and crisis intervention, safety planning, education, mental health services, food or clothing, sexual health services, and employment services. Sizeable numbers of young people, particularly those served by Streetwork, were also reported to need long-term, emergency, and transitional housing. Programs were typically able to meet needs in three of the four highest areas of need—support or crisis intervention, food or clothing, and safety planning. However, significant service gaps remained for youth, particularly in long-term housing and employment or vocational assistance. Service gaps also existed for education, mental

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health, family reunification or counseling, and assistance with benefits. Programs developed multiple strategies to address challenges of service delivery.

Case management, a core component of each program, included assessing needs, setting goals and tracking progress, planning for safety, locating resources, and navigating systems. Case managers also served as counselors, mentors, and advocates, investing time to build relationships with young people. For services not provided directly by the programs, staff collaborated with other agencies in their communities to identify additional resources and build capacity to respond to trafficked youth.

How Did Clients and Staff Experience the Programs?

The median length of client engagement in programs ranged from 15 days (Streetwork) to 117 days (STOP-IT). The most common reason for exit from the program was lost contact with the young person, despite programs' follow-up efforts. Key informants identified several possible reasons for client discontinuation, including the absence of other means than trafficking to meet survival needs, emotional engagement with facilitators, and reluctance to leave a familiar situation. Other reasons for exit from the program included client relocation and aging out of eligibility. However, the OVC grant allowed programs to continue serving clients after their 18th birthday until referrals could be made to other resources for case management and support. Although exits due to clients' no longer needing services were less common, case narrative data described some such successes. Access to safe living situations and supportive family connections were common themes among young people known to have exited sex trade engagement. Other desired outcomes identified by programs included trusting relationships, incremental steps toward stability, concrete alternatives to sex trade engagement, a sense of competence, control of their situations, and access to resources.

Across all programs, staff described their work as both highly stressful and profoundly satisfying. Organizational instability often contributed to stress. Supervision and support, which were essential to staff well-being, were provided through strategies such as daily check-ins, individual supervision, and weekly team meetings. Peer support and self-care were also critical.

Discussion, Recommendations, and Conclusions

The three OVC-funded programs served trafficked young people with diverse characteristics and trafficking experiences. However, we emphasize that the young people served by these programs do not represent any larger population of trafficked minors, due to the study design, small number of organizations involved in this study, and the relatively small sample size of clients served. The experiences of these young people cannot be assumed to apply to all trafficked youth in the U.S. Other limitations of the evaluation include the possibility of

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bias introduced by selective disclosure of information on the part of young people or key informants, as well as the modest number of young people served.

In the context of these strengths and limitations, we can point to key findings from this evaluation:

- **The diversity of trafficked minors.** Trafficked minors clearly include youth who are pre-adolescents, adolescents and transition age; of any race and culture, male and female, heterosexual and LGBTQ, tragically disadvantaged and apparently privileged.

- **The specificity of programs.** OVC-funded programs demonstrated success in connecting to some young people, and struggled to reach others. Although a community response to trafficking necessarily includes all victims, it is unlikely that any single program can meet the needs of all minor victims.

- **The challenge of initial and continued engagement**. Many, if not most, of the young people served by these programs were wary of service providers and adults in general, and not without reason. Strategies used to engage young people in services included meeting immediate needs, responding to youth-identified priorities, and flexibility on the part of organizations and staff members.

- **The absence of the quick fix**. Conditions that pushed and pulled young people in to trafficking were frequently lifelong, if not generational. Program staff found it essential to remain available to young people, as well as connect them to other service providers, family members able to play a role in the young person's life, positive peer interactions and communities.

- **The vital role of trafficking service providers.** OVC-funded programs offered unique expertise in trauma and resiliency, understanding of street economies, and the ability to align themselves with young people in a way that formal agencies rarely could. They provided technical assistance to other organizations and case management services knit services together.

Various panels, commissions, and policy groups have developed recommendations for improving responses to minor victim trafficking. We offer the following recommendations based on suggestions from program staff and partner agencies, and on our team's analysis of data from this evaluation.

Strategies for improving coordinated community response include

- increasing collaboration among youth-serving agencies that share a mandate to work on behalf of vulnerable youth;

- collaborating through case conferencing or shared case management, including development of protocols for sharing information and bridging organizational procedures;

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- enhancing training and technical assistance to youth-serving agencies with tools to identify sex and labor trafficking, paired with response protocols and in-house expertise;
- expanding screening and assessment procedures among youth-serving agencies, including training workers on their use;
- increasing flexibility in resource access for minors, particularly for emergency shelters and public benefit; and
- Increasing resources for emergency, short- and long-term housing so that no young person is at risk of trafficking as a result of waiting lists or service limitations.

Based on the experience of the OVC-funded programs, we suggest several strategies for continued development of trafficking-specific programs. Initial and sustained engagement could be enhanced by

- acknowledging the challenge of engagement and planning for substantial effort needed to facilitate initial and ongoing involvement by young people;
- continuing efforts to develop strategies to engage male youth and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) youth.
- striving for programs that feel welcoming to diverse young people, although smaller programs may choose to tailor their approaches to address the needs of specific populations;
- creating physical space that feels safe and comfortable, including mobilizing workers or co-locating them in settings where trafficked young people are already comfortable;
- creating low-threshold options allowing young people to engage in services on their own terms, by offering services without requiring disclosure of trafficking or an initial commitment to exit trafficking; and
- strategically using "hard" resources such as food, transit passes and clothing to meet immediate, practical needs and facilitate relationship building.

Service delivery to trafficked young people could be enhanced by

- investing in significant staff time for relationship building, a luxury rarely available to workers in other youth-serving systems;
- developing toolkits for practice by tailoring and manualizing curricula and other approaches that are trauma informed and developmentally appropriate;
- developing peer-led components that enlist former clients as group leaders, as a way of reaching young people who may be wary of professionals, and offering opportunities for former clients to build work skills and establish volunteer or work history;
- building staff comfort and flexibility with discussions of trafficking in a way that communicates openness, comfort, and lack of judgment; and

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- ensuring 24/7 response capacity with an informed hotline response and perhaps access to a worker with whom the young person has an established relationship.

Support for program staff could be enhanced by

- offering comprehensive training and skill building through pre-service and in-service training;
- prioritizing regular individual and group supervision;
- supporting work-life balance through reimbursement for counseling or physical fitness, as well as commitments to self-care plans as essential in avoiding burnout; and
- strengthening teams to ensure that program staff have the confidence needed in unpredictable situations and can address issues of race, class, and gender identity.

Long-term self-sufficiency for trafficked young people could be enhanced by

- prioritizing educational support by connecting young people to innovative educational programs, tutoring services, in-school supports, and extended educational benefits through child welfare services;
- building job readiness by connecting young people to job training internships and peer leadership roles;
- building long-term social support networks, through reconnecting with family members and adults who have played positive roles in young people's lives and through mentoring networks; and
- building resources for transition-aged youth, possibly including extension of service programs, access to benefits for former foster youth, and legal protections such as Safe Harbor laws for those trafficked as minors.

Additionally, the evaluation supports the potential usefulness of the following strategies for other agencies that encounter trafficked youth.

Law enforcement and juvenile justice response could be improved by

- treating minors engaged in sex trades as victims, rather than arresting them, using arrest to "encourage" service use, or housing them in jails rather than settings appropriate for crime victims;
- recognizing the existence of force and coercion by facilitators as factors that may promote a young person's involvement in illicit activities such as drug sales; and
- collaborating with prosecution and service providers to support victims and victim-informed investigations, when young people choose to participate in these.

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Child welfare response could be improved by

- improving response to older adolescents by retaining their engagement and eligibility for extended resources through developmentally informed models that transition to independent living skills;
- developing alternative placement options for trafficked youth, such as specialized foster care by providers who are trained and compensated for this role; and
- negotiating flexible protocols to support safety for minors on the run from placements and to reduce their susceptibility to trafficking.

Educational response could be improved by

- identifying students without family support and connecting them to services that sustain their attendance and offer protection from sex trade engagement and
- developing specialized programs that foster self-sufficiency, such as tutoring, occupational training and support, and early college high school programs.

Our final observations are based on both the implementation experiences of the OVC-funded programs and the reported experiences of young people served. As a starting point, we note that young people engaged in sex trades as the least-bad solution to meeting fundamental needs for safety, shelter, social connection, and love. Sex trafficking was never the only problem, and often not the most critical problem, in young people's lives. Meeting these fundamental needs frequently took precedence over addressing trafficking, and it required creative and persistent efforts to engage clients and sustain their involvement.

With very few exceptions, the young people described in this evaluation are the same youth served by, or failed by, the child welfare and juvenile justice systems and other social programs. However, youth-serving agencies such as child welfare or juvenile justice often did not recognize trafficking among their clients, or did not consider it as falling within their responsibility to address. At the same time, legal provisions enacted to protect minors, such as required parental notification by shelters, frequently represented barriers to service, particularly for youth whose families do not protect or provide for them. Many housing and benefit programs are restricted to adults, and youth may avoid other service resources out of fear of child welfare involvement. As a result, young people engaged in sex trades to meet basic needs.

Despite daunting challenges, the OVC-funded programs developed distinct approaches to working with key populations of trafficked young people. Critically, they developed strategies for supervision, support, and team development. Additionally, each program provided extensive training and technical assistance that informed practice among other providers. The preliminary experience of these three programs suggests that the full range of promising strategies is yet to be defined. No single program model will exist because

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responses to trafficking need to be adapted to the diversity of trafficked young people and their needs and interests, service providers, community resources, federal and state legislation, and local leadership and policies.

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1. BACKGROUND

RTI International conducted a participatory process evaluation of three programs funded by the Office for Victims of Crime (OVC) of the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) to provide services to U.S. Citizen or lawful permanent residents (LPR) youth who were under the age of 18 and victims of sex trafficking or labor trafficking. The evaluation was funded by the DOJ's National Institute of Justice (NIJ).The goals of the process evaluation were to

- document components of program implementation in the three OVC-funded programs;
- identify promising practices for service delivery programs for domestic minor victims of human trafficking; and
- inform delivery of current and future efforts by youth-serving agencies, law enforcement, and others serving domestic minor victims of human trafficking.

1.1 Minor Victim Trafficking

Human trafficking of youth under the age of 18 is a social problem of growing concern. Within the United States, the existence of trafficking is well established, yet not well understood (Schwartz, 2009).[1] The authorization of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) in 2000 firmly endorsed a victim-centered approach to young people who are trafficked. The TVPA defines a person under the age of 18 who is involved in a commercial sex act as a victim of human trafficking, regardless of whether force, fraud, or coercion is involved. Labor trafficking, as defined by the TVPA, 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 (U.S. Department of State, 2013). Law enforcement response to trafficking is generally determined by state law rather than by Federal law.

Although both types of trafficking can be difficult to identify, labor trafficking of domestic minors has proven particularly challenging (Brennan, 2008). Existing research about labor trafficking focuses on the experiences of young people internationally, or on adults in the United States. Regardless of the type of trafficking (sex or labor), scientifically credible estimates of the number of young people involved do not exist.

Young people trafficked for sex are not homogenous; all classes, races, genders, and sexualities are represented. Some research suggests that more boys than girls are involved (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2004, June; Greene, Ennett, & Ringwalt, 1999; Schaffner, 2006) other studies indicate more girls than boys, and some assert that the numbers are equal (Estes &

[1] In addition to the resources referenced in this report, additional resources on responding to human trafficking of children have been compiled at the Child Welfare Information Gateway, https://www.childwelfare.gov/responding/human_trafficking.cfm.

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Weiner, 2005). The complexity lies in part in the diverse behaviors involved. The most frequently described scenarios include trading sex for basic needs (Adler, 2003); engaging in pimp-controlled sex trades (Estes & Weiner, 2005; Herrmann, 1987; Weisberg, 1984); performing in pornographic films (Estes & Weiner, 2005; Herrmann, 1987); and, among girls, servicing gang members and their affiliates (Estes & Weiner, 2005). A random sample of minor prostitution arrests found that most (57%) involved a third-party exploiter, 31% involved no third-party exploiter, and the remaining 12% involved familial exploitation (Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2010).

Sex trafficked minors are frequently involved in foster care and child welfare services, as well as the juvenile justice system. It is estimated that 85% of girls involved in sex trades come from homes involved with the child welfare system (Kotrla, 2010). Within their families, these minors have frequently experienced physical and sexual abuse (Alvarez, 2010; Brawn & Roe-Sepowitz, 2008; Estes & Weiner, 2005; Harris, Scott, & Skidmore, 2006; Kotrla, 2010; Schwartz, 2009; Unger et al., 1998; Weisberg, 1984); neglect and emotional abuse (Alvarez, 2010; Harris et al., 2006; The Skillman Foundation, 2002); parental alcohol and drug use problems (Harris et al., 2006; Unger et al., 1998); and chaotic, ineffective parenting (Brawn & Roe-Sepowitz, 2008; The Skillman Foundation, 2002). A survey of 97 New York agencies that encounter young people in the sex trade found that 48% of the young people identified as commercially sexually exploited had involvement in both the child welfare and juvenile justice systems (Gragg, Petta, Bernstein, Eisen, & Quinn, 2007).

Young people are at increased risk for trafficking if they run away from home or child welfare placements (Badawy, 2010; Brawn & Roe-Sepowitz, 2008; Caplan, 1984; CdeBaca, 2010; Kotrla, 2010; Weisberg, 1984) or are pushed out of their homes for a variety of reasons, including their sexual orientation or gender identity (Schaffner, 2006; Unger et al., 1998). For runaway/throwaway youth, trading sex is an economic strategy that is linked to the circumstances and duration of their homelessness (Greene et al., 1999).

1.2 Services for Minor Victims of Human Trafficking

This process evaluation was conducted in partnership with three programs funded by the OVC under the FY 2009 Services for Domestic Minor Victims of Human Trafficking Program. As specified in the funding announcement, programs were to provide a comprehensive array of services to U.S. citizens or LPRs under the age of 18, who were believed to be victims of human trafficking as defined by the TVPA. The programs were also required to train community partners to better recognize and respond to domestic minor victims of human trafficking.

Funded programs were expected to identify and serve male and female victims of both sex and labor trafficking. Programs were required to provide intensive case management to all

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clients. Specified components of intensive case management included intake, determination of eligibility for the program (as well as other programs and benefits), needs assessment, development of individualized plans, referrals, documentation of service provision, and routine follow-up. Other key pieces of the comprehensive service model included housing; physical, mental, and dental health care; criminal justice advocacy; specialized educational services; and transportation. All programs were to have a 24-hour/7-day response to both client emergencies and emergency calls from law enforcement.

OVC competitively funded three programs, which we briefly describe below, under this program announcement. Additional information about the service delivery approach of each organization is reported in Section 4.1.

California: Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE) Project, Inc.

SAGE was founded in 1992 in San Francisco, CA, by the late Norma Hotaling, a self-described survivor of sex trafficking, to serve both adults and youth who have been affected by sexual exploitation. SAGE, which was incorporated as a 501(c)(3) organization in 1995, operates youth programs for girls who are involved in or at risk for involvement in the sex trade. OVC funds supported individual case management services, as well as a life skills program. This program works with youth to help them meet their fundamental needs, build their self-esteem, and guide them toward building healthier relationships with peers and adults. SAGE's in-custody program provides a life skills program, and individual and group counseling to youth in custody in the juvenile justice system. SAGE also provides services to 18- to 24-year-old women who have aged out of the juvenile justice system.

Illinois: The Salvation Army Trafficking Outreach Program and Intervention Techniques (STOP-IT)

The Salvation Army's STOP-IT Program in Chicago, IL, was founded in 2006 to provide outreach and services to victims of trafficking. The Salvation Army is a faith-based religious and charitable organization with a long history of providing social services to children and families. In the Chicago area, its response to trafficking was developed within Family and Community Services, its accredited provider. The Salvation Army was a leader in the Partnership to Rescue Our Minors from Sexual Exploitation (PROMISE) initiative, as well as a partner in the Chicago Regional Trafficking Task Force and the Illinois Rescue and Restore Coalition. Initially focused on foreign victims of trafficking, STOP-IT expanded its scope to domestic youth who have been, or are currently, involved in the sex trade.

New York: The Streetwork Project at Safe Horizon

The Streetwork Project is a youth serving program housed within Safe Horizon, a major victim assistance organization in New York, NY. Founded in 1984, the Streetwork Project serves homeless and street-involved young people of all genders up to 24 years of age. Streetwork provides an array of services that include two drop-in centers and a residential

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program that offers short-term, emergency housing. Services are provided both by Streetwork staff and by outside agencies that provide on-site services such as medical care, psychological services, and substance abuse treatment. In addition to the drop-in centers, Streetwork also operates an outreach program at night from 9 p.m. to 5 a.m. Safe Horizon initially focused on services for foreign victims of trafficking, before expanding their work to identify and serve trafficked youth through their Streetwork residential programs and drop-in centers. Safe Horizon was a founding member and is a current Steering Committee member of the New York City Anti-Trafficking Network, a coalition of service providers engaged in providing services for victims of human trafficking.

1.3 Evaluation of Services for Minor Victims of Human Trafficking

The evaluation was framed by NIJ as a participatory process evaluation and was conducted in close collaboration with the OVC-funded grantees and their partner agencies. The participatory strategy emphasized the engagement of program stakeholders in decision-making, data collection, and interpretation of findings, with a focus on ongoing program development. The process evaluation focused on describing program operations and implementation experiences as the groundwork for refinement of program models and evaluation strategies.

The evaluation addressed four questions:

1. What are the characteristics of young people who are trafficked, including both sex and labor trafficking?
2. What services do young people who were trafficked need? What services do the OVC-funded programs provide, either through their own resources or through partner agencies?
3. How is the implementation process viewed by program staff, partner agencies, and those who receive services?
4. How are programs working to strengthen community response to trafficked youth?

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2. METHODS

2.1 Evaluation Plan Development

The evaluation team worked closely with staff from the three OVC-funded programs to develop the evaluation plan. Key staff from both NIJ and OVC also provided insight on program requirements and the larger context of DOJ's efforts to address trafficking. Development of the evaluation plan included

- review of program descriptions, data collection forms, and proposals for OVC funding;
- on-site interviews with program and partner agency staff;
- telephone meetings with program staff to address questions and ascertain the acceptability of emerging evaluation approaches; and
- an evaluation kick-off meeting that included key staff from OVC, NIJ, and the three programs.

As the process developed, it became clear that the three programs were more similar than different in their data collection and record keeping. Consequently, a single evaluation approach could encompass all three programs. The evaluation team developed common data collection instruments, with program-specific items added as necessary. This coordinated approach allowed us to synthesize evaluation results across the programs and examine differences that arose from variations among the programs.

2.2 Data Collection

The evaluation plan included data collected from three sources: program data on clients served and services provided, key informant interviews with program staff and partner agencies, and case narratives providing detailed histories of program clients.

2.2.1 Program Data

Data on clients and services were collected using three forms. Program staff collected the data and mailed completed forms to the evaluation team each month. These forms are included as Appendix 1. Each form is described briefly below.

- The **Intake Status Form** collected each client's demographic information, social service system involvement, sex trade characteristics, living situation, health information, trauma history, and service needs. This form was completed for every new or re-entering client (previously served but case closed), at intake or during the first 30 days after intake. If significant new information regarding the client status at intake was disclosed after the first 30 days, programs were asked to complete a supplemental form with revised information only.

- The **Client Service Needs and Service Provision Form** described the services needed and provided to each client. It was completed monthly for each active client and depicted activity during the prior calendar month. If no activity with the client

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occurred during the month, only the first page of the form was completed to document that fact.

- The **Closing Status Form** captured data on each client who explicitly left the program or whose case was considered closed because of lack of contact. The form recorded the date on which the case was closed and the reasons for closing the case. This form was completed for each client classified as closed during the reporting month.

Programs provided data on clients served and services provided between January 1, 2011, and June 30, 2013. In total, program data describe the characteristics of 201 client cases opened (194 unique clients, 7 of whom exited and re-entered the program). The three programs collectively delivered 649 client-months of service delivery, as described in **Section 3**. Program staff photocopied and express-mailed copies of all completed forms to the evaluation team. Forms included program-created client ID numbers but no identifying information. The evaluation team entered the data, conducted quality control checks, and consulted with program staff to resolve any questions. After completion of quality control checks, we provided the program with a data update that summarized characteristics of clients served and services provided both during that month and to date.

Although every effort was made to ensure data quality, certain limitations should be noted. The data in the intake form are based on self-reports from clients and on case managers' perceptions. Clients may not have shared certain information with the program staff, or they may have under- or over-reported information based on perceptions of social desirability or concerns regarding mandated reporting requirements. Program staff noted that it was necessary to first establish a trusting relationship with a young person before asking questions on sensitive topics such as mental health issues, past and current trauma and trafficking experiences. Information that clients shared with program staff after the intake was completed may not have been documented on updated forms as intended. In addition to client self-reports, case managers may have drawn on other information available to them about a client when completing the forms. Finally, the young people served by these three programs were neither a random nor a representative sample of youth who have experienced trafficking. Therefore these data are not generalizable to the larger population of young people involved in trafficking.

2.2.2 Key Informant Interviews

The evaluation team conducted five site visits to each program during the evaluation period to collect qualitative data on program operations. Interviews were conducted with program staff (program managers and case managers) and representatives of partner agencies. Partner agencies were defined as those that were important sources of referral to the program or were major providers of services for these young people. Program staff interviews addressed collaboration, program development, and experiences in meeting

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clients' needs. Partner agency interviews included information on the organization, and its involvement with trafficked young people, service delivery to trafficked young people, and collaboration experiences with the OVC-funded program. All key partner agencies for each OVC-funded program were interviewed at least once during the project period. If the nature of the collaborative relationship changed significantly, subsequent interviews were conducted. Key informant interviews were conducted by two-person teams and, with the respondent's permission, recorded as a back-up to team notes. Topic guides for interviews with program staff and partner agency staff are included in **Appendix 2.**

The evaluation team created program-specific feedback documents after the second and third site visits. These documents summarized the findings from the site visit and asked for clarification and follow-up on topics that were newly emerging or needed further exploration. The documents also offered the evaluation team's thoughts on program strategies and operations. The evaluation team conducted calls with each program to discuss the contents of the site visit documents and to incorporate any new or clarifying information they shared.

Interviewing program and partner staff multiple times enhanced data triangulation and allowed us to examine successes and challenges of program development over time. However, several possible limitations need to be noted regarding the key informant data. Program and partner staff may have chosen to underreport the challenges of the work or overstate their successes in an effort to present their work in a positive light. Selection bias of partner agencies may have occurred if programs chose to identify agencies with which the program had a positive relationship. Although partner agency interviews were confidential, respondents may have downplayed challenges encountered in their work with the OVC-funded program. In all interviews, respondents' professional and philosophical perspectives may have influenced their responses. Finally, key informant interviews do not constitute a representative sample of service providers.

2.2.3 Case Narrative Interviews

In collaboration with program staff, the evaluation team decided not to interview young people about their trafficking experiences. In part this decision was made because the evaluation team would be unlikely to be able to develop relationships with clients that would allow open discussions. Program staff also expressed their concerns that asking young people to describe their trafficking experiences could result in retraumatization. Additionally, arranging interviews with young people during the evaluation team's site visits was likely to demand substantial effort by program staff.

As an alternative to interviews with young people, the evaluation team collected case narratives about the young people from case managers. The purpose of the case narratives was to better understand the characteristics and experiences of young people who are

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trafficked. Each interview was conducted with a case manager who knew the young person well and who referred to case files as needed.

Case narratives were collected during semiannual site visits to each of the three programs. During the first three visits, five case narratives were collected from each program, for a total of 15 unique case narratives per site (N = 45). Updates were collected during subsequent visits for individuals for whom a case narrative already existed and who had been in contact with the program since the last site visit. A total of 63 updates were collected for 43 clients. Case narrative interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Case managers at the programs selected young people to profile in case narratives. Because of the dearth of research about boys, transgender youth, and labor trafficking, the evaluation team requested that programs attempt to oversample from these groups. Case managers were also asked to select a successful case, a case that posed challenges, and a case in which the young person turned 18 and aged out of services. Young people described in the case narratives cannot be assumed to be representative of all clients served, although they were generally similar.

The evaluation team used a semistructured interview guide, included in **Appendix 2**, for the interview. Case narrative interviews did not include identifying information or any information that could be linked to a specific person. Program staff used pseudonyms when describing youth. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed.

Case narratives offered rich information about the lived experiences of these young people that would not otherwise be accessible to the evaluation team. Case narratives also provided considerable insights into each program's service delivery activities. However, because the case narratives were provided by case managers and not the client, they are limited to information the client shared with the case manager. They are also potentially influenced by the case manager's interpretation of events and information, or by a desire to present service delivery in a positive light.

2.3 Analysis

2.3.1 Quantitative Data

Analysis of data on client characteristics and services delivery consisted of descriptive data such as frequencies, measures of central tendency and comparisons between programs on specific characteristics. The modest numbers of young people served and the straightforward nature of the data suggested that simple descriptive methods for quantitative data were sufficient.

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2.3.2 Qualitative Data

For key informant interviews, notes from each interview (N = 113) were reviewed and abstracted by multiple team members. The evaluation team then prepared internal summaries of each of the five visits to the three sites (N = 15) to serve as the unit of analysis for key informant interviews. Information collected from all respondents during a given site visit was synthesized into one summary document organized by areas of interest but retaining linkages to the informants and organizations represented. This strategy allowed the evaluation team to examine the development of program activities, staff roles, and partnerships over time. Two evaluation team members reviewed each of the summaries before they were coded deductively. The interview guides served as a template for the code list.

For case narratives, analysis was guided by the interview questions, with additional inductive codes derived directly from the interview. One evaluation team member coded all of the transcripts and entered them into the qualitative analysis program NVIVO version 9 (QSR International, 2010). A comparison of 20% of all transcripts (n = 22) was conducted to assess coding reliability, with discrepancies or inconsistencies resolved through consensus discussions.

Following accepted practice for the reporting of qualitative data, we do not quantify the number or percentage of respondents represented by a statement. Instead, we frame statements in terms of their relative frequency. All quotations used in this report come from key informants. None are from clients of the programs.

2.4 Terminology and Language

During the course of this evaluation, the evaluation team noted inconsistent use of terms related to domestic minor sex trafficking. The terms *domestic* (citizen or legal permanent resident of the United States) and *minor* (under age 18) are straightforward. With respect to *trafficking*, however, key informants and the scholarly literature frequently used different terms to refer to the same types of activities and people. In other circumstances the same term would be used to refer to very different situations. This section briefly explains the reasoning behind the terms used throughout the rest of this report.

The report uses the term *sex trade* to refer to the act of trading sex for some type of resource. During data collection, the evaluation team encountered various terms to refer to this activity. Some use sex trafficking, others commercial sexual exploitation, and some juvenile prostitution or sex work. This report will use the term sex trade because it clearly describes the behavior taking place and brings with it minimal assumptions about the young people involved and their experiences.

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We also use the terms *trafficking* and *trafficked minors*, consistent with the legal definition established by the TVPA. Although these terms provide concise and encompassing terminology for both minors who are engaged in sex trades and those who are labor trafficked, we acknowledge the confusion surrounding their use. Many interpret trafficking as involving force, fraud, or coercion even when applied to minors engaged in sex trades. Others incorrectly believe that trafficking entails movement across jurisdictions. Although we use the terms *sex trade engagement* and *sex trafficking* interchangeably, we use the former term when it was used by key informants.

Finally, we have elected to use the term *facilitator*, as opposed to pimp or trafficker. Anyone who arranges clients for someone trading sex, or who benefits financially from someone else's sexual services, is by law considered a pimp. However, data collected during this evaluation revealed that not all relationships with someone who legally a pimp are inherently negative. The term *facilitator* allows a more nuanced picture to emerge, one that encompasses the diversity of both the people who are facilitators and the relationships young people have with them.

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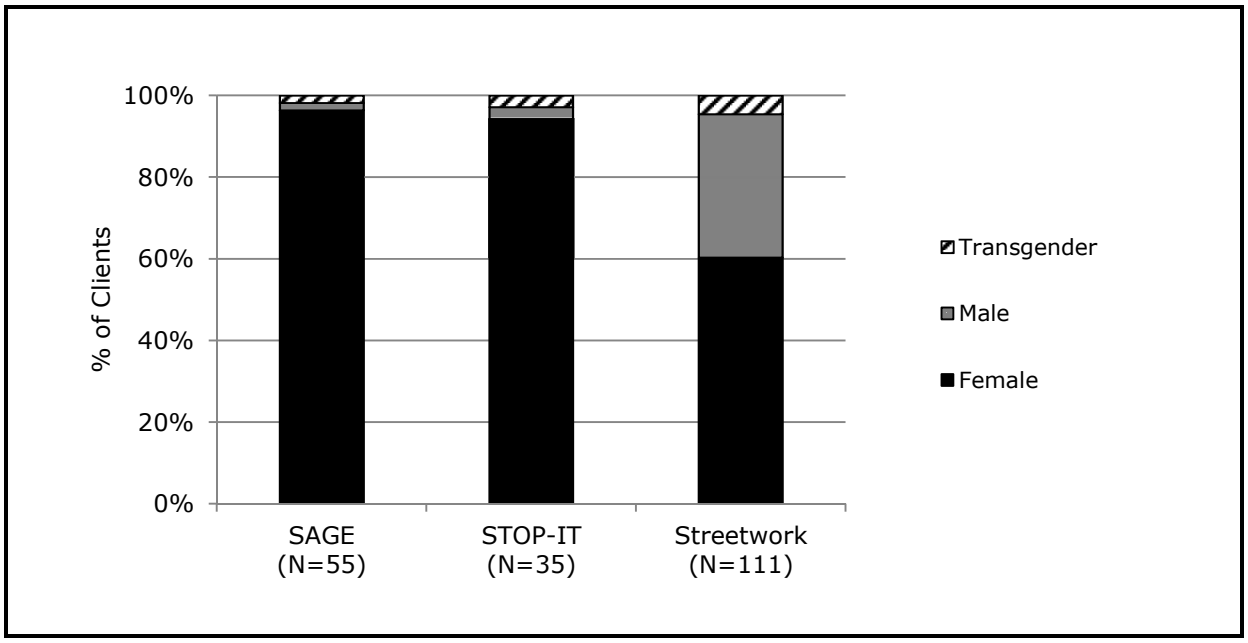
3. WHO WAS SERVED BY THE OVC-FUNDED PROGRAMS?

3.1 Client Characteristics

3.1.1 Demographics

The overall sample consisted of 201 young people (SAGE, 55; STOP-IT, 35; Streetwork, 111). As shown in **Figure 1**, approximately three-quarters of young people served were female, with only Streetwork serving a sizeable minority of males. Males were almost exclusively served by Streetwork. At all of the programs, the largest race/ethnicity group was African American (**see Figure 2**). The programs also served sizable numbers of white and Hispanic/ Latino(a)/Spanish young people. As defined by the OVC program announcement, the maximum age for young people served was 18. The youngest client was 12 years of age, and the median age was 17. Nearly all (97%) young people were U.S. citizens, with English as their primary language. Courts (either dependency or delinquency) held legal guardianship for a sizeable minority of the sample (range of 16–35% across programs; data are not shown). Among the females in the sample, 6% (11 young women) were known to have children (data are not shown). When guardianship status was known (7 of the 11 young women), two of the mothers had legal custody of at least one of their children.

Figure 1. Gender



Note: Data represent all young people served.

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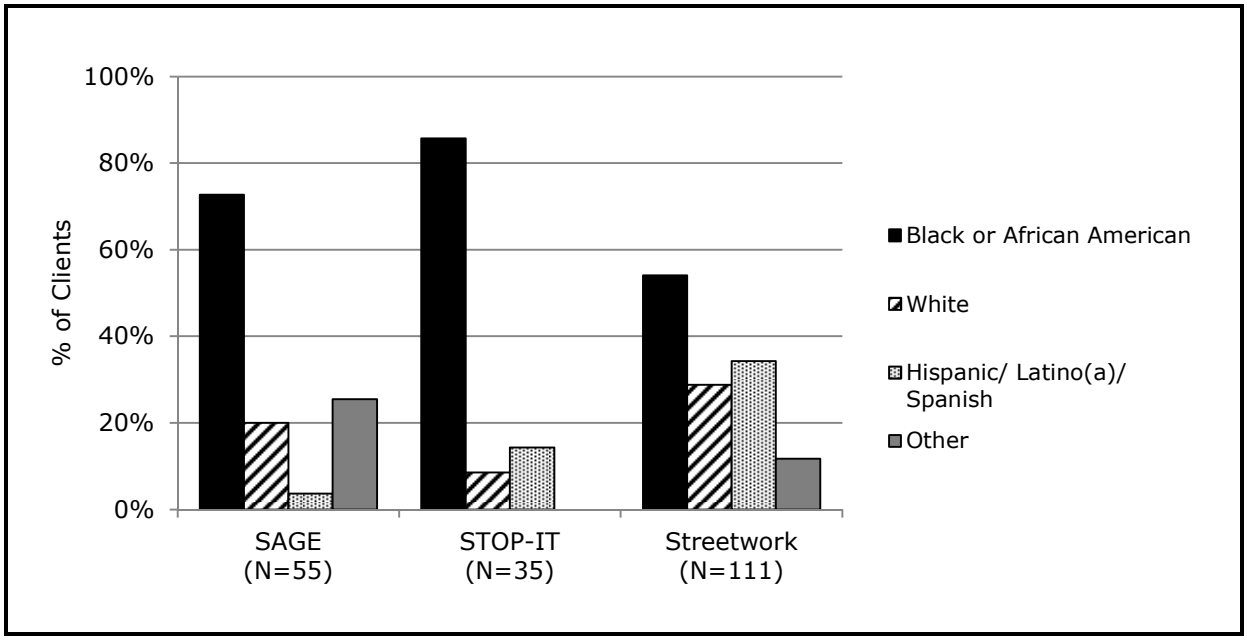
Figure 2. Race/Ethnicity



Note: Data represent all young people served.

As noted in Section 1.2, the intention of the OVC-funded service program was to serve male and female minor trafficking victims. Although each of the three programs served both males and transgender youth, program staff and other key informants identified a number of barriers to identifying and serving trafficked males. The most commonly cited concern was that law enforcement and service providers rarely recognized males as trafficked. In fact, police officers involved in anti-trafficking efforts in the three communities where OVC programs were located described sex trades exclusively in terms of females. One noted that he "hadn't seen any boys involved in prostitution in about 10 years." However, a provider serving runaway and homeless youth in that city estimated that 30% of trafficked youth were male.

Characteristics of sex trade engagement among males may have influenced these perceptions. Program staff reported that trafficked males were more likely than trafficked females to be runaway or throwaway youth. As such, they engaged in sex trades to meet day-to-day needs. Many informants in law enforcement agencies differentiated "survival sex" from trafficking, thus limiting their perception of trafficking among males. One provider noted a debate among youth-serving agencies about "whether boys are actually choosing to do this," with the implication that males who choose sex trade engagement were not trafficked.

Other aspects of male engagement in sex trade may also have affected perception. Key informants reported that males were more likely than females to work in sex trades without

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facilitators, and to work in bars or clubs rather than on public strolls. They were therefore less visible to law enforcement and service providers. One informant serving lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) youth engaged in sex trades noted that males "don't fit into the typical narrative where men are bad and women are victims." Others noted that males were less likely than females to define what they do as sex trade engagement, and more likely to consider it as "just 'hanging out' with older guys who provide this or that." Although many key informants appeared to assume that males engaged in sex trades were gay, program staff pointed out that trafficked males represent all sexual orientations and gender identities.

Only one of the OVC-funded programs (Streetwork) had served significant numbers of males before the grant. Key informant interviews identified several factors that may have challenged efforts by SAGE and STOP-IT to work with males, despite considerable efforts. Providers who thought of these agencies as serving females may have been less likely to refer males to them. The same pattern may also have affected how males responded to outreach efforts or referrals to SAGE and STOP-IT. Staff members at these two programs were nearly all female, although both programs identified male staff members as potential program resources for serving male clients. Finally, none of the OVC-funded programs was defined as specifically serving LGBTQ youth, although all were open to doing so, and Streetwork frequently did. This lack of specific definition may have inhibited response to outreach among these youth.

3.1.2 Functional Status

Program staff reported at intake whether young people had mental health, health, or substance abuse problems. The reports were not based on formal screening or clinical interviews and thus cannot be assumed to represent diagnostic prevalence. In addition, working definitions of these problems may have varied both across and within programs. Note that staff often reported not knowing a young person's functional status. Staff also reported that collecting information about these issues was challenging because many young people were reluctant to share this information, particularly during early interactions.

As shown in **Figure 3**, mental health and substance use problems were reported among considerable numbers of young people, with lower rates of health problems noted. Staff reported that significant numbers of young people, ranging from 24% to 89%, had mental health problems. Reported rates of mental health problems were highest at SAGE and lowest at Streetwork. Staff also reported that sizeable numbers of young people, 23%–58%, had substance abuse problems. Young people with reported substance abuse were likely to use both alcohol and other substances (11%–29%) or other substances alone (.5%–26%); use of alcohol only was rarely reported (2%–4%; data not shown). Health problems were less common, reported for 14%–33% of young people (highest at SAGE, lowest at Streetwork).

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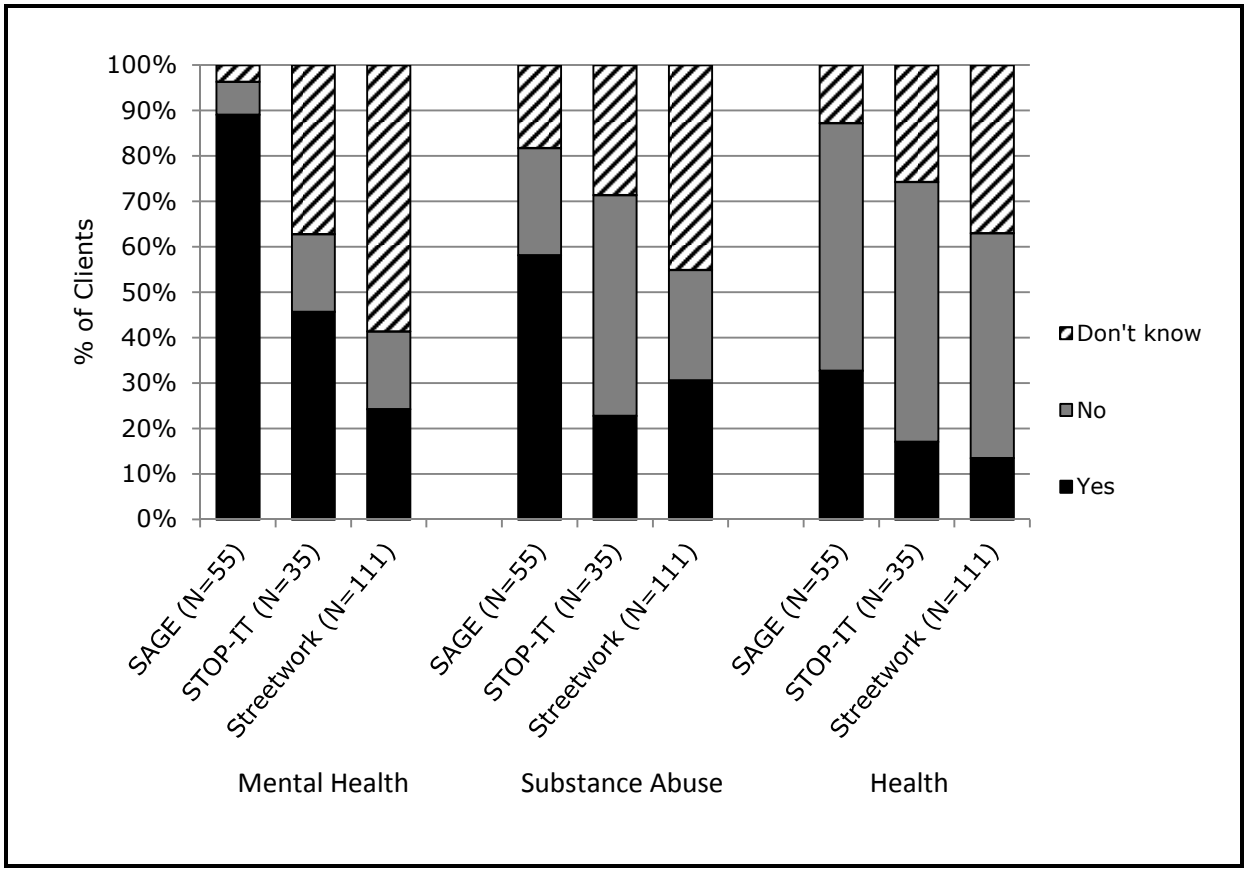
Figure 3. Reported Mental Health, Substance Abuse, and Health Problems



Note: Data represent all young people served.

Despite its prevalence, program staff did not generally consider substance abuse as a major issue among their clients. Many described clients' substance use as comparable to that of other young people. In only 2 of 45 case narratives was substance abuse identified as the precipitant of sex trade engagement. By contrast, sex trade engagement preceded substance abuse for some clients. Case narrative data described young people using alcohol or marijuana to cope with trafficking experiences. One case manager described a client getting high and drinking every day "because she's having these bad, traumatic events with these tricks… being raped, almost being killed." In some instances, clients who initially used drugs in order to cope with trafficking experiences became addicted, and remained in sex trades in order to purchase drugs. Case managers also reported that facilitators supplied alcohol and other drugs in order to maintain their control over young people. One case manager noted that the substances were typically alcohol and marijuana rather than more addictive drugs. She reported that sex trade clients "don't want a young girl who's a drug addict, because they don't look that pretty anymore."

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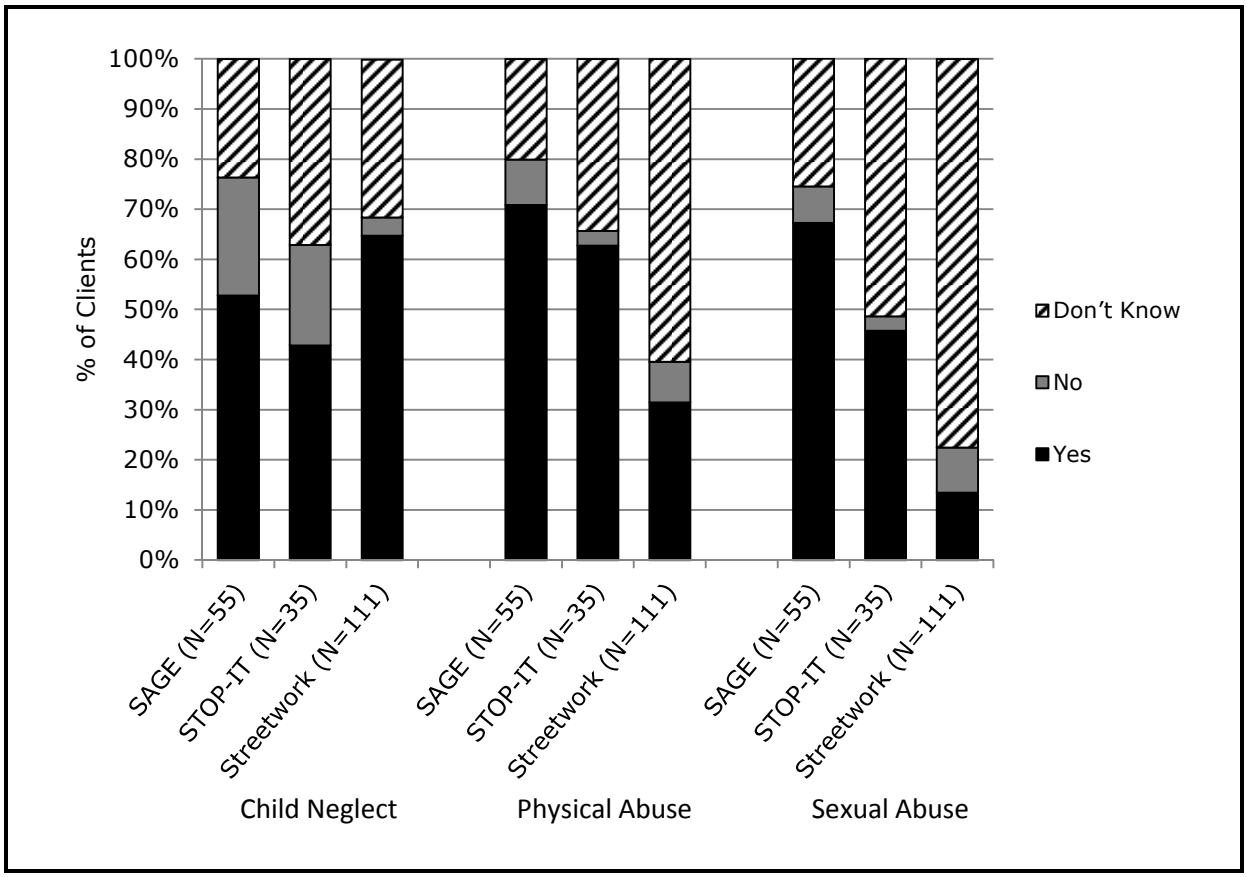
3.2 Social Context

3.2.1 Family

Data collected at intake describe high levels of neglect, physical abuse, and sexual abuse (i.e., sexual abuse apart from trading sex), as shown in **Figure 4.** Note particularly high levels of unknown data for these items. Young people may choose not to identify neglect or abuse for several reasons. These may include concern that program staff will report their situation to child welfare authorities, distress engendered while discussing these experiences, or the need for development of a trusting relationship before disclosure. Data reported below should be considered a minimum estimate of actual neglect and abuse.

Figure 4. Reported Neglect and Abuse Experience



Note: Data represent all young people served.

Overall, neglect was reported more often (43%–65%) than either physical abuse (32%–71%) or sexual abuse (14%–67%). Reports of physical and sexual abuse varied across programs, being highest at SAGE and lowest at Streetwork. For sexual abuse, reported rates varied across the programs and were highest at SAGE and lowest at Streetwork. At SAGE and STOP-IT, neglect was most often reported to have occurred in the past (data not

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shown). By comparison, Streetwork staff most often reported either recent neglect only or both recent and past neglect.

Key informant interviews and case narratives consistently reported the occurrence of neglect and abuse among trafficked young people. Although direct comparisons are not possible, qualitative data suggested higher rates of neglect and abuse than are indicated by program data above, particularly for sexual abuse. This suggests that abuse might have been revealed by clients over the course of their interactions with program staff, without being updated in program data. One case manager noted, "It's like, everything you can imagine, these kids have been through." In many instances, histories of neglect and abuse began in early childhood and continued into adolescence. Case narratives described maltreatment by extended family and other household members as well as by parents.

Neglect may take a variety of forms with respect to adolescents. At the most basic level, neglect consisted of failure by parental figures to provide basic necessities.[2] Among case narratives, data described clients whose parents did not keep food in the house, did not provide age-appropriate clothing for their children, did little "besides leaving the door unlocked," changed locks on the home to keep the client out, or moved without notifying the client. In other instances, parents were reported to have exploited children financially by using the child's Social Security disability payment (SSI) for their own needs.

Other narratives described parents who refused to continue parenting a difficult child or made no efforts to report or locate a runaway child. Such "throwaway" status was also described among parents who did not accept their LGBTQ children. One case narrative described a mother who refused to let her transgender child return home, saying "I'm not going to lose my entire family over you." Exposure to an injurious environment may also be classified as child neglect. In one case narrative, the client's mentally ill mother opened the home to other adults whose behavior endangered her children.

Sexual abuse by parents and caretakers was frequently described in case narratives. In two instances, clients were described as having been sexually abused by a mother's boyfriend. In one of these instances, the client's mother failed to protect her daughter because the mother was financially dependent on her boyfriend. Case narratives also described clients sexually abused by other extended family members. In another instance, the client "was sexually abused by her two grandfathers, neither of whom are her blood grandfathers, but boyfriends of her grandma," with the grandmother being the child's legal guardian.

In two case narratives, sexual abuse by relatives took the form of commercial sexual exploitation. One client was placed in her father's custody because of her mother's

[2] Lack of necessities due to poverty is not considered child neglect, but the absence of efforts to provide for children is.

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involvement in sex trades, after which her father arranged for her to be trafficked. Another client was trafficked by both her mother and her grandmother.

In several instances of abuse and neglect, case narratives noted that child protective services had investigated families on behalf of a child welfare agency but had not opened cases. In some of these instances, clients refused to disclose abuse because of concern about the safety or mental health of the nonabusing parent. In others, authorities were described as taking no action, particularly as young people approached age 18. Streetwork staff reported expending considerable effort and legal advocacy resources in attempts to access child welfare resources for young people.

Case narratives frequently described traumatic loss in addition to abuse and neglect. These losses included desertion by parents and violent deaths of parents or parental figures. In many instances, young people were aware of, even if not directly exposed to, absent parents' addiction, sex trade involvement, or victimization.

Although far less common, program staff noted strengths in some families both before and after the young person's trafficking involvement. Each of these case narratives were from clients of SAGE, the only program with significant numbers of referrals from parents. These case narratives described families that were economically stable, had no identified abuse histories, or sought out services for their children. Other families were described as taking an active role in finding their daughters' facilitators, calling police, and relocating the family to avoid their children's facilitators. Case narratives from each of the programs also described siblings or extended family members who stepped in to support clients.

3.2.2 Living Situations

Young people reported a variety of living situations during the month before intake, as shown in **Figure 5.** Multiple responses were recorded in order to describe young people who lived in more than one situation during this time period. For both STOP-IT and SAGE, the most commonly reported living situation was with parents or relatives (49% and 80%, respectively). Staff also reported that a sizeable minority of young people resided in foster or group homes. SAGE clients were also reported to reside in detention or jail, reflecting a common referral source for this program in particular (see **Section 4.2**). Many young people at Streetwork were reported to have lived with parents or relatives during the month prior to intake (47%). However, the program's focus on homeless youth meant that they were rarely living with family at the time of intake. Having left or been forced from home, their most common situation was living on the street (54%). A large percentage of Streetwork clients also reported living with friends (44%) and a quarter were reported to live with a sexual or romantic partner. Streetwork staff also reported that many young people (40%) lived in three or more different living situations in the month before intake (14%–22% at the other programs; data not shown).

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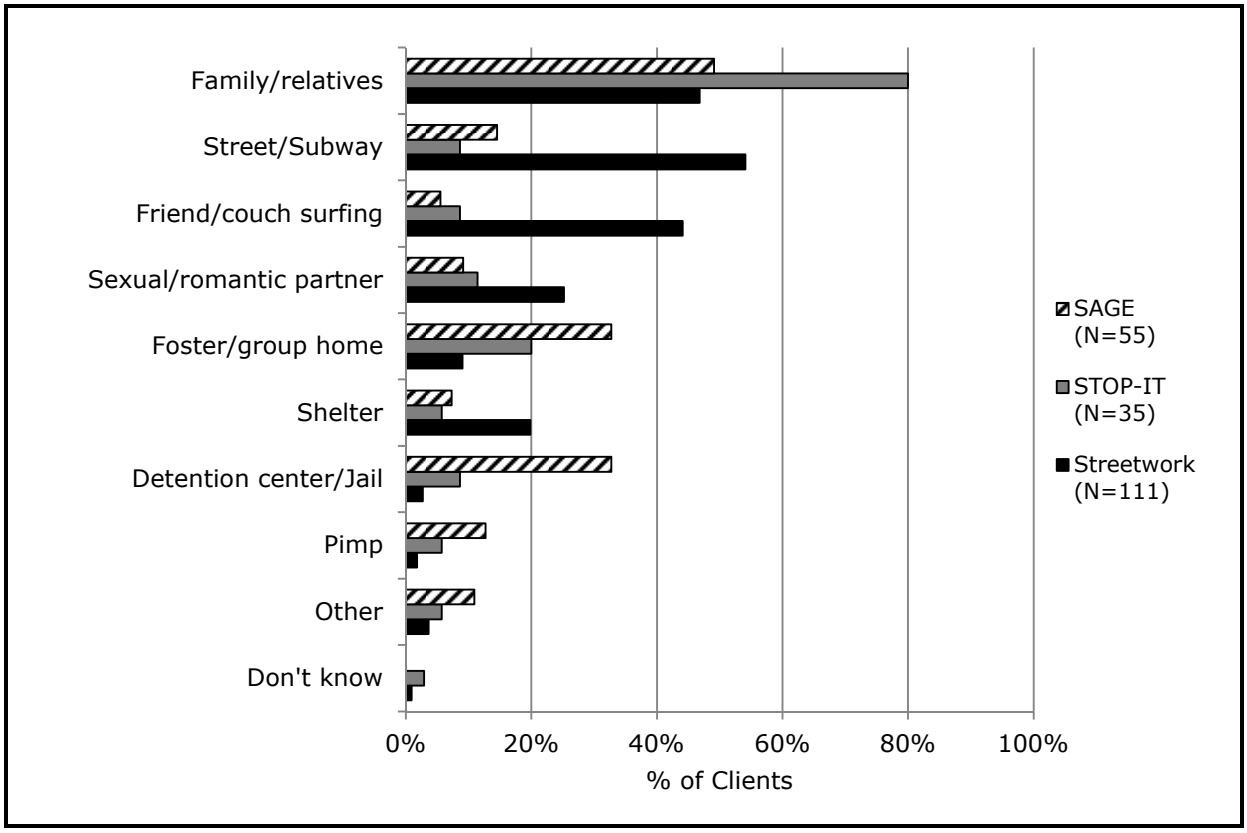
Figure 5. Living Situation in Past Month



Note: Data represent all young people served. Multiple responses allowed. Totals may add to more than 100%.

Young people experienced considerable instability and risk even while living with their families. Many case narratives, particularly those of Streetwork clients, described precarious living situations within clients' immediate families. Family circumstances included mentally ill parents, homes lacking food or basic sanitation, homes without functioning utilities, and family evictions. A case manager described one home as having "no food, and the neighbors were not safe, and the mother was not safe, and all the random people passing through were not safe." Other clients lived with families who were insecurely housed or living in shelters. One young person's family was described as having been homeless for the client's entire life. Some clients lived in the homes of parents who were not present or who provided no food or clothing for them.

Other clients were housed by extended family members. These young people sometimes experienced abuse and neglect by relatives or other household members, as described earlier. Case narratives also described clients who experienced multiple transitions among family members. One young person was reported to have lived with a substance-using mother who was engaged in sex trades, then with a sister who shared a facilitator with her

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mother, and then with an aunt whose boyfriend sexually pressured the client, all in less than a year.

Many clients ran away from home as a result of abuse and neglect. Others were "thrown away" by parents unwilling to care for them, unable to accept their LGBTQ children, or no longer willing to deal with their behavior or substance abuse. Young people who left, or were ejected from, family homes experienced limited and precarious living options. Some were described as "couch-surfing" in successive short-term arrangements limited by friends' parents or landlords. In some instances, these arrangements included an expectation of sex in exchange for shelter. Many alternated unstable housing with homelessness.

Street-homeless young people found a variety of options for shelter, most entailing risks, as evidenced by case narrative data from Streetwork. Some occupied public spaces such as stairwells and parks. One group of young people was reported to have been living in a public transit center for more than 6 months. Others rode public transportation all night as a form of shelter. One client reported that to protect each other she and her partner took turns staying awake at night while sheltering in transit facilities. Case narratives also described young people staying in abandoned buildings. As a brief historical anomaly, many Streetwork clients sheltered in the Occupy Wall Street protest encampment during the fall of 2012. The encampment provided tents, blankets, food, medical care, and some protection from police attention. A case manager noted ruefully that these resources were superior to, and more stable than, those at any of the city's homeless shelters.

3.2.3 System Involvement

Staff at all programs reported that system involvement (child welfare, juvenile justice, education) was common among young people, as shown in **Figure 6**. Staff at all of the programs reported similar rates of child welfare involvement (34%–46%). Reported juvenile justice involvement was highest at SAGE (62%), reflecting their partnership with that system. A small number of Streetwork clients (6%) were involved in the adult criminal system, which includes anyone aged 16 or greater. Across the programs, staff reported that sizeable numbers of young people (44%–71%) were enrolled in school, as shown in **Figure 7**. However, few were reported to be employed. Across all programs, fewer than 8% of young people received Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), SSI, or general assistance benefits (data not shown). A small number of clients reported receiving food stamps (3%-17%) or Women, Infants and Children (WIC) food benefits (1%-9%).

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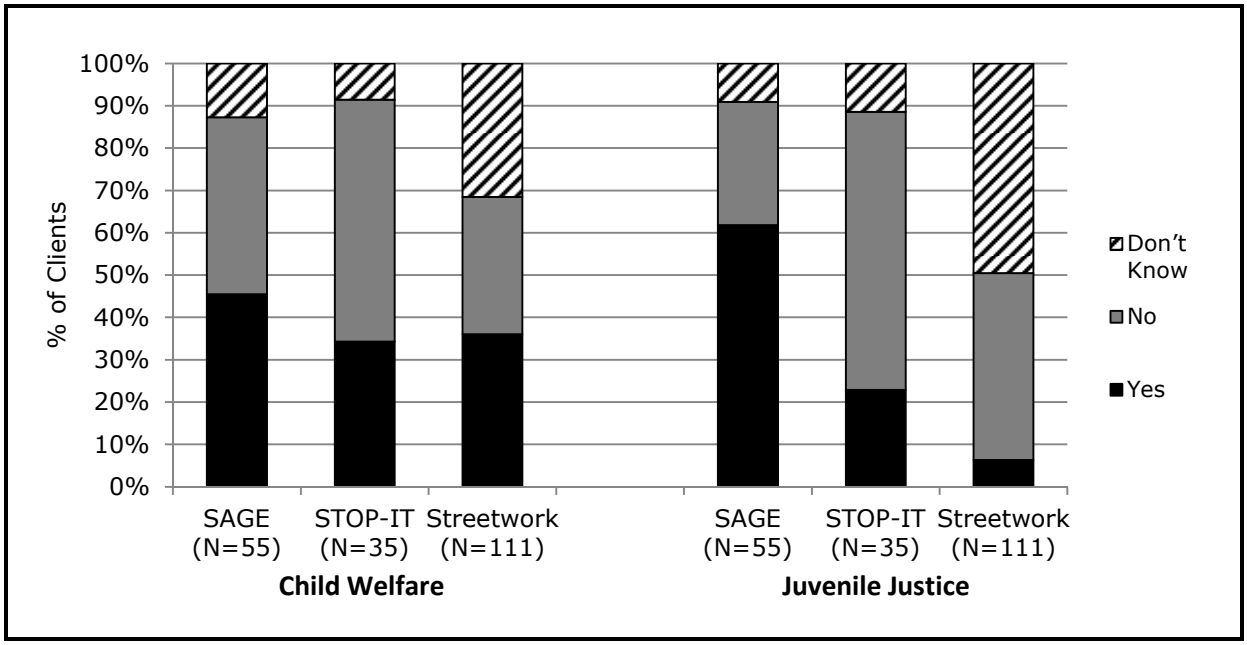
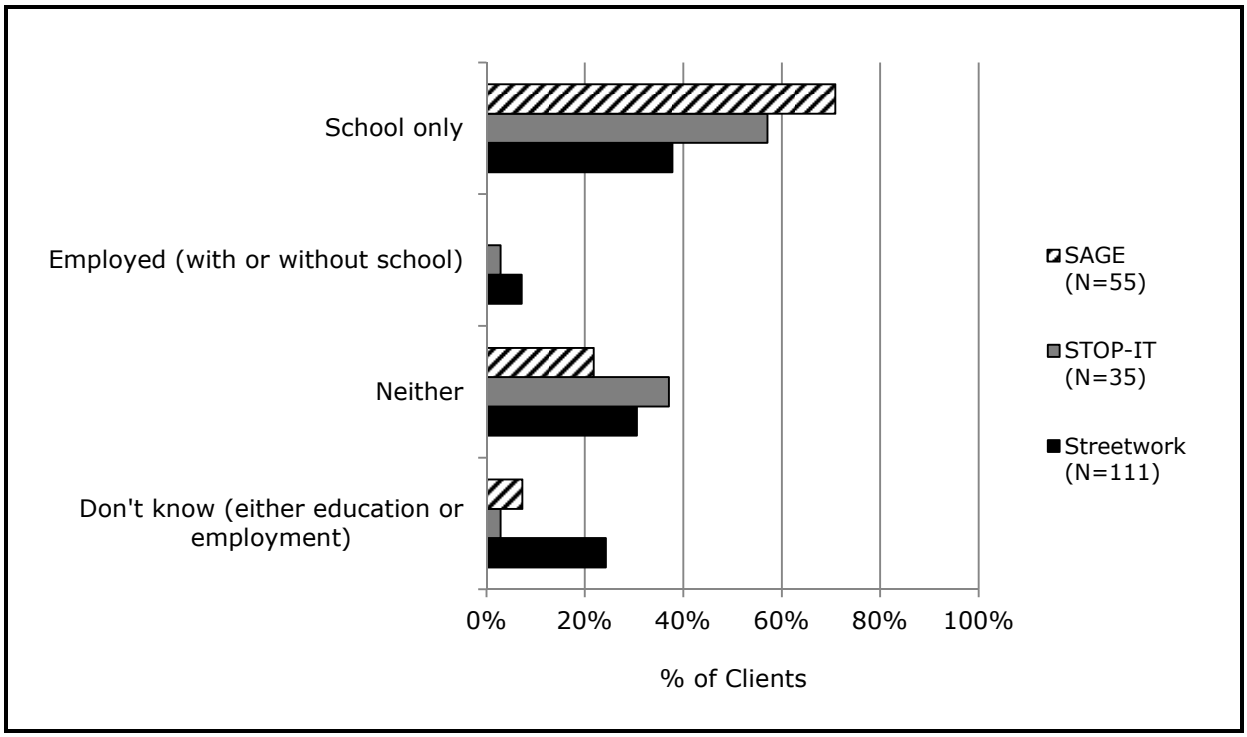
Figure 6. Reported System Involvement



Note: Data represent all young people served.

Figure 7. Education and Employment



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State context influenced the respective roles of the juvenile justice and child welfare systems with respect to sex trade involvement.

- California law regarding prostitution offenses does not differentiate by age, so that minors who agree to or engage in prostitution can be arrested and prosecuted.
- In Illinois, the Safe Children Act decriminalized minors' involvement in the sex trade by transferring jurisdiction from the criminal justice system to the child welfare system. The child welfare agency is mandated to accept these referrals for investigation. Because children cannot consent to commercial sex, references to "juvenile prostitutes" have been removed from the criminal code.
- In New York, the Safe Harbor for Exploited Children Act allows some young people arrested for prostitution to defer criminal prosecution by being classified as persons in need of supervision (PINS). This classification assigns jurisdiction over the young person to the child welfare system for services to facilitate the transition away from sex trades. However, PINS classification is not available to youth aged 16 or 17, those who have previously committed prostitution or been classified as PINS, and those unwilling to cooperate with mandated specialized services.

In any of these states, minors may be charged with prostitution-related offenses such as loitering. Young people may also enter the juvenile or adult justice system as a result of offenses unrelated to prostitution, such as theft, runaway status, or probation violations. Case managers reported that homeless youth were particularly visible to law enforcement personnel and that LGBTQ youth attracted disproportionate attention from law enforcement.

For any of these charges, young people may be placed on probation or detained in juvenile justice facilities. An advocate in San Francisco described a de facto diversion program in which law enforcement and prosecutors reduce the number of young people brought to juvenile justice: "They hand them over to SAGE." Detention was also used in the belief that it protects young people and ensures their connection to services. Key informants acknowledged that this situation was not ideal but argued that young people were likely to be safer in detention than elsewhere. A public defender asked, "How else do you get them services but lock them up and force them to engage in services?"

Other informants challenged the effectiveness of detention and probation in connecting young people engaged in sex trades to services. One noted that juvenile justice involvement connected young people engaged in sex trades to probation officers, rather than to the social worker who might better address their victim status. A program manager agreed with arrest as a point of intervention, but argued, "Most counties aren't there in providing services, like housing, for this population once they've been arrested." Others reported that placements less restrictive than detention were rarely available to their clients. Program staff at Streetwork, in particular, noted that their clients experienced violence from law enforcement and in detention, as has been reported elsewhere. Further, although judges are able to mandate specific services as a condition of probation, this arrangement

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diminished client confidentiality and voluntary participation. As a result, only one of the three programs (SAGE) accepted mandated clients.

Child welfare systems do not typically respond to trafficking by non-caretakers, with Illinois policy being an exception. However, many clients were engaged in the child welfare system for reasons other than trafficking. For some, child welfare involvement began in early childhood as a result of abuse and neglect, as described earlier. Others became engaged in child welfare services as adolescents. Program staff, as mandated reporters, described making reports on behalf of multiple clients to child abuse hotlines. Reasons for reports included parents who did not provide necessities for clients, sexual abuse by relatives, and unsafe living conditions in family homes.

Child welfare involvement can provide young people with access to significant services and resources. Placements provided shelter, food, and ready access to health and mental health services. Young people in child welfare custody as adolescents may also qualify for transitional housing and educational benefits after their 18th birthdays. One case narrative described a client who, after initially resisting placement, realized that "her mom hasn't changed at all… so she's voluntarily staying in the placement so that she can focus on her education." Despite these resources, informants most often described the child welfare system in negative terms. Many noted that the system's response to young people was frequently "punitive," with access to services withdrawn as a behavioral consequence. By contrast, the OVC-funded programs prioritized trust building and recognized the likelihood of uneven progress toward the young person's goals.

Clients were frequently described as going to great lengths to avoid child welfare involvement. Strategies included withholding details of their lives from case managers required to report abuse and neglect so that child welfare workers could not complete their investigations. Clients were reported to evade child welfare involvement when stopped by law enforcement by denying abuse and neglect and by representing themselves as over 18 years of age. Young people were also described as avoiding shelters because of fears that their age would require a report to child welfare. This strategy had the unfortunate effect of placing young people in more hazardous situations and at greater risk of sex trade engagement.

Case managers in all cities reported that child welfare workers became less responsive as clients approached their 18th birthdays. This decreasing involvement was manifested in failure to follow up on case managers' reports of abuse and neglect, or to pursue young people who leave child welfare placements. One public defender noted that, for younger clients, systems focus on parents' actions, and young people are seen as victims; as youth age, they increasingly are seen as responsible for their actions. In addition, child welfare workers were described as poorly prepared to respond to behaviors of older adolescents. As

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a result of these patterns, many adolescents moved from child welfare custody to the juvenile justice system or were engaged in both systems.

Child welfare-involved youth who cannot safely live with their own families are typically placed in out-of-home placements. Because relatively few foster parents are willing to house adolescents, they are most often placed in group homes. Key informants described multiple concerns related to these facilities. Several informants described clients as having been recruited to sex trades while at group homes, either by other residents or by facilitators. One case narrative described a client who was introduced to a facilitator by another group home resident. Another client was described as running from a group home, "and there was conveniently this guy in a car outside of the group home who offered to give her a place to sleep.... that was actually her first pimp." One program manager reported that clients sometimes engaged in sex trades while living at group homes, without interference from staff members. Case managers also reported that clients were harassed by other group home residents about their sex trade involvement.

Informants identified additional limits to the capacity of both the child welfare and juvenile justice systems to serve young people engaged in sex trades. They reported that staff members did not recognize the occurrence of trafficking or did not see it as falling within their purview. As evidence of this pattern, juvenile justice personnel interviewed by the evaluation team based their estimate of minor sex trade involvement on the small numbers of young people arrested for prostitution. Key informants also reported that child welfare workers typically refer to "prostitution" rather than sex trafficking or commercial sexual exploitation of children. Others reported that some group home staff considered sex trade involvement as normal risk-taking behavior for young people. Child welfare workers were also described as overlooking sex trade involvement if the young person was not running from placements.

3.3 Trafficking Experiences

3.3.1 Type of Trafficking

Across all programs, 55% of clients served were confirmed as having been trafficked. Clients who were not confirmed as trafficked were those who did not explicitly disclose trafficking to the OVC-funded program within 3 months of intake. As shown in **Figure 8**, the percentage of clients for whom trafficking was not confirmed ranged from 6% at STOP-IT, where many clients were referred after arrest on prostitution-related charges, to 71% at Streetwork, where program staff engaged young people using the organization's drop-in centers. Note that additional data in this section are based on confirmed cases only.

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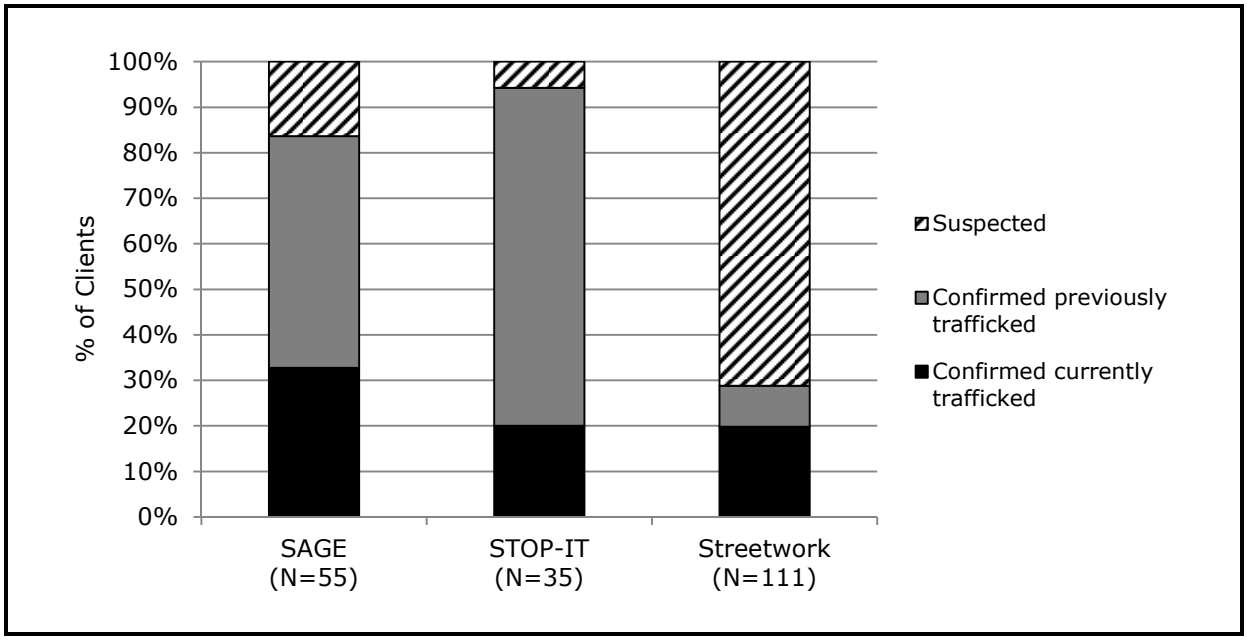
Figure 8. Trafficking Status



Note: Data represent all young people served.

Staff reported that all confirmed cases involved sex trafficking. Of these cases, 5% were also reported to be labor trafficking. No cases were reported for labor trafficking only.

Key informants agreed that identifying young people who had been trafficked for labor was challenging. They described a number of situations in which they believed labor trafficking of domestic minors might occur. The most frequently mentioned suspected situations included drug sales, gang-involved youth told to carry guns and sell drugs, traveling magazine and book sales, and credit card scams. Key informants largely felt that labor trafficking is more common in international situations.

Law enforcement is a key point of identification for sex trafficking victims. The same is not true for labor trafficking, because police departments do not have units focused specifically on this issue. As a result, key informants believed that labor trafficking is even more hidden than sex trafficking, with fewer options for detection. Furthermore, perspectives may vary with respect to what is considered coerced behavior. Whereas some key informants felt that young people forced to sell drugs should be considered labor trafficking victims, they reported that law enforcement viewed those same youth as offenders.

Each of the programs explored outreach efforts to identify labor trafficking. For example, SAGE worked to find a legal ally who could help them navigate this issue and bring cases to court. STOP-IT assigned an intern to conduct street outreach, in hopes of connecting with youth involved in labor trafficking. Streetwork developed outreach materials specific to labor trafficking and trained the Safe Horizon hotline staff about domestic minor labor trafficking.

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Despite these efforts, no cases of labor trafficking were identified except for those that were related in some way to sex trafficking.

Case narrative data include descriptions of five of the six young people for whom labor trafficking was confirmed.[3] In only one of these narratives was labor trafficking temporally distinct from sex trafficking. That case involved a young woman who had been involved in the sex trade. A family she babysat for invited her to move out of state with them, promising to enroll her in school. Once there they held her as a domestic servant, did not let her go to school, and beat her. Ultimately she ran away from that situation, made her way back to her home state, and resumed sex trade involvement to take care of her basic needs. All other instances of labor trafficking consisted of coerced activities by young people for the benefit of their sex trade facilitator, such as drug sales and burglaries.

3.3.2 Entry to Trafficking

The age of entry for young people's initial sex trade experience ranged from 10 to 17 years of age, with a median age of 15. No single narrative or precipitant represents young people's entry into the sex trade. Within the case narrative interviews, the two most common scenarios for sex trade initiation were that runaway and homeless youth needed money and other survival needs or that youth were emotionally engaged by a facilitator. Other narratives described entry as a result of poverty and familial exploitation. A small number of young people were seen as having no clear reason for sex trade involvement other than the allure of the perceived glamour in "the life" or the desire for luxury items that their parents did not provide for them. In only two cases was entry associated with substance abuse. The predominant media narrative of forced entry was rarely identified. However, it is important to acknowledge that many of these young people's experiences eventually included force and coercion by a facilitator, as will be described in later sections.

In many instances, a young person's entry into sex trades occurred within a larger context of disruption and lack of support, rather than as a clear-cut trajectory. For example, case narrative and key informant data from all three programs indicate that once runaway and homeless youth were on the streets, they had few options by which to support themselves. In this scenario, trading sex became a means to access the money, food, clothing, or housing that they needed. Case narratives revealed that some of these young people strategically connected with someone who could provide them with housing. Although in some instances the exchange of sex for shelter was not explicit, over time it became clear that this was required. A case manager described one young person's sex trade engagement as "…she needed a place to stay and she was letting him think that they were in a relationship, when in her mind she does not consider him a boyfriend at all."

[3] Selection of subjects for case narratives interviews purposively favored those for whom labor trafficking was identified.

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Trading sex to meet survival needs was not unique to homeless and runaway youth. Some young people housed with family or in child welfare placements were also described as engaging in sex trades to meet financial needs or material desires. In some of these situations, parents were either unable or unwilling to provide youth with their basic needs. Similarly, some child welfare-involved youth traded sex for money to buy things that they otherwise would not have been able to acquire. One case manager noted that one of her clients "…just thought that that was her best way to get the needs that were not being met by [child welfare]."

In a few situations, young people traded sex even though their needs were provided for. Among these young people, trading sex allowed them to obtain the things that they wanted. One case manager described one young woman whose "parents provided for everything." The case manager reported that the reason the young woman was trading sex was "the thrill and the fact that she had extra money in her pocket to go get her nails done."

Young people who had experienced abuse, neglect, and family trauma were particularly susceptible to emotional engagement. Some case narratives describe how youth became involved as a result of facilitators' calculated strategies of targeting, engagement, and conversion. A case manager shared about one young person, "So the trafficker pretty much gave her that attention that she was not getting at home, or that attention that she really wanted, so she felt somebody finally understood her." In a few narratives, peers recruited other young people on behalf of their facilitators. Once youth had been engaged in sex trades, peers introduced them to the facilitator.

Regardless of the entry scenario, key informants stressed the importance of acknowledging that youth were frequently reluctant to self-disclose involvement in sex trades. Some young people traded sex to make a living, some engaged sporadically, and some traded sex for a period of time and then no longer engaged in trafficking. This distinction is important in that some young people are unlikely to self-identify as trafficked and thus potentially are excluded from services intended to support them.

3.3.3 Facilitator Relationships

Program staff reported that trading sex was facilitated within different types of relationships, or arranged by the young person (see **Figure 9**). Note that program staff could provide more than one response for a young person. Overall, SAGE and STOP-IT were most likely to report that clients' sex trades were arranged by pimps (63% and 46%, respectively), whereas Streetwork most often (78%) reported young people arranging sex trades for themselves. At all of the programs, staff reported that a smaller proportion of sex trades were facilitated by friends or by a sexual or romantic partner. Trading sex was rarely reported in the context of a gang, and then only at STOP-IT.

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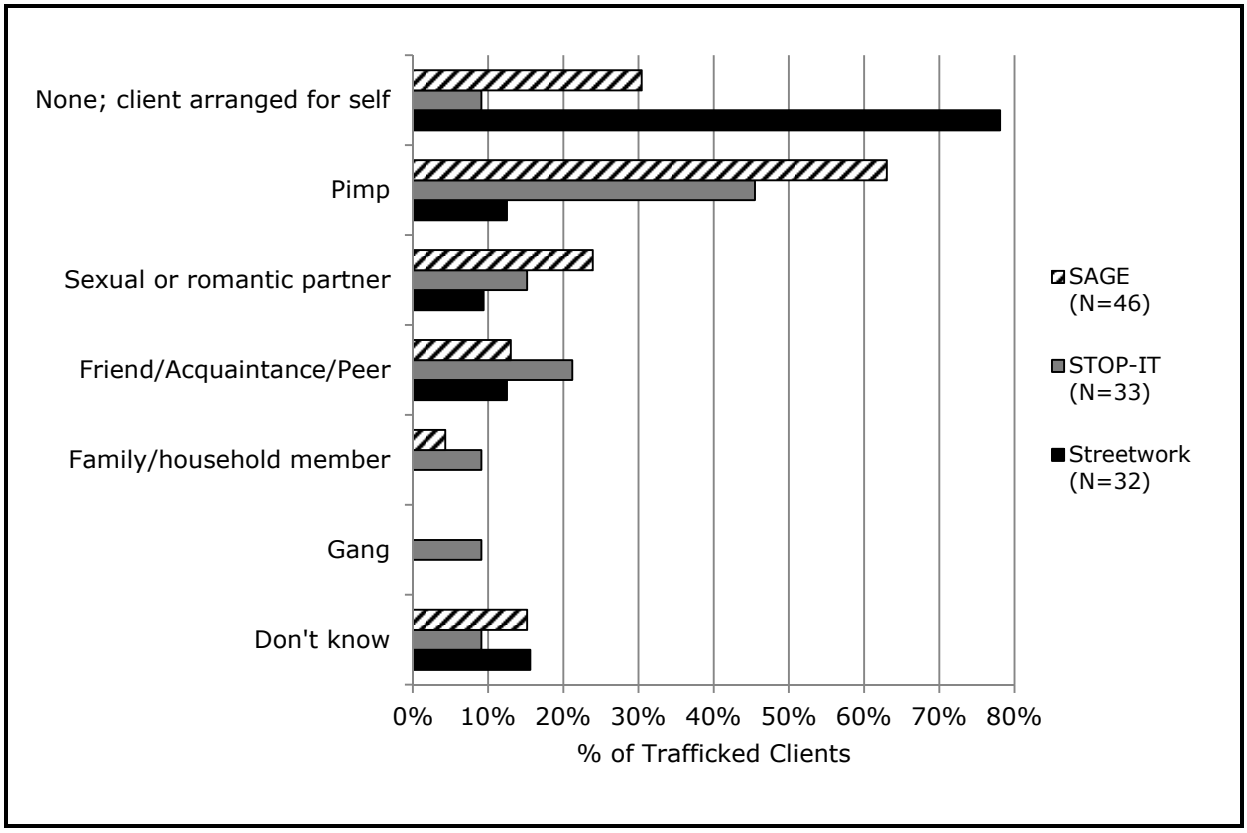
Figure 9. Types of Facilitators



Note: Data represent confirmed sex trade cases only. Multiple responses allowed. Totals may add to more than 100%.

As in other areas, we do not know the extent to which program staff used the young person's language or relied on their own assessments. The contrast between program data and case narrative data suggests that in some instances program staff described a facilitator as a "pimp" when the young person perceived him as a "partner." On the basis of the legal definitions, most of the young people profiled in the case narratives were associated with a facilitator.

Within case narrative data, the most common profile of a facilitator was of an individual seen by the young person as a sexual or romantic partner. Some young people's partners benefitted financially from their sex trades, effectively making them facilitators. For example, young people used money made from trading sex to help pay rent for apartments shared with romantic partners. For other youth, their romantic partners played a more active role in their sex trade experiences and arranged sex trade clients for them. In some instances, relationships were initially characterized as sexual or romantic, but over time transitioned to an explicitly exploitive arrangement, frequently involving violence.

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Even in situations involving violence or multiple youth working for the same facilitator, young people often believed that they had a special relationship with their facilitator. One case manager explained how one of her clients was "convinced that she [was] in a relationship—even with all of the other girls within the pimp's control, they were in a relationship. And so in her mind she didn't want to leave him because he was the only person who really cared about her and loved her unconditionally and didn't… push her to do things that she didn't want to do."

Particularly among runaway and homeless youth, peers often served as facilitators. Peers typically helped young people locate sex trade clients, arrange transactions, and offer social support, without being engaged in a sexual or romantic relationship. In some cases this took the form of surrogate family arrangements. Young people perceived these relationships to be non-exploitive. As one case manager explained about a client, "She never, ever described him as her pimp.... That wasn't how she viewed him. But I do know that he was helping her arrange 'dates' and getting a cut and then he would… take her and be security outside while the sex acts were being exchanged."

Case narratives also revealed that relationships with facilitators were not static. Some young people moved (or were traded or stolen) from one facilitator to another, whereas other young people tired of having a facilitator and transitioned to trading sex independently.

Program and case narrative data indicate that a substantial number of young people did not work with facilitators; these youth were typically connected to other youth or older teens who gave them pointers on how to trade sex. In one such situation, a case manager explained how at a New Year's Eve party her client, who had run away from home, met a 20-year-old young woman with prior sex trade involvement and they decided to travel out of state for fun. When they ran out of money, "The other young woman kind of told her how to [trade sex] and… they both engaged in Internet-based and street-based [trade] and made some money and were able to stay in motels while they were doing this. And she reported that nobody ever forced her and there was no violence."

3.3.4 Trafficking Transactions

The commodity most frequently reported as being exchanged for sex was money (reported by 76%–78% of young people), as shown in **Figure 10**. Shelter (22%–63%) and food (9%–39%) were also frequently reported overall. Among Streetwork clients only, trafficked clients also reported trading sex for drugs or alcohol or protection (28% each). Among STOP-IT clients, 24% also reported trading sex for clothes or jewelry. No clear pattern was seen among SAGE clients.

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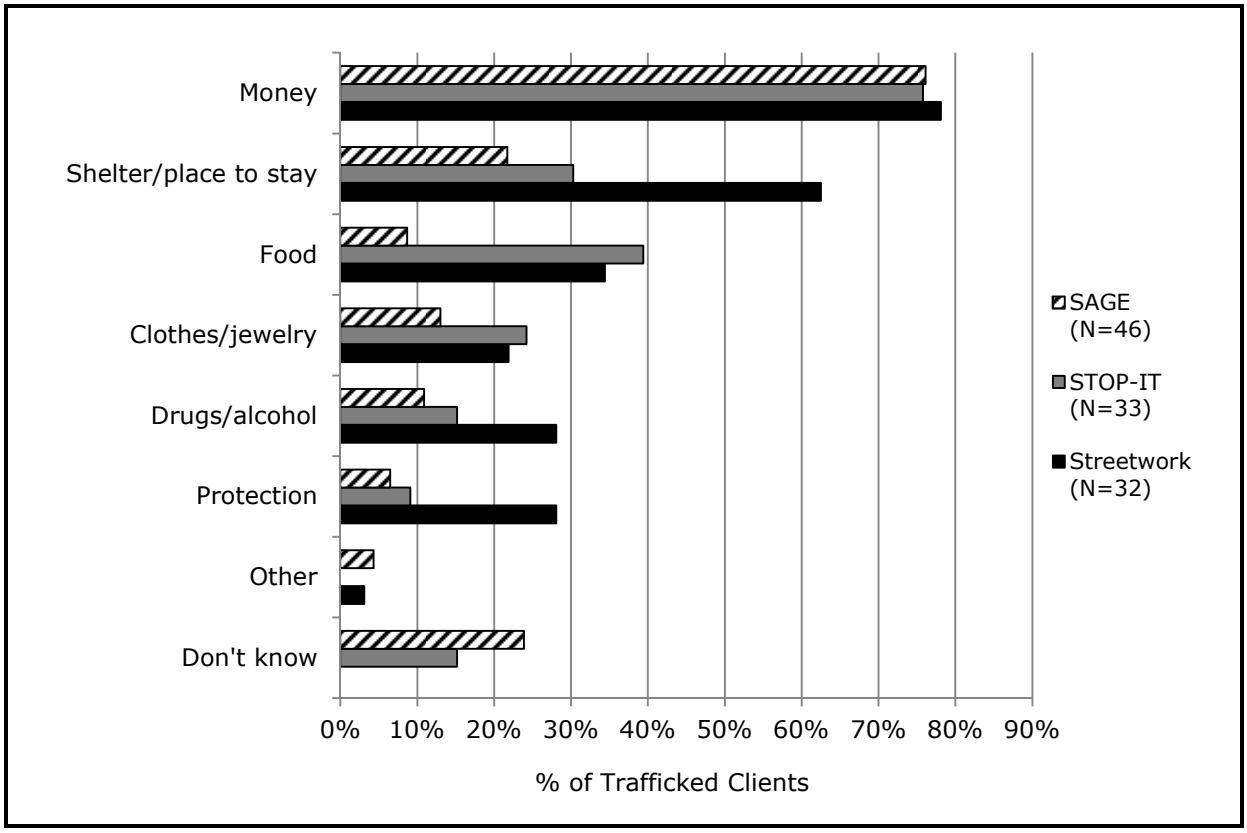
Figure 10. What Was Exchanged for Sex



Note: Data represent confirmed sex trade cases only. Multiple responses allowed. Totals may add to more than 100%.

Under the terms of the TVPA, force, fraud, or coercion are not required to establish sex trafficking of minors. However, as shown in **Figure 11**, staff reported that significant numbers of young people, ranging from 37% to 78%, were promised future benefits in exchange for sex. A sizeable number of young people were also reported to have been physically harmed or restrained (28%–49%) or threatened with harm (19%–44%).

Trafficked young people have been reported to experience violence from law enforcement more often than from sex trade clients (Torres & Paz, 2012). A case manager stated, "A lot of our clients have been victimized by at least one police officer." One key informant described a young woman trapped in an undercover sting operation, who reported that the officer had her fondle him for a long period of time before arresting her.

Case narrative data indicate that violence occurred frequently during young people's sex trade experiences. Perpetrators of violence included both facilitators and sex trade clients. Some facilitators used violence to control young people. In these situations they either threatened or physically assaulted young people. In some of the more violent and

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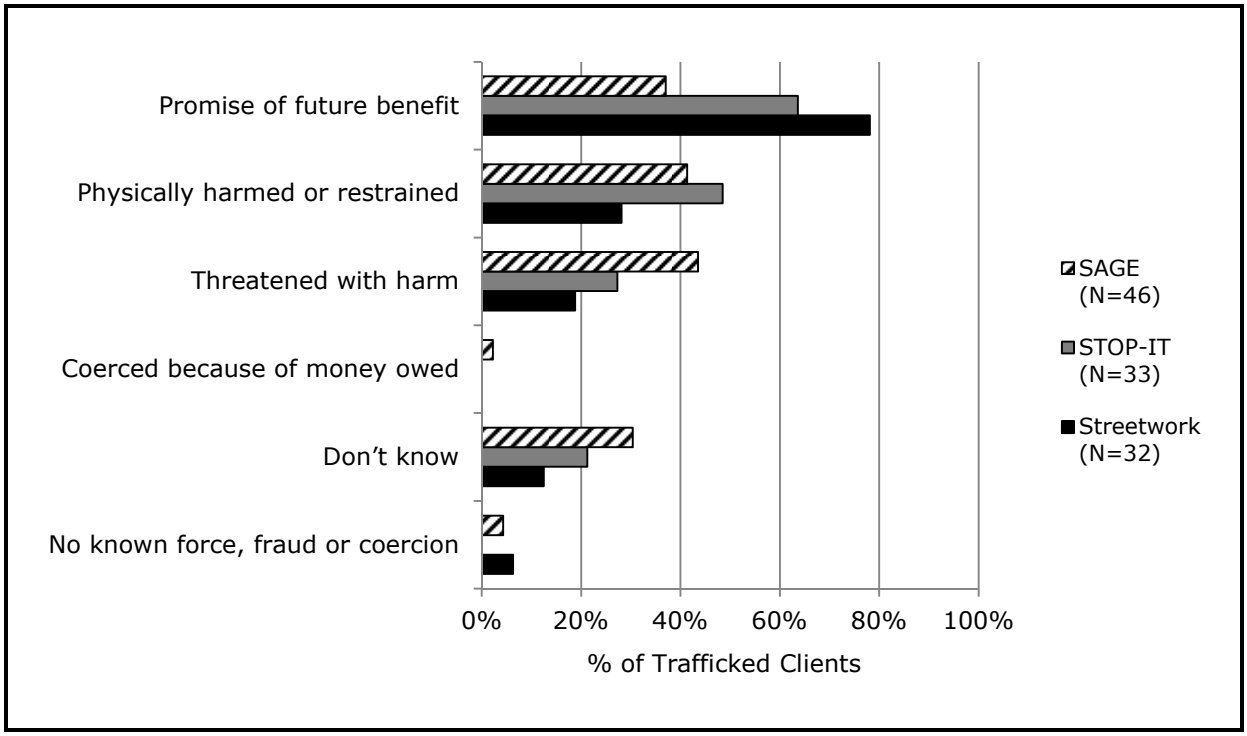
Figure 11. Force and Coercion in Sex Trafficking



Note: Data represent confirmed sex trade cases only. Multiple responses allowed. Totals may add to more than 100%.

exploitative arrangements, the facilitator's control tactics became more explicit over time: increasing physical assaults, tattooing young people with the facilitator's name ("branding"), or shaving the young person's head. A few case narratives described serious injury inflicted by sex trade clients. In these situations sex trade clients physically and sexually assaulted young people or kidnapped them, held them hostage, and allowed others to sexually assault them. A case manager explained that one of her clients "was turning a trick, turning a date, and the date ended up being a serial rapist. She tried to fight for her life. When she jumped out [of] the car she hooked onto something and he [dragged] her for about three blocks and messed up the whole side of her leg."

It can be argued that the force and coercion that young people experience in regard to sex trades is more subtle than what is suggested by the law. Key informants reported that some of these young people are forced to trade sex by virtue of having no other means of survival. A case manager shared the experiences of one young person as an example of this: "He's never had a situation where somebody else was coercing him. But he was always in a situation where he didn't really have enough things that he needed in his life.… So this is how he's gotten his own clothes, sometimes how he buys food, just meets his own financial and survival needs."

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4. HOW DID PROGRAMS ENGAGE AND SERVE TRAFFICKED MINORS?

4.1 Overview of OVC-Funded Programs

As noted in **Section 1.2**, the three programs differed substantially in their organization and history. As context for describing work under the OVC program, we provide additional detail on each organization's resources and service delivery approaches. This information comes from key informant interviews conducted during early site visits.

SAGE has a longstanding identification with advocacy and services for adults and youth affected by commercial sexual exploitation. Program staff described SAGE as "survivor-led and focused." As a founding partner of the agency now known as the Youth Justice Institute, SAGE has a history of involvement with the juvenile justice system. Building on this partnership, SAGE's work with girls in detention includes its peer counseling program and intensive case management. In many cases, girls are mandated to participate in services at SAGE as a condition of probation when diverted from or transitioning from juvenile justice involvement.

For the OVC-funded program, services available in house included counseling, group programs, and limited health and substance abuse treatment. In addition to its life skills group, SAGE developed groups for anger management and for trauma, and it piloted a curriculum for males at risk of trafficking. Clinical counseling was also available in house at some points in the grant period, depending on staff resources. Staff also provided intensive case management to young people both in and out of custody. For services not available in house, SAGE referred young people to other providers. However, staff noted that appropriate resources did not always exist in outlying counties.

SAGE provided services from their offices in San Francisco's South of Market district. Services to young people were provided by case managers who worked both individually and with groups. Up to three case managers worked on the minor victims program at any one time over the course of the project period. Because many clients were in school, services were often provided in the late afternoon.

STOP-IT's program built on its existing work with trafficking victim and collaborations by its parent agency (the Salvation Army) on anti-trafficking efforts. The Illinois Safe Children Act, described in **Section 3.2.3**, played a critical role in the program's development by encouraging collaboration between law enforcement, the state's attorney's office, and service providers. STOP-IT built on these relationships as an important source of referrals, often meeting clients immediately after their arrest on prostitution or related offenses.

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Nearly all services under the OVC program were delivered through one-to-one interactions between case managers and clients. Because STOP-IT did not have accessible space for client meetings, program staff met clients in their own neighborhoods, often in fast-food restaurants. Case managers began their work with young people by focusing on their most pressing needs, such as housing, food, and clothing. They worked to develop positive and trusting relationships that included many elements of mentoring. Once the client's basic needs were addressed, case managers worked with them to define strategies to live without trading sex. Over the project period, the number of case managers at STOP-IT ranged from three to five. Services were provided on weekdays, working around clients' school schedules if needed. Case managers shared on-call duty so that one was available at all times.

STOP-IT also established formal partnerships to improve access to needed services during the course of OVC funding. These included a faith-based foster care provider, the city's children's hospital, and a service provider for pregnant and parenting teens. Other resources were provided by referral as needed. By the end of the project period, STOP-IT had extended its scope to include a drop-in center operating one night weekly, with plans for groups to be facilitated by former clients of the program and a volunteer mentoring program.

Streetwork's services to minor victims of trafficking took place within the context of the organization's services to homeless and street-involved young people. The agency is committed to serving young people within a safe, confidential, welcoming, and LGBTQ-friendly environment. Streetwork and its parent agency, Safe Horizon, have an extensive network among the city's service providers, including those working against trafficking.

Streetwork defines its model as a "low-threshold, under-one-roof" model designed to remove barriers to service engagement in any way possible. Examples of this approach include providing concrete resources such as food and clothing, focusing on needs identified by each young person, encouraging young people to interact with the staff members they feel most comfortable with, and allowing young people to access services as frequently or rarely as they choose.

Streetwork's resources include two drop-in centers, one in Harlem and the other in the Lower East Side. At the drop-in centers, young people can obtain hot meals, showers, clothing, and laundry and computer access. Services provided on site also include individual and group counseling, psychiatric and therapeutic services, advocacy, assistance in obtaining identification, safe injection supplies, and help in obtaining Medicaid and other benefits. Legal and medical services are provided on site by outside agencies. Streetwork also offered short-term emergency and crisis housing resources in two shelters, one of which operated for only part of the OVC funding period. Streetwork outreach teams go out nightly by van to locations where homeless street youth spend time, including several

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known strolls. Outreach workers provide food, supplies (e.g., safer sex information and supplies, seasonal provisions such as blankets and warm socks), and informational resources.

Under the OVC grant, trafficked minors had access to services available to all Streetwork clients. Case managers engaged in more frequent and intentional interactions with young people identified as trafficked than with other youth. Trafficked minors also had access to resources provided by the OVC grant but not typically offered to other young people. These included backpacks, new clothing, and transit passes. Over the project period, the number of Streetwork case managers working directly with trafficked clients ranged from four to nine. These case managers also worked with older clients and those not identified as trafficked. Streetwork's drop-in center was open four afternoons a week, with case managers available by appointment at other times. After-hours emergency calls were handled by the parent agency, Safe Horizon.

4.2 Referral Sources

Young people were referred to the programs through a wide variety of sources. These varied across the three programs, as shown in **Figure 12.** In each case, referral patterns reflect the resources, relationships, and public perceptions of the program. Given the high degree of variation across the programs, referral sources are reported separately for the three organizations.

At SAGE, the largest referral source was self-referral (18%). Other prominent sources were child protective services, juvenile justice (16% each) and shelters (15%). SAGE's relatively high level of juvenile justice referrals reflected their established peer counseling and life skills programs for girls in detention as well as girls who are court mandated to participate in SAGE services as a condition of their probation.

The largest referral source to STOP-IT was law enforcement (37%). Other common sources included a hospital (17%) and the State's Attorney's Office (11%). As noted earlier, STOP-IT established close working relationships with law enforcement and the Cook County State's Attorney's Office. Both the state's attorney's office and law enforcement personnel called on STOP-IT to provide victim services when they encountered a young person who was involved in sex trade. One key informant noted, "Any time we come in contact with a juvenile victim, we call [STOP-IT]." Similarly, social workers at a children's hospital contacted STOP-IT when they suspected a patient was involved in sex trade.

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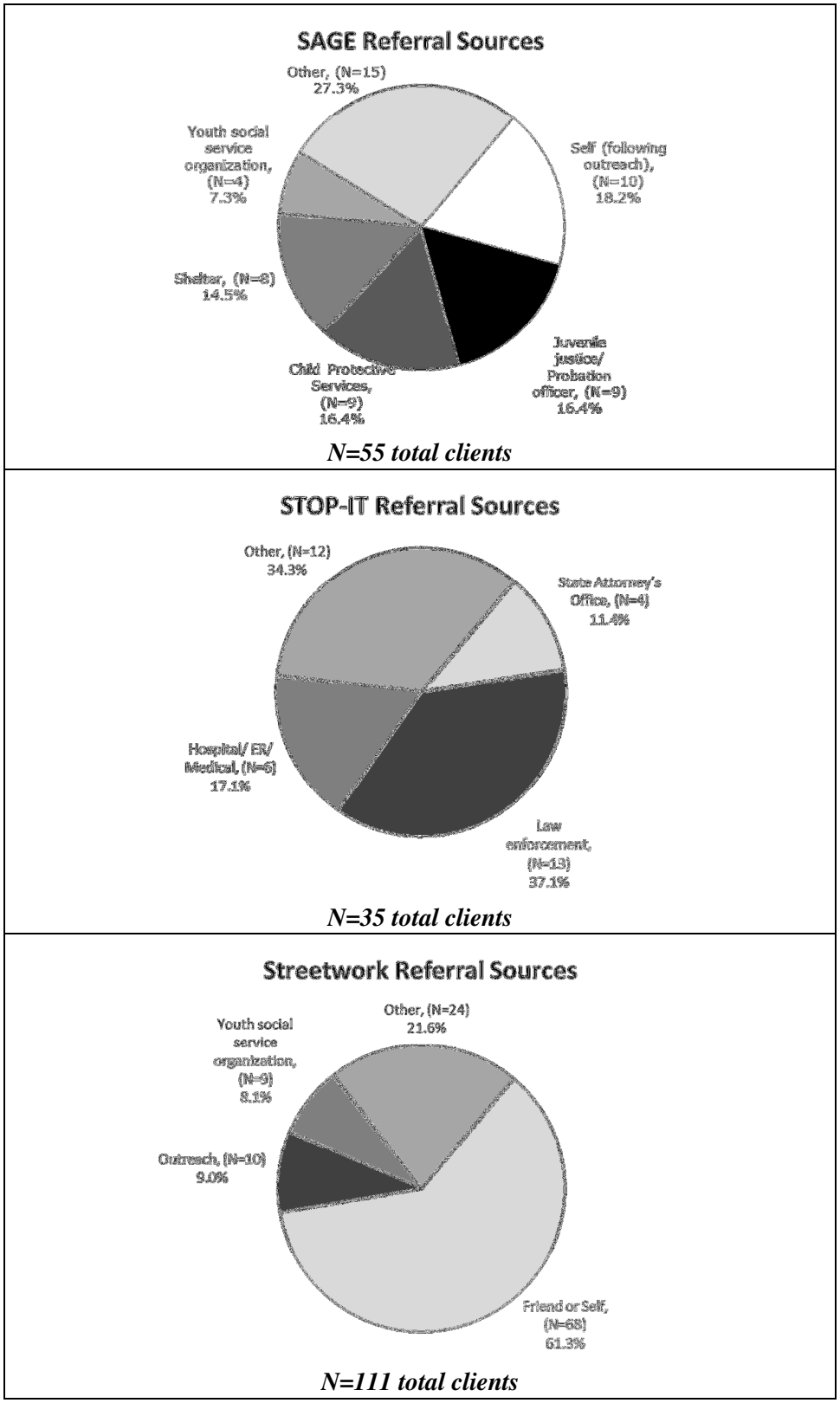
Figure 12. Referral Sources



Note: Data represent all young people served.

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At Streetwork, 61% of young people served in the OVC-funded program referred themselves or were referred by friends or through word of mouth. An additional 9% were referred in response to Streetwork's nightly outreach efforts (described in more detail in **Section 4.1**) and 8% through other youth social service organizations. Young people who received services through the OVC grant came to Streetwork to seek drop-in center resources or to access short-term shelter, rather than services specifically for trafficking victims. Nearly all young people served through the OVC grant were identified as potential trafficking victims by Streetwork staff after the young person was engaged in the drop-in center's general services. For example, the topic of trafficking could emerge over the course of several conversations between a young person and a case manager. Even though a case manager may have suspected trafficking and attempted to assess for it, program staff noted that a young person may have chosen not to disclose for a variety of reasons. Streetwork case managers thus invested substantially more time approaching issues of trafficking than case managers at SAGE and STOP-IT.

4.3 Outreach Efforts

4.3.1 Training and Technical Assistance

As a requirement of the OVC grant, each program provided training and technical assistance to a variety of organizations likely to encounter trafficked youth. Program leaders reported that the primary goals of training were to raise awareness (of both minor victims of trafficking and of the services offered through the OVC grant) and to increase providers' capacity to identify and refer trafficked minors to the OVC-funded programs. Secondary goals of training events included strengthening community capacity to respond to trafficked minors, and developing collaborations. In addition to formal training events, program staff provided ad hoc one-on-one technical assistance. For example, they provided guidance to other agencies on how to respond to clients who were thought to be trafficked.

Training topics typically included the legal definition of trafficking, pathways to trafficking involvement, warning signs, and resources. At times, program staff delivered trainings collaboratively with partner organizations. One program manager noted, "If we were asked to present to law enforcement, we'd reach out to our law enforcement partners." Organizations and groups that received training included medical interns and residents at teaching hospitals, traditional and alternative schools, LGBTQ service programs, judges, prosecutors, juvenile detention center staff, probation officers, police officers, legal services, youth shelters, faith-based providers, child welfare workers, group home staff, and social work students.

Program staff also participated in efforts to raise public awareness by attending community events, presenting at churches and colleges, distributing flyers and posters, and working through intermediaries such as churches to get the word out. Furthermore, programs took

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part in broader efforts to shape community response to trafficking. They participated in cross-agency teams, local trafficking task forces, and national advocacy groups. They also supported efforts to inform state policies and build capacity of key agencies to respond to trafficking.

Key informants reported that programs' outreach efforts both raised awareness and generated referrals to OVC services. A juvenile detention staff member reported that the training made their staff aware of the "high possibility that our girls have been, or will be, victims of human trafficking." In particular, formal training was a successful strategy for diversifying referral sources. Program staff at SAGE and STOP-IT reported that they often received referrals to OVC services from new sources after trainings. Additionally, these programs' efforts to build relationships with various organizations that delivered services to trafficked young people not only gave rise to collaborative partnerships (discussed in more detail in Section 4.5.2) but also produced referrals. One key informant stated, "Without a strong relationship with other providers, you don't get referrals."

All three programs encountered obstacles in their outreach efforts. Program staff believed that external perceptions of their organizations limited referrals. SAGE's long-standing orientation to serving women and girls may have hampered efforts to launch services to boys. STOP-IT's faith-based affiliation may have been a deterrent for some young people and service providers. Streetwork's reputation as a resource for homeless youth committed to a harm reduction approach may have contributed to Streetwork's being overlooked by others as a resource for young people involved in trafficking.

Program staff reported several additional barriers to referrals for OVC grant services. In some instances, competition among programs responding to trafficking was identified as an obstacle. Existing programs were reportedly skeptical that newer programs have the necessary level of expertise to serve the population. Additionally, providers may want to protect their "turf" and position themselves as the recipient of expanded funding for trafficked young people. Key informants also noted that some youth-serving organizations may not have seen services available through the OVC-sponsored programs as distinct from their own, and therefore did not make referrals. Finally, misperceptions about the characteristics of trafficked youth and the circumstances that lead to their entry into trafficking may lead service providers and criminal justice professionals to overlook many young people who may be victims, as described in **Section 3.2**.

4.3.2 Outreach to Young People

OVC-funded programs had mixed experiences with direct outreach to young people. Direct outreach typically involved sending program staff to locations where young people congregated or engaged in sex trades, sharing toiletries or other useful items, and striking up conversations. Alternatively, staff went to other youth-serving programs for group

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presentations. Street outreach was a successful strategy for Streetwork, which used this as a way of contacting homeless youth. However, Streetwork staff reported that street outreach to young people in sex trades was challenging when the young person was on a stroll and actively working, even for an organization proficient in the practice. Conversation about sex trade with a young person requires the establishment of trust, but the time available to engage a young person on the street can be short. Additionally, program staff noted that reliance on word-of-mouth and peer-to-peer referrals for trafficking services was challenging because many young people do not talk among themselves about sex trade involvement.

Streetwork also used OVC grant funds to enhance its existing outreach activities. They developed outreach materials that targeted young people involved in sex trade. They provided training to outreach workers that focused on how to engage young people in more involved conversations about sex trade, including how to convey a message swiftly when a longer conversation is not possible.

Both SAGE and STOP-IT experimented with street outreach to young people. SAGE staff accompanied a homeless youth organization on street outreach trips, and STOP-IT staff tried conducting outreach at a traveling carnival. However, SAGE encountered a similar challenge that Streetwork identified: in-depth conversations needed to elicit information about sex trade involvement could rarely occur in street outreach settings. Additionally, neither SAGE nor STOP-IT felt that this strategy was a good fit for their staff members' skills or program resources.

4.4 Engagement

4.4.1 Initial Contact and Intake

Staff in all programs identified common approaches to engaging young people during program intake. They reported that offering no-strings-attached tangible goods (e.g., meals, clothing) and resources (e.g., transit passes) was an effective strategy for connecting with potential clients. All three programs elicited intake information through conversation instead of filling out a form. Finally, staff in each program described the importance of creating an initial atmosphere of trust and respect in which young people feel comfortable and in control of the pace of the conversation.

Each of the OVC-funded programs tailored its strategy for introducing the program to the circumstances of its initial contact with potential clients. These circumstances influenced how the program was presented, the likelihood that young people would be confirmed as trafficked, and the extent to which young people remained engaged in services.

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SAGE reported that initial conversations with young people were scheduled at their offices, even when the referral source was a juvenile justice agency. Staff emphasized the importance of developing trust in eliciting information. SAGE program staff identify their "survivor-led and focused" organizational model as helpful in developing trust. One case manager reported using her personal history as a bridge to difficult conversations, "I say to them that even though there is a big age difference between us, the game hasn't changed.… I'll ask them if certain things are still happening, and they are. That gets them interested."

By contrast, nearly all of STOP-IT staff's initial interactions with clients occurred outside of the office. Frequently, the first encounter with a potential client took place at the police station after the young person had been taken into police custody for prostitution-related offenses. Program staff reported that strategies such as distinguishing themselves from law enforcement and using a "softer approach" helped to reassure a young person who was feeling angry or scared and increased the likelihood that the young person would engage in conversation or later contact STOP-IT. Another common strategy used by STOP-IT was to meet a young person at a public venue such as a fast-food restaurant. Program staff noted that young people responded well to the opportunity to talk over a free meal.

At Streetwork, young people typically come to the drop-in centers to access tangible services. Staff reported that they gave young people some time to access services that were immediate priorities (e.g., take a shower, eat) before conducting an intake conversation. The primary goal of intake was to understand the young person's current situation and needs and to determine how Streetwork could assist in meeting those needs. Trafficking involvement, although at times suspected, was rarely known at intake, and young people did not go to Streetwork seeking services specifically for trafficking victims. In an attempt to identify more quickly clients who were eligible for grant services, Streetwork added a section to its intake that guided the staff in the first intake session to ask clients who are under the age of 18 about sex trade involvement.

Program staff in all programs agreed that it was unrealistic to expect that young people would fully share information about trafficking at intake. Multiple conversations were often required to cover topics of interest. In particular, conversations with young people about trafficking experiences often required time, patience, and a foundation of trust. Disclosure of trafficking was particularly a challenge at Streetwork, where sex trade engagement might not have been the impetus for seeking out the program. However, even when a young person's involvement had been acknowledged, program staff described the importance of allowing time for the client to feel ready to share the details or answer specific questions about their experiences. One case manager reported that in many instances, young people felt more willing to disclose trafficking as the relationship developed: "They relax enough,

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that's the best-case scenario. [The] worst case is that something happens.… They get beat up, and it's no longer possible to hide that."

Beyond the requirement of established trust, a young person may choose not to disclose or to delay disclosure for a variety of reasons. Some young people are reluctant to reveal sex trade involvement because of fear of being reported to child protective services or law enforcement. Others whose involvement is known may avoid identifying themselves as minors for the same reason. Moreover, for some young people, their involvement in trading sex is "twentieth on the list" of their needs, and not the young person's priority. Staff noted that demonstrating support for a young person is important, even if they are not yet ready to disclose.

Finally, program staff suggested allowing the young person to define the language used when discussing sex trade engagement. One key informant said, "Even if we used the term 'sex work' [rather than prostitution], some would run away because there is a lot of shame." One program manager noted that they strive to use "the language that the young people actually use and young people relate to and the language that young people might respond to," and that the term "trafficking" met none of those criteria.

4.4.2 Maintaining Engagement

Programs employed a variety of strategies to maintain client engagement in services. All programs described their approach as client centered. This claim was manifested in several ways, including using motivational interviewing (Miller & Rollnick, 2002) techniques to focus on the client's goals, focusing on services that clients want rather than those that staff believe they need, respecting the client's boundaries in conversation, and maintaining an open-door policy in which clients feel comfortable to disengage and re-engage.

All programs strived to ensure that case managers were available to clients. STOP-IT and SAGE case managers devoted considerable time to working individually and communicating frequently with clients. Although Streetwork staff had larger caseloads, case managers prioritized checking in with a client each time the young person accessed the drop-in center. Additionally, Streetwork staff reported that all drop-in center staff supported clients. For example, a young person might talk at length with kitchen staff while eating lunch. The kitchen staff person would later communicate this information to the young person's case manager. Staff across all three programs provided support and advocacy by accompanying clients to appointments or helping them to access services for themselves.

Material resources supported by OVC funds facilitated ongoing engagement as well as initial connections with clients. Program staff reported that material resources often served as an incentive for a young person to return to the program. For example, transit passes, which helped clients to access the program and needed services, required a monthly visit from the

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client to collect new passes. Providing such resources also demonstrated to clients that the program could meet their immediate needs, possibly encouraging them to engage in the program in other ways. Programs sometimes provided cell phones to some young people as a dependable means of contacting their case managers when in need or unsafe. One case manager said, "If we don't provide it, they are going to find a way to get one. That's $40 she doesn't have to pay for on the streets."

Program staff reported that taking a client shopping for needed clothing or spending time talking over a meal not only fulfilled the young person's need but also fostered client engagement and staff-client relationships. One staff person explained that spending informal time with young people sends the message that the case manager wants to get to know them and help. Another explained, "Under this grant, we are able to get clients to invest in [the] program more because we are able to do more for them. We go to appointments and have resources that are sensitive to their needs.... Clients have been able to be more invested and we've been able to be more invested in them."

Despite these efforts, programs identified numerous barriers to young people's consistent engagement. SAGE staff reported that clients sometimes disengaged from services after their court mandate to participate ended. Both STOP-IT and Streetwork reported that clients disappeared, sometimes for long periods of time, although they often maintained telephone contact and sometimes reappeared. One STOP-IT staff member said, "Often they'll call our hotline to check in to make sure we know that they are OK." Streetwork staff reported that client engagement can depend on whether or not the client feels that the program can meet needs such as housing. One Streetwork staff member stated, "What brings them in and brings them back is likely to have less to do with trafficking and more to do with immediate needs." Additionally, Streetwork staff noted that factors such as the weather and seasons, the day of the week, and the time of the month can influence whether and to what extent young people access the drop-in centers.

Organizational factors sometimes created additional challenges to client engagement. Staff turnover disrupted engagement when a staff person to whom clients feel connected left the program. This was even more likely if there was no hand-off from the exiting case manager to the new one—if, for example, the new case manager was not briefed on a client's circumstances and the client was not introduced to the new case manager. A second factor was geographic. Both SAGE and STOP-IT staff reported challenges in serving young people who resided in outer suburbs or in another county. Travel time for staff to reach clients or for clients to get into the city for services was a deterrent. These barriers were compounded by a dearth of service options located in outlying communities. Finally, resource limitations of parent programs sometimes affected program hours, services offered, and staff numbers.

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4.5 Service Needs and Service Delivery

Programs reported clients' presenting needs at intake, whether identified by the client or by program staff. Many of these reported needs were similar across programs, whereas some differed, as shown in **Table 1.** Within each program, staff reported that the majority of young people at intake needed support and crisis intervention, safety planning, education, mental health services, employment services. Sizeable numbers of young people at each program were also reported to need sexual health services, and long-term and transitional housing. These needs, as well as emergency housing, were particularly high at Streetwork. Streetwork and STOP-IT in particular reported that very high numbers of young people needed food and clothing. In addition, Streetwork and SAGE reported that many young people needed victim assistance and legal advocacy services as well as assistance with benefits. At Streetwork this nearly always involved advocating for the client's right to access resources from the child welfare system when the client was open to working with that system. More than Streetwork and STOP-IT, SAGE reported that considerable numbers of young people were in need of substance or alcohol abuse services. SAGE and STOP-IT also reported high numbers of young people needing family reunification or family counseling.

Table 1. Client Needs Identified at Intake

Area of Need	Percentage of Clients With This Need at Intake (identified by client, program, or both)			
	SAGE (N = 55)	STOP-IT (N = 35)	Streetwork (N = 111)	Total (N=201)
Support/crisis intervention	84	77	98	91
Safety planning	66	69	98	84
Sexual health	62	46	97	79
Food/clothing	33	80	93	74
Education	86	74	58	68
Mental health	87	57	62	68
Housing—long-term	53	40	73	62
Employment/vocational	73	51	60	62
Assistance with benefits	47	17	78	59
Housing—emergency	11	31	80	53
Family reunification or family counseling	73	54	29	45
Victim assistance/legal advocacy services	62	17	37	40
Housing—transitional	27	31	39	34
Medical	31	14	30	27

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Area of Need	Percentage of Clients With This Need at Intake (identified by client, program, or both)			
	SAGE (N = 55)	STOP-IT (N = 35)	Streetwork (N = 111)	Total (N=201)
Substance/alcohol abuse	46	9	21	25
Other	16	-	7	9
Dental	15	14	2	8
Interpreter/translator	-	-	2	1

Note: Data represent all young people served.

As noted in **Section 2.2**, program staff also reported monthly data on services needed and received by each client. **Figure 13** shows the 10 highest service needs reported across the programs and the extent to which services were received by young people for each need. The degree to which services were received varied considerably among different types of services. Services were received by almost all young people in three of the four highest areas of need—support or crisis intervention, food or clothing, and safety planning. Notably, these are services provided directly by program staff with OVC funds. At the same time, staff reported significant service gaps, particularly for long-term housing and employment or vocational assistance. Other reported needs for which young people did not receive services included mental health, education, and family reunification or counseling. These needs included those not readily available in the community or those provided by external agencies. In the case of mental health services, program staff indicated that young peoples' reluctance to use services was also a barrier.

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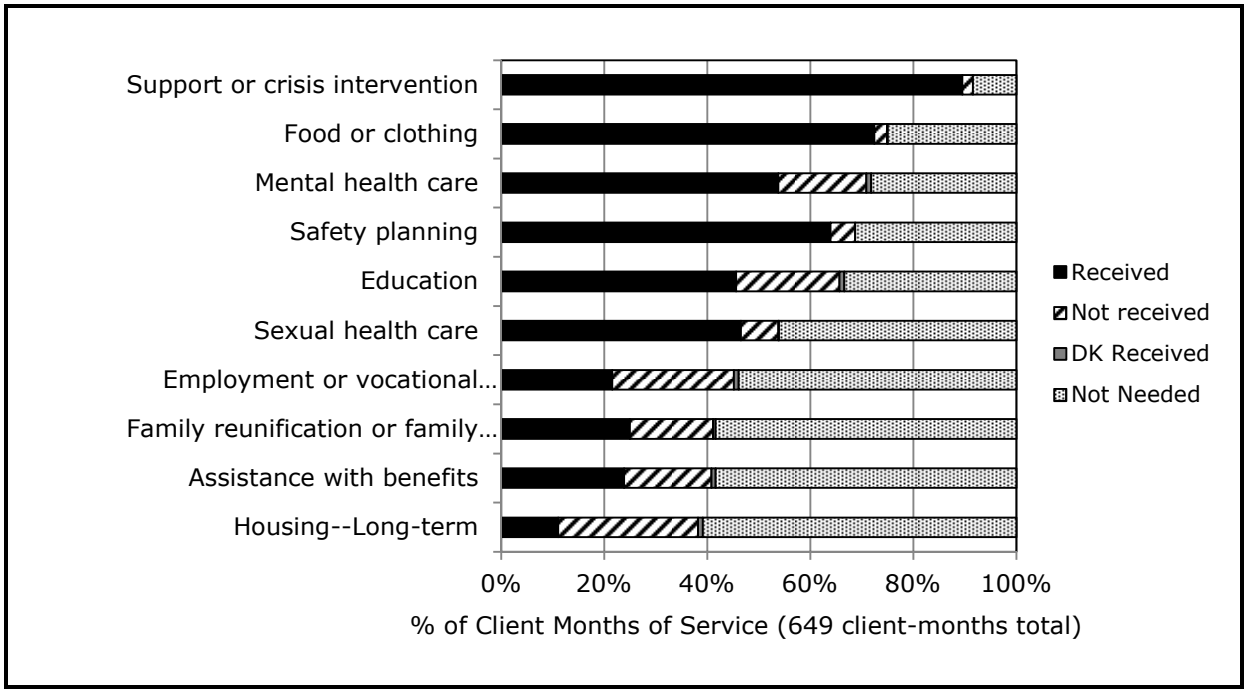
Figure 13. Services Needed and Received



Note: Data represent all young people served.

4.6 Program Approaches to Service Delivery

4.6.1 Case Management and Collaboration

Case management was the core component of the OVC-funded program. Accordingly, case managers provided assistance to help young people assess their needs (including safety), set goals and track progress, plan for their safety, locate and access resources, and navigate systems. Given high levels of client needs and unstable situations, these basic functions frequently required intensive effort.

Case managers served multiple roles—counselor, mentor, and advocate—and provided both tangible and emotional support to clients. Case managers reported that the OVC grant allowed them the time needed to build relationships, without which none of these roles were possible. Individual work and frequent communications were critical to this process. Because case management was a service provided to all clients, program staff did not track case management using the evaluation data collection forms.

All programs found it necessary to connect clients to services provided elsewhere, either through formal referrals or sharing information about options with clients. One program staff member said, "We can't do everything. There is a scarcity of resources, so a big part of every case manager's job is to connect with services." Connecting clients to resources also included supports such as assisting with applications to alternative schools, escorting young

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people to appointments, and coaching them on self-advocacy with service providers. Additionally, STOP-IT and Streetwork were able to make use of internal resources available through their parent organizations, the Salvation Army and Safe Horizon.

Program staff reported that they invested considerable effort in locating suitable resources for their clients, often networking to understand what was available. They maintained referral files about available resources, helpful contacts, and notes on programs that were a good match for clients. One program staff member said that clients themselves were the best resource for understanding which programs and services were the most suitable. Program staff reported that because the issue of commercial sex trade could be morally divisive, locating providers who were philosophically aligned with programs or willing to address clients' self-identified needs was sometimes difficult.

Service location was sometimes an obstacle when trying to link young people to other agencies. Young people were often unwilling to go, or uncomfortable going to certain parts of the city. Public transportation sometimes involved long travel times. Key informants reported that some young people avoided accessing services because of negative past experiences with providers. Case managers supported clients by escorting them to appointments and coaching them on self-advocacy with service providers.

In some instances, program staff helped develop resources by increasing capacity of other providers to work with trafficked young people. They accomplished this by educating providers about trafficking, the characteristics of trafficked youth, and strategies for working with them, as described in **Section 4.3**.

All three developed new alliances, as well as leveraged longstanding connections, during the course of the OVC grants. Collaborations were sometimes formalized through the development of a memorandum of understanding; at other times they were informal. Examples of collaborative services included sharing and receiving information about a client to facilitate the delivery of needed services; co-facilitating a client group activity or counseling group with staff from another organization; bringing external service providers on site to deliver services to young people; and sharing case management activities with another agency, including participating in case conferencing. Key informants reported that collaborations increased their own and other providers' capacity to identify and support trafficked young people and to ensure that young people received the services they needed.

The three programs also participated in community task forces and steering committees in their communities. These groups connected community stakeholders to address human trafficking at city and regional levels. Staff reported that their engagement in these groups facilitated partnership development with a wide variety of community agencies and stakeholders.

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Program staff reported several challenges in collaboration processes. These are similar to those described for developing referral networks and locating resources for young people. Building alliances was sometimes hampered by other providers' perceptions of the OVC-funded programs, competition for scarce resources, and differing philosophical approaches.

Program staff reported that developing partnerships with child welfare and juvenile justice public agencies was particularly challenging. The exception to this pattern was the close working relationship between SAGE and juvenile justice. Public agency staff often had different perspectives regarding limit-setting and young peoples' autonomy than the OVC-funded programs. Staff also found that access to organizational leadership took substantial time and effort. Relationships with workers were sometimes more productive but also were slow to spread within the agency. Furthermore, key informants observed organizational resistance to changing standard practices and potentially increasing burden on agency workers. Case narratives provided a few examples of particularly successful cross-system collaboration, as when child welfare workers agreed that the OVC-funded program could refrain from reporting the whereabouts of a young person who was on the run.

4.6.2 Service Delivery Challenges and Strategies

All three programs were committed to ensuring that clients had access to the array of core services encompassed by the OVC grant. Programs' approaches to service delivery varied, reflecting the characteristics of their clients, organizations, and communities. Interviews with key informants and case narratives revealed challenges related to specific services and the strategies programs used to provide them.

Support and Crisis Intervention

Challenges

Support and crisis intervention were the services that programs most frequently reported as needed and received by clients. However, program staff encountered some challenges in addressing these needs, similar to the obstacles they faced when attempting to engage young people in services. Challenges included young people's reluctance to reveal details of their trafficking experience, clients' sporadic contact with the program, clients' skepticism as to whether the program could meet their needs, and the geographic distance between the program and some young people. Additionally challenges came from parents who were unavailable or unwilling to engage in working with the case manager.

Strategies

Support and crisis intervention were integrated into programs' case management approaches. Many of the strategies programs used to provide support to young people and intervene during moments of crisis were the same as those used to encourage young people's engagement. Client-centered approaches met the needs that clients viewed as

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priorities, with tangible resources as well as advocacy and emotional support. Case managers strived to be available to young people; spend time with them; and establish trusting, respectful relationships with them. Key informants reported that providing emotional support, encouragement, and hope to young people were central to the case manager's role. One program staff member said, "The girls crave having someone to invest in their lives. They are not used to being told that they have value. They are not used to getting a birthday gift. It is about building a relationship with them." Programs' open-door policies also demonstrated nonjudgmental support for young people.

Case managers responded individually to clients when they faced moments of crisis. In addition, Streetwork and STOP-IT maintained emergency hotlines. STOP-IT's 24/7 hotline was operated by the program's case managers, who shared on-call duties. STOP-IT's established clients would sometimes use the hotline if they had a pressing need outside of their case managers' work day. By contrast, Streetwork's hotline was operated by Safe Horizon, Streetwork's parent agency. Streetwork staff provided training to hotline staff to increase their knowledge about trafficking and equip them with skills to better respond to trafficked minors.

Food and Clothing

Challenges

All three programs indicated that at least half of their clients needed food or clothing. Program staff reported that, despite being able to usually meet young people's clothing and food needs, more resources were needed in this area. Sometimes clothing needs were unique to an individual client and therefore were easier to meet if flexible funds could be utilized.

Strategies

SAGE and STOP-IT connected clients to external resources to meet their food and clothing needs. Streetwork clients were able to access a clothing closet and eat a hot meal cooked daily at the drop-in center. All three programs used OVC resources to purchase food (meals and groceries) and clothing for clients. Program staff pointed out that OVC funds were very helpful in that they enabled program staff to purchase items that fulfilled clients' individual needs, thus demonstrating commitment to clients.

Mental Health

Challenges

Program staff noted that many clients would benefit from mental health services. However, they described several barriers to clients' receiving mental health services. Key informants reported that most young people do not view mental health services as a priority and instead may be focused on meeting more immediate needs (e.g., stable housing, income).

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Key informant noted that young peoples' mental health issues sometimes interfered with their ability to function, including engaging in therapy. "They can't do the other work they need to do to get a job, etc., because they have so much trauma." Parents sometimes created a barrier when their permission was required for the young person to receive mental health services.

Furthermore, many young people were reluctant to engage in mental health services. This reluctance may be due to young people's perceived stigma of seeing a counselor or previous negative experiences with mental health services. One key informant said, "[Young people] think that 'counselor' means you think they are crazy." Program staff described how some clients tried to use their case managers as therapists and had to be directed to clinically credentialed staff.

Strategies

Two programs offered mental health services on site. SAGE employed a staff member with clinical credentials to work with clients and Streetwork contracted with psychiatrists to offer services at the drop-in center. Offering services in house created opportunities to link young people to mental health care in a manner that they feel more comfortable with. Streetwork had several case managers who were licensed social workers (LMSWs) and provided mental health and supportive counseling. Mental health services were also offered by the medical van that stopped at one-drop in center weekly. STOP-IT established a relationship with an external therapist who offered to meet with young people in a neutral location outside of her office to ease some of young people's resistance. Even though a few clients expressed an interest in meeting with the therapist, none actually did so. Program staff tried various strategies to encourage young people to engage in mental health services, including negotiating the amount of time to spend with the mental health professional, role-playing how to ask questions, and sharing their own therapy experiences.

Education and Employment

Challenges

Both employment and education are linked to young people's ability to support themselves in the long term. Challenges related to education and employment are therefore of particular concern, and they are reported together here. Key informants reported that school engagement was frequently challenging for young people. Obstacles included being behind grade level; unstable living situations; and school environments that were unaffirming and unsafe, particularly for LGBTQ young people. Barriers to employment identified by key informants included young people's lack of work experience and marketable skills, a limited number of job training programs, and a generally discouraging job market. Additionally, minimum wage jobs available to young people fell short of their living expenses.

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Strategies

Program case managers helped young people identify and apply for General Educational Development (GED) programs and alternative schools, provided advocacy to support a young person's communication with school personnel, and provided support and guidance throughout the job application and interview process. Streetwork referred clients to the internship program at Streetwise and Safe (SAS), which developed work and leadership skills by engaging LGBTQ youth with experience in sex trades and street economies to train other youth on their legal rights. STOP-IT attempted to connect clients to the Job Corps, but found that the program's extremely tight structure was not a good match for its clients.

Housing

Challenges

Housing is frequently an intractable issue for young people. A Streetwork staff member reported that the city had more than 3,800 homeless youth on a typical night but only 207 shelter beds for youth. Program staff reported that clients needed a full range of housing options, from emergency shelter to long-term homes. Supportive housing for young people with mental health issues was also needed. Although shelter bed availability varied by city, shortages typically restricted the length of time that young people were able to remain in a shelter.

Obstacles to accessing emergency shelter were exacerbated for young people avoiding parental notification, those under 16 years of age, and those avoiding child welfare involvement. Most shelters can house unaccompanied minors for a very limited period before contacting a parent or guardian. If the young person does not identify a parent or guardian, or if no response is received, shelters are required to contact child protective services. Additional barriers to shelter access for young people included constraints imposed by shelter facilities such as curfews, separation of partners, and limited or no daytime hours. Furthermore, some young people, particularly those who are LGBTQ, found shelter environments intimidating. As a result of these challenges, program staff reported that young people often rode subway trains all night rather than going to shelters.

Strategies

Despite the general lack of resources, programs worked to facilitate housing access for young people. Streetwork hired a benefits specialist who focused on housing requirements and strategies. Streetwork also offered short-term emergency housing through its own facility, although the number of beds was limited and its waiting list averaged approximately 80 young people at a time. STOP-IT developed an alliance with a faith-based organization of foster families outside of the child welfare system. Although this was a valued resource, program staff discovered that families' expectations sometimes proved different from reality, and extensive support was needed to maintain placements.

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Assistance with Benefits

Challenges

Many young people, particularly those who were not connected to their families, needed public benefits to help support themselves. However, program staff identified several factors complicating their clients' access to public benefits. Some young people found it challenging to apply for benefits because process was intimidating, complicated, or too time-consuming. Eligibility for public assistance often required employment or school enrollment, which were challenges for young people. Staff described situations in which a young person's parent or guardian collected SSI or food assistance in the young person's name but did not share it with the young person. These young people knew that applying for benefits in their own name could trigger an investigation of their parents and child welfare involvement for themselves or for younger siblings. Finally, young people were required to show identification to apply for public benefits. Program staff reported that many young people, particularly if homeless or estranged from family, did not possess a birth certificate or Social Security card.

Strategies

Program staff helped young people access public benefits in several ways. They assisted with navigating requirements, acquiring necessary identification, and completing paperwork. They also escorted young people to the benefits office and coached them on how to advocate for themselves.

Medical Services

Challenges

Although medical needs were not identified as frequently as other needs, key respondents reported that barriers to receiving medical services did exist for young people. Most young people were eligible for Medicaid, but many encountered the same challenges noted above regarding accessing benefit programs. Additionally, young people might not seek medical care because they feared judgmental providers, or because medical providers are mandated reporters. Key informants also noted that medical follow-up with young people who were on the run or homeless can be frustrating for providers.

Strategies

Streetwork partnered with a community health center to provide medical services. The program's mobile clinic, operated out of a van, parked weekly outside Streetwork's drop-in centers and shelter. Medical needs were less frequently identified for SAGE and STOP-IT clients. However, program staff connected clients with medical resources in the community when needed.

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Legal Advocacy

Challenges

Young people needed legal counsel for situations such as child welfare benefits, rights and options related to family court, charges related to trafficking or other charges. Other instances of legal needs described by key informants included a young person on probation who wanted assistance understanding probation requirements, and clients' mothers who requested protection from facilitators.

Strategies

Each program connected clients with legal experts who provided young people with legal advocacy and *pro bono* services. Similar to their strategy for medical services, Streetwork regularly sited an external collaborator at the drop-in center to connect with clients and offer legal services. Streetwork case managers also wrote letters to court on behalf of clients and performed other forms of advocacy not requiring legal credentials.

Although one possible role of legal advocacy was support for young people who might assist with investigation and prosecution of facilitators, this rarely occurred. Program staff reported that young people had no interest in voluntary engagement with law enforcement and that staff members respected young peoples' choices. The only instance in which OVC-funded programs contributed to prosecution efforts occurred at STOP-IT. Both the state's attorney's office and law enforcement personnel called on STOP-IT to provide victim services when they encountered a young person who was involved in sex trade. This collaboration allowed STOP-IT to support investigative efforts with as much involvement as comfortable for the young person. In one example, STOP-IT staff members' identification of a tattoo aided prosecution of a facilitator. Additionally, STOP-IT's close relationship with prosecutors was helpful in building rapport with a young person who decided to share her situation with prosecutors.

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5. HOW DID CLIENTS AND STAFF EXPERIENCE THE PROGRAMS?

5.1 Client Experiences

A basic descriptor of clients' interaction with programs was their length of service. This was calculated as the difference between program intake date and the case closing date. The median number of reported days served was highest at STOP-IT (117 days), followed by SAGE (65 days) and Streetwork (15 days) (data not shown). The relatively brief length of service at Streetwork is consistent with the circumstances of runaway and throwaway youth. These young people were often transient and sometimes involved for only brief periods to address immediate needs such as food and clothing. A few clients remained in contact with the program for extended periods (maximum days of engagement: 529 days for SAGE, 678 days for STOP-IT, and 924 days for Streetwork). However, engagement beyond 6 months was observed for fewer than 15% of Streetwork clients, 20% of SAGE and fewer than 35% of STOP-IT clients.

As shown in **Figure 14**, staff reported a number of reasons that young people exited the program. Across programs, the most commonly reported reason was that the program lost contact with the young person, particularly at STOP-IT (45%) and Streetwork (51%). Clients may have chosen not to return to the program if they felt that their needs were met, or if their needs were not met immediately and they did not believe they are likely to be met. Streetwork and STOP-IT also commonly (23%–32%) reported that clients aged out of the program. At SAGE, no one reason for program exit predominated. Staff commonly reported that clients relocated or discontinued services, which may reflect the completion of mandated services as a condition of probation. A total of seven cases across the programs were reopened after having been closed.

Program staff at SAGE and STOP-IT reported that one reason for clients' discontinuing services was that they were not yet ready to exit sex trade engagement, even with support. They described a variety of reasons that this might be so. Some young people drawn into sex trades by financial needs saw no alternative means of supporting themselves. One informant noted, "The relationship with the facilitator has a lot of strong emotions and—being adolescents—the feeling of love is powerful and addictive." Furthermore, young people may not have perceived their situation as unsafe and may have felt accepted among other trafficked minors in a way they had not experienced previously. In addition, as described in **Section 3,** facilitators exerted control over clients' behavior through emotional engagement, violence, or threats of violence.

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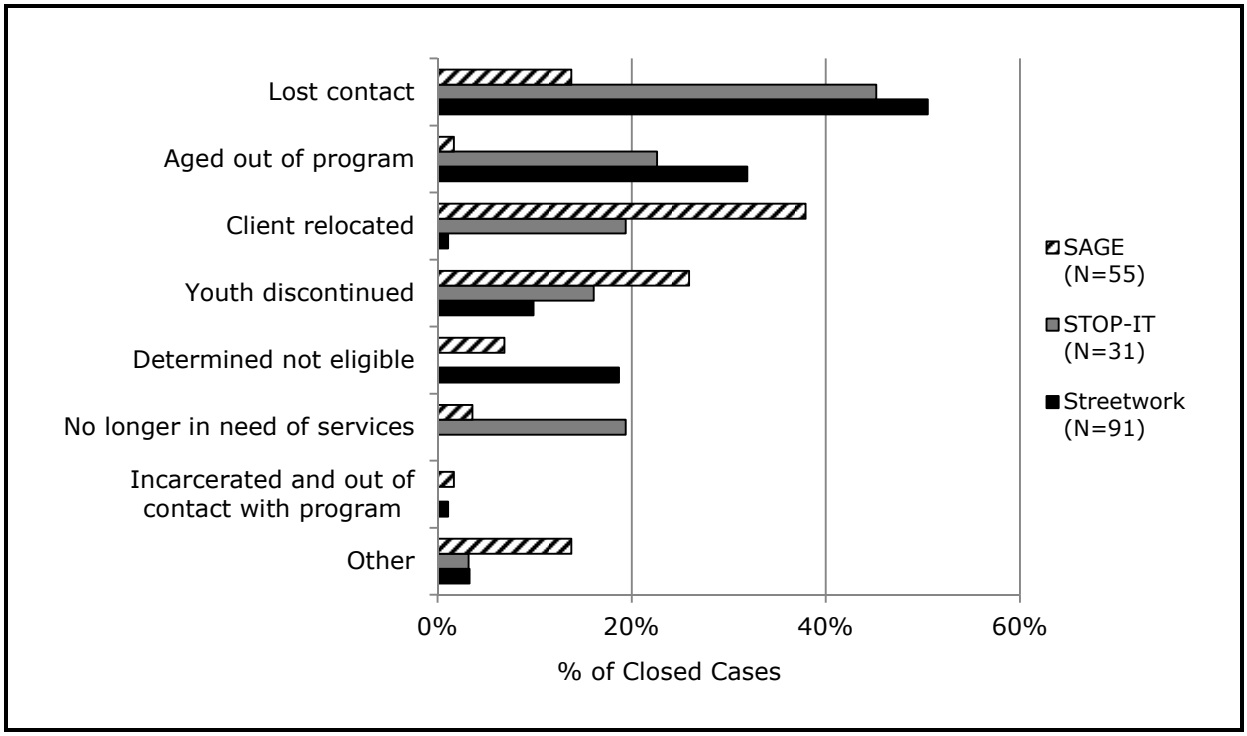
Figure 14. Reasons for Case Closing



Note: Data represent all young people served. Multiple responses allowed. Totals may add to more than 100%.

Staff in all three programs reported that they were always available to reopen a case whenever a client was ready to work with them. A case manager described a client who was out of contact for a month, but later called back. "[She] said, 'I'm sorry. Can I still work with you?' I was like, 'Of course.'" Programs also maintained contact with clients who did not yet want to re-engage with services. One case manager described a conversation with a client who was not ready to exit sex trades at the time: "I let her know what's available... and that we're always here when she's ready." Another client who was described as "having disappeared multiple times" nevertheless "keeps our number and continues to reach out."

Key informant interviews provided additional context for circumstances in which clients exited the program. Given the voluntary nature of program participation, it is not surprising that lost contact and client discontinuation of services occurred frequently. Even for court-mandated clients at SAGE, participation was voluntary after probation requirements were completed.

Aging out of the program was inevitable, given that clients' median age at intake was 17, and OVC-funded services extended only to age 18. Each of the three programs was able to continue serving clients after their 18th birthdays, either through other funded trafficking services (SAGE and STOP-IT) or with general services (Streetwork). However, programs could not provide the material resources that were agreed to be essential in engaging clients in the OVC-funded program, such as clothing, infant supplies, transit passes, and

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food. With approval from OVC, some clients were served past their 18th birthdays to facilitate transition to other services or to work through a crisis. Program managers frequently lamented the program's age limits. They noted that young people were far more likely to disclose sex trade engagement as they reached age 18, when they were no longer concerned that program staff might be required to report their circumstances to the child welfare system.

Among young people who exited the program as ineligible, all did so because trafficking was not confirmed within 3 months of intake. Program staff reported that in many of these cases, they had strong reasons for believing that young people were engaged in sex trades. However, they respected young peoples' right not to disclose trafficking. Disclosure was particularly a challenge at Streetwork, where sex trade engagement was rarely the impetus for seeking out the program. By contrast, referrals to SAGE and STOP-IT were frequently based on acknowledged sex trade engagement.

Although exits due to clients' no longer being in need of services were less common than other reasons, case narrative data described some successful exits. One young woman who had aged out remained connected to the OVC program and, although "[she] had been contacted by some pimps and was pretty vulnerable…, she has stayed out of the life." Another had been engaged in sex trades since running from foster care at age 12. The program worked intensively with this client, focusing on conflict management, self-advocacy, and educational support. One year later, each of these former clients was still in school, with no indication of going back to sex trade engagement. Other case narratives describe clients whose exit from sex trades was facilitated by a change in environment. These included a group home out of the city, a residential program for females exiting trafficking, and an out-of-state relative.

The most common theme among case narratives that described exits from trafficking was access to safe living environments, either with family members or in residential programs. Program staff emphasized the tremendous advantage of having at least one supportive family connection. One noted that "those clients are often successful because they have someone in their court." Young people who were unable to reconnect with family, or unwilling to engage with child welfare, had far fewer options for shelter and support.

Although exiting sex trade engagement was always a desired outcome, program staff emphasized that this was never their only goal for young people. They identified several other proximal outcomes that they would like to see clients achieve. For young people who were still engaged in sex trades, disclosing this involvement and engaging in services were identified as significant milestones. "It is a measure of success to move from being guarded and not trusting, and to trust someone here. Depending on the young person, [it] may be

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the first time they've had that." Adoption of safer sex and drug practices was another important goal for these young people.

Informants also noted the importance of incremental steps toward stability, such as moving from the street to a shelter, or from a shelter to a transitional living program. Other program staff noted that relationship development, trust, life skills, and self-efficacy were critical to eventual success, but they were rarely measured: "How do we incorporate the life skills piece in there, empowerment, some small control over their lives? It's hard to demonstrate that as an outcome." Consistent with this observation, another noted that the ability to balance short-term frustrations against long-term goals was needed if young people were to successfully use services.

Program staff described elements of successful life that were much broader than exiting sex trade engagement. One case manager summed up the transition in self-image by saying, "Ideally, they are at a point where they see that [trading sex] is no longer an option anymore because they are worth more than that." One agency lead noted the need for "concrete alternatives" to sex trade engagement that can support "healthy, emotionally healthy, and safe lives." Another program manager defined successful outcomes in terms of both program functioning and client success: "When they feel in control of their goals and their situation and what they are working towards, and what they are working towards is achievable. It's about simultaneously increasing their own competence and decision-making skills and increasing the resources that are available to them so they have good options."

5.2 Staff and Program Experiences

Because the experiences of program staff are essential to successful program operation, these were incorporated into the process evaluation. In each program, staff consistently described their work as stressful and emotionally draining. Case managers reported that responding empathically to young peoples' current circumstances and prior experiences can produce vicarious trauma. "To hear these stories is to bear witness. People say let it go, but how do you let that stuff go?" asked one. At the same time, they identified profound satisfaction in their work. "It's a lot of sadness to take in, but also extreme joy and excitement."

In some instances, organizational stress compounded the stress of client interactions. Staff turnover and management changes inevitably affected case managers' work experiences. During the course of the OVC grants, two of the three programs also experienced restructuring in response to funding shifts and budget cutbacks.

Program managers noted that successful case managers were not identified by academic degree or professional experience. They were therefore keenly aware of the importance of selecting and developing case managers. One program manager described assessing

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potential staff in terms of their interaction skills, comfort in responding to young peoples' circumstances, and commitment to the work. An agency leader defined essential staff qualities as "character, competence, and chemistry [among the team]." Other factors included compassion, flexibility, genuine caring, and tolerance for slow progress.

Supervision had enormous impact on case managers' work experiences, either by its absence or its presence. Effective supervision practices at different programs included daily check-ins at the beginning or end of the day, weekly individual supervision, and weekly team meetings. "I feel ready for a new day after supervision," noted one case manager. One program manager noted the importance of supervision that responded to individuals' needs and capitalized on their unique strengths. In addition to dedicated supervision time, case managers reported that the ability to call on their supervisors when needed was essential. Knowing that "someone has your back," as one said, increased their confidence in an unpredictable and often crisis-laden job.

Case managers identified the need for individual self-care. Many reported that work strain impacted their lives outside of work. "There are days when I'm in tears during the day, or I come out so numb and so tired. Not just physically, but mentally and emotionally," one said. They emphasized the need to take time away after particularly stressful experiences. Creating boundaries between work and personal life was also essential. They used strategies such as setting limits on when they would respond to text messages from clients or committing to self-care plans to counter work stress.

Finally, peer support among case managers was identified as a vital complement to supervision. One program arranged monthly meetings in which an external therapist facilitated discussions of potential challenges to team functioning. Case managers emphasized that the entire team's effectiveness increased when individuals helped each other out. A program manager commented, "I think we've created a good team where people help each other.… We care about each other and we care about the work we do."

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6. DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Discussion

This evaluation describes efforts by three very different programs to identify and serve minor victims of human trafficking. Building on expertise they brought to this effort, their experiences implementing the OVC-funded program provide valuable information for future program development. Specifically, information from this evaluation illustrates both challenges and promising strategies for meeting the needs of these young people.

A key strength of this evaluation is the variety of perspectives represented. OVC invested in three organizations representing substantial diversity in community settings and populations served. Within the framework of the funding announcement, the three programs implemented distinct approaches to engaging and serving young people. Additional diversity was incorporated into the evaluation design through the use of both quantitative and qualitative data. Data sources included program leaders, front-line workers, and representatives of numerous organizations that encountered trafficked young people and those at risk of trafficking. Finally, our participatory approach ensured that the evaluation addressed aspects of program operation most relevant to practice experience. The evaluation team also shared findings with the programs throughout the grant period to inform ongoing improvement.

We also acknowledge several limitations of this evaluation. Perhaps most critically, the young people served by these programs cannot represent any larger population of trafficked minors. The extent and characteristics of that population have not been defined and may never be measured reliably. However, the young people served by the OVC-funded programs included key groups at risk of trafficking, such as runaway and throwaway youth and those who encounter the child welfare and juvenile justice systems. They included few labor-trafficked youth, relatively few LGBTQ youth (except at Streetwork), few non-English-speaking youth, and few young people trafficked by their families. Clients did not include rural youth, or young people engaged in the pornography industry. Furthermore, caution is required in interpreting these data because of the modest number of young people served and high levels of missing data for sensitive items.

Several additional limitations result from the evaluation's structure. The process evaluation limited the evaluation's scope to describing program operations and the extent to which implementation proceeded as intended. The evaluation describes key proximal outcomes of enrollment and service delivery, but it was not intended to assess exits from trafficking or longer term impacts. The evaluation describes only 2.5 years of program operation. During this time, programs continuously developed and refined their strategies. Although much was learned in this process, program models were far from fully developed. Finally, we elected

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not to collect data directly from young people because of concerns related to logistics, trust, and trauma risk.

In the context of these strengths and limitations, we can point to some key findings from this evaluation:

- **The diversity of trafficked minors.** Despite the limitations of any description of this population, they clearly include youth who are pre-adolescents, adolescents and transition age; of any race and culture, male and female, heterosexual and LGBTQ, tragically disadvantaged and apparently privileged.

- **The specificity of programs.** The select group of providers funded by OVC demonstrated success in connecting to some young people, and struggled to reach others. Although a community response to trafficking necessarily includes all victims, the fit between subgroups of minor victims and providers will likely be defined by young peoples' beliefs about the programs, perceptions of referring providers, programs' resources and cultural competencies.

- **The challenge of initial and continued engagement**. Many, if not most, of the young people served by these programs were wary of service providers and adults in general, and not without reason. Strategies used to engage young people in services included meeting immediate needs, responding to youth-identified priorities, and flexibility on the part of organizations and staff members.

- **The absence of the quick fix**. Conditions that pushed and pulled young people in to trafficking were frequently lifelong, if not generational. Program staff found it essential to remain available to young people along their circuitous path to change. At best, they solidified this process with connections to other service providers, family members able to play a role in the young person's life, positive peer interactions and communities.

- **The vital role of trafficking service providers.** The OVC-funded programs were relatively small parts of the youth-serving landscape. However, they offered unique expertise in trauma and resiliency, understanding of street economies, and the ability to align themselves with young people in a way that formal agencies rarely could. Further, they provided technical assistance that improved the fit between victim's needs and existing resources, and case management services knit services together.

Findings from this evaluation frame our recommendations for programs that serve young people at risk of trafficking and those that address trafficking directly. No single program model will exist. Responses to trafficking need to encompass the diversity of trafficked young people with respect to sex, gender identity, culture, life experience, and readiness to engage in services. In addition, optimal strategies will reflect their organizations and communities with respect to expertise, leadership, relationships, and policy environment.

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6.2 Recommendations

6.2.1 Recommendations for a Coordinated Community Response to Minor Victim Trafficking

Numerous panels, commissions, and policy groups have developed recommendations for system responses to minor victim trafficking (Aldrich & Mazur, 2009; Clawson, Dutch, & Cummings, 2006; Clayton, Krugman, & Simon, 2013; Collins, 2004; Finklea, Fernandes-Alcantara, & Siskin, 2011; National Center for Victims of Crime, 2012; National Colloquium, 2012; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2013; Walts, French, Moore, & Ashai, 2011; Widom & Ames, 1994). This evaluation is certainly more modest in scope than these efforts. However, we can offer the following recommendations supported by our findings.

As an overriding recommendation, increased collaboration among youth-serving agencies would clearly benefit young people who are trafficked or at risk of trafficking. Professionals in education, child welfare, juvenile justice, and other agencies share a mandate to work on behalf of vulnerable youth. However, they are frequently constrained by inadequate resources, overwhelming workloads, and conflicting regulations. Providers with specific expertise on the needs of trafficked youth can bring much-needed experience, resources, and dedicated time to engage young people around these issues.

Collaboration through case conferencing or shared case management would likely require protocols for information sharing. Partners may also need to negotiate situations in which they have divergent perspectives on the best interests of a young person—for example, whether a trafficking service provider is required to reveal the whereabouts of a young person who is on the run. The OVC-funded programs and their collaborators have demonstrated that such gaps can be bridged.

A key step in developing collaboration has been the training and technical assistance provided by the OVC-funded programs. Training was the essential first step in raising partners' awareness of the existence of trafficking among students, arrested young people, foster youth, and juvenile justice detainees. A particularly effective strategy was the identification of setting-specific "red flags" that may indicate trafficking. For example, health care workers may notice tattoos identifying facilitators, and child welfare workers can identify youth who repeatedly run from placements. Ideally, training of front-line workers is paired with response protocols and additional in-house expertise, as well as connection to external resources.

Collaboration could be greatly enhanced by the use of screening and assessment procedures. Resources for screening exist (National Colloquium, 2012; Polaris Project, 2011; Walts et al., 2011) and can be adapted to different settings. Workers need training on

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the use of the screening tools before implementing them. More importantly, leadership must commit to identifying and responding to trafficking among youth in their systems.

A final broad strategy would be to significantly increase housing resources for minors. The logical and well-documented relationship between homelessness and sex trafficking for minors suggests the need for many more shelter beds than exist. This includes emergency, short-term and long-term shelters. When youth are placed on waiting lists for shelter beds, or forced to leave shelters after reaching a time limit, trafficking becomes an immediate risk. A related strategy would be increased flexibility in resource access for minors. Restrictions on emergency shelters and public benefits may increase trafficking risk among young people who have no other resources with which to meet basic needs.

6.2.2 Recommendations for Development of Trafficking-Specific Programs

Initial and sustained engagement could be enhanced by doing the following:

- Acknowledging the challenge of engagement. Trafficking -related services may be a low priority among young people. This may be particularly true for those whose experience with service providers and systems has been negative in the past. Funders and programs cannot underestimate the effort that will likely be needed to facilitate initial and ongoing engagement.

- Continuing efforts to develop strategies to engage male youth and LGBTQ youth. A large organization with diverse staff and program offerings, such as Streetwork, can serve a broad spectrum of young people. However, the experience of SAGE and STOP-IT demonstrates that one approach is unlikely to meet the needs of all clients in a smaller program.

- Although programs should ideally feel welcoming to diverse young people, smaller programs may choose to tailor their approaches to program sponsorship, referral sources, staff characteristics, and service offerings to specific populations;

- Creating physical space that feels safe and comfortable. Young people are acutely sensitive to cues as to who "belongs" in a program. Males, LGBTQ youth, and young people may be uncomfortable in a space that appears oriented to females, straight youth, or adults. They may have clearly defined geographic comfort zones, and they are likely to be dependent on public transportation. Mobilizing workers or co-locating them in settings where trafficked young people are already comfortable may be necessary.

- Allowing young people to engage in services on their own terms. A low-threshold approach allows young people to manage engagement in a way that feels safe and comfortable for them. Organizations that also serve at-risk young people can deliver trafficking-related education and services without requiring disclosure of trafficking during initial interactions. Focusing on broad goals of safety, self-sufficiency, and health would allow young people to engage in services without making a commitment to exit trafficking.

- Strategically using material resources. Shared meals, clothing, school supplies, and transit passes met immediate, practical needs of young people. They were also essential

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as incentives for repeated contacts, creating a bridge to relationship building and engagement.

Service delivery to trafficked young people could be enhanced by doing the following:

- Investing in significant staff time for relationship building. Many young people had limited experience interacting with healthy, nonexploitive adults. Overstretched workers in child welfare and juvenile justice systems rarely have the luxury of extended interactions with their clients. Time devoted to support, mentoring, and life skills was useful in itself, laid a foundation for other services, and communicated that the young person was valued. Ideally, young people should have access to more than one worker to increase options and avoid potential disruptions.

- Developing toolkits for practice. Even with significant prior experience, the OVC-funded programs developed and refined strategies throughout the grant period. Future efforts could focus on reviewing and manualizing curricula and other approaches. Services should be trauma informed and developmentally appropriate. Although harm reduction was frequently mentioned by service providers, specific training on its implementation may be needed. Motivational interviewing techniques may be particularly useful.

- Developing peer-led components. Incorporating former clients as group leaders and in other roles would serve multiple functions. Visible peer leadership may reach young people who are wary of adult professionals. Additionally, a peer component offers opportunities for former clients to build skills, practice work habits, and establish credible work history.

- Building comfort and flexibility with discussions of trafficking. Program staff need training in order to discuss sex trade involvement in a way that communicates openness, comfort, and lack of judgment to young people. Using terminology that young people use is essential.

- Ensuring 24/7 response capacity. Crises are unlikely to be confined to agency hours. At a minimum, programs need an informed hotline response. Ideally this arrangement would include the ability for hotline staff to contact a worker with whom the young person has an established relationship, when warranted.

Support for program staff could be enhanced by doing the following:

- Offering comprehensive training and skill building. Managers in OVC-funded programs assessed potential staff in terms of their interaction skills, comfort in responding to young peoples' circumstances, and commitment to the work, rather than by academic degree. Prioritizing worker characteristics means that pre-service and in-service training will be essential. Strategies included teaming new staff with experienced ones, using external training on specific skills, and attending state or regional conferences.

- Providing regular individual supervision. Program staff who received thoughtful supervision described it as invaluable; those who lacked it felt severely challenged. All agreed that it was a priority.

- Supporting work-life balance. Program staff identified reimbursement for individual counseling, subsidized gym membership, and commitments to self-care plans as

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essential in avoiding burnout. Perhaps most importantly, this requires funding for adequate staffing levels so that staff members are not overwhelmed by clients' needs.

- Strengthening the team. Supervisors need to model and demand support for each team member if program staff are to have the confidence needed in unpredictable situations. To ensure functioning of diverse teams, program staff needed support for "hard conversations" around race, class, and gender identity.

Long-term self-sufficiency for trafficked young people could be enhanced by doing the following:

- Prioritizing educational support. Many trafficked young people have experienced long histories of educational disruption and failure. More resources are needed that are available and relevant to young peoples' needs. Programs can assist young people in finding and applying to innovative educational programs, accessing tutoring services, and connecting to in-school supports. Extended educational benefits are a key reason to retain connection with child welfare when possible.

- Building job readiness. Programs can connect young people to job training, coach clients on job applications and interviews, and support basic work habits. Internships and peer leadership roles in anti-trafficking and youth advocacy programs would allow youth to use their life experiences and establish work histories.

- Building social support networks. Young people need a "village" of support to sustain them into adulthood. One possible model is the permanency connection approach developed for youth aging out of foster care, in which young people are helped to identify and connect with family members and other adults who have played positive roles in their lives. One OVC-funded program was in the process of developing long-term mentoring networks at the close of the grant period.

- Building resources for transition-aged youth. Some young people will not disclose trafficking until they reach age 18. An ideal response would allow extension of resources and legal protections for those trafficked as minors. Extending service eligibility for programs currently serving minors would facilitate youth staying connected to program staff they already trust.

6.2.3 Recommendations for Programs Serving Young People at Risk of Trafficking

Additional system-specific measures supported by our data are as follows.

Law enforcement and juvenile justice response could be improved by doing the following:

- Treating minors engaged in sex trades as victims rather than as juvenile offenders, consistent with federal law. This approach would preclude arresting young people for sex trade involvement, using arrest as a way to "encourage" service use, and housing young people in jails rather than settings appropriate for crime victims, such as domestic violence shelters.

- Recognizing the existence of force and coercion as a factor in illicit activities such as drug sales. Although labor trafficking among domestic minors has not yet been well

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described, several narratives in this evaluation describe sex-trafficked minors who were coerced by their facilitators to sell drugs.

- Collaborating with prosecution and service providers to support victims and victim-informed investigations. Services may be the most effective strategy to develop relationships with victims who can support prosecution of facilitators. Victims are also more likely to participate in investigative strategies that build on information they provide, rather than those requiring their public participation. In any case, young people must retain the choice of whether to participate in investigation and prosecution. Eligibility for victim services should not be contingent on participation in building a case against the victim's facilitator.

Child welfare response could be improved by doing the following:

- Ensuring consistent response to older adolescents. Young people remain in need of protection and resources well past age 16. Many states offer substantial resources to youth aging out of foster care, but young people who disappear from the system before reaching age 18 may become ineligible for these programs. Although older youth may not readily accept services, they are at high risk of trafficking. Developmentally informed models that transition to independent living skills and those that extend educational support are needed.

- Developing alternative placement options for trafficked youth. Because foster homes for adolescents are scarce, group homes are commonly used. However, key informants reported recruitment to sex trade engagement from group homes, both by other residents and by facilitators. Specialized foster care by providers who are thoroughly trained and adequately compensated could represent a more effective option.

- Negotiating flexible protocols to support safety for minors on the run from placements. Requiring that other providers report the whereabouts of young people may create barriers to services and increase their susceptibility to trafficking.

Educational response could be improved by doing the following:

- Recognizing that students without family support will be at increased risk of trafficking. Teachers and social workers are likely to be aware of which young people are couch-surfing with friends or shifting among relatives. Connecting these students to services may sustain their attendance and offer much-needed protection from sex trade engagement.

- Developing and referring to specialized programs that foster self-sufficiency. Poverty contributes to sex trade involvement and makes sustained exit less feasible. Tutoring, occupational training and support, and early college high school programs could be critical for young people without family resources.

6.3 Conclusions

Our final observations are based on both the implementation experiences of the OVC-funded programs and the reported experiences of young people served. As a starting point, we note that the popular media narrative of "abducted innocents" was rarely seen among those served by the OVC-funded programs. Instead, the common thread was of young people who

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engaged in sex trades as the least-bad solution to meeting fundamental needs for safety, shelter, social connection, and love. Case narratives described young people who entered sex trades to meet basic survival needs, to engage emotionally with someone who told them they were special, and to connect with a surrogate family.

Sex trade engagement was never the only problem in these young peoples' lives and often not their most critical problem. Meeting fundamental needs frequently took precedence over engaging in services or working toward long-term goals. As a result, the OVC-funded programs found that personal attention, material resources, and flexible service delivery approaches were critical to developing relationships. Programs constantly struggled to engage clients and sustain their involvement, despite offering resources that were far more generous than typically available.

With very few exceptions, the young people described in this evaluation are the same youth served by, or failed by, existing social programs. Program data showed that the majority of young people had open cases in child welfare, juvenile justice, or both systems, with a substantial number in legal guardianship of a public system. Case narrative data described others who had experienced neglect or abuse without a response from the child welfare system. Although their median age was 17, only half attended school.

Despite high levels of system engagement, trafficking was rarely addressed by youth-serving agencies. Child welfare, juvenile justice, and law enforcement personnel interviewed during the evaluation typically described trafficking as rare among the young people they encountered. They described sex trade engagement as normative risk-taking behavior, equated sex trade engagement with prostitution arrests, differentiated "survival sex" from trafficking, and defined trafficking in terms of movement across jurisdictions. Few recognized the existence of sex trade engagement among male or LGBTQ youth. A promising note was that personnel in these agencies who had been trained by the OVC-funded programs reported enhanced understanding as a result of these training sessions and felt able to call on the OVC-funded programs for technical assistance when needed.

Unfortunately, legal provisions enacted to protect minors frequently represent barriers to service. This is particularly true for runaway and throwaway youth and others whose families do not protect or provide for them. Most emergency, transitional, and long-term housing programs are restricted to adults. Rather than risk child welfare involvement, young people in the programs evaluated reportedly chose not to access youth shelters or apply for benefits. As a result, young people engaged in sex trades to meet these basic needs. Other young people disclosed trafficking only when they approached age 18 and were no longer bound by youth service systems. However, they were then ineligible for resources from OVC-funded programs, and they were more likely to be treated as offenders than victims.

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Despite these daunting challenges, each of the OVC-funded programs achieved successes in serving trafficked young people. Within the parameters of the funding announcement, they developed distinct approaches to working with key populations of trafficked young people. SAGE combined group programs and individual support in a model that supported young people diverted from, or transitioning from, juvenile justice involvement. STOP-IT engaged young people immediately after arrest on prostitution-related charges and supported law enforcement in their transition to treating trafficked minors as victims. Streetwork created new avenues to service engagement among runaway and throwaway youth, who are notoriously wary of services. Additionally, each program provided extensive training and technical assistance that informed practice among other providers. The preliminary experience of these three programs suggests that the full range of promising strategies is yet to be defined.

Intensive involvement with young people in such extreme circumstances demands constant attention to support for program staff. Case managers described frequent heartbreaks, small victories, and occasional triumphs. To face these daily challenges, staff members need highly functioning teams, attentive supervision, and support in defending the boundaries of their lives outside work. Supervisors need wisdom and creativity to develop staff members whose qualifications cannot be defined by academic preparation or professional background.

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APPENDIX 1:
DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

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Youth Status at Intake and Assessment

- *Complete this form for every new client or client who's case has reopened (previously served but case closed).*
- *Information should reflect the client's status at assessment and be collected at intake and/or during the first 30 days after intake.*
- *If significant new information regarding client status at intake is disclosed after first 30 days, complete a new form with revised information only (amended intake).* *(* = see pages 10-12 for guidance)*

Type of Intake *(Check one and fill in corresponding dates(s))*

- ☐ **New Intake** → **Intake date** __/__/___ *(Date started working with or on behalf of client)*
- ☐ **Reopened** → **Date reopened** __/__/___ **Original intake date** __/__/___
- ☐ **Amended Intake** → **Date amended form completed** __/__/___

Referral Date __/__/___ (*Date you first were contacted on behalf of or by the client*)

Referral Source *(Check one)*

Service delivery system

- ☐ Child protective services (CPS)
- ☐ Hospital/ER/Medical
- ☐ Law enforcement (i.e., police)
- ☐ Juvenile justice/Probation officer* *(* = see pages 10-12)*
- ☐ Shelter*
- ☐ School
- ☐ Other agency, specify type*: _____

Informal referral

- ☐ Parent/Relative/Guardian/Siblings
- ☐ Self (following outreach)
- ☐ Friend/Self/Word of mouth/Internet
- ☐ Other, specify type/relationship: _____

Was client court mandated to participate? Yes No

Date of Birth	___/___/_____
Age at intake	____
Sex/Gender	☐ Male ☐ Female ☐ Transgender FTM/Transman ☐ Transgender MTF/Transwoman ☐ Other, specify: _____ ☐ Client declined to identify
Race/Ethnicity *(Check all that apply)*	☐ American Indian or Alaska Native ☐ Asian ☐ Black or African American ☐ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander ☐ White ☐ Hispanic or Latino/a or Spanish ☐ Other, specify: _____ ☐ Client declined to identify
Citizenship status	☐ Citizen ☐ LPR
	Country of origin: ☐ US ☐ Other, specify: _____ ☐ Don't know
Child welfare dependency *Is client a legal ward of court or child welfare agency?*	☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know
Is the client legally emancipated? *Has client been freed of parental control by court action?*	☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know

☐ **Intake assessment still in progress** *(If so, check box & send this page only. Send completed form next month.)*

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Sex Trafficking Characteristics			
Has client ever been sex trafficked[4]	☐ Yes, confirmed by client ☐ Yes, suspected (*Skip to labor section)* ☐ No (*Skip to labor section)* ☐ Don't know (*Skip to labor section)*		
Age at first sex trafficking	___ Years		
Currently sex trafficked	☐ Yes ☐ No: how long since last trafficked? ____years _____months ☐ Don't know		
Facilitator *(Check all that apply)*	☐ None; client arranged for self ☐ Sexual/Romantic partner ☐ Friend/Acquaintance/Peer ☐ Family/Household member (includes parents, adoptive family members, or foster family/relatives) ☐ Gang ☐ Pimp ☐ Someone else, specify: _____ ☐ Don't know		
Location of trafficking—*jurisdiction in which exploitation took/takes place* *(Check all that apply)*	**SAGE** San Francisco County: ☐ Tenderloin/SOMA ☐ Bayview Hunters Pt. ☐ Mission ☐ Other - within SF Co., specify: _____ Surrounding county: ☐ Alameda County ☐ Contra Costa County ☐ Solano County ☐ San Mateo County ☐ Sonoma County ☐ Other CA county, specify: _____ ☐ Other U.S. state, specify: _____ ☐ Outside U.S. ☐ Don't Know	**STOP-IT** ☐ City of Chicago *Specify neighborhood:* _____ ☐ Surrounding Cook County ☐ DuPage County ☐ Will County ☐ Kendall County ☐ Kane County ☐ Lake County, IL ☐ McHenry County ☐ Boone County ☐ Winnebago County ☐ Other IL county ☐ Lake County, IN *Specify town:* _____ ☐ Other U.S. state, specify:_____ ☐ Outside U.S. ☐ Don't Know	**Safe Horizon** ☐ Bronx ☐ Brooklyn ☐ Manhattan ☐ Queens ☐ Staten Island ☐ Other - within NY state ☐ Other U.S. state, specify: _____ ☐ Outside U.S. ☐ Don't Know
Venue of solicitation—*location in which trafficking is arranged* *(Check all that apply)*	☐ Internet / Online ☐ Street track ☐ Other, specify*:_____ ☐ Don't know		
What was exchanged for sex? *(Check all that apply)*	☐ Food ☐ Money ☐ Drugs/alcohol ☐ Shelter/place to stay ☐ Clothes/jewelry ☐ Protection ☐ Other, specify: _____ ☐ Don't know		

[4] Trafficking definitions provided by the Department of Justice (DOJ) Office for Victims of Crime (OVC)

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Sex Trafficking Characteristics	
Sex trafficking force, fraud or coercion conditions[5] *(Check all that apply)*	☐ Physically harmed or restrained ☐ Threatened with harm by someone involved in trafficking ☐ Coerced by promise of future benefit (material or emotional) ☐ Coerced because of money owed to someone involved in trafficking ☐ Threatened with revocation of LPR or promised assistance with citizenship ☐ Other, specify*: _____ ☐ Don't know

Labor Trafficking Characteristics	
Has client <u>ever</u> been labor trafficked[6]	☐ Yes, confirmed by client ☐ Yes, suspected (S*kip to current status section)* ☐ No (S*kip to current status section)* ☐ Don't know (S*kip to current status section)*
Age at first labor trafficking	___ Years
Currently being trafficked	☐ Yes ☐ No; How long since last trafficked ____years ____months ☐ Don't know
Type of labor/industry *(Check all that apply)*	☐ Agriculture ☐ Begging/panhandling ☐ Child care ☐ Factory/manufacturing ☐ Domestic servant/hotel ☐ Drugs ☐ Magazines ☐ Petty theft ☐ Restaurant/food ☐ Selling goods (e.g., pencils) ☐ Traveling carnival ☐ Other, specify: _____ _____ ☐ Don't know
Facilitator *(Check all that apply)*	☐ None; client arranged for self ☐ Sexual or romantic partner ☐ Friend ☐ Family/household member (includes parents, adoptive family members, foster family) ☐ Gang ☐ Someone else, specify*: _____ ☐ Don't know

[5] Note that force, fraud or coercion are not necessary within the definition of sex trafficking for minor victims
[6] Trafficking definitions provided by the Department of Justice (DOJ) Office for Victims of Crime (OVC)

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Labor Trafficking Characteristics			
Location of trafficking—*jurisdiction in which exploitation took/takes place* *(Check all that apply)*	**SAGE** San Francisco County: ☐ Tenderloin/SOMA ☐ Bayview Hunters Pt. ☐ Mission ☐ Other - within SF Co., specify: _____ Surrounding county: ☐ Alameda County ☐ Contra Costa County ☐ Solano County ☐ San Mateo County ☐ Sonoma County ☐ Other CA county, specify: _____ ☐ Other U.S. state, specify: _____ ☐ Outside U.S. ☐ Don't Know	**STOP-IT** ☐ City of Chicago *Specify neighborhood:* _____ ☐ Surrounding Cook County ☐ DuPage County ☐ Will County ☐ Kendall County ☐ Kane County ☐ Lake County, IL ☐ McHenry County ☐ Boone County ☐ Winnebago County ☐ Other IL county ☐ Lake County, IN *Specify town:* _____ ☐ Other U.S. state, specify:_____ ☐ Outside U.S. ☐ Don't Know	**Safe Horizon** ☐ Bronx ☐ Brooklyn ☐ Manhattan ☐ Queens ☐ Staten Island ☐ Other - within NY state ☐ Other U.S. state, specify: _____ ☐ Outside U.S. ☐ Don't Know
Labor trafficking force, fraud or coercion conditions *(Check all that apply)*	☐ Physically harmed or restrained ☐ Threatened with harm by someone involved in trafficking ☐ Coerced by promise of future benefit (material or emotional) ☐ Coerced because of money owed to someone involved in trafficking ☐ Threatened with revocation of LPR or promised assistance with citizenship ☐ Other, specify: _____ ☐ Don't know		

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Current Status

Language	Primary language ☐ English ☐ Other, specify _____ If primary language is not English: ☐ Needs assistance with spoken English ☐ Needs assistance with written English ☐ No assistance needed
Children	Client has children ☐ Yes; Number or children: ____ Ages of children_____ Custody/living arrangement_____ ☐ No ☐ Don't know

Current systems involvement
Does client have a case manager or case worker in any of these systems?

Agency	Yes	No	Don't know
Child welfare	☐	☐	☐
Education	☐	☐	☐
Juvenile justice	☐	☐	☐
Mental health	☐	☐	☐

Living situation—*usual situation during past 30 days* *(Check all that apply)*	☐ Foster home / Group home ☐ Detention center/Jail ☐ Friend/Acquaintance/Peer ☐ Sexual or romantic partner ☐ Parent / Relative / Guardian / Adoptive family ☐ Pimp ☐ Shelter ☐ Street/Subway/Protest site ☐ Couch surfing ☐ Other, specify _____ ☐ Don't know
Current criminal justice system involvement *(Check all that apply)*	☐ Crime victim in open case ☐ Crime witness in open case ☐ Pending juvenile justice or criminal charges ☐ No ☐ Don't know
Public benefits *(Check all that apply)*	☐ Food stamps ☐ General assistance ☐ TANF ☐ WIC for client's children ☐ Child care subsidy for client's children ☐ Social security disability ☐ Other *_____ ☐ None ☐ Don't know
Education	Currently attending ☐ School ☐ GED program ☐ Neither ☐ Don't know Special education needs: _____ Last grade completed: _____
Employment / Vocational	Currently employed

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Current Status	
	☐ Yes; Type of work _____ Usual hours per week_____ ☐ No ☐ Don't know
	Enrolled in job training/vocational program ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know
Medical Health *(If applicable, indicate and describe both urgent and non-urgent issues.)*	Current medical issues ☐ Yes—urgent[7] Describe: _____ ☐ Yes—not urgent Describe: _____ ☐ No ☐ Don't know
Sexual Health *(Check all that apply)*	Contraception Use ☐ Uses always ☐ Uses sometimes ☐ Uses never ☐ Don't know ☐ Not applicable (no opposite-sex partners) Contraception type(s) used:_____
	Pregnancy ☐ Currently pregnant ☐ Had a baby, miscarriage or abortion in the last 3 months ☐ Any <u>other</u> previous pregnancy ☐ Never been pregnant / Not applicable (male client) ☐ Don't know
	Risky sexual behavior ☐ Multiple sex partners ☐ Unprotected sex ☐ Other, specify: _____ ☐ None ☐ Don't know
Dental Health *(If applicable, indicate and describe both urgent and non-urgent issues.)*	Current dental issues ☐ Yes—urgent[4] Describe: _____ ☐ Yes—not urgent Describe: _____ ☐ No ☐ Don't know
Mental Health *(If applicable, indicate and describe both urgent and non-urgent issues.)*	Current mental health issues ☐ Yes—urgent[8] Describe: _____ ☐ Yes—not urgent Describe: _____ ☐ No ☐ Don't know

[7] Urgent health or dental care needs are defined as those requiring prompt attention to prevent serious pain or risk of harm.

[8] Urgent mental health care needs are defined as those requiring prompt attention to avoid serious distress or risk of harm to self or others.

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Current Status	
Trauma History *(If applicable, indicate trauma that happened within last 6 months and/or more than 6 months ago.)*	Physical abuse/assault ☐ Within last 6 months—*Circle one*: Victim Perpetrator Both ☐ More than 6 months ago—*Circle one*: Victim Perpetrator Both ☐ None ☐ Don't know
	Sexual abuse/assault (other than sex trafficking) ☐ Within last 6 months—*Circle one*: Victim Perpetrator Both ☐ More than 6 months ago—*Circle one*: Victim Perpetrator Both ☐ None ☐ Don't know
	Child neglect ☐ Within last 6 months—*Circle one*: Victim Perpetrator Both ☐ More than 6 months ago—*Circle one*: Victim Perpetrator Both ☐ None ☐ Don't know
	Emotional abuse ☐ Within last 6 months—*Circle one*: Victim Perpetrator Both ☐ More than 6 months ago—*Circle one*: Victim Perpetrator Both ☐ None ☐ Don't know
	Partner violence ☐ Within last 6 months—*Circle one*: Victim Perpetrator Both ☐ More than 6 months ago—*Circle one*: Victim Perpetrator Both ☐ None ☐ Don't know
	Witnessed family violence ☐ Within last 6 months—*Circle one*: Victim Perpetrator Both ☐ More than 6 months ago—*Circle one*: Victim Perpetrator Both ☐ None ☐ Don't know
	Witnessed community violence ☐ Within last 6 months—*Circle one*: Victim Perpetrator Both ☐ More than 6 months ago—*Circle one*: Victim Perpetrator Both ☐ None ☐ Don't know
Substance / Alcohol Abuse	Do you suspect or has client revealed substance and/or alcohol abuse? ☐ Yes—Alcohol ☐ Yes—Other substances, specify: _____ ☐ No ☐ Don't know

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Summary of Presenting Needs at Intake and Assessment

Note: It is acceptable to indicate that a need was identified by both the client and program.

Need	Client Identified as a Need	Program Identified as a Need	Not Identified as a Need	Notes: Provide clarifying detail if necessary
Assistance with Benefits	☐	☐	☐	
Interpreter / Translator	☐	☐	☐	
Food / Clothing	☐	☐	☐	
Housing—Emergency	☐	☐	☐	
Housing—Transitional	☐	☐	☐	
Housing—Long-term	☐	☐	☐	
Education	☐	☐	☐	
Employment / Vocational	☐	☐	☐	
Medical	☐	☐	☐	
Sexual Health	☐	☐	☐	
Dental	☐	☐	☐	
Mental Health	☐	☐	☐	
Substance / Alcohol Abuse	☐	☐	☐	
Victim Assistance / Legal Advocacy Services	☐	☐	☐	
Support/Crisis Intervention	☐	☐	☐	
Safety planning	☐	☐	☐	
Family reunification or family counseling	☐	☐	☐	
Other, specify*: _____	☐	☐	☐	
Other, specify*: _____	☐	☐	☐	
Other, specify*: _____	☐	☐	☐	
Other, specify*: _____	☐	☐	☐	
Other, specify*: _____	☐	☐	☐	

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Guidance for completing the Youth Status at Intake and Assessment Form, revised May 2012

We are providing this supplemental information for program staff to reference when completing the Youth Status Intake and Assessment form.

In March we spoke with each of you to determine how best to capture and summarize responses that were entered into the "other" category. Through our conversations we learned that some of the 'other' responses could be recoded into an existing response option (e.g., "Seneca Center", written in as 'other' referral source, is recoded as 'Shelter'). Not surprisingly, most 'other' responses did not fit within an existing response option. Therefore, to facilitate consistently capturing 'other' responses across forms and programs, we have developed the following guidance on how to categorize frequently used 'other' responses.

Based on our conversations with you, we have added new, broader categories (indicated below in italics) to our RTI database. These are listed below, along with the responses previously written in the 'other' text field that fit within the new categories. The 'other' items for which new categories exist are indicated on the revised intake form with an asterisk (*). Please discard paper and electronic copies of previous versions of the intake form, and use the revised version from this point forward.

When filling out the form, we encourage you to write in the new category when specifying an 'other' response when it fits (for example, an entry for referral source check "other" and write in "youth social service organization.").

If you do send intake forms where the new category has not been used, we will recode it at the time of data entry. Any time we recode a response we will inform you of this change, to confirm its accuracy.

As always, thank you for your commitment and efforts to ensuring the data best reflects the community you work with and their service needs.

FRONT PAGE

- **Referral Source—Service delivery system**

  These two existing referral source response options include the following organizations:

  - **Shelter**: includes Seneca Center, Huckleberry House
  - **Juvenile justice/probation officer**: includes DDAP

  If the referring agency is listed below or is not listed but fits with one of the new categories (in italics), write in the new category when specifying 'other'.

  - **Other agency**
    - *Youth social service organization*: includes MISSSEY; YJI/Youth Justice Institute; Aunt Martha's
    - *Social service organization*: includes Salvation Army; sexual assault advocacy agencies; National Black Leadership on the Commission of AIDS
    - *Legal advocacy*: includes Bronx defenders
    - *National hotline*: includes NCMEC; National Runaway and Homeless Youth Hotline/Switchboard
    - *State Attorney's Office*: includes SAO/State's Attorney's Office

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SEX TRAFFICKING CHARACTERISTICS (Pages 2-3)

- **Venue of solicitation**

  If the venue is listed below or is not listed but fits with one of the new categories (in italics), write in the new category when specifying 'other'.

  - **Other**
    - *Sex industry business*: includes brothel, escort agency, gentleman's club, BDSM dungeon, exotic dance club
    - *Non-stroll public place*: includes public areas not considered strolls/tracks, e.g., non-stroll public park
    - *Not venue specific*: includes answers that indicate that location is not specific, e.g., clients call young person on cell phone
- **Sex trafficking force, fraud, or coercion**

  If there was no force/fraud/coercion, specify as 'other'.

  - **Other**
    - *No known force, fraud, or coercion*: includes None; No known force, fraud, or coercion

LABOR TRAFFICKING CHARACTERISTICS (Page 4)

- **Facilitator**

  If the labor trafficking facilitator was the pimp, specify as 'other' and note 'pimp'.

  - **Someone else**
    - *Pimp*

CURRENT STATUS (Page 6)

- **Public Benefits**

  If the public benefits being received are a state or county-specific health benefit, write in 'Health care' when specifying 'other'.

  - **Other**
    - *Health Care*: includes Medi-Cal; Kidcare; All Kid's Care Friend

SUMMARY OF PRESENTING NEEDS AT INTAKE AND ASSESSMENT (Page 9)

- **Other need**

  If the client has a need that is listed below or is not listed but fits with one of the new categories (in italics), write in the new category when specifying 'other'.

  - *Identification*: includes all forms of identification. i.e., legal and program.
  - *Safer injection equipment*: includes needle exchange, syringes, needles, cottons, cookers, tourniquets, alcohol swabs

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- *Hygiene services/supplies*: includes showers, laundry, soap, shampoo, toothbrush/paste, etc.
- *Legal advocacy*: includes court advocacy and emancipation
- *Life Skills*: includes life skills
- *Transportation*: includes metro cards, bus/subway tokens/passes

ADDITIONAL CHANGES TO INTAKE FORM

The following response options have been further clarified/expanded on the revised form:

- **Referral Source** (page 1)

  Informal referral

  - Friend/self/word of mouth – Includes internet
  - parent/relative/guardian – Includes siblings
- **Sex Trafficking Characteristics** (page 2)

  Facilitator

  - Friend – Includes acquaintance and peer
  - Family – Includes foster relatives
- **Current Status** (page 6)

  Living Situation

  - Friend – Includes acquaintance and peer
  - Detention center – Includes jail
  - Street – includes subway and protest site (i.e., Occupy Wall Street)

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Client ID _____

Client Service Needs and Service Provision

- *This form should be completed monthly for each client by the 10th of the following month.*
- *Information should reflect activity during the prior calendar month.*
  - *If program neither saw nor acted on behalf of client during the past month, complete first page only.*
  - *If program either saw or acted on behalf of client during the past month, summarize needs and activities on next pages.*

Reporting month _____ year _____

____ Number of contacts (in person or by telephone) with this client during this month

Has the program interacted with other service providers on client's behalf during this month?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Is this client's case considered closed or inactive as of the end of the reporting month?

- ☐ Yes, case closed → *complete closing status form.*
- ☐ Yes, inactive
- ☐ No

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Client ID _____

Service	Identified as a Need During Past Month[9]	Needed Services Received During Past Month ***<u>If service was needed</u> during past month indicate whether it was received.*** ***If multiple needs in a service category, check all that apply.***		
Assistance with benefits	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Interpreter or translator	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Food or clothing	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Housing—Emergency	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Housing—Transitional	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Housing—Long-term	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown

[9] *Service needs are based on program knowledge from client interaction and do not assume a formal needs assessment.*

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Client ID _____

Service	Identified as a Need During Past Month[10]	Needed Services Received During Past Month ***<u>If service was needed</u> during past month indicate whether it was received.*** ***If multiple needs in a service category, check all that apply.***		
Education	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Employment or vocational assistance	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Medical care	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Sexual health care	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Dental care	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Mental health care	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown

[10] *Service needs are based on program knowledge from client interaction and do not assume a formal needs assessment.*

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Client ID _____

Service	Identified as a Need During Past Month[11]	Needed Services Received During Past Month ***<u>If service was needed</u> during past month indicate whether it was received.*** ***If multiple needs in a service category, check all that apply.***		
Substance or alcohol abuse treatment	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Victim assistance or legal advocacy services	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Support or crisis intervention	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Safety planning	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Family reunification or family counseling	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Other service, specify: _____	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown

[11] *Service needs are based on program knowledge from client interaction and do not assume a formal needs assessment.*

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Service	Identified as a Need During Past Month[11]	Needed Services Received During Past Month ***If service was needed* during past month indicate whether it was received.** ***If multiple needs in a service category, check all that apply.***		
Other service, specify: _____	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Other service, specify: _____	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Other service, specify: _____	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown
Other service, specify: _____	☐ Yes → ☐ No/DK	☐ Yes ☐ Provided in-house ☐ Provided elsewhere	☐ No ☐ Appropriate service not available ☐ Referral in process ☐ Client not interested, willing or ready for service	☐ Don't know ☐ Referred, outcome unknown ☐ Status unknown

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Client ID _____

Closing Status

Complete this form for all clients who have been classified as closed during the reporting month, by the 10th of the following month.

Date on which case closed	___/___/_____
Last contact date	___/___/_____
Reason for closing *(Check all that apply)*	☐ No longer in need of services ☐ Lost contact ☐ Incarcerated and out of contact with program ☐ Client relocated ☐ Youth discontinued ☐ Determined not eligible • Not victim of trafficking • 18 or older at first visit • Neither citizen or LPR ☐ Aged out of program ☐ Other, specify: _____

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APPENDIX 2:
INTERVIEW TOPIC GUIDES

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Program Staff Interview Guide

Introduction and Consent

Review key points from study information sheet (Interviewee will receive info sheet via email prior to interview):

I would like to interview you about both successes and challenges you have experienced related to the OVC grant to provide services to domestic minor victims of trafficking. We are talking about this program and not other efforts at your agency.

Your participation in this interview is voluntary and confidential. I also want to share a few other key points about this interview:

- These are probably topics that you would discuss with colleagues, but if there are any responses that you would prefer be kept confidential, please let us know and we will mark them as such in our notes.
- Participating in this interview is completely voluntary and your responses will be kept confidential if you request so. You can stop the interview at any time or choose not to answer a particular question.
- We'll be taking notes, but if you don't mind we'd also like to record the conversation as a backup for our own use. Is that okay?

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Start recorder.

Service Implementation at the Agency

1. Please describe new resources that [PROGRAM] has developed since receiving this OVC grant (e.g., new services or training materials that are tailored to youth who are trafficked additional funding).
2. What barriers and challenges have you experienced in your work with this population?
    - Possible prompts/areas to explore:
        - Service gaps: within [PROGRAM], community-based – specify
        - Financial: insufficient monies to adequately meet young persons' needs
        - Attitudes surrounding DMVHT among community partners (e.g., criminalization of sex trafficking, males and LGBTQ young people)
        - Legal issues surrounding services to minors
3. Please describe [PROGRAM's] work with:
    - Sex trafficked females
    - Sex trafficked males
    - Labor trafficking
    - Prompt for each population

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- What challenges have you encountered?
- What successes do you think you've achieved?
- Has this work evolved over time, and if so – how?

Staffing

4. How do staff at the agency deal with the obvious stressors of working with youth who are trafficked?
5. Of the staff that work directly with this population, are any of them:
    - Certified trauma specialists (CTS)?
    - Social workers? (if yes, are they licensed?)
    - Other licensed professionals?
6. What training does [PROGRAM] offer to new employees of this program?
    - Impressions of whether any gaps/specialized training needs
    - Specific training to work with traumatized youth?
7. What types of continuing education trainings does [PROGRAM] offer to employees of this program?
8. How has turnover been among staff hired for this program?
    - Same, higher, lower than other programs in agency?
    - Impressions of reasons for staff departures?

Policy and Practice Changes

9. Please describe [PROGRAM's] training and outreach efforts related to this program.
    - Successes
    - Challenges
    - Have training materials evolved over time, and if so, how?
    - Are there 'sub groups' of training and outreach efforts, in terms of certain agencies needing a particular approach or knowledge set? If so, please describe.
10. In what ways has your program worked towards creating policy changes in areas that impact domestic minors who are trafficked?
    - Successes
    - Challenges
11. What are the ways in which your program has been able to influence the ways in which services are delivered to domestic minors who are trafficked?

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- Successes
- Challenges

Collaborations

[Note: review notes from previous site visits to refresh our memory about collaborative agencies already mentioned; update and amend information as needed]

12. With what agencies do you collaborate?

- In what ways do you work together?
- Do you have a formal MOU in place?
    - If yes, What does it specify as the scope of work for this collaboration?
    - If no, What is your understanding of the role your agency plays in this collaboration? What is expected of the other agency?

1. How often are you, or other providers at this agency, in communication with your partner agencies?

- In what contexts do you have interactions with them? (ex. task force meetings, case review/co-case management, inter-agency meetings, conferences, personal communication)
    - If reports co-case management:
    - Is there a typical case where this happens?
    - How is it decided which case manager does certain tasks?
    - How often are you in communication with the other case manager(s)?
- What types of things do you talk about when you interact with staff from these other agencies? (ex. how to refer someone, assessing appropriateness of referral, discussing service needs of a particular youth, advocacy issues, co-case management)
- Do you need an MOU or release of information form to talk to other agencies about a specific youth?
- Which individuals are most active in this collaboration?
    - What makes them most essential?
- Please describe any prior working relationships among key players that have helped or hindered the collaboration?

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Information on Clients and Services

13. Tell me about how the process works when you refer someone to another agency.
    - How do you decide who to refer?
    - How do you know if that youth made it to the other agency? Types of services received there?
    - Are there ways in which your agency assesses the person's satisfaction with the services received from that other agency?
    - What records or data systems do you have that track referrals you make to other agencies?
    - What do you do with these data?
14. Tell me what happens when another agency refers someone to you for services for domestic minor victims of trafficking.
    - What communication do you have with that agency to let them know the youth made it? Services they received? Services they need?
    - What records or data systems store information on people who were referred to you by another agency?
    - What do you do with these data?

Collaboration in Action

15. What would you say are the major strengths of your various collaborations?
16. What parts of your collaborations have been less successful and why?
    - How have they been addressed?
17. Have there been any unexpected outcomes?
18. What signs of success do you see resulting from your collaborations?

Wrap Up

19. What are your plans for working with [PROGRAM] during the next year?
20. Are there other things you think we should know that we did not ask about?

Thank you very much for your time – we really appreciate it!

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Partner Agencies Interview Guide

Introduction/Consent

Review key points from study information sheet (Interviewee will receive info sheet via email prior to interview):

This interview is to find out more about services provided to domestic minor victims of trafficking by _____ (name of grantee) and their partnering organizations.

I would like to interview you about what your organization broadly does; and what your organization does in connection with _____ (grantee); and specifically what services your agency provides to domestic minor victims of trafficking. We also want to learn about the best way to serve these youth and to evaluate the process of providing these services.

The email we sent you earlier outlined the voluntary and confidential aspects of your participation in this research. I'll review a few key points here:

- These are probably topics that you would discuss with colleagues, but if there are any responses that you would prefer be kept confidential, please let us know and we will mark them as such in our notes.
- Participating in this interview is completely voluntary and your responses will be kept confidential if you request so. You can stop the interview at any time or choose not to answer a particular question.
- We'll be taking notes, but if you don't mind we'd also like to record the conversation as a backup for our own use. Is that okay?

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Start recorder.

Interview Questions for Partnering Agencies

[Start with the questions on this page ONLY if this is the FIRST interview with the partner agency. Otherwise SKIP to Question 9]

Organizational Context

1. Please tell me a little about the history of your agency.
    - How long has the organization been in the community?
    - Is this a public or private organization?
2. Please describe the types of clients the organization serves.
3. How long has the organization been involved with youths who are trafficked or at-risk youth? In what ways?

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4. What is your role in the organization?
    - Please describe the type of clients with whom you work.
    - What services do you provide?
    - What are your work duties?
    - How long have you been working in this community?
5. What do you perceive to be the extent of trafficking in this community?
    - What type of trafficking do you see?
    - How are victims trafficked?

Trafficked Clients

6. Do you see youths and/or adult victims?
    - How are they different? How do they differ in the services they require?
7. Have you been involved in any cases of youths who were trafficked?
    - Were they cases of sex trafficking or labor trafficking?
    - How are these youth similar to or different from others of similar age served at this organization in terms of their characteristics? Service needs? Family history?
    - How are youths who are domestic minor victims of trafficking identified?
    - What other services do youths who are trafficked need in addition to what you can provide to them?
8. Please give me an example of a youth with whom you have worked that would represent a "typical" trafficking case in your organization. Please do not use a real name, pick a 'fake' name.

[CONTINUE with these questions if 1st interview; START here if follow-up interview]

Collaboration with OVC-Funded Program

9. When did your collaboration with [PROGRAM] begin? In what ways do you work together?
    - Do you have a formal MOU in place?
        - If yes, What does it specify as the scope of work for this collaboration?
        - If no, What is your understanding of the role your agency plays in this collaboration? What is expected of [grantee]?
    - How do you work with [PROGRAM] to serve youth who are minor victims of sex or labor trafficking?

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10. How often are you, or other providers at this agency, in communication with [OVC-funded program]?
    - In what contexts do you have interactions with [grantee]? (ex. task force meetings, case review/co-case management, inter-agency meetings, conferences, personal communication)
    - What types of things do you talk about when you interact with staff from [grantee]? (ex. how to refer someone, assessing appropriateness of referral, discussing service needs of a particular youth, advocacy issues, co-case management)
    - Do you need a release of information form to talk to [grantee] about a specific youth?
11. Which individuals are most active in this collaboration?
    - What makes them most essential?
12. Are there prior relationships among key players that have helped or hindered the collaboration?

Information on Clients and Services

13. Tell me about how the process works when you refer someone from your agency to [OVC-funded program].
    - How do you decide who to refer?
    - How do you know if that person made it to [grantee]? Types of services received there?
    - Are there ways in which your agency assesses the person's satisfaction with the services received from [grantee]?
14. What records or data systems do you have that track referrals you make to [OVC-funded program]?
    - What do you do with this data?
15. Tell me what happens when [grantee] refers someone to you for services..
    - Do you communicate with [grantee] to let them know the person made it? Services they received? Services they need?
    - What records or data systems store information on people who [grantee] refer to you?
        - What do you do with this data?

Implementation of Collaboration

16. What has facilitated the implementation of your collaboration with [OVC-funded program]?
17. What obstacles have been encountered in implementing the collaboration?
    - Have they been overcome, and if so, how?

Collaboration in Action

18. What would you say are the major strengths of your collaboration with [OVC-funded program].
19. What parts of the collaboration have been less successful and why?.

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- How have they been addressed?

20. Have there been any unexpected outcomes?

21. What signs of success do you see resulting from your collaboration with [grantee]?

Wrap Up

22. What are your plans for the future of this collaboration?

Thank you so much for your participation.

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Case History Narrative Interview Guide

Introduction

Review key points from study information sheet (Case managers will receive info sheet via email prior to interview):

This interview is to find out more about youth who have received services through the OVC domestic minor victims of human trafficking grant. I will be asking you questions about specific types of cases. Specifically (will rotate among these 5 types):

- All labor trafficking victims
- All male trafficking victims
- Females:
  - Highly successful in last year
  - A lot of barriers and challenges
  - A young person that 'ages out'/transition to adult services
- It is really important that we do not learn the identity of this young person. What is a fake name that you will use throughout this interview? [NAME].
- We'll be taking notes, but if you don't mind we'd also like to record the conversation as a backup for our own use. Is that okay?

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Start recorder.

Demographics

1. First I'll be asking some basic demographic information about [NAME].
   - Age (both initially and if any updated age; learned that a different age)
   - Gender (including transgender)
   - Ethnicity
   - US citizen/LPR
   - Guardianship/dependency status
   - Living situation
   - Teen pregnancy/parenting

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Initial Presentation/Characteristics/Services

2. Next are some questions about [NAME]. Initial presentation when you first met him/her.
   - When and how did [NAME] come into contact with [PROGRAM]?
   - What was [NAME's] motivation for making contact with [PROGRAM]?
   - Describe what you initially learned about [NAME] and his/her circumstances.
   - What was [NAME's] initial demeanor: emotionally and interpersonally? How did s/he come across?
   - What did you learn initially about what other service sectors [NAME] was involved with? (specific probes for child welfare, juvenile justice, law enforcement, mental health, health/medical).
   - What did you learn initially about [NAME's] family history?
     - maltreatment history
     - parental/caregiver substance abuse, mental health problems, criminal behavior, prostitution, teen parent
3. What did you initially learn about [NAME's] trafficking experiences?
   - Type of trafficking
   - Age at first experience
   - Location where trafficking occurs (city/county)
   - Resources traded for sex or labor
   - Relationship to facilitator
   - Type of force, fraud or coercion (labor trafficking only)
4. What referrals did you initially make for [NAME]?
   - To the best of your knowledge – did [NAME] go to the referral source? If yes perceptions of service quality; If no – barriers to receiving services.

Presentation/Characteristics/Services after Getting to Know Youth

5. As you began to better know [NAME]:
   - Did his/her demeanor emotionally/interpersonally change? If so, describe in what ways it changed.
   - What did you additionally learn about previous service sector involvement?
   - What, if anything, did you learn about [NAME's] family history?
   - What, if anything, did you learn about [NAME's] trafficking experiences?
   - After your initial work, what additional referrals did you make for [NAME]?

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- To the best of your knowledge – did [NAME] go to the referral source? If yes – perceptions of service quality; If no – barriers to receiving services.

6. What aspects of [NAME's] case presented as barriers to engaging in services?
   - For each of these barriers, what might you have done differently, now looking back?
7. What aspects of your program's interactions with [NAME] would you describe as successful?
8. Do you consider [NAME] to be an ongoing or closed case?
   - (If ongoing) What are your goals for ongoing work with [NAME]?
   - When was the most recent time that you had contact with [NAME]?
   - To the best of your knowledge, why is [NAME] no longer in contact with the program?

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