Long-Term Survivors of Commercial Sexual Exploitation:

Survivor Voice and Survivency in the Decades after Exiting

by

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ABSTRACT

Anti-trafficking research recognizes several populations affected by Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE) in the United States (U.S.), yet it has not yet recognized long-term survivors, whose experiences of CSE occurred from the 1960s through the 2000s. Rendering long-term survivors invisible erases the history of CSE in the U.S. and prevents an accurate assessment of the true scope of CSE that it extends from infancy through adulthood. The most grievous CSE cultures target both boys and girls beginning at infancy and extending through early childhood. This project provides a foundation for understanding who long-term survivors are, the types of CSE they experienced, and their experiences of survivency in the decades after exiting. This study utilized interviews and surveys to collect data from 35 long-term survivors, regarding their experiences in the years past exiting. In addition, it also included a systematic analysis of 43 survivor-authors who have documented their experiences in 76 published writings. Findings show that long-term survivors display tenacity and resourcefulness in dealing with complex, intersecting issues. Their experiences of creating new, meaning-filled identities, reconnecting with humanity, and building a positive view of the world can help pave the way for a smoother road of restoration for younger survivors.

I dedicate this project to long-term survivors:

May you be visible, embodied, and empowered.

May you find the place of respect and honor you deserve.

May your voices be heard.

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PREFACE

Introducing a new population is a complicated, multi-faceted endeavor, and to do so, this dissertation utilizes both traditional and innovative structures. It follows the traditional structure of social science dissertations, with the introduction in Chapter 1, literature review in Chapter 2, methodology in Chapter 3, findings in Chapter 4, and recommendations in Chapter 5. However, while traditional dissertations devote one chapter or section to analysis and findings, this paper presents various forms of analysis, findings, and survivor voice throughout each chapter in the dissertation.

While long-term survivors have had a lot to say for a good many years, they have seldom had an academic platform from which to say it. Many long-term survivors have published first-person accounts of their lived experiences of CSE, so a sizable portion of analysis focuses on those writings. These are also the sources of many survivor quotes throughout the dissertation.

Published, original studies/research about Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE) have collected data from interviews with victims, and most of the quotes in Chapter 2 come from a secondary data analysis of those studies. In addition, a few studies have included long-term survivors' voices but without recognition that they are part of a distinct, unique population. Analysis of these types of sources is presented within the context of related discussions throughout the dissertation.

Thus, in addition to Chapter 4, which is devoted to analysis and findings, readers can expect to find survivor voice, analysis, and findings presented by topic throughout the dissertation.

CHAPTER 1

SURVIVOR VOICE, COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION, LONG-TERM SURVIVORS, AND SURVIVENCY

This chapter introduces Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE) from the perspective of long-term survivors. It provides definitions, distinguishes between CSE and other forms of trauma, and shows the ways long-term survivors differ from more recently exited survivors. It lays a foundation for understanding survivency in the years past exiting from CSE and begins to present the unique contributions and knowledge of long-term survivors of CSE.

Overview of the Study

Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE) is a sexual act exchanged for anything of value or for the financial benefit of any person (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention 2019). Survivors are those who have exited from involvement in CSE, and long-term survivors are those who have ten or more years since exiting. Most survivors know their exact "out date" and how many years they have been working on restoration since exiting. However, as a population, 10+ year survivors are unknown, unrecognized in research, and invisible in conversations about restoration.

The goal of this dissertation is to provide an academically respected research vehicle that respects long-term survivors' voices, honors their strengths, and acknowledges their on-going needs. Collectively, long-term survivors offer insights into the complexity of life after CSE: coping mechanisms and coping skills; intellectual transformation and developmental limitations; exceptional ability and disability. I have

utilized a social justice framework to center their voices in conversations about their lives, with a focus on CSE and survivency in North America, particularly in the U.S.

The purpose of this study is to create a bridge for non-survivors to understand the dehumanizing forces of CSE and the humanizing processes of restoration and survivency. All humanity experiences pain and suffering and struggles towards connection and relationship. After enduring the depths of inhumanity, long-term survivors are uniquely qualified to speak to the resourcefulness of the human spirit. They represent the essence of humanity in their simultaneous embodiment of both ability and disability. However, there are few published stories from the decades afterwards—the processes of creating new, meaning-filled identities, reconnecting with humanity, or building a positive view of the world. In current research, long-term survivors are invisible—a marginalized and muted group.

This dissertation seeks to address the following three research questions:

1) Who are long-term survivors of commercial sexual exploitation?
2) What cultures of CSE have long-term survivors experienced?
3) What does survivency look like in the years after exiting, as survivors cope with the ongoing impact of commercial sexual exploitation?

The process of seeing persons rendered invisible is one of looking between—between the denials of society; between the facts and categories provided by experts; between the stories highlighted in the media—looking between to see the spaces created by absence. Hauntings are the absence of those who deserved inclusion but did not receive it (Gordon 2008:6). The process of recognition requires looking intently into these realms "between" and affirming the existence of those rendered invisible, saying *"I*

see you are not there" (Gordon 2008:16). This work seeks to make visible the invisible and to forefront the marginalized voices of long-term survivors.

Figure 1. Normal Abuse (ACES) Compared to CSE

Situating CSE in the Context of Trauma Awareness

I created the house metaphor as a visual framework for situating CSE within the context of more familiar traumas. I compiled the house illustrations from pieces of an elevation drawing of the Connecticut Phoenix Mill, created by Garrick in 1974. In many ways, the process of piecing bits together (roofline, windows, door, chimney, underground chambers) to create miniature representations of trauma mirrored the process of restoration. The hours I spent piecing bits together to create meaning was oddly congruent with both my life and this writing.

In Figure 1, the two-room bungalow numbered **House 1** represents a person's life at birth. The house is sufficient for everyday occurrences and traumas, and interactions with people take place on the first floor of the house. **House 1** represents a person who had a relatively safe childhood and has not experienced interpersonal violence.

The focus of trauma educators today is the *Adverse Childhood Experiences Study* (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2019), because studies have shown that the

following experiences affect a person's future health and wellbeing:

- abuse: emotional, physical, sexual
- neglect: physical, emotional
- household members: domestic violence, substance abuse, mental illness, incarceration, separation/divorce/death of parent

House 2 represents a person who grows up with childhood trauma. These experiences of interpersonal violence and trauma alter a child's foundational understanding of the world. In a person's house, they create a root cellar—a place for family secrets, hidden away from the prying eyes of first-floor visitors and everyday interactions. Most survivors experience ACES during childhood, prior to or in addition to CSE experiences. Abuse experienced during childhood goes underground.

Interpersonal violence experienced as a teenager or adult expands the house above ground, but none of these additions are clean rooms to live in and show other people. Interpersonal trauma is the equivalent of making an addition to a house and immediately filling that space from floor to ceiling with garbage. In order to use the room—to find meaning in the space—the owner of the house needs to take the time to remove all of the garbage (the restoration process). So, **House 3** represents someone who has experienced ACES as a child, followed by an experience of interpersonal violence as an adult (e.g. experiencing date rape).

House 4 builds on the experiences in House 3, and at this point, the person represented has experienced multiple forms of victimization, from childhood, through teen years, and into adulthood. In addition to witnessing domestic violence as a child and date rape by a friend in high school, this person also experienced domestic violence by a

partner as an adult. **House 4** has expanded by a root cellar in the foundation and two additions above ground, all filled with garbage, so this person's life is complicated by many secrets and layers of trauma.

Keep in mind that none of these additions were by choice. Interpersonal violence is the source of house expansion, so living with a mansion in this illustration has different connotations than dominant U.S. culture. In the first few houses, individual people were the source of interpersonal violence. For example, in Houses 2, 3, and 4, the following people were involved:

- **House 2:** *mother* (emotional abuse); *father* (deceased); *uncle* (sexual abuse); *brother* (incarcerated)
- **House 3:** *parent* (mental health issues; substance abuse; physical neglect); *acquaintance* (date rape)
- **House 4:** *parents* (domestic violence); *high school friend* (date rape); *partner* (domestic violence)

The second addition in **House 5** represents CSE experiences, during teenage, youth, or adult years. While any experiences of CSE creates a second-story addition, involvement for a brief period of time limits the number of rooms added. The primary difference between experiences of childhood sexual abuse or rape and CSE is in the sheer number of people involved. Most young teens exploited by pimps have to meet quotas (amounts of money earned each night), which means multiple CSE experiences in each 24-hour period of involvement. A low average for the number of people buying a prostituted teenager is 10 per night (truck stops average 40 per night). Even if a teen is only trafficked for one month, that still means more than 300 interpersonal interactions—

being purchased 300 times by another person for a sexual act. The volume of interactions is what distinguishes CSE from previously discussed forms of interpersonal violence.

In CSE, the basic category of "sexual abuse" becomes divided into multiple types of sexual violence. The people involved are no longer individuals but groups of individuals with similar expressions of sexual violence. Each group adds another room to the house, another room full of garbage to remove at a later date. **House 6** represents someone who experienced ACES followed by multiple years of involvement in CSE (second and third stories of rooms, each representing a different type of interpersonal, sexual violence).

House 7 is rarely acknowledged in research, because it represents early childhood CSE: organized crime; intergenerational trafficking; child pornography; pedophiles grouped by types of perversions; ritualized sexual abuse; multiple forms of torture; and the highest levels of sexual violence experienced in CSE (comparable to personal sexual slavery, but not limited to one person). Early childhood CSE can begin in infancy, extend throughout childhood, and continue throughout teen years. The life experiences of the person illustrated in **House 7** have altered the foundation of perceptions of life and interpersonal interactions. Few counselors understand enough to help these survivors walk through the process of cleaning out rooms created through this level of trauma. In fact, in the anti-trafficking movement, neither survivors trafficked during early childhood nor survivors involved as older youth or adults have access to services specifically designed for them (Bruhns 2014:152-153). Most services are designed to help people whose situations are like House 5, those who experienced CSE during teen years, whose involvement was short-term.

Awareness of CSE grew from the rape crisis movement (Hatcher et al. 2018), but experiences of CSE go so far beyond rape that the healing resources helpful for most survivors of rape are harmful for survivors of CSE. Theresa Flores was raised in an upper-class family and did not experience ACES but became embroiled in CSE because of a teenage boy from school. The CSE culture she endured was extremely violent, organized crime, and her experience of CSE ended when her family moved out of state. She describes an experience with a rape crisis group in college:

> I went to the Rape Crisis Center on campus and told my story to a stranger. Shocked into silence, the stunned professional was unprepared for my story. It was a reaction I've faced many times since. The counselor recommended a group session for rape victims.
>
> I sat there, while the other girls in the group went around the circle and shared their story. . . . How could I describe in one to two sentences and in under two minutes, what had happened to me? . . . I simply couldn't share. I stood and walked out, never to return. . . .
>
> It would take another 21 years to find the label I desperately sought. To find support from those who had already heard stories similar to mine. To receive understanding rather than damnation, questioning, or unbelieving looks (Flores and Wells 2010:18).

Figure 2. Long-Term Survivor in a Rape Support Group

Figure 2 illustrates Flores' experience, a common experience for long-term survivors, who dealt with the aftermath of CSE during the decades prior to awareness (1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and into the 2000s).

Commercial Sexual Exploitation

Now that CSE is situated amidst other forms of abuse and interpersonal violence, the house framework provides space to incorporate more specific examples. Commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) is an umbrella term for the evolving and expanding ways people choose to sexually exploit human beings for profit (Farley 2006) that thrives from the exchange of sexual acts for something of value (Reid 2010). It includes the sale of all ages (infants, young children, pre-adolescents, adolescents, and adults), across all races and ethnicities, sexes, genders, and gender expressions (female, male, heterosexual, gay, lesbian, bisexual, trans people), in endless socioeconomic settings (storefronts, clubs, massage parlors, spas, mansions, suburban residences, urban penthouses, middle class homes, hotels, motels, apartment houses, truck stops, restrooms, cars, alleyways, sidewalks), and online—across space and time (Farley 2006:111; Weaver 2018). One form of involvement (e.g. dance clubs) can be either an entry point into CSE or a means of exiting (Sher 2013), and multiple forms of exploitation can occur within the same setting (e.g. young children ritually abused, sold to pedophiles, filmed, photographed, and sold online).

The development of the internet has facilitated the expansion of CSE through distribution (pornography and abuse imagery of children), expedited connections (sex tourism, delivery services, pedophile rings, forced marriage/mail-order brides) and the emergence of new forms (internet prostitution via live video chat is the online version of phone sex; virtual realities are contemporary equivalent of peep shows). Because of its anonymity and availability, the internet has increased the level of violence and humiliation in CSE (Farley 2006:128). Through the ongoing sale of pornography, victim

imagery continues to circulate *in perpetuity*, continuing to exert control for *decades* beyond exiting (Canadian Centre for Child Protection, 2017).

Persons who benefit from CSE span all levels of relationship, from intimate to stranger. Parents have the most access, and profit from selling their children to pay for rent, purchase drugs, or pay off debts. Some parents sell children to perpetuate generational practices, while others traffic children to exert the ultimate power over someone who is vulnerable and dependent on them. Relatives and family friends gain access to children as trusted caregivers. Teenage peers, boyfriends, girlfriends, and gang members gain access through peer pressure. Strangers online engage children and teens by offering understanding and support. Teens, youth, and adults engage in the commercial sex industry from economic need and the desire for a better life.

Figure 3. Long-Term Survivors' Experiences as a Collective

The population of long-term survivors (those who have gained ten or more years of experience after exiting CSE) represents the entire spectrum of CSE—every age of involvement, every relationship that led to CSE, every circumstance, and every form of CSE. Long-term survivors also represent every coping mechanism used to survive, every variation of responses to the exiting process, and every path towards restoration. The only area of under-representation is the ways technology now facilitates activities established

in prior decades. The internet facilitates online communication between members of extensive national networks that pre-dated it. Advertising is easier online than in person, and youth who have phones advertise for themselves (Curtis et al. 2008; Dank et al. 2015). And camera phones now facilitate the production and distribution of pornography established in the 1960s and 1970s.

Figure 4. Knowledge Production in the Anti-Trafficking Movement

The Production of Knowledge and Long-Term Survivency

The production of knowledge occurs within the context of society and reflects its power structures (Doezema 2010). At this point in the anti-trafficking movement, the dominant power dynamics marginalize survivor narratives to victimization, exiting, and aftercare. The primary researchers in the field are non-survivors, represented in Figure 4. The voices missing in the production of knowledge are the long-term survivors represented in Figure 3.

The reason survivors have a specific designation for "non-survivors" is the recognition of the mutually exclusive knowledge base of each. People without CSE experiences are not capable of imagining the depths of depravity in the underground, and survivors cannot return to a life prior to CSE, because of the impact it has on their lives. Survivors also use the term "normal" (or "normals") to indicate differences in lived experiences. "Normal" refers to a life where physical needs are met, relationships are supportive, and it is good to be alive. In the deepest underground of early childhood CSE, life is intolerable, and death is preferable. "Normal" means not only engagement in

everyday life, also an intact, unquestioned, inherent enjoyment of it. It is the presence of goodness, the presence of people who provide support; a belief in a good world, and the luxury of being able to live in denial about evil.

The significance of long-term survivors is that they have taken the time to metaphorically "clean the garbage out" of the myriad of rooms created by CSE. They have come out the other side and are able to use their knowledge to provide insights into the restoration processes of newer survivors. As a collective, long-term survivors offer multiple healing trajectories, because not all survivors find resolution the same ways.

Figure 5. Collaborations in Research

Non-survivors simply cannot manufacture the insights long-term survivors have gained throughout their decades-long journeys. The only way to understand restoration from CSE is to create true collaborations with long-term survivors—partnerships that begin prior to project conception and continue through completion and evaluation. Figure 5 illustrates collaborations and shared knowledge between non-survivors and long-term survivors from a range of CSE experiences.

Time Since Exiting and Restoration Over Time

In their published writings, long-term survivors have begun to record their experiences of restoration—the processes they have found successful for creating

meaning-filled identities, connecting with their own humanity, and building a positive view of the world. Kate Price recounts a pivotal aspect of healing:

> Restoring my sense of humanity was the biggest change I needed to endure. I had been treated like an object by my exploiter and hundreds of solicitors: I was taught from an early age sex was my only worth…Over a decade of exploitation and twenty-four years of biological familial abuse and control does not heal overnight. Additionally, the path to recovery is not linear. Instead, the road is cyclical so you can come around again to see how much you've changed. Some changes such as a new job, apartment, and friends can be drastic. Others shifts in behavior, such as noticing the need to take a nap or shower, can be subtle. All are revolutionary.
>
> My journey to healing has been longer and harder than I ever could have imagined. Many times I have felt like Sisyphus pushing a boulder uphill, only to see my efforts dashed in one fleeting moment. Yet, even then, each uphill battle came with valuable lessons and profound experiences (Price February 8, 2015).

The hard-won psychological distance gained after exiting the commercial sex industry is one of the most dynamic distinctions between survivors, and research needs to reflect survivors' commitment to these changes.

Since several survivors have mentioned 10 years out as a turning point, this study defined "long-term survivors" as survivors who have 10+ years past exiting. However, as the first decade out is often a rigorous time of transformation, haunted by its own peculiar pain, it will eventually need to be recognized in research as its own stage, distinct from the decades afterwards. Each survivor prioritizes the focus of the first ten years differently, on the basis of personal motivation, readiness, or urgency. Survivors with children often prioritize parenting, putting resolution of emotional issues on hold. Other survivors focus on sobriety, housing, and managing life in mainstream society. Rachel Moran wrote about her priorities for the first decade after exiting:

> . . . What I did in the ten years between the time I left prostitution and cocaine and the time I entered therapy was to keep on moving forward in practical terms,

> securing an education and employment and a home, but what I failed to do for all that time was to try to remove the awful sadness that had dogged me all my life. Perhaps I came to that when I was ready (2015:249-50).

Because survivors place value on their "out date" (last day of CSE), it seems fitting that they should be able to look back at that date with pride, regardless of whether the progress they have made has been practical or emotional.

Acknowledging "time since exiting" honors and empowers survivors in their restoration chronology. In interviews, survivors are already specifically referring to the time they have been pursuing recovery. In Cecchet's 2012 dissertation, published as a journal article in 2014 (Cecchet and Thoburn), Participant C, who had been out for 1 week, spoke tearfully:

> I'd say, for 9 months I've really been tryin' to change my life, cause nobody wants to do that forever…I'm still young—I'm 22—but it's hard. I just made it harder on myself [crying]. And now I have to . . . I'm tryin.' That's all it takes, is to try. But, it's just hard (2014:489). I don't want to live like that. I don't want to *work* [in prostitution]. I don't wanna have to do anything else sexual with anybody. I don't even have a sex drive anymore. I'm so disgusted. (Cecchet 2012:70)

Contrast that emotional space with the articulate reflection from Participant A, who described the time invested in learning to relate to people after experiencing CSE:

> I've been working on it for 7 ½ years. . . . I'm able to have a relationship now, where the person matters to me, and how they feel matters to me, and I can be loving, and a compassionate and caring person. I don't look at all men like tricks anymore, that took a lot of work. That's what AA taught me—how to become a person who cares about how other people feel. For a long time I couldn't have relationships, I struggled with it a lot (Cecchet 2012:77).

Participant F was 21+ years out, with a deeper understanding of specific layers of the recovery process—the significance of letting go, forgiving, and embracing new freedom:

> I do think it takes a huge toll because it's hard to trust people, it's hard to get close to people, and I've worked through that. I just realized, you have to trust

> again. You have to kind of let go of those things that have been holding you back and forgive people, and forgive yourself. That was the biggest thing for me, forgiving myself for the things I did. I carried so much shame and guilt in that part of me that I couldn't tell people. Finally was just like, you know what? I'm doing fine. I'm perfectly fine and wanting a healthier relationship (Cecchet and Thoburn 2014:489).

Participant E, with the longest amount of time "out," summarized deep levels of internal change regarding self-perception:

> Thirty years I've been out of that lifestyle, and it still took me a long time to forgive myself for being in it. A long time to feel clean again, because some of the stuff that you do when you're involved in that lifestyle. A long time to not compare myself to other people, not worry about what other people were saying (Cecchet and Thoburn 2014:489).

Prior to completing her dissertation research, Cecchet invested six years in training with the anti-trafficking movement, and the analysis produced accurately reflected the knowledge of non-survivor led organizations. Even though these four participants specifically referred to their time since exiting, the dynamic concept of "time since exiting" simply does not yet exist in anti-trafficking research.

Regardless of the lack of official recognition, for these survivors, the passage of time was an accurate measure of how long each survivor had struggled to overcome, and how much they had learned. They clearly articulated the multiplicity of ways they had sought and found restoration. Honoring their tenacity and resourcefulness in the face of complex, intersecting issues, mandates utilization of their discoveries and documentation of the many paths of restoration available to survivors who walk behind us.

Terminology about Time and Energy Survivors Invest in Overcoming

Complex personhood refers to the nuanced, layered, and complicated nature of humanity. The long-ranging impact of CSE is a compounding factor, that precludes simplifications such as "helpless victim" or "inspirational superhuman" (Gordon 2008:4).

There is currently no term to describe the physical and mental energy survivors expend to deal with the complex aftereffects of CSE, though that investment of energy is a core component of lived experiences during the decades after exiting. For the sake of this study, the combination of two terms creates a third that is capable of honoring long-term survivors and their invisible tasks:

1. *Survivor:* a person "courageous enough to be able to overcome" (Collins English Dictionary 2019); a person who is still affected by that which they survived (Collins English Dictionary 2019)
2. *Vivency:* "a manifestation of physical or mental energy" (Collins English Dictionary 2019); "a manner of supporting or continuing life" (Webster's Online Dictionary 2014)
3. *Survivency:* the courage and energy invested in creating a meaningful life that actively accommodates the complex impact of CSE.

Survivency moves beyond stereotypes of "helpless victims" by recognizing the agency, strength, and courage survivors invest in creating meaning. It moves beyond idealizations of "inspirational superhuman" by acknowledging the ongoing impact of CSE and need for support. It simultaneously identifies survivors as the experts on the complexity of life after CSE and creates the opportunity for non-judgmental conversations about needs.

Recognition and Direction

In 2014, the American Psychological Association (APA) Report on Trafficking recognized, by name, the existence of "long-term survivors" in the United States (Sidon 2014:68). They acknowledged that, as a collective:

1. we bring expertise to conversations about "policymaking, program planning, and program evaluation" (2014:63)
2. we have advanced and extensive knowledge about healing (2014:68)
3. our voices are essential to finding solutions (2014:63)

Unfortunately, the APA used the term "long-term survivors" only once in their 2014 publication, and other researchers have not yet adopted the term.

Consistent with pathologizing discussions about survivors' futures, the APA Report identified 20 negative, life-altering, and potentially "lifelong" consequences of trafficking (2014:3). However, in the first 20 years of the anti-trafficking movement, researchers have not undertaken studies to confirm or disprove pathological projections, or to understand how survivors manage long-term outcomes of CSE. The field of survivency and "the decades after CSE" simply does not yet exist in research. Survivor researcher Minh Dang (2013) described the situation this way: we are already addressing "…the three P's: *prevention, protection,* and *prosecution."* Now, in addition, we need to add "*preparation, partnership,* and *promise."*

> **Preparation…**How prepared are people to hold the horrors of human trafficking? How prepared are people to hold the horrors while celebrating the joys?
>
> **Partnership…**every successful social movement is guided by those directly affected by the injustice. Survivors have much to contribute, and we must support their healing and autonomy as they take center stage…
>
> **Promise…**What about the rest of their lives? What about their hopes and dreams and their potential…? [We must] consider long-term support and services to

ensure (re)acclimation to freedom. We must consider the potential for thriving, not just surviving (2013:xvi-xviii).

Long-Term Perspectives of Official CSE Definitions

The first steps towards both *partnership* and *promise* are to recognize that the perspectives of long-term survivors are unique and distinct from the perspectives researchers and legal personnel typically find useful. Current research on CSE follows official, legal definitions, and recognizes three distinctions in lived experiences:

1. the age of majority
    a. Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE): over 18 years old
    b. Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC): under 18 years old
2. issues of legality
    a. *Legal CSE*: legal work in brothels, strip clubs, or adult pornography
    b. *Illegal CSE*: illegal brothels, prostitution, or survival sex 18 years or older
3. perceptions of agency
    a. *Sex work*: voluntary, agentic work that sometimes becomes a profession
    b. *Sex trafficking*: anyone under 18 who is involved in CSE in any way; any person 18 or over who participates involuntarily, as victims of force, fraud, or coercion

Despite the convenience of these distinctions, the reality for long-term survivors is far more complex, nuanced, and contradictory. In the decades subsequent to exiting, distinctions drawn between *under 18/over 18, legal/illegal,* and *sex work/sex trafficking* are counterproductive. In Hatcher et al., thirteen established survivors published together as "a collaborative group of survivors spanning races, ages, lived experiences,

professional expertise, and political leanings" (2018:1). They produced a statement about the false distinctions in legal terms:

> We, as a community, must counter the false dichotomy of "free" and "forced." The intersection of prostitution, pornography, the stripping industry, and illicit massage are inextricably linked with sex trafficking. Without the demand for commercial sex there would be no sex trafficking. This is not "conflation"; it is simply fact. Survivors of exploitation are survivors of exploitation and we do not differentiate between legality and illegality of the vehicle used to commit atrocities against us (Hatcher et al. 2018:7).

For most self-identified, long-term survivors, involvement in CSE deeply impacted their lives. Most adults who experienced CSE had entered as teenagers (Farley 2003a:256) and the distinction between underage involvement and adult involvement is a legal one that changes over time. The movement to prohibit the criminalization of minors engaged in CSE only developed in the past decade, so many long-term survivors have arrest records dating back to their early to middle teen years. Prosecution practices are still in flux: in 2018, only 25 States plus DC prohibited criminalization of minors under 18; South Dakota and Michigan only prohibited prosecution for minors under 16; and Texas only prohibited prosecution under 14 (Shared Hope International 2018).

Legal distinctions between sex trafficking and sex work are not accurate indicators of harm—involvement in either one can lead to subsequent trauma. A more helpful distinction is to look at the characteristics of distinct CSE cultures: their knowledge base, relational norms, behavioral expectations, hierarchies, communication style, and marginalized location within society. It is the differences *between* cultures that affect the nature and level of distress survivors experience in the years after exiting. For the remainder of this dissertation, I use the abbreviation CSE to represent all experiences at any age, with the exception of studies in Chapter 2 that specifically refer to CSEC.

Ruhlmann (2018) conducted research with 135 survivors between 18 and 64 years old and identified three levels of distress with reports of three levels of trauma exposure:

1. Survivors mildly distressed had experienced the lowest levels of trauma exposure.
2. Those moderately distressed had experienced medial levels of trauma exposure.
3. Those survivors who were severely distressed had experienced the highest levels of trauma exposure, with exposure to multiple types of trauma, polytraumatization (Ruhlmann 2018:v).

Thus, in order to address the impact of CSE it is necessary to distinguish between types of CSE that go beyond simple definitions based on age of majority, issues of legality, or perceptions of agency. A more useful distinction would be based on trauma exposure and experiences of interpersonal violence. The distinction made regarding "interpersonal violence" refers to the type of trauma caused by malicious intent. Destructive acts of nature (hurricanes, earthquakes) can be violent, but they do not alter a person's view of humanity, the world, or self in the same ways as interpersonal, malicious destruction.

Long-Term Survivors, Short-Term Services

The actual length of the restoration timeline is the most significant missing piece in conversations about support. Rachel Lloyd, long-term survivor-founder of GEMS in New York City, writes about the rescue mindset in the anti-trafficking movement:

> I get the desire to have an immediate impact, it's human nature to respond to the crisis phase and not the recovery phase. Just ask anyone who's had to raise money in the immediate and then ongoing, long-term aftermath of natural disasters (Lloyd 2013).
>
> Real change is long-term and systemic. It's not about throwing some money at an issue for a few months and then moving on. Prevention isn't just about some splashy ads or some quick awareness trainings…. Intervention isn't just about volunteers running around hotels for a few weeks looking to rescue victims but

about committed individuals who can work alongside survivors to support and empower them wherever they're at in the process (Lloyd 2013).

Within the context of survivency and long-term survivors, exit services, programs, and "long-term" residential housing (up to 18 months) are *short-term* interventions.

I created the visual in Figure 6 to show the focus of current research and programs, within the context of the long-range picture of survivency. The path begins with existing services: crisis care (ensuring safety for the first days after exiting); progressing to short-term care (meeting survivors' needs in the first weeks); and ending with "long-term" care (providing support up to the first 18 months past exiting). But unlike current research and programming, the path continues into future decades.

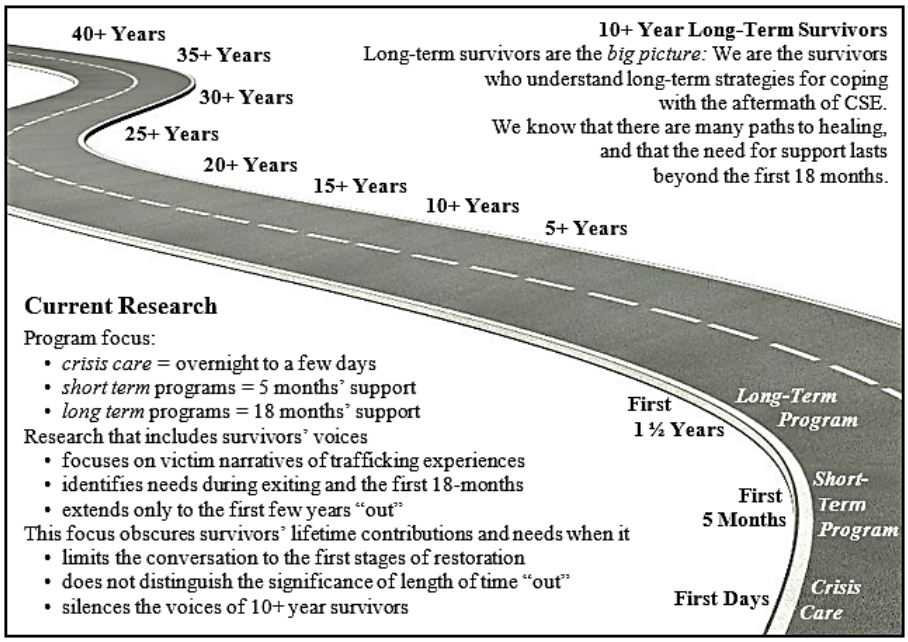


Figure 6. Long-Term Survivency, Short Term Support

Within the current, narrow conception of domestic CSE, "long-term recovery" refers to the progress made during the first 18 to 24 months after exiting. One reason long-term survivors have not been recognized as a population is because current programs give an appearance of "solving the problem." For example, when Hickle and

Roe-Sepowitz (2014) reported on a twelve-week group they had piloted with teens who had experienced CSE, they titled their article, *Putting the Pieces Back Together: A Group Intervention for Sexually Exploited Adolescent Girls.* While they acknowledge that their approach is "…but one way of addressing the complex and problematic trauma symptomology that results from the sexual exploitation of minors" (Hickle and Roe-Sepowitz 2014:110), the issue is not the effectiveness of the group intervention. The issue is that "putting the pieces back together" can be a *lifetime* endeavor. Even the most powerful group intervention is still one 12-week step in a much longer journey.

Emotion regulation techniques to reduce aggressive outbursts or calm panic attacks are effective tools for managing distress. But over time, the energy required by coping skills, to constantly re-direct thoughts, "think positively," breathe deeply, and control your outlook on life can become burdensome rather than freeing. Doering conducted a study on the exiting process, and noted:

> Social service providers often operate out of a paradigm that places enormous responsibility on a client – whether it be to stop their substance abuse, build social networks, "recover" from their mental illness, find a job, integrate into a community, reconcile internal conflicts, "reframe" their negative cognitions, or generally work harder on their "own" healing (Terr, 2003). Sufferers of *external* trauma are asked to do an enormous amount of *internal* and personal work (Doering 2012:72).

Without taking the time to address the trauma-damaged belief systems about the world, the weight survivors carry on their shoulders increases rather than decreases: the burden of "wellness" sits atop the burden of knowing the secrets of hell on earth, which sits atop the knowledge that monsters are human, which sits atop all of the scapegoating, shame, and stigma imposed on survivors.

Savannah Sanders, a survivor and social worker, explained her experiences with short-term "solutions" and the long-term impact of trafficking:

> The old interventions and self-help tactics didn't work for me. They weren't responsible for my transformation. Neither were the many programs preaching social conformity and the shame, silence and submission that many times more than not accompanies them….
>
> My transformation began when I let go of the shame and stigmas I held onto so tightly and that went down so deeply for such a long time. It was a lot of hard, frightening and uncomfortable work, but it forced me to understand and heal my life, my family systems, and myself (Sanders 2015:109-110).

The only way to understand the reality of a lifetime is to talk to survivors who have been dealing with the aftermath for twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty years. Anything shorter than a decade is too short for the big picture. Most of the thirteen Hatcher et al. (2018) survivors who published as a collective were long-term survivors with established careers, looking back to identify survivors' needs:

> The sexual exploitation of prostituted individuals has resulted in the inability of those who survive to attain the full potential of life, freedom, and happiness. Remedying the lasting effects of this form of exploitation has yet to be realized fully. . . . A survivor-centered approach will provide concrete solutions to the harm caused by prostitution (2018:1).

They went on to explain the differences between short-term and long-term support:

> Short-term treatment should focus on managing and reducing frequency of distressing symptomology. Long-term treatment should allow for empowerment and liberation from continued oppression, neither of which is possible without social support. . . . We must strive for compassionate services that are strengths-based, and which push for more than just survival (Hatcher et al. 2018:6).

In their writings, long-term survivors have addressed these differences between surviving and living, between professional success and personal suffering. Many are alone in their struggle with the consequences of CSE. In one survivor's words:

> I cannot tell you where I live, what I do for a living, or my real name. I can tell you that I am a respected professional now, that I went back to school, and that I

> speak out on prostitution as violence against women at every opportunity, albeit anonymously. I can tell you that ten years later, I still have health problems, internal and external scars. I have nightmares. I can tell you that I still live in fear: fear of being found by my ex-pimp or his friends; fear of being identified as a survivor and losing my job; fear of never being able to trust again. And fear that somewhere tonight another woman will be living my story, and she may not be able to get out before she dies (Kalenandi 1999:225).

Over the past decades of long-term survivors seeking health care, providers untrained about CSE disregard concerns for safety as paranoid—though they accurately portray survivors' lived experiences.

One of the reasons I have focused this project on survivency is to counter the dire futures predicted by members of the mental health community—the negative projections and pathological diagnoses that have offered little to no hope for a future. Greenbaum's recently published dissertation (2019) is the first study I read that included and discussed the significance of "years out" in survivor demographics. It is also the first original study I found that included a high percentage of survivors who had five or more years out. The psychological measures used in the study did show that survivors remain highly symptomatic for multiple years after exiting, living with, and managing symptoms of PTSD, depression, anger, and dissociation. In interpersonal relationships, they also identified long-term survivors' struggles with trust and intimacy, concerns for safety, and issues of control (Greenbaum 2019).

However, unlike previous studies, instead of focusing solely on the deficits resulting from CSE, Greenbaum suggested that the longevity of symptoms might actually be a result of deficits in the types of support offered by the psychological community:

> . . . the fact that survivors of sexual exploitation remain highly symptomatic may suggest that our current models of treatment for the trauma of sex trafficking, which are often based on child sexual abuse, domestic violence, and sexual assault protocols, are not specialized enough to the trauma of sexual exploitation,

> possibly due to the fact that we have not yet identified many of the factors that are unique (or uniquely coupled) to sexual exploitation, such as the impact of financial valuation upon acts of sexual violation (2019:63).

I can accept acknowledgement without blame, particularly because this analysis lays a foundation for listening to long-term survivors in order to better understand their unique needs and provide more specific forms of support in the future.

Representation of Survivor Voice

Since the focus of this study is the presence and voice of long-term survivors—a population largely rendered invisible and voiceless in research—I have chosen to include survivors' voices in every chapter. One of the dehumanizing aspects of CSE is being denied the right to choose (what to do, how to act, what to believe etc.). After exiting, common practices in the academy and the anti-trafficking movement continue to limit choices. I cringe when I hear the anti-trafficking mantra, "be a voice for the voiceless," because even making allowances for good intentions, the results still ignore the possibility that survivors might want to speak for themselves. It is the quandary of every essentialized, marginalized, and muted group, as Alcoff described:

> …the practice of speaking for others is often born of a desire for mastery, to privilege oneself as the one who more correctly understands the truth about another's situation or as one who can champion a just cause and then achieve the glory and praise (2009:132).

In the academy, research overlooks long-term survivors, rendering them invisible again, replicating the ethos and violence of trafficking. When others speak for us and make decisions about us, they perpetuate this same oppression (Hatcher et al. 2018). As Kramarae describes:

> …people attached or assigned to subordinate groups may have a lot to say, but they tend to have relatively little power to say it without getting into a lot of trouble. Their speech is disrespected by those in the dominant positions; their

> knowledge is not considered sufficient for public decision-making or policy-making processes of that culture; their experiences are interpreted for them by others; and they are encouraged to see themselves as represented in the dominant discourse (2005:55).

Long-term survivors "have a lot to say" but little representation or recognition in research, as the power to disseminate information about CSE currently resides with non-survivors. As part of my early research, I identified and read hundreds of journal articles, books, chapters, and reports written by non-survivors. Most had no representation of survivor voice at all—the entire publication was the voices of non-survivors speaking about survivors. Reading thousands of pages void of survivor voice or insights felt like an ongoing onslaught of disrespect and disregard.

It was not until an email conversation with an author of one such publication that I realized the invisibility of long-term survivors in research was not an intentional, power-laden oversight. I emailed the author to ask why a published study had not discussed the fact that some of the survivors interviewed were long-term survivors. The email response was that the author had not heard the term "long-term survivor" or read about it in research. I considered the response, and realized the author was right. I had read the term so many years ago in survivor writings, and it had been part of my vocabulary for so many years, that I had neglected to account for the fact that I had only read the term twice in academic publications written by non-survivors. The first time was in Doering's dissertation:

> Another long-term survivor agreed with this understanding of PTSD's chronicity, "Still, I have lots of flashbacks, lots of nightmares, a lot of problems." However, a clinician was quick to point out that, "Not every trafficking victim is traumatized. Not everybody has PTSD" (Doering 2012:107).

The second time was when the American Psychological Association (APA) used "long-term survivor" in recommendations for the anti-trafficking movement:

> Include multilevel training created by long-term survivors who are advanced in their own healing and have the necessary experience, professional skills, and training to work with economically and culturally diverse stakeholders (Sidun 2014:68).

Initially, I had been euphoric when I realized that the APA had recognized us by name, because I expected that awareness would continue to grow. But five years later, long-term survivors are still invisible and unnamed in academic studies.

Structure of Dissertation

Thus, to counter the absence of long-term survivors and survivors' perspectives in current research, I am including survivors' voices in every chapter. In Chapter 1, the sources are published survivor writings and original research/studies. In Chapter 2, sources are from original research/studies. In Chapter 3, I include my own voice for explanations of decisions, methods, and methodology. Chapters 4 and 5 use survivors' voices from surveys, interviews, and published survivor writings.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter discusses the differences between mainstream and underground cultures. It introduces the multiplicity of cultures by comparing data from several studies with different populations, most located in New York City (one of which also collected data from rural upstate New York). Survivor quotes explain the differences in cultural experiences from survivors' perspectives. Four criteria determined inclusion: it was original research; it focused on specific populations within the commercial sex trade/industry; it included survivor voice; and survivor quotes included insights into lived experiences (beyond victim stories).

Chapter 3: Data Collection, Systematic Analysis, and Theoretical Framework

This chapter describes the three research processes utilized in this project. The first includes IRB and emergent research design in interviews. The second is data collection through surveys. The third research process is the methodology used to compile demographic data through a systematic review of long-term survivors' publications. Since 1980, long-term survivors have been documenting and publishing their experiences of CSE in memoirs, articles, sections in anthologies, and chapters in edited volumes. They have been writing and publishing about survivency and their lived experiences in the years after exiting. To honor their efforts, I compiled a collection of 76 published works written by 43 survivor-authors, and from their writings, generated detailed demographics on their CSE experiences, time since exiting, and work today.

Chapter 4: Findings

This chapter seeks to answer the following three research questions:

1) Who are long-term survivors of commercial sexual exploitation?
2) What cultures of CSE have long-term survivors experienced?
3) What does survivency look like in the years after exiting, as survivors cope with the ongoing impact of commercial sexual exploitation?

The first two answers draw from demographic data compiled through the systematic review of publications and demographic data collected through surveys. The third research answer utilizes data collected from interviews and open-ended survey questions triangulated with lived experiences from survivors' published writings.

Chapter 5: Limitations, Implications, Recommendations, and Evaluation Rubric

This chapter addresses limitations of the current study and provides directions for future research. It focuses on recommendations for researchers and anti-trafficking organizations. It presents an evaluation rubric that helps identify practices that inadvertently contribute to the invisibility of long-term survivors and provides insight into ways to empower survivors in matters that directly impact their lives.

CHAPTER 2

SURVIVOR VOICE, LITERATURE REVIEW, AND SECONDARY DATA ANALYSIS

Historical and Political Setting of Literature Review

Presenting a literature review of long-term survivors is a complex undertaking for multiple reasons. Current research in the anti-trafficking movement is an accurate reflection of the political climate today, which means that it has maintained a narrow focus on the scope of CSE in the U.S. In addition to the complexity of opening a new field of research, acknowledging long-term survivency has far-reaching ramifications on multiple fronts. The following discussion describes the historical, political, social, and academic context of this study and some of the ramifications of acknowledging long-term survivors as a population.

Delayed and limited acknowledgement of domestic CSE.

The U.S. government did not participate in the Trafficking in Persons Reports until 2010. Although some departments commissioned studies, official recognition of the existence of American-born children experiencing CSE in America lagged far behind recognition of international CSE. Since research is not "retroactive," survivors who experienced domestic CSE prior to 2010 are still missing in research today. Recognizing long-term survivors as a population means acknowledging the history of CSE in the U.S.

Negative projections generalized without original studies.

Researchers have made negative *projections* about the lifelong outcomes of CSE based on "similar" types of abuse, but they have not completed any studies with long-

term survivors to verify those pathological outcomes and diagnoses. Survivors do struggle, but there have been no studies about the wide variation between outcomes in long-term survivors' lives.

Negative projections lack understanding of survivency.

The concept of survivency—the ways survivors cope and manage the impact of CSE in the decades after exiting—does not yet exist in research either. Without research, there is no discussion of the multiple forms of survivency survivors have engaged in since exiting. This project begins a new body of knowledge, but as yet, the only research for a literature review is loosely related forms of sexual abuse that do not reach the level of impact CSE can have.

Limited scope of victim profiles and ages.

Research, programs, training, policies, state, and federal actions have focused primarily on female adolescents sexually exploited by pimps (ECPAT-USA 2017), so acknowledging the breadth of long-term survivors' victim experiences would mean broadening CSE victim profiles to include all ages, genders, and types of CSE. As a population, long-term survivors' CSE experiences span from infancy through adulthood, but scant research exists on current-day early childhood experiences of CSE (though evidence of early childhood CSE cultures exists in research conducted in prior decades).

Concept of CSE cultures.

When research focuses on one victim experience of CSE (sexually exploited adolescent girls), there are no measures to reveal the multiple, significant ways types of CSE differ from one another. The concept of "CSE cultures" does not yet exist, though underground forms of CSE fit the criteria for cultures. The mutually exclusive bodies of

knowledge learned in different CSE cultures, the varying levels of violence, the wide range of permissions and restrictions, the amount of money an exploited person can keep—all create different experiences and impact. Some cultures of CSE embody cruelty and sadism, while others function more like agreements between colleagues.

Distress and trauma range.

There is a wide range of distress (mild—moderate—severe) resulting from CSE experiences, but there has been no research on the range of trauma caused by different experiences. Since trauma is related to the degree of harm perpetrated in various CSE cultures, there is not "one CSE trauma profile."

Narrow parameters for recovery timeframe.

Current program funding for exiting and the first two years of recovery relies, in part, on giving the impression of successful recovery within that time period. Widening the parameters to include long-term survivors would mean acknowledging that two-year programs are not "long-term." The political ramifications of this alone are staggering.

This study's response to political and historical context.

Due to this dearth of original studies related to the population of long-term survivors, this chapter includes a level of analysis that extends beyond the typical discussion of pertinent literature, and it does so in order to include information relevant to the research questions in this study. In order to discuss the differences between long-term survivors, the literature review focuses on the differences between CSE cultures. It discusses this multiplicity of CSE cultures by comparing data from several studies with different populations, most located in New York City, one of which also collected data

from rural upstate New York.

The three criteria used to select literature included:

1. original studies/research with CSE victims and/or survivors
2. focused on specific CSE cultures in the U.S.
3. fore-fronting survivor voice, including insights beyond victim stories

Through these studies, this chapter provides a foundation for understanding the demographics of long-term survivors presented in Chapter 4. Although this is a more inclusive, analytical, and detailed literature review than typical, and reflects a deeper, systematic analysis, it presents information that is directly relevant to long-term survivors as a population. The depth of this literature review represents a necessary degree of rigor and analysis to address the ramifications of introducing this "new" population,

Long-term survivors are a population so marginalized that people working in the anti-trafficking field—the movement long-term survivors created from their own insights—do not acknowledge them. Despite written communications explaining their experiences of re-exploitation and disregard in the movement (Dang 2013; Lloyd 2013; Marr and Sex Trafficking Survivors United 2013; Hatcher et al. 2018), researchers and advocates in the movement continue to render them invisible. The Hatcher et al. collaboration of 13 survivors raised the same issues from the 2013 communiques, in addition to issues that had emerged since then.

Within this political and historical context of disregard, and in light of the injustice of omission across decades, this literature review is a proportional, scholarly response. It is the embodiment of my ethical and spiritual commitment to seeking justice for long-term survivors, a group to which I belong, though I write as an outsider to the

movement itself. This perspective of being an insider-outsider has allowed me to commit to the level of care and justice I believe this population deserves. Thus, this literature review mirrors the findings chapter, providing context, survivor voice, and a detailed demographic analysis of CSE cultures and populations that represent the range of long-term survivors' lived experiences of CSE.

Distinct, Identifiable Cultures of CSE

The rest of this chapter introduces the concept that CSE cultures are distinct and identifiable, and that the differences between cultures are related to the impact that long-term survivors experience in the years after exiting. I identified the concept of CSE cultures as a result of a conversation that occurred while attending my first survivor-led conference in mid-April 2019. It centered around the conflict surrounding a charismatic, controversial ex-pimp on the fringes of the anti-trafficking movement in San Diego. After I returned home, I looked him up online, and found an article he had written on "transferrable skills" learned on the streets (King 2018). Everything he described was specific to *street culture* and *street based CSE* (see analysis in Appendix A). Not one transferrable skill in his list would be true for survivors of early childhood CSE. That was what first led me to apply sociological theories of "culture" to CSE, and to begin to identify the diversity between cultures as a factor that contributes to the impact of CSE after exiting.

Long-term survivors' lives represent the entire spectrum of CSE cultures, responses to those cultures, and restoration trajectories in the decades following involvement. While organizations across the nation focus on providing services to female

teens and youth engaging in street prostitution, the actual scope of CSE extends much further, to many other populations and CSE cultures.

During the 2000s, Brunovskis and Surtees (2010) conducted and published early research with international victims of CSE. Afterwards, they investigated whose voices were missing, that research parameters had rendered invisible. Among the "untold stories" were survivors who did not belong to communities of convenience samples. Since the easiest U.S. sample to access is female survivors of pimp controlled CSE who are receiving services from anti-trafficking organizations, victims of pimp controlled CSE cultures are over-represented in research, obscuring other victims from view.

The sociological concept of "culture," applied to CSE, helps explain some of the differences between long-term survivors' experiences of CSE. There is not one CSE culture but multiple, distinct CSE cultures, with identifiable differences. From a sociological perspective, people create and produce culture through shared knowledge, meaning, values, language, hierarchies, and behavioral norms (Agramonte, 2010; American Sociological Association 2019). Often it is the older members within a collective who transmit culture to younger or newer members:

- Values: beliefs, knowledge, memories, thought patterns, narratives
- Communication: vocabulary, language, attitude
- Relational structure: hierarchies, performance of deference, rituals, celebrations
- Behavioral norms: expectations, practices
- Identity: self-perception, belonging
- Physical objects: types of clothing, shoes, cars
- Geographic locations: spaces, buildings, places

The one cultural aspect that most CSE cultures hold in common is their social status: stigmatized, marginalized, outcast, and hidden or underground. Immersion in and identification with a culture of CSE alters every aspect of life and relationships. Using a sociological definition of culture, this chapter includes discussions of unique aspects of CSE cultures as represented in studies.

Mainstream and Underground Cultures

The concept of "cultures" also helps explain the vast differences in knowledge between non-survivors and survivors. The values and behavioral norms of underground cultures in the commercial sex industry are so different from mainstream society—so far outside of "normal" lives based on free will—that they are difficult for non-survivors to understand. Members of underground CSE cultures are highly stigmatized and exist in the margins of society, with varying degrees of visibility.

For example, "normal" life is based on the 97 out of 100 people who do not have antisocial personality disorder (ASPD), and the remaining 3 people are the ones who shape the most destructive underground cultures of CSE. They display a total disregard for, and violation of, the rights of others, and they are able to harm people without remorse, guilt, shame, or regret. They lie, deceive, and manipulate for both profit and self-amusement (Glenn, Johnson, and Raine 2013). Individuals with ASPD are charismatic and have an intuitive ability to rapidly observe and analyze others, determine their needs and preferences, and use that to facilitate manipulation and exploitation. Individuals with ASPD are capable of empathy, but they use it to experience their victim's suffering and derive a fuller pleasure from it. To maximize profits, people with

ASPD collaborate with others who are like-minded, and create extensive networks that both facilitate exploitation and protect from detection.

The cultural differences between mainstream and CSE and the lack of understanding about exploitation—the deception, control, power, and ownership—often leads to victim-blaming. The litany of questions survivors face is long:

- Where were your parents?
- Why didn't you just say, "no"? Why didn't you just leave? Why did you go back?
- Why didn't you tell someone? Why didn't you ask for help?
- Why didn't you go to the police?
- Why did you fall for that? Couldn't you tell he was lying?
- Why did you do what he said?

These and other questions have been some of the reasons why survivors preferred talking to other survivors. There is less to explain, because other survivors already know multiple answers to each of the above questions.

Speaking engagements are brutal for survivors who do not fit the trafficking picture of a "vulnerable girl in chains," created by the media. Questions perpetuate shame and exacerbate feelings of alienation. Holly Austin Smith has been speaking about her experiences with CSE for years. She was lured by the glamor and designer clothes and became involved two times, each time after running away. When she speaks, people who do not understand vulnerability and the ties created in street culture have difficulty comprehending why she seemed to "choose" involvement at 14 years old, and why she returned the second time. Audience questions have included: "Why didn't you run

away…?" (Austin Smith 2014:35) "Were you drugged?" "Did they beat you?" and even "Is there any way you were dropped on your head as an infant?" (Austin Smith 2014:13).

It is one of the unspoken understandings between survivors—that the control experienced was absolute, and that there is no need to defend actions. When a survivor comments about how much easier it is to talk to other survivors, when they say, "because you don't have to explain things…they just know…" this is the beginning of what we know. We have a collective understanding of the way trafficking works, and of the depths of depravity, oppression, exploitation, and dehumanization that exist in the underground. This common knowledge creates shortcuts that allow us to communicate without having to backtrack, to explain how the underground functions. The daunting task of having to explain everything again, to "start over," can feel so overwhelming that it is prohibitive. Seeking help, even from trained counselors, means trying to bridge the invisible chasm between the world survivors know and the world non-survivors know.

If it is difficult for people in mainstream culture to understand survivors, it is also difficult to transition from cultures of CSE to mainstream cultures. Involvement in CSE can re-shape identity, change belief systems, reverse value systems, create new bodies of knowledge, restrict friendships, instill new communication styles, and dictate behavioral norms. As noted by Bruhns et al. (study discussed below), after identifying with an exploitive culture, successfully exiting "is not a singular process of behavior change; rather, it is an intensive process that impacts all spheres of an individual's life" (2018:443). As one participant explained:

> It's so gut-wrenching to stop that life. Because it's multiple things. It's like, you feel powerful, you feel like you're somewhat in control, even though there's these people trying to take advantage of you. It's like, you level your self-esteem by

> how much money you can make. And I think it's also a way to like turn the abuse on its head, and be like, "I'm gonna say when and where this is gonna happen." And also, I had loss of identity, you know? If I am not this sex object, who am I? It was very uncomfortable (Bruhns 2014:142).

The degree to which a person internalized the values of exploitive cultures directly impacts the long-term intensity and duration of aftereffects. Another survivor described how changing behaviors and experiencing success outside of CSE did not necessarily indicate resolution of internal identity issues:

> I had won all these scholarships, I had newspaper articles written on me. lt was just like a lot of pressure. And everybody would probably think like, "This is such an awesome thing, you're so amazing." But inside, I was just screaming, "Oh my god, I don't know who I am, I don't know who this person is." I wanted nothing more but to go back to a strip club, where I know how to work. Or I know what's gonna happen, and I'm good at that. I don't know if I can keep *this* up, you know? (Bruhns 2014:173).

Integrating into mainstream society encompasses more than learning a different language and adopting new behaviors. It includes deeper levels of change—learning a new set of values, changing belief systems, adopting a new identity—and wrestling with issues that are opposite of the culture they had learned in CSE. Inner turmoil can be overwhelming, and the return to what is familiar offers relief from that conflict. This tension is difficult for non-survivors to understand, so when someone who looks like they are "doing so well" returns to an exploitive culture, it can be frustrating.

> Social service providers often operate out of a paradigm that places enormous responsibility on a client – whether it be to stop their substance abuse, build social networks, "recover" from their mental illness, find a job, integrate into a community, reconcile internal conflicts, "reframe" their negative cognitions, or generally work harder on their "own" healing (Terr, 2003). Sufferers of *external* trauma are asked to do an enormous amount of *internal* and personal work (Doering 2012:72).

And again, this is where survivors understand the desire to return, because they know the depths of change required to feel at home in a different world.

O'Brien (2018) recruited 13 survivors through the survivor/service provider community. At the time of the interviews, survivors' ages ranged from 29 to 66 years old, and all survivors had experienced trafficking prior to 18 years old. At the end of the article, O'Brien referred to the time since exiting as a limitation. Although distance may create bias due to retrospective reflection (2018:9), it also creates greater clarity and insight, as evidenced in this survivor's assessment of the changes required to integrate back into mainstream society:

> When I was trafficked, you know, I knew what would happen, I knew how to act, I knew how to do my job. [After escaping trafficking] I didn't know how to go to school. I didn't know how to live life. I didn't know how to keep house. I didn't know how to interact with people. I didn't know how to build relationships with people…when that's all you've known is the other life, it's really hard to be integrated back into this life (O'Brien 2018:8).

O'Brien's article also included survivors' insights about the differences in relationships after exiting the underground:

> When I saw a healthy relationship for the first time, I knew it was possible. It was just a little glimpse, like, "Oh, that's how other relationships work" or "Is that how other people treat their children?" and then the seed was planted. Like, "Do you have these good relationships? Because you should have these good things." Everybody should have these good things (O'Brien 2018:7).

In Heil and Nichols' St. Louis/bi-state study (described below), a survivor-service provider described the alienation resulting from forced participation in the acts of pimps and purchasers—acts that deliberately violate morality and societal norms:

> . . . sex trafficking trauma … hits a sort of moral injury as people are forced to do things that they really don't want to do … awful things with strange men that you don't like, societal norms violated during the trauma repeatedly, repeatedly, repeatedly, often, so … 'I was there, I know what it was like, I know why you had to do that' … The community understands and there is a subculture the trafficker will create, there's a different language, everybody outside of the subculture is a square, they will never understand, they're never going to understand (Heil and Nichols 2015:172).

Pimps use language to reinforce culture, but it is the values, attitudes, and actions promoted within the culture that create difficulties after exiting.

When there is no facilitator or pimp involved, the buyer becomes the owner; the purchase price is the equivalent of ownership for the length of time negotiated. Some people who work independently negotiate for lesser amounts of time or limited services, but buyers may or may not honor such agreements. The general understanding is that buyers take every advantage they can, and that they believe they have paid for exclusive ownership of the other person for the negotiated time.

The Hatcher et al. collaborative group of thirteen survivors described their lived experiences and of such ownership:

> We have already mentioned that survivors are subjected to sustained torture within the sex trade. Torture is defined as "the action or practice of inflicting severe pain on someone as a punishment or to force them to do or say something, or for the pleasure of the person inflicting the pain," a phenomenon close to what is regularly described within prostitution experience. Through the lenses of our own experiences, torture and prostitution are synonymous. Those who bought us felt they had purchased our rights away from us. To them, we were no longer human; we were a disposable commodity, an object. Prostitution is torture, as its essence removes that which makes us human (2018:6).

Their unequivocal statement about inhumane treatment comes with the clarity of time, one of the gifts long-term survivors bring.

Trafficking Cultures Reported to Nation-Wide Hotline

In 2017, Polaris published one of the first documents to recognize and discuss the significance of different CSE cultures represented by callers to their hotlines reported. Polaris Project is a non-profit organization that operates a National Human Trafficking Hotline and BeFree Textline, and their 2017 report included the results of nine years of

data collection (2007-2016). In their introduction, they describe the past 15 years of anti-trafficking work:

> For years, we have been staring at an incomplete chess game, moving pieces without seeing hidden squares or fully understanding the power relationships between players. Many efforts to combat trafficking have generalized across too many types and created overly generic resources and responses. For example, if an anti-trafficking group is providing a training for hotels, generic "Human Trafficking 101" training is less effective than training that focuses on the types of trafficking that actually use hotels as part of their business model (Anthony, Penrose, and Jakiel 2017:5).

For this literature review, the significant connection Polaris made was that interventions were only useful if they were specific to the culture they were trying to address. The realization that a generic training was insufficient for change came from identifying the fact that there are multiple cultures of CSE, each with its own power relationships and players, and that prevention had to address these aspects.

As Polaris researchers began to identify distinct cultures, they also realized that exploiters do not limit themselves to only one form of CSE. Since they engage in multiple types of CSE, victims experience multiple forms of CSE, which is a relevant detail in long-term survivency. However, the profiles are still helpful in defining the breadth of exploitation. They defined 16 types of human trafficking/labor exploitation (no overlap with sex trafficking) and nine types of sex trafficking (one combined type overlapped with labor exploitation).

Polaris researchers utilized data collected from 12,500 potential sex trafficking cases to classify nine profiles—not representative of all forms of CSE, but of the forms where victims were willing and able to call or text a hotline. The highest percentage of calls (37%) fit the *Escort Services* profile, followed by *Illicit Massage* (24%), *Outdoor*

Solicitation (13%), *Residential* (10%), *Bars and Strip Clubs* (6%), *Pornography* (5%), *Personal Sexual Servitude* (3%), *Illicit Activities* (.6%), and *Remote Interactive* (.6%). The statistics for *Illicit Activities* included both sex trafficking (sex in exchange for drugs) and human trafficking (selling drugs), which resulted in higher percentages of both male callers (61%) and foreign citizens (56%) (see Appendix B). After *Remote Interactive*, which only included statistics for the number of callers (78), statistics provided included gender, age (minor or adult), and citizenship (U.S. or foreign).

Female victims called or texted the hotlines more often than male victims (80-94% female; 2-16% male). When male victims called, it was most often about *Pornography* (16%) or *Personal Sexual Servitude* (15%). Personal sexual servitude indicates that the level of violence the men/boys were experiencing in CSE was extreme, confronting mainstream beliefs that boys and men cannot be victimized. Though the ECPAT report was published in 2013, little progress has been made, and very few service organizations are equipped to meet the needs of boys (ECPAT-USA 2013).

Age and Violence in CSE Cultures

Bruhns conducted a dissertation study (later published as an article) that addressed the connection between violence and trauma after exiting. Bruhns recruited 11 female survivors, 18 to 30 years old, who had been out between one and eight years. Some survivors were either currently receiving services, or currently providing services (Bruhns 2014:106). Two participants had entered CSE prior to 14 years old; (10 to 20; 13 to 17); five participants entered at 15 years old (two exited at 17, two at 20, and one at 23); and the remaining four survivors entered at 17 years old (exited 19, 22, 23, and 28 years old) (Bruhns 2014:111). The seven survivors who entered at younger ages (10, 13,

and 15) experienced the most violent CSE cultures, ownership-based control that included torture, dehumanization, and social isolation (Bruhns 2014:147). Bruhns commented on how these variations affected the impact on survivors' needs:

> A great deal of variability existed across the sample regarding how severely participants were abused and controlled by exploiters, ranging from brief and opportunistic relationships with pimps to prolonged and tyrannical exploitation. This heterogeneity was reflected in differential needs during the exiting process (Bruhns et al. 2018:430).

In mainstream society, the only experiences that parallel the ownership of CSE are relationships of "intimate terrorism," extreme forms of domestic violence where one person controls everything about the other person—thoughts, beliefs, identity, behaviors.

Survival Sex in NYC

Two NYC studies, Curtis et al. in 2008 and Dank et al. in 2015, interviewed teens and youth engaged in *survival sex street cultures* (see details in Appendix C). However, the populations differed considerably. Even categories that seem descriptive, like *survival sex street cultures,* are inadequate to explain a person's experience of CSE, because gender identity plays a significant role in determining CSE cultures of survival sex. In particular, trans youth engaged in survival sex experience a different CSE culture than their heterosexual peers.

Both studies utilized Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS): Curtis et al.'s interviewers (university students and professors) collected data from 249 teens and youth; Dank et al.'s interviewers (trained peers) collected data from 283 teens and youth. Most youth who participated in Curtis et al.'s study were 17 and 18 years old (75%), while the majority of Dank et al.'s participants were 19 to 20 years old (65%). The majority in both studies were teens and youth of color (64% Curtis et al. 89% Dank et al.). Most worked

independently without an exploiter or daily quotas (84% Curtis et al.; 85% Dank et al.), so they engaged with few buyers each day (one to four in Curtis et al.'s study; three to six in Dank et al.'s study).

Table 1: Gender, Race, Age, Living Situation in Curtis et al. and Dank et al.

Category	2008 NYC Curtis et al.	2015 Dank et al.
Gender	48% Female 45% Male ----- GLBQ 8% Trans (20)	36% Female 47% Male 78% G (65) L (42) B (105) Q (9) 16% Trans (6) T-F (31) T-M (8)
Race	29% African American 23% Hispanic 23% White 22% Multi-Racial	37% African American 22% Hispanic/Latino 5% White 30% Multi-Racial
Age at Data Collection	6% 14-15 years old^ 28% 16-17 years old^ (24% 17) 59% 18-19 years old^ (51% 18) 2% 20-21 years old^	----- 14-15 years old 6% 16-17 years old~ 44% 18-19 years old~ (33% 19) 49% 20-21 years old~ (32% 20)
Current Living Situation	21% Family/relatives 30% Unrelated/friend 24% Shelter 38% Street	11% Family/relatives 10% Unrelated/friend 48 % Shelter 10% Street

The numbers of buyers and length of time involved in CSE are critical distinctions between CSE cultures, because exposure alone creates a different level of trauma. One buyer per day becomes 30 per month, and 365 in one year of survival sex. Six buyers per day becomes 180 per month, 360 in only two months, and expands to 2,160 in one year of survival sex. Since the teens themselves determined their quotas, they are considerably lower than those determined by pimps.

Curtis et al.'s participants were 48% female, 45% male, and 8% trans (they did not collect data on gender identity). Dank et al.'s participants were 36% female, 47% male, and 16% trans, who identified as bisexual (37%), gay (23%), trans (16%), lesbian (15%), and cis-gender heterosexual YMSM/YWSW (6%). As is typical in survival sex

cultures, participants moved in and out of homelessness. At the time of Curtis et al.'s study, participants were homeless (92%), living in shelters (24%), on the streets (38%), or with friends (30%). At the time of Dank et al.'s study, participants were also homeless (68%), living in shelters (48%), on the streets (10%), or with friends (10%). In both studies, common locations for engaging in survival sex were outside/in a car, in a hotel/motel, or in the customer's home.

Curtis et al.'s participants were younger than Dank et al.'s and prioritized the purchase of new clothes for street credibility (2008:68). One youth became involved in CSE after watching friends make money:

> Most of my friends that I knew did it. And most of my friends are male or transgender. And they were the one who were doing it. So, it was kind of like . . . it got to the point where I was seeing them walk around with designer handbags and new shoes and new phones every other week, and staying in hotels for weeks on end. And I was like, "Well, I wanna do that." So I went out and did it (487) (2008:53).

One news report referred to this practice as "designer sex"—teens and youth prostituting themselves for money to buy designer bags (McBride 2011).

Others did not consider involvement in CSE unless they had no other options, were living on the streets, and had gone without eating for an extended time. Then the need to survive kicked in, and the "do what you gotta do" dissociation was put to use.

> [I didn't really think about], you know, trading sex for anything whenever I first moved here. And then whenever I got here, I realized that it was just so popular because there were so many people in my situation that were unemployed and they needed money and that it was just so widely, you know, it was so easy to get into. So I was a very conservative person. I didn't really think about doing that but times got really, really hard and I didn't eat for about a week and I didn't have anywhere to stay. I was sneaking on the train and so I decided that I was going to clean myself up a little bit. Decided to go out there and do what I have to do (Respondent 5175, 21 years old, white, transsexual, trans female) (Dank et al. 2015:21).

Another teen had plans to stop engaging in survival sex because it compromised a sense of dignity. However, not having a place to sleep in the middle of the winter put exit plans on hold for this participant:

> I'm retiring from it, I can't do this like I have dignity, I'm not going just trade myself for something else but it beats sleeping in trains, sleeping in parks, and plus it's the winter and it's cold (Respondent 637, 19 years old, Latino, bisexual, male) (Dank et al. 2015:62).

Some street cultures fostered community and actual relationships (as opposed to the façade of relationship created by pimps). Families created among homeless teens, youth in the gay community, and members of the trans community all provided relational support during involvement in the commercial sex industry. Friendships and a sense of belonging mediated the harsher realities of participation in street cultures, as this participant from Dank et al.'s study described:

> The same people that I look after, they do the same. Like they'll be outside standing around whatever, making sure that I'm leaving that room, that I'm not bruised, I'm good and I've got the money. I give them a little cut whatever and thank you for making sure that I'm good and stuff (Respondent 196, 20 years old, black and Puerto Rican, open sexuality, male) (Dank et al. 2015:44).

Curtis et al. (2008) found that trans teenagers who entered sex work often received assistance from older members of the trans community. At the least, older trans sex workers would give tips about how to be safe, but sometimes the assistance was more involved. One trans female youth described her early experience of community, when she entered CSE at 15 years old:

> My first time I went to the city, I hung out with this other transgender. She says, "I know a way you can make money, and you can make money!" We're gonna get you done-up -- and you're goin' out -- and you're going to make some money. . . . and she [my friend] was like, "Don't spend no more time than two hours with them. If you do, charge them over. If you're gonna be a whore, be a whore. Make money." And I'm like, "Okay." And then she was like, "I'm gonna make you my

> daughter out here, and all the girls is gonna know you -- and look after you -- so nobody won't mess with you" (595) (Curtis et al. 2008:50).

However, by 18 years old, there was a deeper understanding of somebody "messing with you," and the darker side of street-based sex work in the trans community:

> There's a lotta jealousy out there. Other sex workers, all day, trying to make more money than you. Other trannies want to rob other trannies when they find 'em vulnerable and weak. They feels as though you're young and stuff like that, they can take advantage (595) (Curtis et al. 2008:86).

The longer a person worked under stigma and societal rejection the more vulnerable they became to internalizing oppression. The experiences of being ostracized for the work they were doing began to manifest in their identity, as shame for who they were. As one trans youth explained, the ongoing pressures affected their experiences:

> There are a lotta dangers. There are health dangers, there are dangers with the law. There are dangers with . . . yourself, because, it's like . . . when you're doin' something on a routine basis -- you sort of become what you are doing. You sorta label yourself as what you do. But you're not, you're just a regular person, that's who you are (566) (Curtis et al. 2008:104).

Some experienced a constant struggle to maintain their identity, because internalization created a shift from "some*thing* you do" to "you *are* what you do." For others, involvement *was* a change in identity, as they took on the persona of "someone else."

> …some people think that sex trade is the worst thing to do cause you're selling yourself, who people believed God gave you but it's like when it boils down to it, if you have no food in your stomach, if you have no transportation, but you have a man in your face willing to give you money for a half hour. You put your pride to the side, you throw everything out the window and you forget who you are and you forget what you're doing and you learn to be someone else. You have to teach yourself these things (Respondent 1, 19 years old, Latino, gay, male) (Dank 2015:57).

Their struggle was about "teaching yourself" to become another person, as opposed to trying to remain who they were prior to involvement. The process of turning a body into a sexual commodity requires dissociation: being "not present," vacating your

body, making yourself empty, shutting down, doing what you gotta do, becoming less than who you are, becoming someone else, being disembodied, hovering at the ceiling looking down with detachment. Dissociation—which even sex workers acknowledge is a necessity—is a process of becoming less human; the lived experience of dehumanization. Being human means being embodied, so the degree to which a person lives a dissociated, disconnected, disembodied life, is the degree to which they continue to experience dehumanization.

Multiple factors related to intersectionality affected the lived experiences of survival sex and the potential impact of oppression on the lives of teens and youth after exiting (Williams Crenshaw 2014). In both studies, socio-economic status was a significant factor in the decision to engage in survival sex. Participants were currently homeless, hungry, and resource poor, though participants who entered to buy designer clothes had more options than others. Some of the participants experienced community and a sense of belonging, either with others who similarly identified, or with other youth, which may have mediated some of the impact of CSE experiences. Both groups experienced the social stigma of working on the streets, but Dank et al.'s participants experienced an additional layer of stigma, due to identifying as LGBTQ, and trans teens/youth from both studies experienced the highest degree of social stigma.

The majority in both studies worked independently from exploiters and traffickers, so they maintained more power and a higher degree of self-advocacy. The ownership issues they faced would be with purchasers, but since they had the agency to choose who to engage with, they were able to protect themselves in most of their interactions. Many trans youth expressed little hope for their futures, due to

stigmatization and diminished employment opportunities. Homelessness wore some of the older youth down, so that despair influenced their decision to engage in survival sex. Some of the youth had developed a sense of identity prior to entry, and part of the trauma they experienced included the ways involvement compromised their personal sense of dignity—the ways their identities changed as a result. Internalizing the oppression of denigrating societal attitudes was, in itself, one of the traumas of survival sex.

In many ways, the value systems in underground cultures are the opposite of those held by mainstream society. Buyers could be exploitive, as explained by a gay man who was a service provider in Heil and Nichols' study (discussed below):

> . . . specifically as a gay man, I think that it happens a lot with men who prey on younger queer, gay men and boys. So that the young people are sleeping with much older men. I think it's more for love, right. So, like, part of it sometimes is to feel loved. It's to, like, have a mentor figure. I think sometimes it's definitely for survival (Heil and Nichols 2015:59-65).

The survivor-service provider in Heil and Nichols' study described the predatory nature of the men who had honed their skills in identifying vulnerable people:

> So, I think like those situations I definitely seen like, scheming looking men . . . who I think do what I call trolling the coffee shops or trolling those areas kind of looking for these youth who are vulnerable offering them money for whatever, oftentimes the youth will do it. I know from myself, that was something that happened to me when I was a young person (Heil and Nichols 2015:59-66).

People who trade sex with homeless teens exploit their vulnerability, and in response, teens feel justified when they use people to survive. For example, if a man "propositions" a 13-year-old homeless girl, and she pulls a con by waiting until he has undressed, then grabbing his wallet and running out, that is considered fair game, because he had planned to commit statutory rape/participate in sex with a minor/traffic a young

girl. Deception becomes a justified response to being deceived, and the attitude that develops that anyone gullible enough to fall for a scam deserves to be conned.

This mindset had an interesting impact on Curtis et al.'s study in NYC, because 35% of the boys who claimed they were qualified to participate—and who were paid for their interviews—were scamming. Through closely reviewing the interviews, the team determined that 74 interviewed boys were either too old to participate or had not been involved in CSE. The team described the high number of ineligible boys as "a clear indication of the degree of scamming that plagued the project" (2008:38). Considering that each interviewee was given $20 for participation, and that there were an additional six girls and trans youth also determined to be ineligible, the youth involved scammed the project for over $1,500. It is noteworthy that twelve times as many boys as girls or trans youth scammed the project, indication of the high value males place on scamming.

Pimps, Managers, and Trafficked Traffickers

Another cluster of CSE cultures are those created by pimps. They function as a cluster because the pimps themselves determine the types of cultures, so one pimp may create a psychologically manipulative experience of CSE while another creates a sadistic, torturous experience of CSE. As previously stated, exploiters with ASPD are predatory, and place high value on deception and scamming. Much research has focused on the street culture of pimp-controlled exploitation and trafficking.

The type of pimp most often represented in research is the "boyfriend-pimp," who creates an illusion of "love" and relationship, then maintains control by making promises, giving attention, or withholding attention. A survivor in Heil and Nichols' study

(discussed below) explained the dynamics of deception, power and psychological control used by pimps pretending to be boyfriends:

> A bad guy is going to *look* like a really great guy so he can *be* that bad guy; because it's going to work in his favor more. He's going to have more control, he's going to have more power. He's going to have that emotional connection. You're going to have that emotional connection, that emotional bond, and they're going to have a lot more power. They can spend a lot of time invested in building that trust (2015:94).

However, while predatory boyfriend pimps are the most widely referenced type of street trafficker, they are only one part of a larger picture of pimps and madams.

A more nuanced picture of pimps and madams comes from a report by Raphael and Myers-Powell. Myers-Powell, a long-term survivor, used street contacts to locate 25 ex-pimps and madams in the Chicago area who were willing to participate in interviews between one and two hours long. Then she interviewed each participant using a 91-question survey instrument (Raphael and Myers-Powell 2010:i). It was a groundbreaking study, one of the only of its kind.

It would be disingenuous to deny the ways trafficking perpetuates itself. Of the 18 pimps and seven madams Myers-Powell interviewed, prostitution and pimping were typical in the neighborhoods of 64%. The racial representation included 16 Black (64%), five White (20%), two Biracial (4%), and one Hispanic (4%). In 60% of their families, pimping was the family business: family members prostituted the girls at young ages and into adulthood; family members groomed and trained the boys to be pimps. Violence was common: physical abuse (88%); domestic violence (88%); households with drugs and alcohol (84%); and childhood sexual assault (76%). Given early life experiences, it is not surprising that only two of the women and seven of the men finished high school (64%).

Half of the pimps and 100% of the madams had previously participated in the commercial sex trade themselves. For the seven women in the study, coercion influenced their transition to becoming a madam. Some were involved with a pimp who forced them to participate, making their role as a madam part of their own experience of being trafficked. Street pimps often chose one girl (the "bottom girl") to drive and collect money. As part of the hierarchical nature of pimp cultures, the lived experiences of individuals in a group being pimped (a pimp's "stable") are not all the same. One woman would have more power than the others, which sometimes meant that they were no longer being prostituted themselves. As one woman explained:

> I used to think he did it that way because I was special to him, but I found out it was only so he wouldn't get arrested for pimping. No one could say they gave him money because they gave it to me. I had to make sure the hos made his money and collect it, or he would bust me up, real simple (Raphael and Myers-Powell 2010:4).

Under duress, a person currently experiencing CSE can play a dual role, as both target and agent of oppression and exploitation. Long-term survivors prosecuted as traffickers have received sentences that included registering as sex offenders, which has added years of ongoing trauma to their experiences of being trafficked.

Another way someone who has experienced CSE becomes an exploiter comes from a distorted understanding of self-protection. One woman, whose mother had begun trafficking her at nine years old, turned internalized oppression outward towards others:

> I know today that I was only doing it because my mother did it to me, but the money is so good in this business and you don't feel like you are hurting anyone. . . . You call it pimping, I call it surviving and being smart. You either get in this world or you get got. No one will get me again like my mother did (Raphael and Myers-Powell 2010:4).

Again, the street culture value of "use or be used" and "take or get taken," is a means of survival. But in these cases, when women acted as madams it was to avoid victimization themselves; it was not an issue of conquest as it is with male exploiters.

Another woman who became a madam described her lifelong progression through multiple CSE cultures: her mother was prostituted; when she turned 12 her mother prostituted her; after she ran away from home, she was trafficked by other pimps; she began working at a massage parlor; she substituted for the manager at the front desk and then became the manager herself:

> …and the rest was history. He told me if I could recruit girls I could run the spot myself as long as I covered each shift with a least three to four girls. I have been pimped all my life, used by my family, and sold to any Johnny-come-lately. I was tired of selling my own body. It wasn't my idea at first but I knew all the ropes and the girls trusted me (Raphael and Myers-Powell 2010:3).

Women involved as madams typically used a managing style with the girls they pimped. Some pimps also operated more like managers, like the men who became involved because girls sought them out for their computer skills and paid them to post ads and maintain websites. One pimp, who had been in the foster system himself, described arrangements with a group of teens who had run away from home or group homes:

> We all hung out together. When they needed someone to watch their back or hold money for them it would be me. The next thing you know I was letting them live with me. Then I got involved with setting up the dates on the Internet and checking out the johns because I had all the technology. It was just business. It was a way of never being broke or poor again (Raphael and Myers-Powell 2010:3).

Survivors who worked for manager-pimps had different experiences than those used by boyfriend-pimps, and different again from those controlled by violent predator-pimps. Cultures differed, controlled by the person at the top of the hierarchy, so

experiences of trafficking or working in the commercial sex trade became determined by those in power.

In a related 2007 study, Raphael, Reichert, and Powell trained two survivors to conduct interviews. Through 30-minute interviews with 100 female teens and youth, 16 to 25 years old, they found predictable patterns in coercion, violence, and daily quotas for numbers of customers. Female pimps operated more like managers, used low levels of coercion, and exhibited little violence (2010:101-102). Male pimps used higher levels of coercion, required teens and youth to work daily, and set higher daily quotas to meet. Pimps who utilized the highest levels of coercion also exhibited the highest levels of violence (2010:100). These differences in "management style" create diversity in CSE cultures, and directly impact an exploited person's experiences—both during CSE and in the years after exiting.

Regarding coercion, in the interviews, "boyfriend-pimps" took pride in the years they had spent developing their sixth sense (identifying vulnerability), mastering the art of deception, and honing their skills of entrapment. As one pimp boasted:

> It's impossible to protect all girls from guys like I was because that's what we do. We eat, drink and sleep thinking of ways to trick young girls into doing what we want them to do (Raphael and Myers-Powell 2010:5).

Again, using the lens of street culture, girls under a pimp's control deserved to be used because they were weak, and pimps value power. When a pimp with ASPD used the line, "I love you. Don't you love me? If you love me you will…," he was clear in his own mind that what was at stake had nothing to do with love—it was about control, power, greed, and the right to take ownership over another person. Some pimps never "need" to

resort to physical violence because they are so proficient in using psychological violence to control the people they exploit.

They isolate victims, create a psychological attachment, become the center of a vulnerable person's life, and then they exert control by withholding that "love." For a vulnerable teenager who feels "understood" for the first time in their life, that is the equivalent of death. One of the difficulties in leaving this type of involvement in CSE is that realizing it was all a lie—and knowing all the things done for the sake of that lie—is another type of death. Sometimes it is easier to live in denial than to realize the extent to which a "boyfriend" had lied, manipulated, and controlled every aspect of life for his own personal gain.

Pimps with ASPD assessed potential victims and presented themselves as the "answer" to whatever needs or dreams young girls had. They pretended to be protective or caring to gain the trust of homeless or fostered teens and preyed on their human need for loving connections or their ideal of glamorous romance. They presented themselves as talent managers to prey on dreams of being a model or singer. Another pimp bragged:

> I had many games to cop a girl. I would tell them I was an agent. I would say I designed clothes. I even told them I sang with certain bands and managed different people. It was more challenging when I got girls who were older. I really became more creative the older the girls were (Raphael and Myers-Powell 2010:5).

One focus group participant from Gragg et al.'s study (discussed in detail below) described what this looked like from the perspective of someone who had been used:

> There are a million ways to tell a story. And they [pimps] come up with some type of way to tell you something…. For some reason you believe it because you want to believe so bad it is easier for you to fall into it because it sounds good. They find all your weaknesses…what makes you tick (Gragg et al. 2007:45).

Teens socialized with Disney fantasies, the movie *Pretty Woman*, and the popularization of pimps and hos in contemporary music cannot see beyond the exclusivity and excitement, to the danger in pimps' behavior.

Pimping cultures are hierarchical, and deception—while celebrated at the top of the cultural hierarchy—was strictly forbidden to those lower in the hierarchy. Any attempt to contact someone for help or to hide money for escape was severely punished. If a girl caused trouble for a boyfriend pimp, he simply sold her to a more violent pimp. Sadist-pimps maintained control through terror and pain, including every form of violence and torture—physical, sexual, psychological, mental, emotional. Enforcement that was a game for the pimp was a life-or-death situation for the person trafficked.

To close this discussion of pimps, managers, and trafficked traffickers, there are two additional issues to discuss: the prolific nature of pimping, and what causes pimps and madams to exit the industry. In Raphael and Myers-Powell's 2010 study, the average age of entry into pimping was 22 years old and the average time spent pimping was 15.6 years (with a range of four to 28 years). During that time, each person trafficked between two and 800 girls or women, controlling between two to 30 at a time (Raphael and Myers-Powell 2010:1). Together, these 25 people trafficked a staggering *minimum* of 4,135 people, and they only stopped because they were forced to by conditions outside of their control (e.g. prison and parole; pursuit by IRS; losing custody of children; poor health; or old age). None of the 25 stopped by choice; none of them decided by their own will to leave (Raphael and Myers-Powell 2010:7-8).

Exploiter-Controlled Urban and Rural CSEC

CSE cultures can vary by geographic region. For example, Gragg et al. assessed CSE in both NYC and upstate New York. The two cultures represented in the majority of the reports differed in multiple ways. The data collected between July 15 and September 15, 2006, utilized mailed surveys (97 agencies), qualitative interviews (32 agencies), and focus groups with survivors (3 groups). The agencies that reported CSEC data included children's services, congregate care facilities (group homes), child advocacy centers, youth serving agencies, organizations for homeless youth, rape crisis centers, juvenile justice, and law enforcement.

Thus, the CSE cultures represented were those that were visible enough to be *reported to or discovered by child welfare.* Another bias was that in 2006, perceptions were heavily weighted towards the involvement of girls and against the involvement of boys, so boys were under-reported. The stigmatization of the LGBTQ community also contributed to under-reporting for these populations. Also, regarding misperceptions of harm, Gragg et al. noted that reporting personnel did not always agree with the CSEC definition provided:

> …several respondents noted that they did not believe a particular act was exploitative though it fit the study definition, because they felt that the child was not harmed. This included such acts as a ten-year-old being paid to perform oral sex. Obviously, this case was reported and counted by the study. However, we assume that there may have been other cases that were not submitted because the respondent did not believe the child was harmed (Gragg et al. 2007:93).

If this seems ludicrous today, it is tribute to the effectiveness of advocacy in subsequent years that has raised awareness and increased understanding. In a study of long-term survivors however, these attitudes are both relevant and significant, because the biases displayed in reporting were the same biases long-term survivors faced as victims.

After assessing limitations in data, Gragg et al. conducted three focus groups of 15 teens and youth, ages 13 to 22, currently or formerly involved in CSE. Ten were female, two were gay males, and three were transgender youth (Gragg et al. 2007:43). Gragg et al. victim and survivor quotes below were from these focus group participants.

Table 2: Exploiter and Child's Gender in Gragg et al.

Category	2007 Upstate New York, Gragg et al.	2007 NYC, Gragg et al.
Independence	93% Exploiter Identified	92% Exploiter Identified
Gender	77% Female 22% Male 2% GLBQ 0% Trans	85% Female 14% Male 6% GLBQ 1% Trans

Even with these limitations, the demographic data provided a detailed picture of two distinct cultures: *pimp-controlled urban CSEC* in NYC and *exploiter-controlled rural CSEC* in upstate New York. Later studies (presented below) identified and filled in the gaps, providing detailed pictures of the cultures not represented in the Gragg et al. report (to see full chart comparing demographics from four studies, refer to Appendix C).

Over 90% of reported cases had an *identified exploiter* (Gragg et al. 2007:38); 85% of urban cases and 77% of rural cases involved girls (Gragg et al. 2007:28). The children and teens were all under 18 years old and vulnerable: 85% of the minors had prior experience with the reporting agencies (Gragg et al. 2007:31). While young teenagers feel invulnerable and play at sophistication as part of identity formation, they are still learning to separate reality from fantasy. They tend to disregard reality and cling to fantasy, and despite mainstream culture's popularization of pimps and hos, most were still naïve regarding underground cultures. As one teen from the NYC focus groups said:

> I never imagined I would end up in the life. I didn't believe it was really real. I thought pimps were just on TV (Gragg et al. 2007:44).

The "trafficker as boyfriend" relationship made it difficult for teens to even understand the legal realities of what they are doing. Another teen shared honestly about her naïveté during involvement:

> I didn't realize I was prostituting until I got to court and they read the charges out loud. I thought I was just making some money…well, making someone else money (Gragg et al. 2007:44).

In 2006, regardless of a teen's understanding, New York courts charged and prosecuted underage teens. It was not until November 2007 that New York law provided immunity from prosecution for victims of trafficking (Urban Justice Center 2007).

Table 3: Race in Gragg et al.

Category	2007 Upstate New York, Gragg et al.	2007 NYC, Gragg et al.
Race	32% African American 10% Hispanic/Latino 47% White 7% Multi-Racial 0% Asian	67% African American 18% Hispanic/Latino 6% White 3% Multi-Racial 2% Asian

In urban reporting, 90% of the cases involved teens of color (67% African American; 18% Hispanic/Latino; 3% multi-racial; 2% Asian), but in rural reporting, only 49% of the cases involved teens of color (32% African American; 10% Hispanic/Latino; 7% multi-racial). Only 6% of urban cases involved white teenagers, while 47% of rural cases involved white children/teens. In multiple studies, Asian children, teens, and youth were the most under-represented population: 2% urban cases and 0% rural cases in Gragg et al. (2007); 0% in Curtis et al. (2008); and 0% in Dank et al. (2015). One reason the US born Asian children, teens, and youth were invisible was that reporting personnel and researchers were not part of Asian cultures themselves. Since the settings and trafficking methods used in Asian cultures are unique to their cultures, researchers would need to be Asian to identify them.

Table 4: Location of CSEC Experiences in Gragg et al.

Category	2007 Upstate New York, Gragg et al.	2007 NYC, Gragg et al.
Location	52% Child's home 22% Exploiter's home 9% Hotel 4% Outside/car	7% Child's home 28% Exploiter's home 44% Hotel 51% Outside/car

CSEC was the pre-identified reason for referral in 51% of the urban cases but only 22% of the rural cases (Gragg et al. 2007:35). *Urban CSEC* was more visible—more easily discovered—because its stereotypical "pimp/ho" scenario occurred more often in public spaces (51% outside/in cars; 44% hotels; 28% exploiter's home; 7% child's

Table 5: Ages, Recruiter, Living Situation

Category	2007 Upstate New York Gragg et al.	2007 NYC Gragg et al.
Age at First Experience of CSEC	50% 11 or younger 1% 12-13 years old 11% 14-15 years old 4% 16-17 years old 0% 18 or older	0% 11 or younger 19% 12-13 years old 43% 14-15 years old 12% 16-17 years old 0% 18 or older
Recruiter(s)	58% Adult friend/acquaintance 28% Adult stranger 22% Minor friend/acquaintance 16% Adult family member	24% Adult friend/acquaintance 75% Adult stranger 1% Minor friend/acquaintance 7% Adult family member
Age at Data Collection*	16% 11 or younger 13% 12-13 years old 35% 14-15 years old 36% 16-17 years old	----- 11 or younger 4% 12-13 years old 30% 14-15 years old 60% 16-17 years old
Current Living Situation	79% Family/relatives 2% Foster or group home 8% Unrelated/friend	32% Family/relatives 25% Foster or group home 15% Unrelated/friend

home). *Rural CSEC* was less visible because it occurred most often in private spaces (52% child's home; 22% exploiter's home; 9% hotel; 4% outside).

Since half of the children/teens currently experiencing CSEC also had prior experiences of CSEC, the Gragg et al. data included data on both. In urban cases, 62% of teens were 12-15 years old, 75% of the recruiters were strangers who used violence to

ensure compliance, and only 7% of the recruiters were adult relatives. In rural cases, 50% of the children were 11 years old or younger, 96% of the recruiters were known to the children, and more than twice as many adult relatives (16%) were recruiters.

To summarize the Gragg et al. demographics on *pimp-controlled urban CSEC:* underage victims were more likely to be female (85%); less likely to live with family of origin/relatives while being trafficked (32%); and more likely to live with foster parents or in a group home (25%). Pimps were more likely to be strangers (75%); to use force to gain compliance (58%); to traffic Black/African American teenagers (67%); to initiate involvement between 12-15 years old (62%); to continue trafficking teens 14-17 years old (90%); to traffic through street prostitution in hotel, outside, or in a car (95%); or through stripping/performing (24%). This data presents the stereotypical profile of what people believed CSE to be in 2006—but it was only one of many of CSE cultures.

CSE During Early Childhood

The remaining two cultures represented in Gragg et al.'s demographics are part of *exploiter-controlled rural CSEC*, where traffickers target children younger than 11 years old. If the behavior of pimps has been difficult for people in mainstream society to comprehend, then the cultures created to sexually exploit and traffic infants, toddlers, pre-school, and elementary age children are unbelievable. Interestingly, though, their existence is thoroughly documented in the second rural culture described in Gragg et al.'s demographics—the 17% of cases involving *child pornography*, "sexual acts that are filmed, photographed or tape recorded" (Gragg et al. 2007:iii).

Survivors' experiences in these two CSE cultures create the greatest turmoil and threat to a normal person's belief in a *Just World*. This theory describes the belief that the

world is a just place, where people get what they deserve and deserve what they get (Shechory and Idisis 2006:651-2). Survivors of early childhood CSE, particularly the despicable acts recorded in imagery, threaten the belief that the world is safe and just. Interpersonal violence and victimization—without resolution or retributive justice—are highly threatening to a person's belief in a just world (Hafer 2000:166-68), and survivors of these extreme CSE cultures rarely see justice.

Over time, I have become accustomed to the horror I see in parents' eyes when they realize I was trafficked by my neighbors without my parents' knowledge. I understand their immediate need to blame my parents, to be sure that their children are safe from the atrocities I experienced. I no longer feel assaulted when they next turn their blame on me, because I know they need to believe that their child would always tell, would always ask for and receive help, would refuse to participate. I understand their need to assure themselves that this could never happen to their children, because their kids are smarter than I was.

For these and many other reasons, victims and survivors of early childhood CSE cultures are barely visible in research. Researchers are parents too, and this form of CSE is the most threatening to normal belief systems. In one sense, that itself justifies the level of damage caused to survivors—if normal people cannot even bear to *hear* about these experiences, what does that indicate about the damage caused by experiencing them, and how alienating it must then be to live in silence afterwards.

Young survivors have few, if any, resources tailored to their needs, yet survivors exploited during early childhood have published writings, earned advanced degrees, pursued a wide range of professions, and contributed their written voices to this project.

Their achievements surprise researchers in the field, who hold little hope for the futures of people sold at any time, but particularly during early childhood. Long-term survivors offer this gift to help people in mainstream culture accept the existence of early childhood trafficking: deliberate acts of destruction do not prevent survivors from living full lives afterwards. This project seeks not only to raise awareness of all types of CSE, but also to provide a foundation for gathering the restorative knowledge of long-term survivors—to pave the way for a smoother road of restoration for younger survivors.

Going back to Gragg et al.'s rural data, agencies in seven counties in upstate New York reported on cases of CSE. Again, 50% of the children had experienced CSEC prior to their current agency referral, and data in Gragg et al.'s report included statistics on both experiences. In the children's first experiences of CSEC, traffickers targeted children 11 or younger (50%), so only 15% were teenagers (11% were 14-15; 4% were 16-17). At the time of their current referral for CSEC, 71% were teenagers between 14 and 17 years old, but 29% were still 13 years old or younger. At the time of their current referral, 79% of the children were living with family or relatives, and in 52% of the cases, traffickers were using children in their own homes—either without the knowledge of family members, or because they *were* family members.

In 96% of reported rural cases, children used in CSE *knew* the people who originally recruited and trafficked them, because they were friends, acquaintances, or family members (58% adult friend or acquaintance; 22% minor friend/acquaintance/peer; 16% adult family member). Because 74% of the children had been trafficked by adults they knew, only 28% of the *rural CSEC* cases involved traffickers who were strangers, the reverse of the urban cases.

To summarize the Gragg et al. demographics reported on *exploiter controlled rural CSEC:* victims were more likely to be female (77%); to live with family of origin/relatives while being trafficked (79%); and to know the person who trafficked them (96%). Traffickers were more likely to target white children (47%); to initiate involvement prior to 12 years old (50%); to continue trafficking children 12-17 years old (84%); and to either use children in their own homes (52%) or in the homes where traffickers themselves lived (22%).

The second *rural CSEC culture* comes from one statistic in Gragg et al.'s upstate New York study, a culture embedded in rural where it is easier to maintain secrecy and invisibility. In Gragg et al.'s rural demographics, 16% of the exploiters were family members and 17% of the reported cases involved child pornography—sexual exploitation filmed, photographed, or recorded, then traded in underground networks. The findings from Gragg et al.'s 2006 study represent the types of child pornography experienced by long-term survivors, in the years prior to today's technology.

Sadistic traffickers with ASPD who control these underground cultures target children from infancy through childhood and into teen years, sometimes into youth years, and when possible into adulthood as well. Family members perpetuate intergenerational, national trafficking rings, selling and using their own children in pornography, along with any other children they can gain access to under the guise of friendship. What separates these cultures from parents who sell their children for drugs, drug money, or rent is their level of organization and protection. Syndicated rings are inter-connected with other highly organized rings, some selling, some buying, others protecting, and all profiting—in pleasure, money, or both.

The foundational belief of all underground cultures is that people are objects to manipulate, use, buy, sell, and destroy. However, intergenerational trafficking cultures, like the most violent pimp cultures, reduce all choices to life or death, with endless variations of, "Do what I say, or I will kill you." Human needs for love, belonging, and relationship are "weaknesses" they exploit:

- if you want to live, they will threaten your life
- if you love someone, they will threaten *their* life
- if you are afraid of pain, they will torture you
- if you are innocent, they will sell you until all innocence disappears

In these deepest underground cultures, destroying a young child's humanity is a game—a violent, torturous, demented game. The only defense is to become less human, to eliminate everything that can be used against you: do not value your life; do not love another person; do not desire love; inflict pain on yourself; do not care about what they do, what they make you do, or what you become.

Surviving the enactments of these games requires incredible strength. Windows for resistance are excruciatingly small and maintaining resistance across years usually takes the form of dissociation. When it is impossible to *physically* escape violation, *psychic* escape is a healthy alternative to insanity or death. Dissociation (becoming less human, feeling less, being less present, becoming someone else) is an act of hope and a powerful tool of preservation. Although not available to everyone equally, dissociation is an act borne from the will to live; it is a state of dormancy awaiting the time when it is safe enough to again become real.

Familial Exploiters and Child Pornography

Five years after Gragg et al.'s study, Heil and Nichols began collecting urban and rural data in St. Louis and the bi-state area. They collected data in two phases: a 2011 pilot study with 12 participants and a second wave in 2013-2014 with 19 participants. The 31 participants included 18 social service providers (four were survivors), 17 justice system professionals, and five legal service providers. Sixteen organizations participated, and data collected included interviews and focus groups recorded and transcribed, participant observation during trainings and coalition meetings (2015:22), field notes, materials provided by organizations, and court reports.

In addition to *urban survival sex* and *pimp-controlled prostitution*, Heil and Nichols also identified two *rural CSEC cultures—familial trafficking* and *child pornography* (2015:25). Heil and Nichols' discussion on familial trafficking focused exclusively on instances where parents trafficked their children for drug money or to pay drug debt, (2015:72). Interestingly, the drugs involved differed in urban areas (heroin) than rural areas (methamphetamine, cocaine, and prescription pills). One service provider mentioned that parents rented their daughters out around their neighborhoods and in churches (2015:72).

Heil and Nichols introduced a specific case involving the discovery of a man who traded child pornography in a peer-to-peer online network. The following quote from US Attorney Wigginton came from the November 21, 2013 press release published by the US Attorney's Office, Southern District of Illinois:

> Some of the images and videos included bondage and sadistic attacks on children . . . . There are groups of adults who are interested in infant pornography, there are other groups of adults interested in toddler pornography, and there are many

> who are interested in prepubescent pornography. Terms like shocking, appalling, and sickening simply do not accurately describe what we see in these horrific cases.

Collectors and perpetrators belong to extensive national and international networks. The digital industry of child pornography that thrives today emerged from previously established networks. In 1977, Robin Lloyd, author of the 1976 book, *For Money or Love, Boy Prostitution in America*, testified before Congress about the sexual exploitation of children in the United States. In his Statement for the Record, he reviewed recent events that had transpired:

> We know that shortly after the Houston murders of 27 young boys in 1973, John Paul Norman was arrested in Dallas for running a call-boy service by mail. Norman's files taken in the police raid included a master-list of some 50-thousand prospects for the services of literally hundreds of boys.
>
> We know that in 1975, Houston police arrested Roy Ames after finding a warehouse full of pornography including 15-thousand color slides of boys in homosexual acts, over one thousand magazines and paperback books plus a thousand reels of film.
>
> We know that in Santa Clara, California, police arrested a local high school teacher and a photographer who had been running a porno ring in that town for over ten years. 250 different boys were involved and over 10-thousand pictures were taken in the raid. The photographer also told police he had destroyed at least four times that amount (U.S. Congress 1977:331).

If master lists from 1973 already contained 50-thousand interested parties to match with hundreds of available boys, it is not hard to see how the facilitation of the internet and the dark web could expand existing markets.

With the advent of the internet, collectors became distributors simply by digitizing images they had already horded for decades. Between 50 and 60% of the child pornography available online in the early 2000s came from collections of images created during the 1960s and 1970s (Hughes 2010). For long-term survivors, that means that

images taken during their early childhoods—30 to 50 years ago—were redistributed in the first wave of online child pornography. The unique impact of all types of CSE imagery—from any decade—is its longevity (Canadian Centre for Child Protection 2017). Pornography is the one form of CSE whose destruction is ongoing, despite the number of years a survivor has lived beyond exiting or the empowerment they may experience in their present lives. Knowing that men still engage with those images haunts survivors, extends the trauma, and prevents closure—it feels like the exploitation never ends (Canadian Centre for Child Protection 2017). Again, acknowledging long-term survivors' perspectives can help younger survivors understand and resolve the harmful belief systems intertwined with CSE images.

When investigators uncover carefully hidden private collections, they find meticulously documented images, extensive inventories, and obsessive systems of organization (Belanger et al. 1984a). Image, film, and audio formats represented in collections document the history of child pornography across multiple decades (negatives, black and white prints, slides, color prints, Polaroid photos, home movies, 8mm films, audio cassette recordings, video tapes, floppy discs, VHS videos, etc.) Digital storage devices likewise change across time and space, and into the future (CDs, DVDs, computer files, hard drives, flash drives, camera/video phones . . .).

I belabor the point to show the ways this form of CSE has evolved across one lifetime of long-term survivors. The production and distribution of images of CSE is not a new problem that began with the internet or developed because of webcams and camera phones. But despite the prevalence of child pornography today, it remains so hidden, so silenced by taboo, that survivors rarely bring it up, even with counselors they trust

(Canadian Centre for Child Protection 2017). Current research rarely mentions early childhood CSE, so it is unusual that Heil and Nichols' text included even four pages devoted to issues of familial trafficking and child pornography (2015:72-74, 103).

Native Women and Socio-Historical Trauma

In the Farley et al. study, interviewers met with 105 Native women prostituting in Minneapolis, Duluth, and Bemidji, Minnesota (Farley et al., 2011:22). The average age of women interviewed was 35 (range 18 to 60 years old); prostituting an average of 14 years (range 0 to 43 years); 39% began as minors (average age 21; median 18; range 4 to 50 years) (Farley et al., 2011:3). Interviews lasted between one and a half to two hours, and interviewers used four questionnaires (quantitative and qualitative) with multiple topics.

Native women were prostituted in multiple locations, in many variations of the commercial sex industry, including: street prostitution (85%); private residences (83%); private parties, hotels or nightclubs (69%); bars (68%); outcall or escort services (36%); phone sex (26%); internet (24%); and strip clubs (20%). Some (21%) were prostituted from reservations (Farley et al. 2011:25). Farley et al. collected specific data on a topic briefly touched upon in previous studies— survivors' experiences with the sheer volume of men "purchasing sex," and the harm from CSE experiences with hundreds of buyers (men "purchasing sex"):

- 48% experienced CSE with more than 200 men
- 37% with more than 500 men
- 11% with 500-900 men
- 16% experienced CSE with 900-1000 men (Farley et al. 2011:22, 28)

These higher numbers are in line with the experiences of adult women who are engaged in CSE for more than a decade, though some who are younger have also experienced numbers of men in the high hundreds, as well as some into the thousands.

> After you get into prostitution, you get used to it; it's like using the bathroom. You don't think about it after a while, it takes all your feeling of being a woman away (Farley et al. 2011:5).

Native women had a lifetime history of violence: 79% experienced childhood sexual abuse (with an average of four people); some of the child sexual abuse they experienced were their first experiences with CSE; 92% experienced rape; 84% physical assault in prostitution; 72% traumatic brain injuries.

More than 67% had family members forced to attend boarding schools for assimilation and the eradication of Native cultures, which compounded their present CSE trauma with the intersecting trauma of colonial abuse. The women's experience of CSE mirrored their histories, and 62% of women interviewed drew connections between the dehumanization of prostitution and the devaluing of Native people through colonialism

Ninety-eight percent of the Native women prostituted in Minnesota were currently homeless or had previously been homeless, showing a strong connection between homelessness, poverty, and prostitution (Farley et al. 2011:28). Many had used available services: 77% homeless shelters; 65% domestic violence shelters. One of the youths in Dank et al.'s study was Native, and described this experience:

> When my parents had me they was crack heads and stuff, so I eventually got taken away from them and then I was adopted and my adoptive father was basically raping me. So I went to the cops and they told me to leave the house and stuff like that. And then after that there was nowhere else to go because I didn't know my real family. I just knew all my adopted family. And I knew they wasn't going to believe me. So I was at a friend's house till I ran out. I couldn't go anywhere else (Respondent 522, 19 years old, Native American, lesbian, female) (Dank et al. 2015:16).

Native women also experienced trauma from ongoing, daily stress of racism, which again was compounded with the damage of prostituting. One woman explained that, "When a man looks at a prostitute and a Native woman, he looks at them the same: 'dirty'" and another related that, "A john said to me, 'I thought we killed all of you'" (Farley et al. 2011:5). The majority of the women displayed symptoms of trauma: 71% had symptoms of dissociation; 52% PTSD (similar rate as among soldiers in combat). Some had received trauma-related services: 80% had used outpatient substance abuse services, and 33% had used sexual assault services. Others expressed a need for additional services: 75% stated need for individual counseling; 73% for peer support; and most wanted integration of Native healing into services offered. One participant offered this description of Native women's needs:

> Women like myself need someone they feel they can trust without being judged by how they lived their life. We didn't wake up and choose to become a whore or a hooker or a 'ho as they call us. We need someone to understand where we came from and how we lived and that half of us were raped, beat, and made to sell our bodies. We need people with hearts (Farley et al. 2011:5).

Some of the women felt a strong connection with their Native Cultures: 33% found a significant sense of identity within Native cultural or spiritual practices; many felt they survived because of those practices; the women expressed a need for support grounded in Native practices. As with other survivors of CSE, native women described the meaning-making aspects of survivency—expressing a desire to help others who were in situations they understood:

> At the hotel there were other women in prostitution. The vice were in the room next to me. An officer who knew my younger daughter and said you are so much better than this. I told him I was in it for my kids. He didn't arrest me; he referred me to Breaking Free. I would love to go with the police when they go to bust these girls and talk to them about a better way (Farley et al. 2011:48).

The sexual exploitation of Native women began with the first European colonies. Ownership of women was an accepted social practice, but the combined sexual exploitation and ownership of Native women changed their society, and the affects felt today have their roots in centuries of cultural genocide.

African American Women and Socio-Historical Trauma

The other population of women whose sexual exploitation similarly traces back for hundreds of years is African American women. African American long-term survivor Vednita Carter has researched and written about the cultural changes imposed on African American women through slavery:

> Before the invasion of Africa by the white man, Africans were a dignified people. Family was the basic unit of the nation. . . . If a wife lost her husband, the husband's brother was obligated to take his brother's family, including the wife, into his home. She was considered the queen of Africa, the giver of life, and as such was honored and adored . . .
>
> During the slavery era in the U.S., female slaves suffered horribly from constant and brutal sexual exploitation. . . . Few Black women reached the age of seventeen without having been molested by a white male. Many white men would deliberately impregnate Black women for the sole purpose of producing female children. They would wait until the child reached the age of eleven or twelve years old and sell them to a "fancy house." A fancy house was a place where girls of mixed race were sold into prostitution (Carter and Giobbe 1999:41-42).

Dunlap and colleagues, in ethnographic research with inner-city African American families in New York City, also addressed the intergenerational normalization of sexual exploitation of girls. In one family, they traced patterns across four generations of women, reaching back into the nineteenth century (Dunlap, Golub, Johnson, and Wesley 2001).

This brief mention of the continued sexual exploitation of African Americans is inadequate, serving only as a marker of the need to address the specific historical and

social forces that are evident in the large percentages of African American teens and youth represented in many of the above studies.

Table 6. Questions Based on "Normal" with Answers from the "Underground"

Questions Based on "Normal"	Answers from the "Underground"
Where were your parents?	➢ my parents thought I was safe because I was . . . • with family friends; at youth group • out with my boyfriend from school • asleep in bed . . . but I snuck out the window because my boyfriend was blackmailing me
	➢ my parents were the ones selling me for drug money ➢ my parents were the ones beating me, so I ran away . . . • and there was this nice guy who offered to help . . . • and a girlfriend at the group home recruited me
Why didn't you just say "no"? Why didn't you just leave? Why did you go back?	• he blamed me and since I was only (3, 5, 8, 11, 14) years old, I believed him and thought it was all my fault • they threatened to kill (me, my friends, my parents, my sister) and they killed my cat to prove they were serious • they threatened to sell (my sister, my brother, my friends) if I did not cooperate • they took pornographic pictures of me and threatened to send them to (my parents, my boyfriend, my friends)
Why didn't you tell someone? Why didn't you ask for help? Why didn't you go to the police?	• my boyfriend beat me for days the last time I asked for help • I was afraid to ask for help • I was a whore, so who would believe me? • the police have harassed me before • the police have been payed off to protect the gang
Why did you do what he said? Why did you fall for that? Couldn't you tell he was lying?	➢ he told me he loved me, and . . . • he's the only person who ever took time to listen to me • he's the only person who ever understood me • he was so nice when we first met, and I really love him • he only beats me when I do something stupid • he buys me clothes and shoes, and I get manicures • I can't disappoint him after he's done so much for me • he says it's only temporary, until we get enough money • if I leave, I won't be able to see my baby • I never finished high school . . . what else could I do?

Diverse Cultures, Lived Experiences, and Long-Term Survivors

The diverse cultures introduced in the *all the above studies* represent the varied lived experiences of long-term survivors trafficked from the 1950s through the 2000s. Because the knowledge, values, and behaviors of underground cultures are so different from mainstream cultures, any understanding of long-term survivors' lives today begins with an understanding of their cultural experiences of commercial sexual exploitation in the past. Because long-term survivors have experienced CSE across the past several decades, older research is particularly relevant, thus this literature review has looked at studies from the 1970s to the present.

Blaming victims is a coping strategy for maintaining a sense of justice: the sense of security, that the world is a safe place; the belief that you can control what happens to you because "that could never happen to me" (Shechory and Idisis 2006:651-2). Going back to the questions based on "mainstream" or "normal" life experiences, Table 6 provides some of the answers, based on multiple cultures discussed in this chapter.

Connections to Data in this Study

Data analyzed in Chapter 4 of this study builds on the cultures described here, using demographics provided in surveys and compiled from survivor authors' first-person accounts of CSE cultures. The data collected and the data compiled showed five distinct groups based on age and length of time involved in CSE. Within these groups there are individual experiences that represent additional, distinct CSE cultures.

Another significant aspect of understanding the multiplicity of CSE cultures is that it allows an understanding of who does and who does not have access to specialized services. Without acknowledging that the CSE of young teenage girls is but one of *many*

CSE cultures, there is no accountability for the victims who do not have access to specialized services. Currently, the dedicated, specialized services made available through non-survivor-led anti-trafficking organizations serve the survivors who have the shortest duration of CSE experiences (see Appendices N and P for details) and the least amount of trauma (Bruhns 2018). The only organizations that offer services to more traumatized populations are survivor-led and under-funded.

CHAPTER 3

SURVIVOR VOICE, METHODS, METHODOLOGY, AND SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS

Chapter Overview

Over the course of three years, I conducted a multi-faceted study, using interviews, surveys, and an extensive literature review of survivor-authored publications. I conducted interviews with 14 long-term survivors, received surveys from 23 long-term survivors, and compiled data from 43 survivor-authors. The primary focus of data collection in the interviews and surveys was survivency—the years after exiting. I collected demographic information from survey participants, and I compiled demographic information from survivor-authors' publications. Demographic information provided profiles of who long-term survivors are today and what cultures of CSE they experienced in the past.

This study is centered on long-term survivors of CSE because they are a population largely unrecognized in anti-trafficking research. Researchers have interviewed long-term survivors along with other survivors, but they have not identified them as a unique population, distinct from other survivor groups identified in research (victims, survivors recently exited, and survivors receiving services during the first two years of recovery). It is common for researchers to refer to all survivors as a homogenous group, though advocacy has brought some groups' experiences to researchers' attention, particularly African American girls, Native American women and girls, youth in the LGBT community, and persons who have intellectual disabilities.

This chapter discusses my positionality, my research design, and methods I have used to collect data from long-term survivors, and the processes I used to create data through an analysis of survivors' published writings. I include my own voice in this chapter to explain decisions, methods, and methodology.

Interrogating My Positionality as an Outlier

I was never involved in a visible CSE culture. I was never on the streets, I never worked for a pimp, solicited, had a quota, or used the lingo of "the Life." No one branded me and I have no scars from physical beatings. I have no police record, I have never been to jail, and I was not sold to thousands of men in multiple cities across the nation. I was sold during my early and middle childhood in the 1970s and I do not really know how many men bought me, but my guess is the low hundreds. I bear no physical scars because there are countless ways to inflict pain and physically torture a child that leave no marks.

My trafficking experiences occurred outside my family unit, so when I left each trafficking experience, I returned home to parents who were not traffickers. That is the most significant factor in my standpoint as an outlier. Developmentally, that afforded me a space of safety denied survivors who lived with the same people who trafficked them. In addition, my trafficking experience ended when my family moved away from the neighborhood, and this reduced the length of time I could be trafficked by a decade (8 years as opposed to 18).

Survivors have a disconcerting way of saying, "I was fortunate. I didn't have to go through (fill in the blank). I always feel a twinge of guilt about this, because that implies that somewhere there is a survivor at the bottom of that pile who cannot claim to be fortunate in that way. But still, as heinous and life-altering as my experience was and

still is, I have family members who love me, I have a close relationship with my mom, my parents help me, and my trafficking experience did not extend into my teen years or twenties. In other ways I do not consider myself fortunate, but for these things I am grateful. Amid all of the things traffickers could destroy, there were things they could not prevent or change, that survived despite my trafficking experience: they could not erase the fact that, by three years old, I knew what it meant to love and be loved; they could not turn my heart to evil; and they could not extinguish my natural artistic creativity.

My mom gave me two keys to lifelong freedom. The first was that she read to us every night before bed, so Dr. Seuss' rhymes taught me to read before I went to school—and I read voraciously throughout my childhood. The second was that she gave me access to every craft under the 1970s sun—and I spent untold hours creating. I still use those skills in my own artmaking.

My intuitive, creative ability has been a lifelong component of freedom at every stage of my life. Wandering outside, I remember exploring the myriad of patterns in nature, and I still love radial designs like those I discovered. I do not remember drawing what I saw but I remember the sensory experience: the sticky dandelion sap, the cool satin of flower petals, prickly milkweed pods with feather soft seed parachutes. And each spring a thread of hope revived in my heart, that life could emerge after destruction, like new leaves sprouting on sticks and twigs and branches that had looked dead for months. I had two childhoods, and no amount of hatred the neighbors directed towards me could change that fact.

My natural creativity also contributed to my outlier status in another way, by the early childhood survival strategies I developed. My "creative" solutions placed me at the

farthest end of the dissociation continuum. While dissociation is the most common coping mechanism for surviving CSE, some very young children develop highly compartmentalized, separate identities to cope with the extreme trauma of being trafficked. Amnesia separates these identities, so that some children can experience trafficking one afternoon and go to school the next day without remembering it. The experiences still took a toll, but it allowed my education to continue with fewer interruptions and prevented the formidable roadblock of missed school years that other survivors face.

Unfortunately, psychology labels this amazing survival technique a psychological disorder, currently named "Dissociative Identity Disorder" (DID), formerly named "Multiple Personality Disorder" (MPD). In the 1980s and 1990s, I experienced incredible stigma for it, and instead of being able to appreciate survivency and my highly creative solution, I felt shamed for it. I remember telling my therapist that I hated "being in an abnormal psychology book." Another issue was that my version of DID was different from most. Instead of developing ten to twenty distinct identities (children), I split off a couple hundred. In 2016 I discovered they also had a name for the way I coped: polyfragmented DID.

Interestingly, in my research with other survivors' stories, this provides me with the vantage point of seeing the whole continuum of dissociation and recognizing where people fall within it. For example, drugs and cutting are both dissociation-related coping mechanisms, and although I did not engage in either, I understand how they function, and why survivors use them for escape. Although I was not on the streets, and did not scream obscenities at police officers, I understand the uncontrolled rage that causes trafficked

teenagers to do so and prevents them from fitting pre-conceived notions of "helpless trafficking victims." I understand why teenagers run away from "safety" after being "rescued," and why they return to the streets and their traffickers, and why dissociation can be preferable to facing betrayal and trauma. I understand impossible situations, unspeakable ethical dilemmas, and how their choices make sense, even when I did not make those same choices.

Interrogating My Socioeconomic and Racial Positionality

Regarding socioeconomic privilege, I am white, middle class and highly educated. I grew up with middle class social capital, learned how to act and function as normal, and passed as normal for most of my life. I was raised in small town America, not in urban decay and chaos. I received a private school education during my childhood and teen years, completed college, earned an MFA in art, taught art at a small university for a dozen years, then returned to school as a PhD student in Justice Studies.

Regarding racial privilege, it was not until I was able to have a series of open and honest conversations with a very patient "brown" survivor-friend that I was able to distinguish between my experience of private, individual oppression and her experience of public, systemic oppression:

> I have known public discrimination based on gender, when no one would defend me because I was a woman, but I have not known public discrimination based on my skin color, when no one would defend me because of my race. I have lived with the private threat of being hunted down and killed like an animal, but I have not lived with the public, systemic danger of being killed while people look on without acting. I have internalized fear of people from years of torture, but I have not internalized fear of people from years of racial discrimination.
>
> I was despised and targeted because I was a girl, but I was not hated and publicly profiled because of my skin color. I was enslaved as an individual, behind closed doors, but I was not enslaved because of my race, within a complicit society. I

> have been dehumanized, stigmatized, and silenced because of an identity forced upon me, but I have not been de-humanized, stigmatized, and silenced because I belong to a socially shunned race of people.
>
> I have known the isolation of being the only survivor in a room full of people, but I have not known the isolation of being the only brown person in a room. I can pass as a non-survivor and avoid the judgment people would make if they knew my history, but I have never lived with the inability to pass at first sight and avoid judgments based on my skin color (Weaver, 2019).

I will always be grateful for the time my friend spent with me, explaining the breadth of my white privilege.

Interrogating My Positionality Outside the Anti-Trafficking Movement

I am not a member of the anti-trafficking movement. I have never created curriculum, developed programs, provided services for survivors when they first exit, or presented trainings for hundreds of people. I am entering the anti-trafficking field with a unique perspective and a distinct focus that differs from typical involvement. I am not joining existing anti-trafficking efforts of prevention, service provision, or policy, but rather, focusing on survivors' needs in the decades afterwards.

Part way through my trip to meet and interview survivors in person, I discovered that designing IRB protocols based on research conducted by non-survivors had one major drawback. I met an older survivor who was very welcoming and open, and she laughed when she read my *Letter of Informed Consent* (Appendix E). "Yeah…" she said, "…most of us older survivors . . . we don't really trust these sources you listed here, so we would never recommend them…" It was one of those moments when I realized the drawbacks of being so disconnected from survivors in the anti-trafficking movement, but she was so gracious in the way she told me that there was no judgment. As Chris Stark

told me, “We all do the best we can at the time, with what we know and with the options available to us.”

I live most of my life in the world of non-survivors, and I am not in regular contact with other survivors. But after meeting survivors and thoroughly enjoying their company, I feel more settled knowing that they are there, and that I can reach out at some point in the future to learn more about the nuances of survivors’ understandings of the movement. I do not feel the desperation I used to feel, and my visits with friends include large doses of honesty and laughter. Most of the traumatic beliefs developed during early childhood have changed, though since they were imprinted at such young ages, I suspect I will always have to work harder at believing in goodness than most people. I will never be who I would have been, but most days I am content with who I have become.

Interrogating My Insider Positionality: Schema Developed Over a Lifetime

An interrogation of my positionality as a survivor-researcher begins with my standing as an insider: my ability to identify commonalities and differences between long-term survivors’ experiences; my ability to reflexively analyze the ways my experiences have been similar to and unique from other long-term survivors lives; and my ability to distinguish between survivors’ lives and the lives of non-survivors (Flood 2010:7-8).

As a child, I survived by categorizing hundreds of abusive experiences in my mind. As a young child, the categories were extremely specific, but by the time I was nine, I began to generalize types of abusers instead of specific types of abuse. Thus, I learned at an early age that, if I met a person with one particular perversion, I might as well make a mental file for that category, because where there was one, eventually there

was bound to be another just like him. Interestingly enough, that also works in survivency, with people who are supportive. If I meet one type of person who is amazingly accepting, I can open a new mental file, knowing I will eventually meet another person who is similarly amazing.

During the years I was used in CSE, my greatest dissociative defense was my ability to cordon off parts of my mind where atrocities could dwell, so that I could go to school and do all the other things expected of me, without "knowing" the events walled off in the back of my mind. It was funny though, because I always knew *something* was wrong. I just could not remember what it was.

Although I have integrated those parts of my mind (Bryant, Kessler, and Shirar 1992; Bryant and Kessler 1996), my ability to categorize, recognize themes, and see patterns remains. With my understanding of trafficking issues, categories, and experiences, I do not physically go through the steps that most researchers follow, or at least not the steps that they document. I automatically use the survival skills I learned when I was trafficked to organize, categorize, and sub-categorize in my mind. Other researchers may work in similar ways, and simply do not say so, but regardless, my process is intuitive.

Identifying commonalities among survivors' experiences is an automatic, internal process. I do not map out possible similarities or strive to see differences, because I have been cataloguing trafficking experiences my whole life. I have already spent years comparing my experiences to accounts I have found, then integrating the results into a complex, multi-layered framework. The schema I created includes distinct patterns for CSE cultures, types of traffickers and exploiters, and the aftermath of CSE experiences.

As a long-term survivor, I also include categories that non-survivors ignore. For example, I know the types of violence inherent in various forms of trafficking, I factor in the "level of violence" as a significant category of experience, and I understand the long-term effects of torture. A researcher once asked me why I included a category for "level of violence" in one of my early charts. At the time, the only response I could think of was that, for the person experiencing the violence, it mattered. Since then, I have noted how survivors often choose to write about experiences of violence, and how survivors talk about their ongoing physical problems that resulted from CSE violence. Even after taking into consideration that perceptions of pain are subjective, violence does indeed matter, both at the time it happens and in the years after exiting.

Since I have developed this schema across a lifetime, my results do not easily fit within the time I have spent in research for my PhD. Sometimes the reason I know that a topic or category is relevant is because of my lifetime pursuit of information (biographies, articles, papers, books, conference presentations, conversations, videos, webinars, websites, blogs, Facebook, phone calls, emails, etc.) as well as my recently collected data. The number of potential topics a long-term survivor could disclose is so vast that, even if only one survivor mentions an issue, that issue could still be a foundational commonality. That is where my years of research impact my findings. If I have heard multiple survivors mention that specific issue in the past, then even if only one survivor mentions it today, I can still identify its significance. In that way, my work would not be replicatable.

For example, since this study focuses on long-term survivors, each survey participant brought a minimum of a decade of survivency to the seven survey questions

about what it was like to be a survivor in the years after trafficking. Survivors had years of lived experiences to choose from when they answered each question, so answers came from information that was in the foremost in their minds at the time they wrote their answers. I know that the answers one survivor provided after time had lapsed came from a significantly different emotional space than our prior conversation. Since older survivors bring three or four decades of survivency to the table in an interview, I do not believe that there is an easily definable saturation point (if there is one at all).

My Standpoint as a Long-Term Survivor

In the previous discussion, I identified my positionality—the bias I have as a researcher. In the following sections, I discuss my standpoint as a long-term survivor—the knowledge, resources, and authority I bring to this research. I decided that phenomenological methods would be the most congruent with my focus on the lived experiences of long-term survivors. I chose an inductive, phenomenological approach known as "Heidegger's Hermeneutics Meaning Interpretation." Phenomenology is "the study of a phenomenon," and hermeneutics means "to understand or interpret" (McConnell-Henry, Chapman, and Francis 2009:8). It emphasizes the meanings of lived experiences and posits that people who have first-hand knowledge of a phenomenon are uniquely qualified to provide interpretations of it. In this approach, my 'foreknowledge' and worldview as a survivor are valuable, because they contribute to my ability to interpret and analyze the lived experiences of other survivors (Mapp 2008:308-9). My findings, therefore, are a result of co-constitutionality: they are a combination of both participants' meanings and researcher's meanings (Tuohy et al. 2013:18). Through this process, I have sought to identify the specific ways survivors' worlds are simultaneously

similar to each other and vastly different from the worlds of non-survivors (Flood 2010:7-8).

Institutional Review Board (IRB) Approval Process

In March 2016, the Arizona State University (ASU) IRB granted exempt status for *online survey* protocols to collect data from 10+ Year Survivors of CSE. Due to the exempt status, no continuation approval or closure paperwork was necessary (see Appendix D). In June 2016, the ASU IRB approved *interview* protocols to collect data from 10+ Year Survivors of CSE In June 2017 and June 2018, I wrote and submitted *Progress Reports* and applied for Continuing Review, then received approval to continue collecting data. In August 2019, I submitted the final report and closed the IRB Interview study (see Appendix E). Both data collection methods utilized the same demographic questions, and the same seven open-ended questions. Approval included *IRB Protocols*, *Demographic Questions*, *Survey Questions*, *Interview Questions*, *Clarification Questions for Interviews*, *Interview Follow-Up Questions*, *Recruitment Materials*, and *Consent Forms* (see Appendices D and E).

Since I had entered the *Justice Studies* PhD program as a survivor art activist, with an MFA in sculpture, my lack of social sciences training complicated my process of creating IRB protocols. When I realized that the trafficking dissertations that I had been collecting contained Appendices of IRB paperwork, I compiled the sections in a binder, to create a textbook on "IRB Paperwork with CSE Survivors." I highlighted, made notes, and analyzed protocols, and it was during that process that I discovered the ways interview questions mirrored journalistic voyeurism. At the time I submitted my IRB application, the steps I outlined met the standards for procedural ethics (informed

consent, confidentiality, anonymity). It was not until I began the interview process that I determined "ethics in practice" were additional considerations, beyond these procedures (Block, Warr, Gibbs, Riggs 2012:70).

Survivor-Interviewer

Because I am a survivor myself, I found the interview process difficult to navigate. I conducted the first interview on March 24, 2016, but to set up the interview, I had to make a cold call, to a survivor I had never met. I had to try to explain the work I was doing, over the phone, to someone I did not know and could not see. I had to explain that I was a survivor, without being able to see her reaction. I felt physically ill.

The survivor later told me that she had participated in so many interviews that she groaned inside when she heard that I wanted to interview her. She was ready to decline, until she heard that I was a survivor, and decided it might be okay. Since her schedule was light that day, we arranged to meet later that morning. As I walked out my front door, I still felt ill, and I had to resist the urge to run to the bathroom.

Thankfully, she was gracious, and by the end of the first few sentences, I started to laugh at her answers. I explained that I was laughing because I could relate to what she was saying, and she responded, "I know what you mean. I get it. I really do." My laughter was an unconscious, honest expression of the relief I felt in finally connecting with another survivor after decades of isolation. I heard her speak terms and phrases that I had never heard before, but intuitively understood, like "missing years"—the years lost to CSE or to its aftermath—the blanks in personal histories—that caused feelings of alienation for decades afterwards in conversations with "normals" (particularly with those who were chatty about their kids, their kids' accomplishments, and their family life).

I was so engaged in the conversation that I felt passionate, energized, and alive, and I left feeling elated, all of which were atypical reactions for my first meetings with most people. Our differences were obvious: appearance, age, temperament (learning style, the way we approach life), type of CSE (initiation of, age during, years in, location of), education, class, jobs, generation, involvement in the community. She is proud of being "hard core" and being able to take the hard times, and while she agrees that counseling is useful for the short-term, long-term counseling feels indulgent. I have pursued healing through many avenues across decades of time: long-term therapy, short-term counseling, art therapy, psychiatry, medication, meditation, body work, massage.

Less visible, but just as real, was the common body of knowledge that only survivors of CSE have. I was sold as a child; she sold herself as an adult—regardless, the experiences of survivency overlap in many ways. Before the appointment, I was not sure this would be true, but within the first few minutes, I knew it was. During the course of a 90-minute interview, the common ground we found included: understanding, beliefs, journeys, recognitions, struggles, respect, boundaries, experiences after leaving, teaching, psychology of trauma, dissociation, emptiness, isolation, loneliness, objectification, issues with normalcy/acting normal, and feeling like an outsider. The differences between us were mostly external, and the commonalities internal. The freedom I felt in hearing her talk about things that I had never voiced was a powerful experience. It was these commonalities—experiences of exploitation, objectification, and dehumanization, followed by restoration, development, and connection—that built a bond of trust with other long-term survivors (Valandra 2007).

Data Collection Summary

I utilized multiple data collection methods (Creswell 2013:333), including three types of interviews (semi-structured in-person interviews, unstructured in-person interviews, phone conversations) and online surveys.

Table 7: Semesters, Data Collection Methods, Recording Techniques

Semester	Data Collection Methods	Recording Techniques
Spring 2016	1 semi-structured interview	taped and transcribed
Summer 2016	1 semi-structured interview 1 unstructured interview 1 ONLINE SURVEY	notes during and after notes during and after written/submitted by survivors
Fall 2017	1 follow-up unstructured interview 16 ONLINE SURVEYS	taped and transcribed written/submitted by survivors
Spring 2018	3 phone unstructured interviews	notes during and after
Summer 2018	2 follow-up unstructured interview 3 unstructured interviews 4 semi-structured interviews	notes during and after notes during and after notes during and after
Fall 2018	1 phone semi-structured interview 1 phone follow-up unstructured interview 6 ONLINE SURVEYS	notes during and after notes during and after written/submitted by survivors
TOTAL $n = 35$	18 interviews $n = 14$ (14 survivors; 2 follow-ups each with 2 survivors) 23 ONLINE SURVEYS $n = 21$ (1 duplicate; 1 survivor 5 years out instead of 10)	

I began collecting data in Spring 2016 and continued through Fall 2018. Table 1 contains a brief summary of the types of interviews I conducted, along with the surveys I collected. Eight of the interviews I conducted were follow-up interviews, so I ended up with a total n =35.

Recruitment Techniques

Long-term survivors are a hard-to-reach population, due to social stigma, discrimination, negative experiences with researchers, and re-traumatization (Gerassi, Edmond, and Nichols 2017:162). The accessible population included survivors registered in a network (particularly successful for the survey), whose location could be determined, whose contact information was available, and who were willing and available to participate. Female survivors are easier to access than male survivors, due to added social

stigma that male survivors face (Dennis, 2008; Menaker 2015). The more hidden groups include members of the LGBT community (Schepel 2011; Schwartz and Britton 2015), survivors with intellectual disabilities (Elman 1997; Kuosmanen and Starke 2013), and survivors in the Native American community (Deer 2010; Pierce 2009).

Developing effective recruitment techniques with survivors is an evolving, iterative process (Ellard-Gray et al. 2015:6). For the Fall 2017 online survey, I utilized multiple recruitment techniques. Using the "Contact" function on anti-trafficking organizations' websites yielded no responses; the "Contact" function on survivors' websites yielded one response. The most successful recruitment technique for the survey involved sending the recruitment email (introduction, survey questions, and Qualtrics link) through the *National Survivors' Network* listserv of 400 survivors in U.S. This resulted in seventeen responses. Regardless of recruitment techniques, an on-going issue in research with all long-term survivors was self-selection bias: participants only included those survivors who had the time, energy, and inclination to complete the survey.

Sampling Methods

Snowball sampling techniques, where one participant recommends others for participation, have been successful in studies with persons who are currently engaged in CSE, who have recently exited, or who are receiving services (Gerassi, Edmond, and Nichols 2017). Success with this type of participant recruitment depends on networks of people engaged in street-based exploitation (prostitution), a central location where survivors receive services, and/or the use of financial incentives. For this study, snowball sampling was somewhat successful for interviews but not for surveys.

To increase the validity of my sample (Knight, Roosa, and Umaña-Taylor 2009), I utilized purposive sampling, to prioritize the inclusion of a diverse sample of survivors. In a 2015 study, McCrory recruited participants from one organization for dissertation research, and the greatest limitations discussed was that inclusion bias had resulted in homogenous answers that reflected organizational recovery rhetoric (2015:181-82). Thus, I consciously sought to interview survivors from numerous organizations in multiple states. As much as possible, I also pursued diversity in ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic status, and level of education.

The resulting group of survivors represented multiple levels of involvement in the anti-trafficking movement (no prior involvement; receiving services; providing services or training; researching, informing, or writing policy). Their experiences spanned multiple CSE cultures and represented various stages of restoration, with "years out" ranging from 10+ to 40+ years.

While having participants from multiple states across the US is one of the strengths of my work, it also created the greatest difficulties. By the end of two years of collecting data piece-by-piece, I had a greater understanding of why so many CSE studies used convenience sampling methods (e.g. participants centrally located in or referred from one organization). Each participant represented a separate recruitment and follow-up process. For example, the timeline for the three surveys completed by male survivors ranged from one year for the first, three weeks for the second, and six weeks for the third.

Each required individual follow-up, and that was difficult for me. Because I have an intimate understanding of the level of power and control inherent in exploitation, it was hard to find the balance between providing an opportunity for participation and

pressuring survivors to participate. If a survivor said they wanted to participate, but did not follow through and complete the survey, it was difficult for me to pursue their participation. I discussed this with Brittany Greenbaum, another PhD student conducting research with survivors (though not exclusively with long-term survivors), and she related an instance where a survivor told her, "Yeah, if I flake on you, please remind me, because I *will* flake on you, but I really want to participate." That perspective helped me better understand how to approach long-term survivors regarding participation in research, and after that phone conversation I contacted the three men who had indicated an interest in participating. In response, all three completed the survey.

Vigilance, Reflexivity, Ethical Practices, and Emergent Research Design

As a survivor-researcher, I was committed to developing survivor-sensitive, empowering research methods. According to Block et al., ethical reflexivity requires an ongoing process of vigilantly "identifying and responding to emerging ethical challenges" (2015:70). Since perversions of power are the source of oppression and exploitation in CSE, and since power hierarchies are inherent in research (Sidun 2014:63), there was nothing predictable or straightforward about learning how to interview long-term survivors.

Although I did not have previous research studies to consult regarding ethical practices with long-term survivors, I knew what I did *not* want to perpetuate, which was any process that replicated the objectification, exploitation, and lack of agency inherent in trafficking experiences. This included masculine approaches where researchers "execute a plan," "scrutinize a population," and "seize opportunities" to "extract data" by using "probing questions" (Shenton 2004). Even the concept of building rapport for the sole

purpose of eliciting information felt manipulative, reminiscent of survival tactics utilized by homeless youth.

As a survivor-researcher, interviews were not dispassionate, professional exercises—they were interactions between two survivors who had both lived through the dehumanization of CSE. I decided to adapt my data collection methods to meet survivors' needs, rather than requiring survivors to adapt to my research agenda. I followed the IRB approved procedures and measures but lessened the level of imposition. Interviews are, by nature, intrusive—they require a person's time, attention, and focus. I had received approval for these particular measures of intrusion, but by allowing survivors to choose the topics they discussed, I reduced the requirement to focus on specific questions that I had generated.

A Midwest survivor interviewed by Heil and Nichols mirrored this sentiment, and identified safety and agency as the two of the foundational considerations in working with survivors (2015:178). Combined with Plummer's starting point for ethical principles in life history interviews, I focused on three groups of outcomes:

1. create safety, minimize harm, and promote care
2. extend respect and expand justice
3. increase agency, enlarge freedom, and empower (2001:228)

To learn how to accomplish these outcomes, I took my cues from the survivors themselves. I paid close attention to their non-verbal communication and defensive reactions during interviews and practiced ethical reflexivity afterwards (Block et al. 2015), by identifying interview techniques that had caused discomfort and removing those methods from future interviews.

My greatest concerns have not been my bias as a survivor, but my bias as an outsider. While I am an insider from the standpoint of having personal lived experiences of CSE, I am an outsider from the standpoint of not having been a part of the survivor-led anti-trafficking movement. As such, I am not aware of all the dynamics in the movement. What I know comes from the written statements of leaders, and from my attendance at one survivor-led conference. Yet my desire is to respect the personhood of each survivor who has shared their stories, as described by Tuhiwai Smith:

> Insider research has to be as ethical and respectful, as reflexive and critical, as outsider research. It also needs to be humble because the researcher belongs to the community as a member with a different set of roles and relationships, status and position…for researchers to assume that their own experience is all that is required is arrogant. One of the difficult risks insider researchers take is to 'test' their own taken-for-granted views about their community (2012:140).

This process has been one of growth and awareness, and I have identified many things about myself that are not common to other survivors, but as I have read, studied, interviewed, surveyed, and analyzed, I have also found similarities—commonalities—that unify older survivors as a unique and distinct population, separate from the younger survivors currently served by the anti-trafficking movement.

The sensitivity of CSE issues is pre-determined by our sociocultural context. Survivors had been social outcasts, stigmatized and shamed, and because oppression becomes internalized (Young 1990), research becomes an activity that can potentially tap into psychic pain (Lee and Renzetti 1990). Survivors are *incredibly* strong (as opposed to fragile) but they are also vulnerable, due to their susceptibility to being "triggered" (experiencing flashbacks of memories or emotions when something in their environment

reminds them of exploitative lived experiences). Thus, as I witnessed and identified triggers, I eliminated the interview practices that caused them.

For example, my earliest experience with data collection methods was a recorded, semi-structured interview conducted in Spring 2016 as part of a research course at ASU. The trigger in that first semi-structured interview was the recording device. After every question I asked, the survivor glanced at the recorder, leaned back in her chair, tugged her cardigan closed across her chest, and crossed her arms before she answered. Her discomfort was obvious to me, so I tried another method in a follow-up interview. I tried placing the recorder further away, less visible, but she still glanced at it, and the distance garbled the recording. That was the last time I used a recording device. For our third meeting, when I simply took notes, her level of comfort was visibly greater, and her vulnerability/honesty was markedly deeper. Later I realized there were multiple experiences and settings where recording devices were used, that were potential sources of psychic pain: pornography (for survivors filmed and recorded during early childhood, pre-teen, teen, youth, or adult years); police (for survivors arrested, detained, and incarcerated); FBI (for inter-state trafficking investigations); and legal proceedings (depositions taken during the prosecution process).

Thus, during my interview with the second survivor, I took brief notes during the meeting, regarding specific recommendations, names, or contact information, but I took the remainder of my notes afterwards.

Safety, Agency, and Asking Questions

I learned another way to minimize harm, promote care, and increase perceptions of safety during my second distance phone interview in spring 2018. I learned that, just

because a survivor *initiated* a topic, did not mean that follow-up questions would feel safe. The survivor introduced a topic I had not previously heard discussed, so I asked a question for clarification, but the act of asking for more information than she had chosen to disclose was a trigger, and she had to take a break from the conversation. She was obviously still emotional as we continued talking, though by the end of our conversation, I was grateful to hear that, at least from her voice over the phone, she sounded like she had recovered.

Because something I had done in the interview triggered an emotional reaction, I practiced ethical reflexivity afterwards (Block et al. 2013), to try to identify a less intrusive means of interacting with survivors in the future. I decided that eliminating clarifying questions would provide safety, promote care, and increase participant's agency during interviews. I learned to accept that, whatever information a survivor chose to disclose, that was the extent of their comfort level. I was acutely aware that I was not a counselor and that I was not going to remain involved as a support person in the survivor's life. I felt it was unethical to leave a survivor in a more vulnerable state after contact than they had been in prior to contact.

Over the course of two years, I continued to use ethical reflexivity to empower the survivors I encountered. I weighed my power as a researcher to use an unchangeable list of questions (Creswell 2013:166) against a survivor's need for freedom and agency and chose to equalize power during conversations through open-ended, focused interviews.

The changes I made tailored the structure of each interview to the emotional space the survivor was in when we talked. I gave survivors the power to choose what to talk about, and in doing so, I learned what was foremost in their mind. If the survivor was

engaged in conversation without the need for questions, then I used the unstructured approach, and gained a deeper understanding of their lives by simply listening, without guidance, or probing, to what they wanted to talk about. Kara (2009) utilized a similar approach in his research with survivors:

> In shelters, I did not approach interviewees with a list of questions that I expected to be answered; each encounter was a conversation. I informed the individual that she could share whatever information she desired. The results were often long, honest, detailed discussions, in which the victims poured their hearts out (Kara 2009:xiv).

If a survivor said, "Ask me questions. What do you want to know?" I used the semi-structured approach, but without follow-up questions. These changes I made meant that sometimes, I asked fewer questions, and the information I was least likely to ask for was demographic information. For example, one survivor, in the course of a half-hour interview, cycled three times through tears, to anger, to dissociation, "Let's get this done! What's the next question?" In that space, it felt obscene to maintain clinical distance, to ask intrusive questions like, "What types of CSE did you experience?" and "Who were the people involved in trafficking you?" and "What was the highest level of your mother's education?" Considering her state of mind, my focus shifted to simply giving her a safe outlet where she could talk about all-consuming current-day life events. It felt vital to treat her with the deep respect she deserved, to affirm her motherhood, to interact with her child. It did not feel important to fill in the blanks of how long she was in CSE, how old she was then, how long she had been out, and how old she was now.

Dissociation in the Interview Process

By prioritizing survivors' wellbeing, and lessening—as much as possible—the confrontational, power-laden nature of interviews, I began to understand the role of

dissociation in the interview process. A survivor interviewed in the Midwest provided examples of dissociation in working with survivors:

> . . . kids who've been in this situation, or even adults who have been in this kind of situation, really are not going to trust and relate to someone who doesn't 'get it' especially because as with any sex crime there's … there can be so much feelings of shame, and of course, that's going to lead to protecting one's self, and defending one's self. Plus, it's such a complex trauma, usually, that I mean, really if someone doesn't know what they're doing when they're working with a victim of sex trafficking, they are probably very likely going to get a lot of dissociative responses. So that could be complete shut-down, or hyper-activation, anger, defensiveness. It's just really easy to do a lot more harm than good . . . (2015:21).

Dissociation is the primary coping mechanism utilized to survive trafficking, and it is also the longest lasting. Dissociation is the dehumanization and disembodiment that allows a person to survive atrocities. It is disengagement, shutting down emotional responses, "putting a wall up," doing what you have to do to "get the job done," and since its function is to maintain distance, it hinders connection. Dissociation would not affect data collection of facts related to employment, years out, race/ethnicity, or even types of CSE cultures and ages during exploitation, because in the grand scheme of long-term survivors' knowledge, these are not trigger points. However, dissociation *would* affect sharing of lived experiences.

At issue then, was the potential to be an embodied researcher, and the priority of creating space where survivors could be less guarded and more present as well. In my own personal journey, I devoted four years to learning how to lower my defenses and be physically present in interactions with people. After a lifetime of dissociating to make it through each day, I no longer wanted to shut down to "get the job done," nor did I want to create a space where survivors felt a need to shut down to get through our interaction. If, in my interactions with other survivors, I had to revert to my lifetime survival habits,

then what was the point of all that work? If I became unsafe towards myself, how could I create a safe space for the other survivor at the table? I wrote this account in first-person active voice, with transparency about the decisions I have made and the reasons I made them, as an embodied account of my research (Ellingson 2006:301).

Interviews vs. Surveys

The third survivor I interviewed in Summer 2016 provided the best clue for how to create safe and empowered space for honest reflection. When we met in person, she was upbeat, and told me "war stories" about surviving on the streets. It seemed like the stories functioned to maintain an emotional distance during our face-to-face meeting. However, at the end of the semi-structured interview, she took the survey link, and filled out the online survey at home afterwards. Although both the interview and the survey presented the same questions, in her online survey answers, she shared difficulties from her adult years that were a result of her trafficking experiences during her teen and youth years. The information she provided through the survey was entirely different than what she shared in person. It was deeply honest, somewhat melancholy, and very insightful. From this, I began to see these initial interviews as a point of introduction, and the survey as the primary means of gathering information.

The interpersonal aspect of interviews automatically activated coping mechanisms and defenses, and the depth of survivors' emotional experiences made it unlikely that they would disclose at that level the first time they met someone, even if that person was also a survivor. By contrast, the online survey was both an empowered means of divulging information and a safe space to disclose vulnerable truths. Survivors could complete it at home, at a time of their choosing, when they had energy to focus and when

they were in a conducive frame of mind. They could take any length of time, decide which questions to answer, and control how much to information to disclose. Knowing the rich, dense data that survivors willingly share in surveys, I used surveys for most of the data collection, but I continued to interview survivors to make connections within the survivor community.

It was through research conversations at the end of Summer 2018 that I discovered this was unusual, and that most populations disclose more through interviews than surveys. In some ways I was surprised because depth of disclosure in surveys made perfect sense from my personal standpoint as a survivor. Of the 22 surveys I collected (16 in Fall 2017 and 6 in Fall 2018), only one survivor indicated that she would prefer talking to writing, and instead of answering questions, attached her resume. The best solution for future surveys would be to also provide an option to collect data verbally.

Gatekeepers and Introductions

By Summer 2018, I realized that the only way I was going to contact 20+ year survivors was to begin to meet them in person. I had to make the first contact in person, because survivors' workload is too heavy to take time to respond to an email from an unknown person. So, I planned a trip to meet survivors in person. Budgetary considerations included the following factors:

1. I applied for and received a *Justice Studies Summer Completion Fellowship* that covered my summer 2018 living expenses, so that I could devote the summer to research rather than to teaching.
2. I applied for and received an *SST Travel Award* that covered tuition and fees for the summer, with $1,000 towards travel.

3. In June, a lifelong family friend offered to cover up to $4,000 of travel costs, which allowed me to invest $5,000 on a multi-city trip to meet with long-term survivors and collect data.

To prioritize cities to visit, I mapped clusters of organizations and survivors, and chose cities with address-accessible organizations whose employees included known 10+ year survivors (issues of confidentiality prevent a discussion of cities or organizations, because some organizations have very few survivors on staff). That was how I met the gatekeepers and realized the significant role that they play in shielding/protecting each other. Specifically, older long-term survivors guard contact information for each other, and gaining access to 20+ year survivors requires a personal introduction by a gatekeeper (Tuhiwai Smith 2012:158). By meeting survivors in person, they could figure out who I was, and by introducing me to other survivors, they could let me know I had passed their test. Even with a gatekeeper's introduction, connecting and scheduling a time to talk is a process that includes voicemail, emails, and texts (with one gatekeeper, what worked was a last-minute plan, arranged via texts after I arrived in her city).

My trip began in California, with a flight to Baltimore, Maryland, a day trip by train into DC, and a day trip by rental car trip into Delaware. I flew to Massachusetts, then Ohio, Winnipeg, and Minnesota, before finally returning to California. During the interviews I conducted in Summer 2018, I continued to focus on active listening as a means of affirmation during in-person meetings. It was truly a quest to connect with long-term survivors in the anti-trafficking movement, a significant summer in my personal journey as well as in my research for this project.

Because I had not been able to set appointments by website, phone, or email, I visited organizations in person. For one interview, I sat in the foyer and waited for the survivor to return, then asked for an appointment. I knew I was being forward, so the next day, when the survivor began with open hostility, I did not react. I also did not assume that her behavior had anything to do with me (I learned a lot about how researchers have treated survivors by how they subsequently treated me). This survivor pushed away the *Letter of Consent* I offered and said, "I don't want that. I want *you* to tell me. *Who are you and what are you doing?*" I explained, and ended by saying, "Everyone's energy is focused on taking care of the girls, but I'm more concerned about who takes care of you."

Her demeanor immediately changed, she scanned the letter and signed it, then proceeded to provide vital information about the lasting effects of dissociation and the way it continued to diminish life years after exiting. During this data collection trip, two additional survivors spent a considerable amount of time talking about dissociation, and all three conversations happened without my asking any questions (opening, clarification, or follow-up). Dissociation is a critical, ongoing issue, and the spontaneous discussions confirmed my direction with embodied interviews.

One day, I interviewed four survivors who were 10+ years out, but in transitional stages (e.g. currently unemployed, living in temporary housing, on disability for dysregulated mental health issues). Due to the upheaval of these issues, all four survivors were in survival mode, which is not conducive to interviews. Due to their increased vulnerability, I returned to semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions, but did not ask the demographic questions about CSE experiences.

One survivor told me that she had just begun to deal with the destruction caused by exploitation. She had been able to "push it down—push it down—push it down" for 10 years, and then it all came to the surface, so she was just beginning to deal with trafficking experiences. Another survivor cycled so quickly between anger and tears that my main concern was simply to not do anything that might lead to further destabilization.

In 2014, I had initially hoped to work with 20+ year survivors, but since I knew that there were many survivors between the ten-year to fifteen-year mark active in the community, I wanted to be able to include them. My delineation of "10+ years out" also reflected the current state of scholarly publications, because I could reliably say that 10+ year survivors had no specific representation in published research. However, that did not mean that ten years out was a magic number. With these four women, the psychological distance I hoped would come with 10+ years out was not there, and afterwards I decided not to interview survivors in transitional stages, regardless of years since exiting.

Gift Cards

Prior to taking the trip, two survivors explained that researchers were part of the history of re-exploitation of survivors, so that gift cards were now the accepted way to show respect for the value of survivors' time and expertise. Exploitive practices by non-survivors in the anti-trafficking movement have included expectations that survivors will speak without a stipend, volunteer instead of being employed, accept lower wages when they are hired, and be "grateful" for tokenism. In a letter from *Sex Trafficking Survivors United,* survivors directly address the ongoing re-exploitation:

> We are also often invited to speak at conferences and events, but offered fees far lower than those of non-survivor speakers. Sometimes, we are offered no compensation at all, even though our professional credentials are equal or superior

> to other speakers. We have been asked to share our program curricula, methods and other educational materials, only to find that those requesting such assistance quickly adopt and promote these as their own, competing with us rather than partnering with us (2013:1)

Although it worked against me with two survivors (their entire focus was on the gift card), and a couple other survivors looked puzzled to receive them, most were delighted. It was the most practical thing I could do to ensure that there was *something* beneficial for participants who met with me during Summer 2018. It was a successful trip, in that I returned home with the introductions and contact information I needed to continue work with long-term survivors. My last interviews with 20+ year survivor-gatekeepers were humanizing, deeply insightful, and thoroughly enjoyable.

Phenomenological Data Analysis and Trustworthiness

The phenomenological approach I chose to analyze the data I collected focused on how survivors make sense of their lived experiences. Heidegger's phenomenological approach (McConnell-Henry 2009) posits that people who have first-hand knowledge of a phenomenon are uniquely qualified to provide interpretations of it. This approach, that encourages an integration of both participants' and researcher's experiences and meanings, allowed me to be present in the themed conversations (Tuohy et al. 2013:18; Moustakas 1994). I am able to maintain a connection to both my 'foreknowledge' and worldview as a survivor-researcher (Mapp 2008). Thus, the final work is intersubjective, created from shared understandings of what it means to be a long-term survivor.

Constant reflexivity is an ongoing and vital part of phenomenological analysis, and critical reflection on my beliefs and assumptions has been an integral part of analysis.

I realize that, from an academic standpoint, insider bias is a limitation, so throughout data collection, I have taken several measures to balance my perspective and strengthen the trustworthiness of my findings. I wrote reflections at critical points, to document the factors that influenced my decisions.

For three years I attended and benefitted from a biweekly dissertation support group. In the last months of writing, I participated in peer debriefing with one of the Writing Group participants, Angela Cazel-Jahn. I provided her with clean versions of survey responses (with all identifying markers removed) and used the notes she provided to verify the themes I had found. Prior to completing the "canon" of 43 survivor-authors, I had members checking conversations with Chris Stark, and her input was key in both removals ("Did you know that this survivor returned to sex work?") and additions ("You might consider adding these authors who were key in the earliest years of the movement").

I also had regular conversations about this research project with a PhD student from California who was conducting similar research but was not a survivor. We talked every four to six weeks for the last year of dissertation writing and became research allies. We influenced each other's work in positive ways, and our discussions deepened each of our understandings of long-term survivors. I have worked to balance my perspective and provide trustworthiness through interactions with other researchers and other dissertation students.

However, my identity as a survivor has still infused every aspect of this project, beginning with the topic I chose. I research long-term survivors because I know we exist, I value our knowledge, and I believe our contributions can fill gaps in current research. I

research survivency because I have lived my entire life as a survivor. I know the value of the time since exiting because I have over four decades of experience past my exit date. Researchers have collected and analyzed survivors' voices, but they have rarely identified the *length of time since exiting* in demographics; when they did include it in a chart, they did not discuss its significance in their findings. I asked one researcher about this—about why there were no distinctions made between the contributions of newly exited and long-term survivors. Their response was that they had never heard of long-term survivors or found any reference to them in research.

This, then, is at the core of my insider knowledge—I know long-term survivors exist, I have learned how to find them, I have read thousands of pages in more than 90 long-term survivors' first-person accounts of CSE and survivency, I have met with some of the older survivors, the gatekeepers, and talked in person, and I deeply respect the survivency displayed in their lives every day. I see their struggles with mental health issues and disabling conditions and their less-than-stellar coping mechanisms used until they discover healthier skills.

As a result of my own ongoing struggles, I asked different questions that required new information and different answers:

- Who takes care of survivors after the first 18 months?
- What are long-term survivors' ongoing needs?
- How have long-term survivors lived with the aftereffects of CSE?
- How can long-term survivors' knowledge inform restorative efforts?

As a result of the knowledge I have gained across decades, I have sought to bring attention to long-term survivors' valuable contributions. I have a deep respect for survivors' immense strength exhibited amidst overwhelming impact.

Once I discovered first-person accounts, I began to find the information I had sought for so many years—long-term survivors' experiences in the years after exiting. The first full-length survivor accounts I found were by Theresa Flores (2007), Rachel Lloyd (2011) and Holly Austin Smith (2014). All three survivors are active in the anti-trafficking movement, and all three delved into issues beyond the trafficking events alone. Unlike research written *about* survivors, first-person accounts provided insights into survivors' *internal lived experiences*, both of CSE and their experiences of restoration in the months and years afterwards.

As I tracked down and read survivors' first-hand accounts, I noticed a difference in the representations of trafficking experiences. Non-survivors tended to embellish trafficking accounts, while survivors downplayed them. For example, this *Note from the Author* accompanied a book containing multiple victim stories, written from the perspective of a non-survivor:

> ALTHOUGH THE INCIDENTS DESCRIBED in this book are true, some of the stories have been dramatized to convey the tragedy of child sex trafficking. Certain names, and in some instances other identifying characteristics, have been changed to protect victims' privacy and safety (Jordheim 2014:ix).

Survivors' actual lived experiences of CSE need no embellishment, because the realities of underground cultures are unimaginable to non-survivors. Survivors write from marginalized and stigmatized places in society, with heightened awareness of the

likelihood that readers will scrutinize, question, and criticize their accounts (Goffman 1963). The care survivors take is evident in this survivor's *Note from the Author*:

> This memoir is inspired by my life story and is a work of nonfiction. I have been very careful to articulate events honestly and faithfully as I recall them, sometimes researching my own past to ensure facts are accurate. Some names, descriptions and event locations have been changed to respect the privacy of others. Many events are combined and several participants are not mentioned to allow the story to flow uncomplicated. No one was omitted disrespectfully (Early 2013:i).

As a long-term survivor, I appreciate the raw honesty in the self-published memoirs from the past decade. Some have rough edges, but they provide insights missing in more polished works.

Finding a Hard-to-Reach Population's Publications

After years of reading what researchers have said about survivors, it was a relief to focus on what survivors have written about themselves. In line with Heidegger's phenomenology (McConnell-Henry 2009), my process simultaneously positioned my own lived experiences in the conversation, acknowledging both the similarities and differences between our lives. As a hard-to-reach population, even the search for survivors' names was complicated. I identified survivor-authors through traditional publications (footnotes, citations, references in articles or books, mention in reports); anthologies (short writings by survivors who later published longer works); and edited volumes (academic writings by survivor-researchers). I also used multiple online sources:

1. Websites
    a. Anti-trafficking organizations (board members, leadership, staff, mentors)
    b. Survivors (interviews, links, book recommendations, comments)

c. Abolitionist organizations (survivor photos, survivor profiles, victim stories)

2. Survivor-written public documents
    a. Letters to the community (names of survivor-led organizations)
    b. Announcements of new collaborations (survivors involved)
    c. Legislative Petitions (lists of survivors in support, with affiliations)
3. Related News and Reports
    a. News/media (interviews with survivors, reports, allegations)
    b. FBI reports (sting operations, identification/location of victims)
    c. Training Manuals (survivor collaborations to develop information)
    d. Conference Brochures (survivor-led sessions, small-group facilitations, workshops)

Once I identified a survivor by name, I searched for their publication(s), using ASU library searches (journal articles, reports, and dissertations), ASU Google Scholar searches, and Amazon searches (books, self-published books, edited volumes). Every few months, I conducted these searches again, to maintain an up-to-date collection that contained newly released articles and newly published works.

Survivor-Authors and Publishers

From an academic standpoint, publishing companies fall on a continuum of status and respect, from academic publishing (highly respected) to self-publishing (the least respected). I started documenting publishers after I repeatedly encountered the *CreateSpace Publishing Platform*. I found two publishing locations, San Bernardino, CA and Charleston, SC, and finally discovered that it is Amazon's self-publishing platform.

Appendix M provides academic transparency regarding the types of publishers that long-term survivors partnered with to make their writings public. I organized the writings by type of contribution and publisher (academic, trade, independent, organization, self).

The number of self-published memoirs (while typically the least respected voices) are a strong indicator of the desires of muted people to have a voice (Kramarae 2005). While I understand the low academic status of self-published books, I found they hold significance as first-person testimonies—memoirs, autobiographical narratives, auto-ethnographic dissertations, journals, diaries. Although my primary focus is domestic, I included five narratives from CSE in Canada, England, Ireland, and Germany, countries where the commercial sex industry functions similarly.

Anthologies and edited books provided more respected publishing platforms for survivor-authors who wrote shorter first-person narratives (Hughes and Roche 1999; Stark and Whisnant 2004; Sage and Kasten 2006; Bales and Trodd 2008; Sterry and Martin 2009). My hope is that this academic, systematic analysis of a collection of survivor-authored, published works will also provide a respected, academic platform for survivors' voices.

Systematic Analysis: Inclusions and Exclusions

This systematic analysis of long-term survivors' writings increases the quality, rigor, and trustworthiness of this project by providing triangulation of data (collected data from interviews and surveys, with data from the systematic analysis). It includes 43 long-term survivor-authors of 76 published writings about CSE (1980 through 2018). The two criteria for inclusion were: contribution to an understanding of long-term survivors; and sufficient demographic information to compile a complete profile.

Figure 7 locates the 43 survivor-authors within the population of all CSE survivors. Survivor-authors represent a small population of long-term survivors, who make meaning from suffering by going public with their experiences, usually to help others understand, to lessen the burdens survivors carry, or to prevent others from experiencing CSE. Not everyone who has experienced CSE will identify as survivors. Some people are truly able to live a meaningful life after exiting, without ever looking back. Others privately acknowledge what they experienced but find no need to include anyone else in that knowledge. Long-term survivors include all of these, but survivor-authors belong to the population that self-identifies as survivors of CSE and has gone public about their experiences.

Figure 7 shows three "pull-out" ovals of self-identified long-term survivors who are public with their stories but not included in the analysis. Inclusions were easier to make than exclusions because they were simply based on the amount of information included in published writings, on two basic questions:

- Did the narrative include insights beyond CSE experiences?
- Did the narrative include sufficient details for a complete profile?

For survivors whose only published writings were in anthologies, there simply was not enough information to compile demographics for inclusion. To include an author represented in an anthology, I conducted a search for other publications. If I found one, then I would take the next step of reading the article or purchasing and reading the book, to determine whether or not I could compile a complete profile for inclusion.

Exclusions were tough decisions to make, particularly if I had already invested significant amounts of time generating multiple data points. For example, I read both

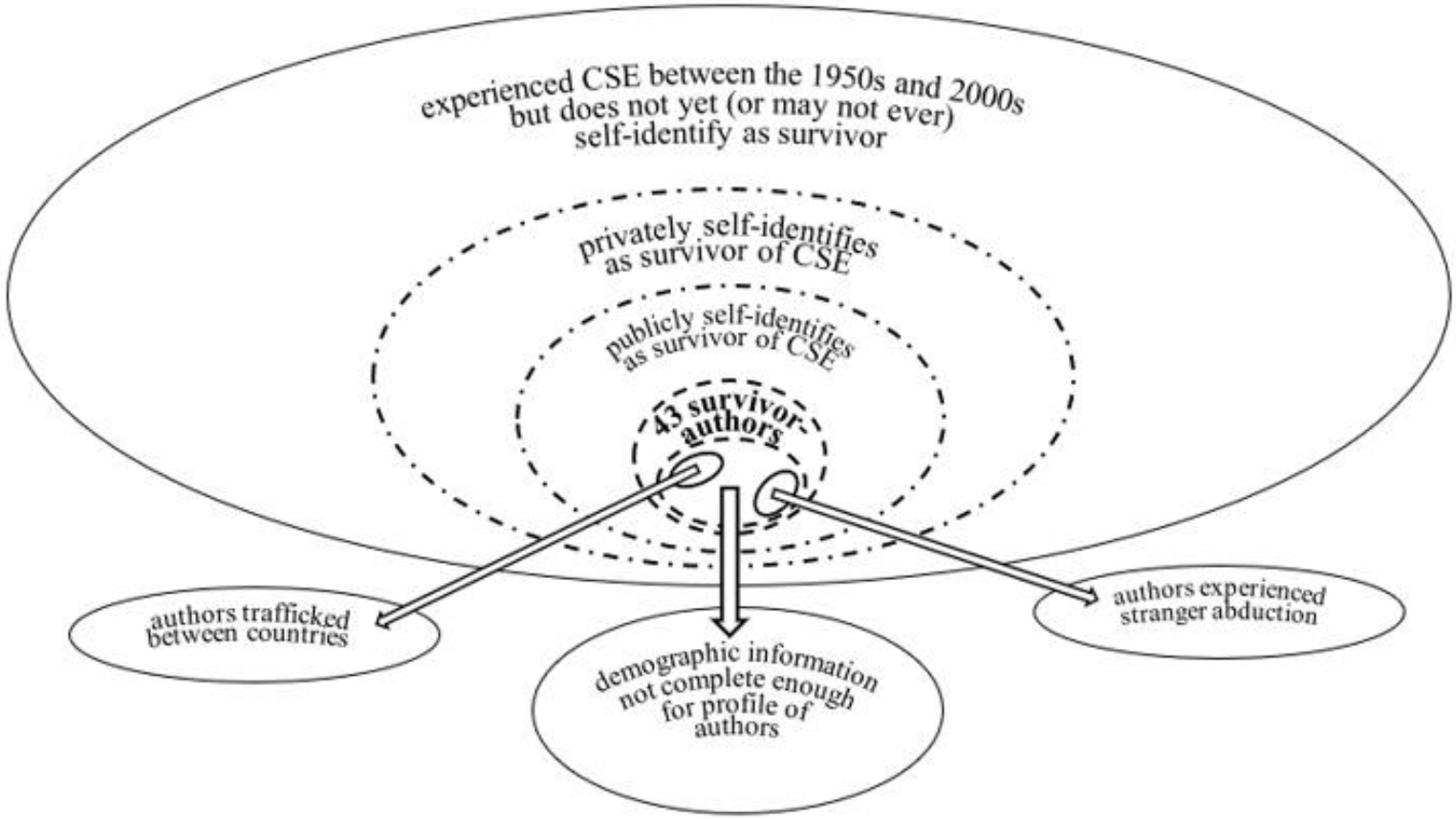


Figure 7. *Location of 43 Survivor-Authors Among All Survivors*

memoirs written by Marti MacGibbon (2012, 2017*)*, including her trafficking account from the U.S. to Japan, but still could not identify a few key data points. In addition, after I had read several accounts of trafficking between countries, and completed profiles on those survivor-authors, I realized that the issues they faced went beyond the scope of domestic CSE (e.g. issues with language; cultural differences in trafficking facilitation; finding a means to return to the U.S., immigration, incarceration). Deciding it was necessary to exclude over 100 hand-generated data points was not easy even though I knew I might use that information in the future. Since the similarities make them particularly suited to their own analysis as a unique group, I have included their publications in the general references:

- Sophie Hayes (2013), trafficked from Britain into Italy
- Marti MacGibbon (2012, 2017), trafficked from the U.S. into Japan
- Timea Nagy (2010), trafficked from Hungary into Canada
- Jabali Smith (2017), trafficked from U.S. into Mexico as part of a religious cult

Likewise, the decision to exclude stranger abductions was also difficult, but after I had read several accounts, I realized there were unique aspects to this group's experiences as well (e.g. the media spotlight upon their return; the complete isolation from the world; the specific types of changes in identity). In addition, most of the writings focused on the trafficking experience, with little reflection on the restoration process. Since their similarities also make them particularly suited to an analysis as a group, I have included their publications in the general references:

- Amanda Berry and Gina DeJesus (2015), personal sexual slavery by Ariel Castro
- Jaycee Dugard (2011, 2016), personal sexual slavery to Phillip

- Michelle Knight (2014), personal sexual slavery by Ariel Castro
- Maria Suarez (2008), sold into personal sexual slavery in Azusa, CA after arriving in the U.S. from Mexico to visit family

Prior to reading a survivor's book, there was no way to know whether it contained the multiple demographic categories I needed to compile a complete profile, so I read many accounts not included in this present analysis, that may become part of a future analysis that has a different focus.

Systematic Analysis: Collecting Data Points

Prior to December 2018, I had selectively read only the survivency portions of survivors' writings—the narratives that addressed the years after trafficking. When I came to the realization that I could not write about survivency without first defining who long-term survivors were and what their CSE experiences had been, I went back and re-read survivors' writings, this time starting at the beginning instead of the middle. Reading the victim narratives was personally the most difficult part of the analysis for me. I determined the questions I needed to answer as I read the accounts. When I added a new category, I went back through the books I had already completed, either to verify what I remembered or to find the additional information.

Winter break 2018 I worked three weeks of ten- to twelve-hour days to compile data from the initial 40 survivors' accounts. It was physically, emotionally, and mentally grueling, and it is a task I am grateful to never have to repeat. I had avoided the victim narratives because I knew the personal toll that I would pay for reading them, and I was right about that, but it was a sacrificial act based in social justice, and most activists make costly decisions at certain times. Later additions in August 2019 were easy by

comparison, because I had already constructed the basic canon, and I was simply adding a few new profiles of under-represented populations (boys and Asian Americans) and excluding a few others (as discussed above).

Survivors' writings were congruent with their purposes and goals, which seldom included providing easily accessed, detailed chronologies and demographic information. Collecting data points from each book, article, or series of writings was a challenge. Documenting each survivor's chronology required a series of calculations based on specific references to ages and dates. For example, if a survivor mentioned how old they were when they finished writing a specific piece for publication, I could approximate their age at publishing. From their publishing age and date, I could add years to calculate their age in 2018. By subtracting their age from their publishing date, I could find their birth year. Most survivors provided the ages when they experienced CSE but calculating the length of time they were involved was harder. Survivors who provided their birth date made calculations simple, but phrases like, "I was born in (date)" were not common.

Each survivor-author profile represents more than 25 hand-generated data points, for a total of more than 1,100 data pieces, not including the multiple data points necessary to calculate information like ages and time periods. Looking back, the only reason I envisioned and completed such an excruciatingly detailed task was because of my personal motivation as a long-term survivor. I was determined to provide data on both the existence of long-term survivors and the value of their knowledge about long-term survivency. I channeled all of my frustration from decades of being stigmatized, silenced, and rendered invisible in research into determination to complete an analysis so detailed and so thorough that the existence and contributions of long-term survivors could no

longer be easily dismissed (brushed aside; ignored; discounted; misunderstood; or overlooked). Demographic information covered three basic categories of information: survivors' lives today, their past experiences of CSE, and their published writings.

1. Survivor-authors today [355 data points]
    a. Age today [43]
    b. Length of time since exiting (10+ years) [43]
    c. Education (degrees earned) [58]
    d. Type(s) of involvement in the anti-trafficking movement [211]
2. Survivor-authors' experiences of CSE [511 data points]
    a. Decade(s) survivor experienced CSE [43]
    b. Age(s) during CSE [86]
    c. Length of time in CSE [43]
    d. CSE culture(s) [121]; location(s) [91]; exploiter(s) [74]
    e. Age at exiting [43]
3. Survivor-authors' publications [238 data points]
    a. Publisher type [76]
    b. Date published [76]
    c. Type of writing [43]
    d. Primary CSE culture represented [43]

As I found information, I organized data points into charts, and then later divided individual pieces into more focused visuals to present and explain patterns. Table 8 shows basic profiles of survivor-authors that began with name, education, age in 2018,

number of years out, decades of CSE experience, length of time in CSE and age during CSE. After I had compiled all of the profiles for 43 survivor-authors, I took

Table 8. Example of Basic Demographics, Seven Data Points

n = 43	~Age 2018	Yrs Out	Decades Used	Time In	Ages Involved
Patsyann Maloney	78	41+	mid to late 1970s	6 yrs	8, 31-37
Alexandra "Sandi" Pierce, BA, PhD	71*	39+	1960s - late 1970s*	14+ yrs	juv; adult
(Hon.) Mary Elizabeth Bullock, JDMBA	68	55+	late 1950s-early 1960s	10 yrs	3-13
Nancy Jean Walker	65	44+	early 1970s	3 yrs	18-21
Vednita Carter, BA	64	45+	early 1970s	12 mos	18
Ruth Rondon	63	29+	early 1970-late 1980s	19 yrs	15-34
Kathleen Mitchell, AA	63	30+	early 1970s-late 1980s	18 yrs	27-45
Barbara Amaya	62	41+	late 1960s-late 1970s	9 yrs	13-21
David Henry Sterry, BA	61	44+	mid 1970s	9 mos	17

See Appendix H for complete chart.

survivor-authors' ages in 2018 from the basic demographics table and combined them with the 2018 ages of survey participants, to create a visual of long-term survivors' ages in 2018 (see Appendix I).

Systematic Analysis: Patterns and Implications

Data patterns in survivor-authors' CSE experiences resulted in specific examples of CSE from the 1950s through the late 2000s (see Appendix S). This is significant because another reason that long-term survivors have remained invisible is because current research has focused on the present while ignoring the past. These 43 published survivors provide historical context for current cultures of CSE, specifically, the documentation of CSE in the U.S. over the past several decades. In the larger historical context, the CSE of Native Americans and African Americans has thrived in North America for centuries. The reason the black web exploded with images depicting the abuse of children is because the images already existed, pre-dating the internet. CSE was fully developed prior to the introduction of the internet; modern technology simply expanded upon and facilitated existing cultures of CSE.

The results of this systematic analysis provide key information related to the care of survivors. For example, contrary to popular perceptions, all but one case (Austin Smith) involved multiple situations of CSE cultures, locations, or exploiters. Only one situation was as "simple" as one type of trafficking with one trafficker. Also, CSE of young teenagers by pimps is only one of several profiles of CSE, tends to have the shortest duration, and the lowest degree of complications. While survivors who publish are a unique set, the complexity of experiences was consistent across groups—survivors presented with a multiplicity of experiences.

Through the analysis of trafficking experiences (see Appendix F for a detailed description of this process), I was able to divide the survivors into distinct groups, based on core distinctions between age, length of time involved in CSE, distinct CSE cultures, and types of exploiters (see Appendices Q, R, and S). Comparing these lists with survey participants' responses revealed continuity throughout. Chapter 4 presents these findings, triangulating data from interviews, surveys, and the systematic analysis to establish the credibility and trustworthiness of findings about survivency.

CHAPTER 4

SURVIVOR VOICE, DEMOGRAPHICS, LIVED EXPERIENCES, AND SURVIVENCY

I continue to use survivor voice throughout this chapter, including authors, survey respondents, and interview participants. Demographics compiled through the systematic analysis of writings and demographics from the surveys are the primary sources for the first two questions. For the third research question, I use survivors' descriptions of survivency, as related to me in interviews, submitted through surveys, or communicated through published writings.

The research questions I answer in this chapter are:

1) Who are long-term survivors of commercial sexual exploitation?
2) What cultures of CSE have long-term survivors experienced?
3) What does survivency look like in the years after exiting, as survivors cope with the ongoing impact of commercial sexual exploitation?

This chapter builds on the foundation of the literature review and analysis in Chapter 2, using demographics that show the range of CSE cultures long-term survivors have experienced across the past decades. However, it begins with profiles of who long-term survivors are today, it does not use quotes describing victimization, and it moves beyond victim experiences to survivency—the ways long-term survivors cope with, endure, resolve, and use their experiences in the decades after exiting. New empirical data—quotes from the people I interacted with and collected data from—use first name

pseudonyms without a date or page number. Published quotes continue to use in-text citations with the author(s) last name, publishing date, and page number.

Who are long-term survivors of commercial sexual exploitation?

Gender and race/ethnicity.

The percentages represented in this study, in the surveys, interviews, and published writings, are not representative of the entire population of survivors, but reflective of those who felt that the best way to communicate was either through participating in research or publishing their writings. While not representative of the entire population of survivors, they do accurately reflect the fact that women have been the primary activists and advocates regarding CSE. The three sets of data differed slightly, reflective of attempts to attain the widest range possible. For example, through additional contacts with men who had indicated interest in participating in the survey, the percentage of male involvement was highest in surveys. Through specific efforts to engage African American women in interviews, the percentage of women of color is highest in the interviews.

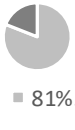
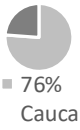
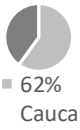
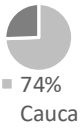
Gender			Race/Ethnicity		
Survey Participants	Interview Participants	Survivor-Authors	Survey Participants	Interview Participants	Survivor-Authors
					
0% LGBT	7% LGBT	16% LGBT	see specific races/ethnicities listed below		

Figure 8. Gender and Race/Ethnicity Between Groups

As shown in Figure 8, the 21 survey respondents were 81% female (17/21); 19% male (4/21); 0% LGBT; 76% Caucasian (16/21); and 24% survivors of color (5/21),

which included Asian, Middle Eastern, and Native American (the original number of 23 surveys was reduced by 2—one duplicate and one under 10 years). The 14 interview participants were 93% female (13/14); 7% male (1/14); 9% LGBT (1/14); 64% Caucasian (9/14); and 36% survivors of color (5/14), which included African American, Asian, and Native American. The 43 survivor-authors represented in this systematic analysis are 88% female (38/43); 12% male (5/43); 16% LGBT (7/43); 74% Caucasian (32/43); and 26% women of color (11/43). Women of color who have published are Native American/Caucasian, African American/Native American, African American, Jamaican American, Vietnamese American, Korean American, Mexican American, Micronesian, and Multiracial (see Appendix G for details).

Middle-aged at advanced career stages.

The 21 survey participants' ages ranged from 28 to 70 years old, with a mean of 45.52 years old. Five percent of participants were under 29 years old; 24% were 30 to 39 years old; 38% were 40 to 49 years old; 29% were 50 to 59 years old; and 5% of the participants were over 60 (for more details, see Appendix I). Survey participants (the 21 bolded lines and ages in Figure 10) were slightly younger than the survivor-authors (the 40 gray lines and ages in Figure 10).

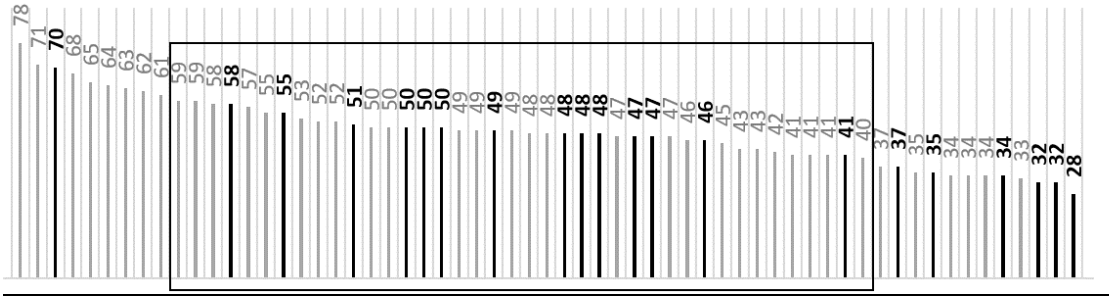


Figure 9. Ages of Survivor-Authors and Survey Participants in 2018 $n = 61$

Survivor-authors in Figure 9 number 40 instead of 43 because the three survivors who are deceased at 53 (Lovelace), 57 (Dworkin), and 58 years old (Hotaling) were not included. The remaining 40 survivor-authors' ages ranged from 33 to 78 years old, slightly older than the survey participants, with a mean of 50.8 years old. None of the survivor authors were under 29 years old; 15% were 30 to 39 years old; 40% were 40 to 49 years old; 25% were 50 to 59; and 20% were over 60 years old.

The combined age range of the 61 long-term survivors, from surveys and publications, was 28 to 78 years old, with a mean of 48.87 years old. In the combined group, 2% of the long-term survivors were 20 to 29 years old; 18% were 30 to 39 years old; 39 % were 40 to 49; 26% were 50 to 59; and 15% are more than 60 years old. In each group, the majority was between 40 and 60 years old (67% of survey participants alone; 65% of survivor-authors alone; and 65% with both groups combined).

Younger survivors are working in entry-level positions, gaining skills, and becoming more educated. Survivors over 65 are beginning to retire, including from their work in the movement. But the majority of long-term survivors are middle-aged, highly educated, and well-established in careers. In her book, Parker-Bello clearly explains the significance of middle age for survivors:

> Most survivors are late bloomers; we just seem to take more time to wake up from the depths of confusion and identity . . . to breathe with new life again unbound. I am just beginning, and for the first time, I'm unafraid to celebrate and share it with you (2013: 197).

The feeling of lagging behind peers is common among long-term survivors, but at a certain point they catch up, and that is when they can begin to surpass their peers.

Highly educated professionals.

One way that survivors prove themselves is through earning professional qualifications. As Figure 10 shows, survivor-authors are highly educated, and ten survivor-authors (23%) have earned eleven terminal degrees in their fields of expertise: five PhDs (12%), two JDs (5%), two MFAs (5%), and three MSWs (7%). An additional two survivor-authors (5%) are currently completing PhDs. Twenty-seven of the forty-three survivor-authors (63%) have earned bachelor's degrees (BA, BS, BSW, BFA, or BBS degrees), and eleven (26%) went on to earn master's degrees (MA, MM, MDiv, LLM, or MBA degrees). Three survivor-authors (7%) have earned AA qualifications for working with survivors in the anti-trafficking field, and many have earned certifications not noted in this analysis.

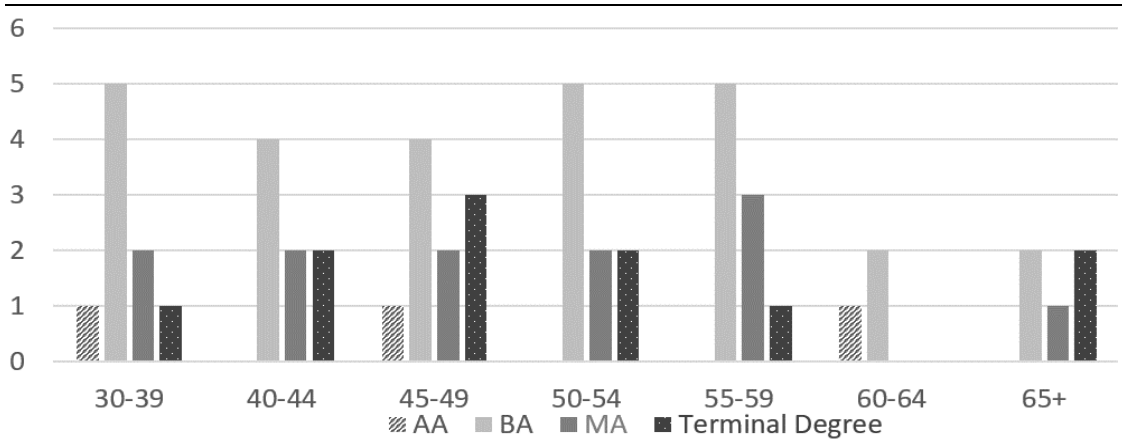


Figure 10. Survivor-Authors' Earned Degrees *n* = 43

The number of degrees survivor-authors have earned indicates that education is a significant part of survivency. Despite negative projections of survivors' futures, higher education is not out of reach. Three survivors specifically documented the role of higher education in their experiences of restoration (Barnes 2015; Phelps 2013; Richardson 2013). For Wendy Barnes, earning an AA meant finding out that she was intelligent and

capable of learning. Carissa Phelps discovered a specific gifting in mathematics, that led to a BA in math, followed by a JDMBA. Richardson found a voice in linguistics and created a written form of her mother's Jamaican dialect to accurately represent her advice and admonishments. Sanders specifically commented on achievements and competency:

> Trust that survivors are just as competent and capable as you are in every way, shape and form (Sanders 2015:116).

Some survivors pursue education as a means of earning respect and proving their ability to achieve academically. Earned degrees that prove professional attainment in society play an additional role in the lives of survivors, because they disprove the stigmas and biases against them. Angie discovered her intelligence, and Sandy discovered that CSE did not take away her academic abilities:

> Getting my GED, then going to college, then getting my Master's degree has helped me to feel not "stupid" anymore or worthless. I know I am smart and able to do what I want to in life (Angie).

> Getting my master's degree in 2005 and now getting [a second advanced degree] have been very helpful. I would have been [an academic] no matter what had happened to me, so I am grateful to be able to utilize my academic talents and interests (Sandy).

Survey participants' educational attainment covered the entire range, from student, to AA, BA, MA, and PhD. Higher achievements come with more distance since exiting. Entry-level positions are where everyone starts, but that is not an indication of where they will be in future years. The work experience reported by survey respondents reflected this range, from entry-level positions to top executives in the corporate world.

- retail; food service; animal care; childcare; hospitality; landscape design; construction; military

- data entry; administrative work, office manager; bookkeeper; real estate agent; accounting and finance; business administration; Chief Operating Officer; Chief Financial Officer
- nurse; social worker; Marriage and Family Counselor
- journalist; filmmaker; artist
- volunteer, mentor, group facilitator; direct staff; consultant; public speaker; Program Coordinator; Public Relations Assistant; Program Director; Executive Director

In 2013, *Sex Trafficking Survivors United* specifically described survivors' professional accomplishments, education, and professionalism:

> Despite popular stereotypes depicting sex trafficking survivors as too damaged to be competent and effective partners, STSU's members include executive directors of survivor-led organizations providing direct services to minor and adult victims, medical doctors and other health professionals, social workers and family therapists, crime victim advocates, and college professors. Not only have we experienced and escaped the complex world of sex trafficking and healed, many of us have earned college degrees, founded small businesses, established nonprofit victim services organizations, and earned other professional credentials (Marr and Sex Trafficking Survivors United 2013).

The struggle to gain professional respect is an ongoing issue, related to long-term survivors' invisibility. Recognition of the timeline of survivency and the existence of long-term survivors as a unique, distinct population should aid the process of acceptance as professionals.

Involvement in the anti-trafficking movement.

One way to find meaning in pain and anger is to constructively channel them into advocacy and activism. There are many ways survivor-authors engage in the anti-trafficking movement, beginning with four types of written contributions: memoir-style

narratives (81%); academic research (19%); academic writing (21%); and professional writing (21%). Writing was a form of activism and advocacy:

> An editor was reading one of my old blogs. . . . He convinced to turn it into a first person memoir five years ago as he believed my story would help others. . . . It's a painful process spilling our blood onto paper and reliving what we have gone through, but if my work spares one human being (I truly hope it's more) then it has all been worth it . . . (Walker 2017).

> Yes, I was frightened to tell others. Yes, I was scared that my children would be hurt. But the more research I did, the more people I talked to, the more I was convinced that this was my life's mission. I needed to turn this unspeakable evil into something good (Flores 2010:160).

> This book is dedicated to people who can help those who were trafficked recover, to educate and enlighten those sheltered from the realities of the life. . . . To survivors so they will not lose the will to live. We strengthen survivors by providing tools (Jay 2014:v).

In addition to writing, 72% were also involved in speaking and/or advocacy. Additional roles included: trainer/educator (51%); policy influencer (35%); mentor (33%); prevention educator (23%); program developer (23%); curriculum developer (12%); professional counselor (9%); visual artist (7%); and musician/performer (5%).

Table 9. Survivor-Authors' Involvement in the Anti-Trafficking Movement

n = 43	memoir-style writer	speaker	advocate	trainer / educator	policy influencer	mentor	prevention educator	program developer	professional writer	academic writer	academic researcher	curriculum developer	professional counselor	visual artist	musician, performer
current involvement	33	27	28	20	14	11	10	7	6	9	8	5	4	3	2
involved in the past	2	4	3	2	1	3	--	3	3	--	--	3	--	--	--
total involved	35	31	31	22	15	14	10	10	9	9	8	8	4	3	2
percentage involved	81%	72%	72%	51%	35%	33%	23%	23%	21%	21%	19%	12%	9%	7%	5%

(See Appendix J for details.)

The most common roles survivor-authors fulfill in the anti-trafficking movement are writing, speaking, and advocacy, and the least common roles are the activism through

the arts. Seven survivors (16%) wrote about their lived experiences of CSE without further involvement in the anti-trafficking movement. Their writings were particularly valuable because they represent the much larger population of survivors who have found meaning in roles outside the movement, or who may be working behind the scenes in ways I could not discover through online searches (e.g. websites, LinkedIn, conference brochures). Some of the survivors who responded to the survey were likewise engaged in work not centered on victims, recently exited survivors, advocacy, or activism.

Of the 29 survivor-authors (67%) currently involved in the movement, the number of roles each survivor fills ranges from two to ten, with a mean of six roles. The three survivors (7%) who are deceased (Lovelace, Dworkin, and Hotaling) were active in the movement during their lifetimes (through 3, 4 and 7 roles respectively). Two men were involved for a time but are no longer involved, though their writings are still available (Whitaker 1999; Sterry 2009, 2009, 2011, and 2013). And two of the original founders of service organizations (Carter and Mitchell) are semi-retired from some roles (2 and 4 respectively), but still currently involved through multiple roles (6 and 3 respectively).

Deficit perspectives in the anti-trafficking movement.

As previously mentioned, awareness of CSE and the subsequent development of the anti-trafficking movement grew from the rape crisis movement (Hatcher et al. 2018). The first service organizations pre-dated the current domestic anti-trafficking efforts by more than a decade and focused on assisting women and adolescent girls who were involved in prostitution. The first four organizations were *SAGE*, founded by Norma Hotaling in 1992; *Breaking Free*, founded by Vednita Carter in 1996; *Dignity House*, founded by Kathleen Mitchell in 1998; and *GEMS*, founded by Rachel Lloyd in 1998.

These women were the first to spearhead efforts to change criminal justice perceptions of prostitutes from "NHI" (murders of prostitutes were not investigated because there was "No Human Involved") to victims of exploitation. But societal attitudes take a long time to change, as one older survivor observed:

> Sting operations, where they all arrest the girls, they bring in a survivor to talk. Now the detectives are well-educated, have all the awareness training, and they use all the proper terminology. They're politically correct. But when you get the regular cop guys, it's: "Let's go get us a couple of whores." "Yeah, let's go roll up on the hookers." It hasn't really changed that much with those people. And I said, "See, that's why I said you have to be really careful about the people you bring to those things." Because if you brought somebody who wasn't as thick-skinned as some of us old broads, it would be really hard for them. I'm not letting them off the hook, but that's the reality (Darla).

The early efforts of Hotaling, Carter, Mitchell, and Lloyd were pivotal to raising an awareness of CSE, and subsequent awareness-raising in the media instigated a wave of activism led by non-survivors. However, the passion and energy investment of new participants in the movement tended to be short-lived:

> The most negative experiences are when people who are new to the human trafficking movement want to come in to "save the day" without any/much experience in working with CSEC victims/survivors. They tend to stir up a lot of energy and interest briefly, but then disappear once they realize how hard this work is in the long-term. I have tended to stay away from celebrity-driven organizations/campaigns for this very reason - way too much hype and not enough sustainable grassroots work (Sandy).

Many non-survivors joined the movement with a rescue mentality that causes a blind spot regarding survivors' capabilities. By projecting their perspective of CSE (e.g. as horrific, unspeakable, crippling) onto victims (e.g. as horrifically damaged, unspeakably wounded, and crippled for life), they make inaccurate assumptions about survivors' futures (e.g. that survivors are irreparably broken). The crisis of exiting and the intensity of the initial recovery processes contribute to the presumption that the

limitations caused by CSE are too great to overcome. Such disbelief caused some survivors to avoid asking for help at all:

> I hate to view myself as a victim. I am proud, so I have never asked for help. I fought for every bit of advancement - intellectually, behaviorally and financially (Melinda).

Others simply outgrow the limited perceptions of rescuers:

> I figured out early on that when most people looked at me, all they saw was a victim. I learned to walk away from people who treated me like a pet project or a wounded kitten, because they weren't really on my side. I figured if they couldn't see that I was going to become a fierce lioness, then they couldn't help me. The people who really helped were the ones that walked beside me and empowered me and believed in my ability to be more than what happened to me. Now, no one looks at me and sees a wounded kitten. I can be fierce, and I make my own way in life (Emily).

While patriarchal approaches can be well-meaning, survivors perceive them as disempowering and as perpetuating an oppression they claim to redress (Tuck 2009). The discrimination is so persistent that some survivors change their career trajectories:

> Most of my negative experiences with identifying as a survivor have come from non-survivor led organizations. They seem to be under the impression that survivors are broken people incapable of doing anything other than being wrapped in a blanket in a safe space and being in therapy every day . . . People who are not survivors seem to think that I am permanently damaged, that I need to be in therapy for the rest of my life, and that I'm not capable of working as a paid professional in their agency/organization (despite the fact that I have [an advanced] degree and over ten years [of relevant experience]). . . . I decided to change my career path and am pursuing a second [advanced degree] in an unrelated field. I have always been passionate about research and academia and feel that this is more my calling. (Ruby)

Sanders, who earned her Bachelor's in Social Work from Arizona State University, described the tone created by deficit perspectives, and what these attitudes look like from a survivor's perspective:

> Supporting and celebrating accomplishments is important, but be careful not to act shocked or in disbelief that a survivor has accomplished something. Also,

> please don't speak slowly and simply to us, as we are not stupid just because we are struggling (Sanders 2015:115).

Secondary trauma experienced in the movement.

As non-survivors formed organizations to raise awareness about CSE, they began to seek out survivors to share their victim stories for fundraising events. As one researcher observed, "Funding follows heartstrings. Victims' stories become a type of currency, the symbolic capital needed to exchange for material resources" (Peters 2015:14). Thus, fundraising and victim stories became synonymous, and efforts to raise awareness were valued over the cost to survivors who spoke at events. Sanders' analysis of the situation addressed the difference between allies and movements:

> . . . There is a big difference between working with trusted, vested and compassionate allies versus working with people involved in a movement. In movements, survivors are often used as nothing more than public relations' tokens that serve to further a social, political or economic agenda. Survivors are there to smile for the cameras, but not valued not respected for their ideas and perspectives (Sanders 2015:114).

"Secondary exploitation" refers to the decades of CSE-related trauma (e.g. stigma, betrayal, marginalization) that occur after exiting, that create an additional layer of trauma on top of the primary trauma of CSE. One survey respondent described the betrayal of trust experienced while working with a non-survivor led organization:

> When I first started telling my story, I was gullible and naïve, so I got used. I shared my story for an organization who raked in the money, did not pay me a dime, and (I found out later) does not help victims at all. Over time, I have learned from my mistakes. Although I do still share my story for free, it's when I choose to (Dorothy).

True allies believe the best, seek the highest good, and elevate survivors. Anything less than that disrespects the incredible strength it takes to walk away from experiences of CSE and to create a new life. In light of the way non-survivors have treated survivors,

Lloyd addressed issues of secondary exploitation, what it means to be an ally, and what it looks like to respect survivors:

> If you're going to be an ally, then be a true ally. We love and appreciate our true allies, we respect and value those who respect us and treat us as fully-rounded, complex, normal human beings not like some freak show with a story. . . . We're asking simply that in your fight to help victims of trafficking, that you don't harm survivors in the process (Lloyd 2013).

The atmosphere between survivors and non-survivors in the anti-trafficking movement has remained contentious for years, as evidenced by the following trail of communications. In 2013, *Sex Trafficking Survivors United* wrote about re-exploitation by non-survivor-led organizations:

> Our experience with many of these organizations has been exploitative. We have found that though they often seek us out, their interest is in our personal stories, which they present as examples of the horrors of sex trafficking. We are also often invited to speak at conferences and events, but offered fees far lower than those of non-survivor speakers. Sometimes, we are offered no compensation at all, even though our professional credentials are equal or superior to other speakers. We have been asked to share our program curricula, methods and other educational materials, only to find that those requesting such assistance quickly adopt and promote these as their own, competing with us rather than partnering with us (Marr and Sex Trafficking Survivors United 2013).

They closed their letter by addressing the issues from a justice standpoint:

> As survivors of sex trafficking, we drew on our own pain and suffering to raise awareness of victims' experiences. Being exploited by individuals and organizations claiming to be our allies and protectors is something with which we are very familiar, and it is emphatically wrong. Supposedly we are fighting for the same cause. We challenge the individuals and organizations leading the anti-trafficking movement to recognize and correct their own privileged actions, and to work with us rather than against us (Marr and Sex Trafficking Survivors United 2013).

A year later, in 2014, the American Psychological Association also addressed the issue of how survivors were treated in awareness programs:

> When public awareness programs include survivors as speakers, the organizers and other speakers should be mindful of avoiding unintentionally presenting

> survivors as "token" examples, or worse, "specimens" to be examined (Sidun 2014:68).

And two years later, in 2016, the U.S. Department of State also specifically addressed the use of victim stories in fundraising:

> Common fundraising practices focus on having survivors share their "victim stories" in public. The unintended consequence is that survivors become reduced to their trafficking experience, an attitude that is potentially re-exploitive and re-traumatizing (United States Department of State 2016).

Two years later, in 2018, the Hatcher et al. collective addressed the same issues from the standpoint of damage instead of justice

> We must work together to support newly-disclosing survivors so they know when it's safe for them to share their painful and often re-traumatizing experiences. We, who have shared our stories, know that it must come from a place of confidence and our stories must tell a larger story than just our own. Telling our stories should not feel like self-mutilation. We, as a movement, must move beyond storytelling, honoring survivors for their lived experiences (2018:5-6).

And in 2019, Greenbaum conducted a study that verified the ways the younger generation of Survivor Leaders still encounter these same forms of exploitation, along with additional forms of discrimination in non-survivor-led anti-trafficking organizations:

> Despite the fact that Survivor Leaders are essential to the anti-trafficking movement (a community that strives to be trauma-informed), many Survivor Leaders expressed having experiences of being mistreated in the field. Survivor Leaders reported experiences of being re-exploited by organizations that want to capitalize on their trauma narrative, not being adequately compensated for speaking engagements, and being overworked and sometime discriminated against because of their survivor status (several participants reported being passed over for job promotions and/or having their work undermined by someone working in the movement who has not experienced exploitation) (2019:64).

The injustice of damage-centered, deficit perspectives has persisted after appeals from survivors, the APA, the U.S. Department of State, and researchers. It is not yet known if the evidence of 76 survivor writings will make a difference.

Cleaning out a mansion.

The declaration, "They will never be whole again," proclaims a deficit-based sentence of doom over survivors' futures that denies the dynamic nature of survivency. It assumes that survivors can ever only be a pale imitation of "normal." But going back to the house metaphor, a more accurate statement would be, "They will never be a two-room bungalow again." A person who has lived through an extended CSE experience has a mansion of rooms to document the destruction, and mansion-sized restoration projects.

Some of the misunderstanding about the restoration process with survivors comes from the difference between dealing with a couple rooms versus dealing with a couple dozen rooms. From the perspective of a bungalow, clearing out one or two rooms is painful and difficult, but it is usually a time-limited restoration experience, followed by lingering but manageable aftereffects. The problem comes with the assumption that survivors are perpetually cleaning out just one or two rooms—that they will never "get over" the mess in those two rooms. The reality is that survivors are cleaning out a couple *dozen* rooms and that a three-story mansion takes a lot longer to clean than a couple of rooms on the ground floor. When non-survivors look at a survivor who is struggling and assume that "they will never get past it," what they are actually seeing is the process of clearing out one room after another after another after another. When survivors internalize these oppressive perspectives, they have difficulty seeing the benefit of all the rooms in their mansion. Internalized oppression and misunderstanding about mansion restoration outcomes are evident in this survey respondent's struggles:

> It's distressing too, that I have this mental health disorder of PTSD because of something that was done to me. I hate that. PTSD has obviously made my life more difficult. I think about how much better and stronger of a person I would be

> if I didn't have it. I am highly intelligent and a super positive, optimistic person. I have a naturally cheerful disposition. Sometimes I think about how far I would be now in my life if I had grown up in a safe, loving environment (Ruby).

What is the point of the struggle—of all the work finding healing and restoration? After clearing debris and rubble from rooms, what is the point of all that space, and all those rooms? The purpose is that each room, once cleared, is a repository of knowledge, the living experience of both the destruction that caused it and the restoration process that cleaned it out. In Heil and Nichols' Midwest study, one executive director described the benefit of cleared out rooms, in working with survivor who had an MSW, professional and personal experience applied to program development:

> Why it's important is she brought obviously the research component when she created the model for us. But she coupled that with her experiences of what she had gone through, what it took for her to go through her healing process, and I loved the fact that sometimes she would look at things and say, 'Yeah this looks great in theory, but it's not going to work. Because I've been there, I've seen this, and this would…' so what she created for us was based on evidence and research coupled with her experiences. So, it makes it just a very valuable model for us (Heil and Nichols 2015:173).

A survivor in the same study described the advantage this way:

> I think there are just a lot of things that people don't think about . . . that a survivor of the crime will think about. And if someone has gotten to the point where they can actually, you know, engage in advocacy and program development around this issue, then likely, they have a whole lot of wisdom and knowledge that can be put into it (Heil and Nichols 2015:175).

This the power of survivency engaged in anti-trafficking efforts—the gifts that only survivors can bring, as a result of the mansions they inhabit.

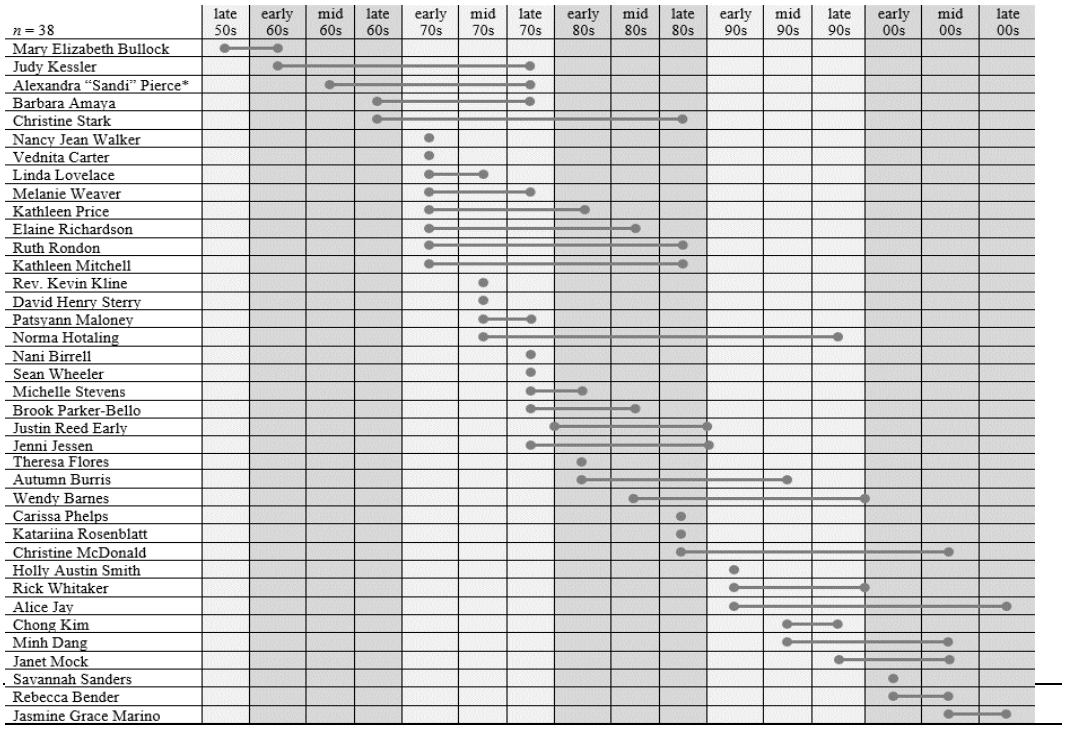
What cultures of CSE have long-term survivors experienced?

Long-term survivors are the historians of CSE in the U.S.

Collectively, self-identified long-term survivors are the largest, most knowledgeable population impacted by CSE today. Although the United States did not

acknowledge CSEC in the U.S. until the Trafficking in Persons Report in 2010, more than 38 survivor-authors born and raised in the United States have documented the domestic history of CSE of all ages during the five decades prior to that declaration.

Table 10. Survivor-Authors' Experiences of CSE by Decade



See Appendix O for full-scale charts. To focus on domestic documentation, the five survivor-authors trafficked outside the U.S. are not included in this chart.

Dalla's CSE research indicated that involvement over an extended period of time often means exposure to multiple forms and exploitative circumstances (Dalla 2000). However, as the demographics on the following pages, show, the outliers are the survivors who *only* experienced one trafficker, and even fewer experienced *only one* CSE culture. As Brook Parker-Bello describes, multiple exploiters are the norm:

> I left the brothel—and with many survivors there is not always just one because each motel room, house, and apartment turns into one. Nor is there ever just one pimp; there is the one that turned you out; which is the first person that introduces you or seasons you thereby stealing your mind into darkness or turning you out, which could have been someone you think is a boyfriend but was a pimp all

> along; or an older, best girlfriend, who turns you out and is really a bottom girl, recruiting; or a teacher who pretends to love you; or even a trick who takes you to a "friend." They are all adults, and it is rape, and they all fit the bill of a trafficker (Parker-Bello 2013:115:116).

Table 10 provides a visual representation of the CSE time periods each author documented. One survivor-author documented CSE as far back as the 1950s, five (13%) during the 1960s, twenty-two (58%) from the 1970s, sixteen (42%) from the 1980s, twelve (32%) from the 1990s, and nine (24%) from the 2000s. The total percentage is higher than 100% because many survivors were trafficked across more than one decade.

This body of work represents more than three dozen first-hand accounts of CSE in the U.S., across six decades. Far from being irrelevant, there is surprising consistency between accounts across a wide span of time. CSE cultures are predictable in the types of exploiters, the victims they choose, and the types of abuse they perpetrate. For example, while the societal perception of gay boys and men has slowly changed over time, the use of boys in CSE has remained the same. Kline's account includes both the historical perceptions of gay teenagers in the 70s, and also the ways they have been used in CSE, which have remained consistent over time:

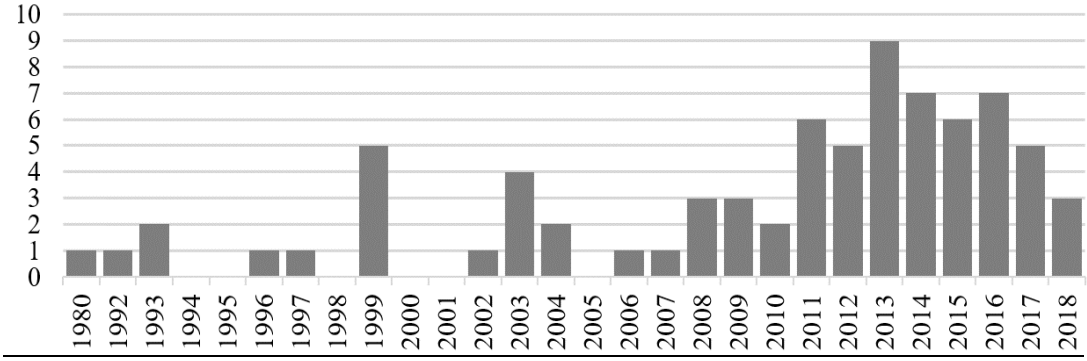
> In 1975, by the time a gay kid was fourteen, he knew in no uncertain terms who he was, what he was, and that being gay was not only wrong, but also illegal. Not to mention worthy of damnation.
>
> I knew I wasn't going to change, so I slowly got used to being different, an outcast. When society, the church, and your own family devalue you, you devalue yourself. When a kid buys that lie, it's not that far of a leap to allow oneself to be treated horribly. I suppose of the reasons I could deal with being sold was that the world said we were not worth anything to begin with. We could be bought and sold, beaten and killed, and that was allowed. As I watched the cop beat Squirrel half to death, there was no fear in him; that is, he did it out in the open, as if he didn't care who saw him. He knew he wouldn't get in trouble (Kline and Maurer 2015:126-27).

> So here I am, thirty-nine years later. For a good while I thought I'd buried it all, but like any self-respecting zombie, the story would come out of its grave from time to time and walk around. The truth, unfortunately, is that I never forgot. That summer has shaded every second of my life since then. I know that must sound pretty grim, and it's been hard, but I'm still here; I am alive, and that's important. I am a survivor of one of society's dirty little secrets (Kline and Maurer 2015:125).

Kline is one of the keepers of CSE history, pointing to the existence of another group of survivors who receive little recognition or support today.

Early anti-trafficking research focused exclusively on international trafficking. Prior to 2010, domestic research about CSE was scarce—except for survivors' published writings. Long-term survivors have been publishing about domestic CSE since 1980—writings that provide insights into every CSE culture—including those barely evident in current research. The 76 works in Table 11 represent a wide range of CSE experiences and recovery trajectories, and together, this body of work is the most under-utilized, rich, dense resource available to researchers.

Table 11. Survivor-Authors' Publishing Dates *n* = 76



There is no lack of work by long-term survivors, but rather, a lack of awareness of it. How powerful would courses about trauma and recovery be if survivors' writings were required readings? How much more effective would it be if students studying counseling understood survivor perspectives prior to meeting a survivor in crisis in their office? In

addition to the 76 comprehensive writings, Table 12 includes the anthologies and edited volumes, sources of 178 shorter writings by136 survivor-authors.

Table 12. Six Anthologies and One Edited Volume of Survivor Writings

Publisher	Date	Editor(s)	Title	SA*	W**
Independent	1987	Delacoste, Alexander	*Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*	31 (-1)^	56 (-1)^
Organization	1999	Hughes, Roche	*Making the Harm Visible: Global Sexual Exploitation of Women and Girls*	12 (-4)	13 (-4)
Popular Press	2003	Morgan	*Sisterhood is Forever: The Women's Anthology for a New Millennium*	2 (-1)	2 (-1)
Academic	2003	Farley	*Prostitution, Trafficking, and Traumatic Stress*	4+ (-3)	3 (-3)
Independent	2004	Stark, Whisnant	*Not for Sale: Feminists Resisting Prostitution and Pornography*	6 (-1)	6 (-1)
Independent	2009	Sterry, Martin	*Ho's, Hookers, Call Girls, and Rent Boys: Professionals Writing on Life, Love, Money, and Sex*	71 (-1)	88 (-1)
Independent	2012	Norma, Tankard Reist	*Prostitution Narratives: Stories of Survival in the Sex Trade*	23 (-2)	23 (-2)
TOTALS	**25 years**	**11 editors**	**1 academic volume; 6 anthologies 13 authors/13 writings included in analysis**	149 (-13)^ =136	191 (-13)^ =178

*SA: Survivor-Authors **W: Writings ^Included in Analysis

Long-term survivors have documented multiple CSE cultures.

First-hand accounts from survivors deepen understanding in areas represented in research and broaden the scope of experiences under-represented or missing in research. Survivors have written about their lived experiences of visible street cultures:

- teens vulnerable to recruitment (Austin Smith 2014; Rosenblatt 2014; Rosenblatt and Murphy 2014; Sanders 2015)
- early teens exploited by pimps (Austin Smith 2014; Marino 2016)
- drug addiction with CSE (Early 2013; Jay 2014; Richardson 2013)
- survival sex (Blac 2012; Kline and Maurer 2015; Phelps 2013)

Survivors' writings include populations underrepresented in research:

- teenagers used by organized crime (Flores 2010)

- pimps trafficking young women into pornography (Lovelace and McGrady 1980)
- women in CSE who become madams (Maloney and Holmes 2008; Mitchell 1999)
- strip clubs and CSE (Lloyd 2011; Kim 2004)
- CSE, LGBT, and street families (Early 2013; Kline 2015; Mock 2014; Mock 2017)
- boys and men (Early 2013; Kline 2015; Sterry 2013; Whitaker 1999)
- Native American children, teens, and women (Pierce 2009, 2012; Farley et al. 2011)
- African American teens and women (Carter 1999, 2003a, 2003b)
- Asian American teens and youth in CSE (Kim 2004; Kim and NiwaHu 2017)
- women trafficked into adulthood (Amaya 2015; Barnes 2015; Burris 2016; McDonald 2013; Rondon 2016)

Since 2010, survivors have been writing about early childhood CSE (infancy through 11 years old) though it is severely under-represented in academic research:

- early childhood CSE (Birrell and Perez 2017; Bailey 2014; Bullock 2013; Price 2011)
- early childhood pornography (Stark 2016b; Wheeler 2016)
- early childhood personal sex slavery (Stevens 2012)
- early childhood intergenerational trafficking (Jessen 2016; Stark 2010)

Figure 12 combines demographic information from 43 survivor-authors and 21 survey respondents, to show each person's age of entry, ages of CSEC/CSE involvement, and exit age combined information. Because a large portion of survivors entered during

early childhood (infancy through 11 years old), the acronym CSEC (Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children) is used, along with CSE.

Of these 64 long-term survivors, only the three youngest survivor-authors reported receiving any *specialized services* (services specifically designed to deal with the complex trauma of CSE). The information in Figure 12 will provide a starting point for assessing the availability of specialized services today.

The focus of the current anti-trafficking movement is adolescent girls between 12 and 17 years old experiencing pimp controlled CSE (not involving parents, husbands, relatives, or organized crime). The 20/64 survivors (31%) that represent that demographic are numbered 1-20 in the chart, and today, they would probably be able to find specialized services. GEMS, founded by Rachel Lloyd, Covenant House NYC, and a few other organizations for homeless youth offer specialized CSE services. So, eight more girls (8/64, 13%) ages 18-24, are numbered *1a-8a* in the chart. Together, 44% of the survivors fit the demographic of girls between 12 and 24 years who might receive specialized services today, and 28 is a significant increase from the three who received services over 10 years ago.

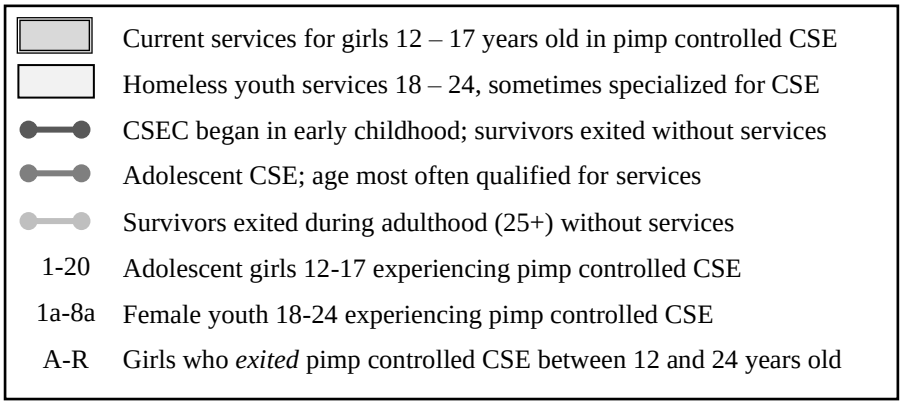


Figure 11. Key for Figure 12

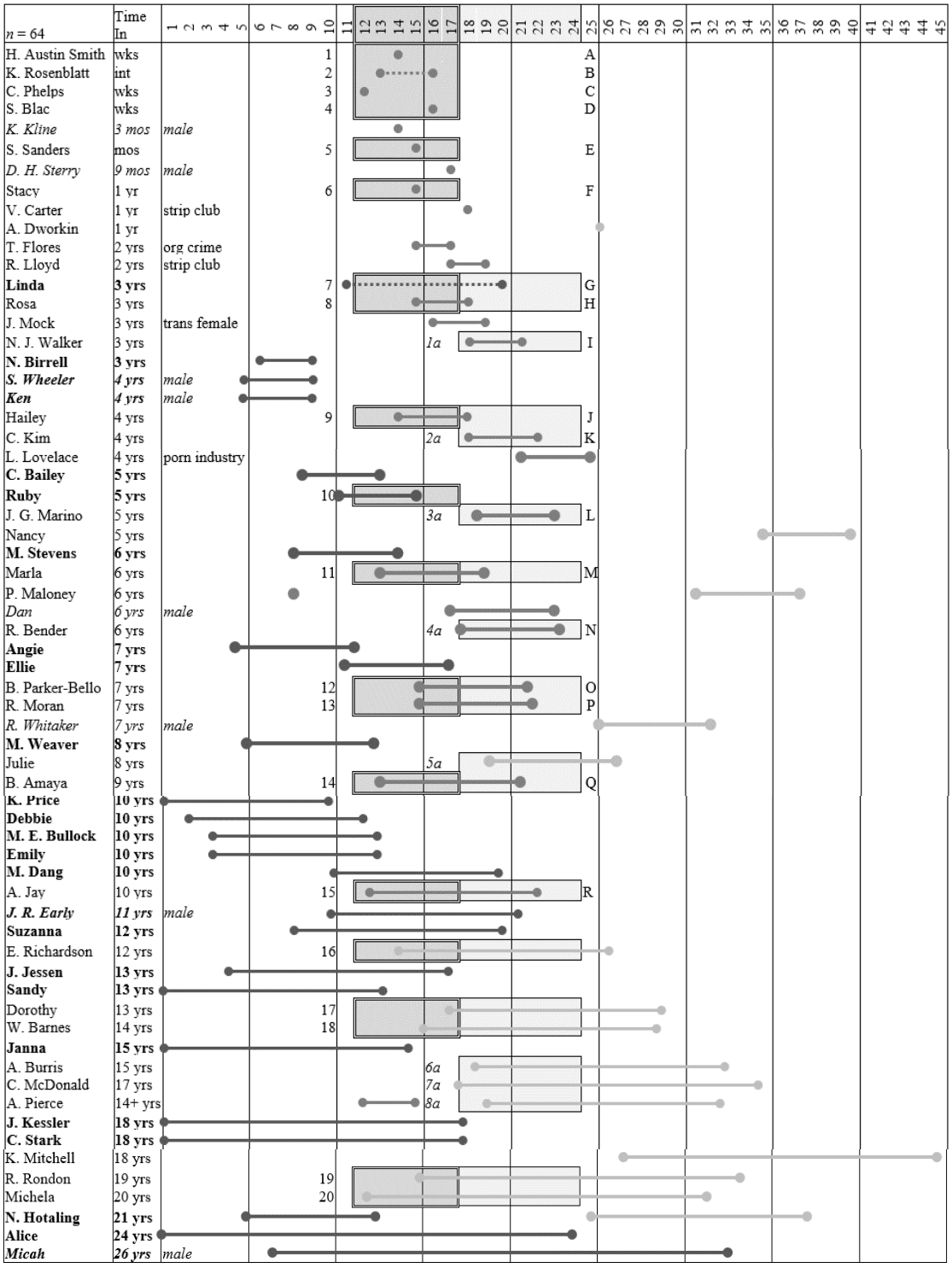


Figure 12. Authors' and Survey Respondents'Ages During CSEC/CSE
For details, see Appendices N-R

However, that number is inflated because *services are determined by exit age*, so not every girl engaged in pimp controlled CSE receives specialized services. If the analysis is limited to the *actual exit ages* in the chart, then only girls who exited during the 12 to 24-year-old window (labelled A-R in the chart) would qualify for specialized services (28%). Still, 18 survivors receiving services is still an improvement over three.

The problem is that 72% of survivors represented in the chart would not have access to specialized services today (46/64). Among those who would not have access to specialized services are men and boys; trans women; survivors involved in strip clubs or pornography; survivors who exited as after 25 years old; and survivors whose exploiters were parents, relatives, husbands, or organized crime. For example, Theresa Flores experienced extremely violent CSE in Chaldean organized crime, but even though she fit the time frame, the level of trauma she experienced is not addressed in services today.

As yet, the anti-trafficking movement has not provided specialized services for the 39% of survivors (25/64) who became involved in CSEC during *early childhood (infancy to 11 years old)*, whose names are in bold text next to darker lines in the chart. These 25 survivors fit two distinct entry age groups:

1. 16% (10/64) *entered CSEC between infancy and four years old*. In this age group, 100% were involved for 10 or more years (10, 10, 10, 10, 13, 13, 15, 18, 18, 24), with a range of 10 to 24 years involved in CSEC/CSE. The mean number of years involved was 14.1.
2. 23% (15/64) *entered CSEC from 5 to 11 years old*, and fell into two distinct groups based on length of time involved:

a. 67% (10/15) were involved in CSE for *less than 10 years* (3, 3, 4, 4, 5, 5, 6, 7, 7, 8), with a range of 3 to 8 years of involvement. The mean number of years this group was involved was 5.2.
b. 33% (5/15) were involved in CSE for *10 or more years* (10, 11, 12, 21, 26), with a range of 10 to 26 years of involvement. The mean number of years this group was involved was 16.

Of the 25/64 survivors who *entered CSEC from infancy through 11 years old*, the distribution between authors and survey respondents was 12/43 survivor-authors (28%) and 13/21 survey respondents (62%). These survivors experienced four CSEC cultures:

1. 36% (9/25) Needy or greedy parent, relative, or acquaintance sold child (for rent, drugs, drug debt, and/or greed); experienced by survey participants (Linda, Ruby, Suzanna, and Micah); documented by survivor-authors (Birrell 2017; Dang 2013; Early 2013; Price 2011)
2. 12% (3/25) Sadistic parent/relative used and sold child; documented by survivor-authors (Bailey 2014; Bullock 2013; Stevens 2012, 2017)
3. 52% (13/25) Parent, relative, or acquaintance used and sold child through child pornography (overlapped with familial trafficking); experienced by survey participants (Ken, Angie, Ellie, Debbie, Emily, Sandy, Janna, Alice, and Micah), documented by survivor-authors (Bryant, Kessler, and Shirar 1992; Stark 2016b; Wheeler 2016)
4. 24% (6/25) Familial trafficking, parents and relatives used and sold child, documented sexual abuse in child pornography, practiced sadistic ritualized abuses, inflicted torture, and partnering with organized crime for protection and

profit; experienced by survey participants (Emily and Alice); documented by survivor-authors (Bryant, Kessler, and Shirar 1992; Jessen 2016; Stark 2008b, 2010, 2012b, 2016a)

Thirteen survivor-authors have documented child pornography from the 1960s to the present, and technology has only made this form of CSEC easier. As long as there are parents who are sadistic pedophiles, belong to families of traffickers, have substance abuse disorders, are economically destitute, or just plain greedy, then all of these early childhood CSEC cultures will persist.

Figure 12 also shows another group that, as yet, the anti-trafficking movement has not provided specialized services for—the 25% of survivors (16/64) who *exited CSE as adults 25 years or older*. These 16 survivors fell into two distinct groups:

1. 38% (6/16) were involved in CSE for *less than 10 years* (1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8), with a range of 1 to 8 years, and a mean of 5.17 years
2. 63% (10/16) were involved in CSE for *10 or more years* (12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 26), with a range of 12 to 26 years, and a mean of 17.5 years.

The demographics of the 64 survivors analyzed (43 survivor authors plus 21 survey participants) presents a consistent picture of CSE over time. CSE cultures do not disappear—they expand and multiply, so at the very least, CSE cultures include:

- boys and men
- people who identify with the LGBT community
- boys and girls used in CSEC during early childhood
- pre-teens and teens involved in CSE from 12 to 17 years old
- youth exiting CSE between 18 and 24

- adults exiting CSE after 25 years old

Thus, while the focus on *adolescent girls experiencing pimp controlled CSE* accurately reflects the savior mentality in anti-trafficking efforts, it *does not reflect* the needs of most people involved in CSE. Currently, age, gender, and culture restrictions *prevent these efforts from addressing* the needs of over 70% of people involved in CSE, because less than 30% of persons involved in CSE fit the description of adolescent (age) girls (gender) experiencing pimp controlled CSE (culture).

The findings from survey demographics dovetail with the above analysis, and provide insights into a few additional (mis)conceptions about CSE:

- 100% of survey respondents (21/21) experienced *more than one* CSE culture
    - 52% experienced 2-3 types (11/21)
    - 48% experienced 4-6 types (10/21)
- 71% had *more than one* exploiter/trafficker (15/21) with range of 2-9
- 95% were trafficked by *people they knew* (20/21)
    - 100% of early childhood survivors (9/9)
    - 92% of pre-teen to adults (11/12)
- 47% were *also trafficked by a stranger* (10/21)
    - 44% early childhood survivors (4/9)
    - 50% pre-teen to adults (6/12)
    - 0% of early childhood survivors were *only* trafficked by strangers

Together, the age analysis and the survey findings present a more nuanced, accurate picture of CSE cultures, CSE exploiters, and the age-related differences between survivors' experiences.

Long-term survivors, unmet needs, and no services:

In addition to the needs of persons currently involved in CSEC/CSE, the needs of long-term survivors in the years after exiting are also unmet. One survivor in Heil and Nichols' Midwest study referred to long-term survivors as "pre-movement" survivors, those who exited prior to the founding of service organizations. Regarding unmet needs, this survivor was adamant:

> We need services for pre-movement [anti-trafficking movement] survivors, which are, women that exited before there was anybody even willing to talk about it. There's no services, there's no funding, there's no nothing if you're a pre-movement survivor. And if you're over 18, there's nothing! There's nothing! Because once you turn 18, you're a criminal (2015:183).

Another survivor I interviewed re-iterated that long-term survivors need (and deserve) the same opportunities offered to recently exited survivors, such as tuition waivers, educational assistance, and access to specialized counseling.

Survivors who entered CSEC at the earliest ages, who experience the longest duration of CSE, have no services tailored to their needs—during CSEC, at exiting, immediately following exiting, in the early months after exiting, or in the years after exiting. One of the survey respondents sold by family members in organized CSE for the first 24 years of life wrote about the frustration of not having specialized support systems today, because CSE is defined too narrowly:

> I am on disability and have section 8. It helps, but I have no support, except my therapist. I wish I can live in a supportive community home. However, since it's been years I escaped, residential programs are for those just getting off the streets and escaping the life. I don't fit that category, since my parents trafficked me among pedophile networks of professionals and clergy. I was never on the street. There's no support group for those who escaped family incest, ritual abuse, porn, snuff films, and sex trafficking who also have D.I.D. All programs I've seen are for people escaping a pimp and getting off the streets (Alice).

Chris Stark is a professional writer whose narratives provide visceral insights into the lived experiences of survivency. For Stark, survivency encompasses writing, research, and teaching as a writing professor—maintaining a professional career in the midst of juggling the "good days" and "bad days." Stark documented what a "bad day" feels like:

> I can't function: can't cook; can't decide what room to walk into; can't think; can't talk; can't clean; can't read; can't write; can't draw; can't drive; can't leave the house, bed, couch; feed my cats; order dog; take out correct papers; make phone calls, emails, lesson plans. I can't do anything but sit, stare, flash back, sleep on the couch-riddled dreams of the past; startle, lost in time. I want to move: pick up and leave; pack my dog, cats, computer, art slides; put the plants on the sidewalk; get the hell out of dodge, out of town, out of this seat, out of this house, out of this country, out of this state, out of this reality, out of this body, out of my mind, out of my skin, out of my life. I want to leave; I have no center from which to stay.
>
> I want to die: be dead; gone; not exist anymore, anywhere, anyhow, anytime, not psychically, spiritually, physically not be; have no negativity, positivity, neutrality; reverse my creation, no ions, protons, neutrons, no nothing. I have no hope: for the future, the moment, the present, the past, the day, the night; for myself; for anyone; for anything; for goodness; for justice; for breath; for a leaf on a tree; that anything will get better, easier, happen be clearer, be right, be doable, functional, organized, not lost; for how does one tally the losses of rape if that's all one has known.

The significance of this description is that these struggles are the essence of survivency—living at the edge of hope and despair yet finding a way to move on in the midst of raw emotion. Just as Stark documents the lived experiences of survivency, long-term survivors have been writing about their experiences of the restoration process:

- conceptualizations of slavery and CSE (Nicholson, Dang, and Trodd 2018)
- a feminist perspective of CSE (Moran 2015; Dworkin 1993, 1997, 2002)
- exiting (White and Lloyd 2014)
- the role of education (Barnes 2015; Phelps and Warren 2013; Richardson 2013)
- spirituality in recovery (Bender 2013; Parker-Bello 2013)

- criminal prosecution of CSE victims as traffickers (Barnes 2015)
- dissociation (Bryant and Kessler 1992, 1996; Stark 2011; Stevens 2017)
- issues within the anti-trafficking movement (Dang 2013; Hotaling et al. 2003; Hotaling, Miller, and Trudeautt 2006; Weaver 2018)

Survivor-researchers who have earned PhDs have conducted academic research on topics related to CSE, including survivors currently underrepresented or entirely absent in research about survivors. The act of long-term survivors producing academic research about themselves—about the community of survivors—informed by their own lived experiences of CSE, is revolutionary in the anti-trafficking field. Their works stand out amid the multitude of works published *about* survivors by non-survivors.

What does survivency look like in the years after exiting, as survivors cope with the ongoing impact of commercial sexual exploitation?

By "ongoing impact" in Research Question 3, I refer to the long-lasting mental, emotional, physical, physiological, and psychological aftereffects of CSE (Doering 2012; Zimmerman and Pocock 2013; Sidun 2014; Wilson, Butler, and Gold 2014). However, I intend to sideline the pathological process of identifying and focusing on the negative aftereffects in order to forefront a discussion of survivency—how survivors manage in the midst of the trauma they experience.

The struggle of survivency is real, but the impact of CSE is not the sum total of who long-term survivors are. It is the context in which we live, but it does not dictate who we become or what we achieve. Survivency is the essence of living with the impact of CSE while refusing to be solely defined by it. Suffering leaves a permanent imprint,

but life goes on, and long-term survivors' lives prove that survivency is about the multiple ways we find to overcome.

Since the phenomenological approach is an emic, inductive method (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 1995:175), codes are drawn directly from the survivors' lived experiences, so many of the sub-headings for groups of quotes use the language survivors themselves used.

Gendered experiences of survivency.

Both male and female survivors struggle against societal condemnation, but it takes different forms. Because women have to fight against being seen as broken, helpless, perpetual victims, they strive to communicate strength and self-determination in their language. Men experience a specific type of victim blaming that stems from societal expectations that they should be strong enough to defend themselves. Even harsher, they face discrimination under the (false) assumption that sexually abused boys become men who are sexual predators. One survey respondent addressed these issues:

> Why is it that people don't believe or care that boys get trafficked? . . . law enforcement here says they don't have the resources to look further into the issue. . . . One more challenge guys face is that many people assume that all boys abused, grow up to be abusers. Another double standard. No one would ever think to tell a girl who was raped that she would grow up to be a rapist. I hear that claim and it hurts me because I can't understand this kind of thinking (Ken).

Joel Filmore, a counselor and long-term survivor of pimp controlled CSE, grew up with racism and sexual abuse in a small Midwest town. When he was 12, a man befriended him, and engaged him in partying with alcohol, cocaine, and crack. "Within a week, he had me turning tricks." Regarding the level of coercion he experienced in CSE, he explained the additional societal stigma men face: "When we think of men, we typically think of men as aggressors . . . So we have the idea that we can't think of men as

people who can be coerced" (Raney 2017). Betrayal also leads to difficulties in connecting with a counselor, so Filmore offered this perspective on working with men: "They don't believe in altruism. . . . You can expect pushback. You can expect resistance. You can expect anger" (Raney 2017). After Building rapport, Filmore asks his clients to "tell me one thing, just one thing, that happened to you that you have never told anyone," and because he is a survivor himself, he knows how to provide safety for his clients so they can begin to unburden themselves of secrets that weigh them down (Raney 2017).

Interestingly, the angry reactions Filmore predicted in counseling also appeared in the surveys and interviews. The male participants were indeed angry about multiple forms of silencing and disregard. Two survey respondents described the layers of difficulties that men face after exiting CSE:

> I don't really like the term male survivor either. Tagging on a gender says we are considered somehow less than legitimate as real survivors, assuming these can only be female. I told my friend at Shared Hope this and she said they don't know what else to say.
>
> Yet we struggle to be heard when organizations out there that have names like "Free Our Girls" or others that are supposed to support all survivors only have pictures of girls when they talk about trafficking. Shared Hope International, who tells me they are concerned about boys, still use the tag line: It's her life, and their founder gives speeches titled "What does she look like?" Then they wonder why a lot of guys don't speak up or trust them or come to their events. We are, at best, second class. It's discouraging to hear that the American Psychological Association (APA) released a Report of the Task Force on Trafficking of Women and Girls as recently as 2014. To them, I am invisible (Ken).
>
> I honestly believed too that finally getting my story out and getting help plus wanting to help others would make things easier. It hasn't (Ken).
>
> I wish people gave me credit for all the years I've spoken about my abuse and continued to speak on it despite getting death threats!! (Dan)

All long-term survivors experience silencing and invisibility for multiple reasons, but boys and men have a different layer of social alienation to deal with after exiting. However, since anger is a socially acceptable emotion for men, their responses openly express that.

Disconnected from normal by missing years.

Long-term survivors feel a deep sense of disconnection from people who have families and experienced normal milestones. When an entire childhood disappears into CSE, or when career years are missing because of drug addiction and CSE, they cannot be replaced. When the gaps show up in conversations, it creates a sense of not belonging anywhere. There is no easy way to discuss "missing years."

> I felt less than—and I didn't feel like I belonged for a long time….I don't think that it ever goes away completely. There's always a part of me that feels kind-of outside, when people are talking about all their normal stuff. And I don't have that. For me, it's those middle years. Losing those years, I had children, but because I had a drug addiction, they were taken away from me. I burnt my life to the ground. I lost everything for a number of years. I'll never be normal, in one sense. People have these normal milestones in their lives, "Oh, when my kids were young, and they were in Girl Scouts…and then they graduated from college." And I don't have that. Those are the missing years (Darla).

> I feel disconnected from most normal people most of the time. People talk about their parents and relatives and school days and family events and I have nothing to contribute, because I have never experienced any of that safe happy family stuff. So that's a difficult experience as a survivor, and it's almost constant. . . . It is difficult to feel like you belong when you cannot identify with anyone you know or with their childhood stories. I avoid conversations and movies about childhood stories. I have nothing to add but horror. On the few occasions that I have told someone part of my childhood story they just look at me in disbelief with no words. I end up feeling even more disconnected than before I shared. (Michela)

> I work so hard to fit in to society but always feel like an outsider. There is a huge piece of my life story that I can't talk about. I have trouble making and keeping friends as there is an entire decade of my life that is hidden. It's a double-edged sword. One hand I don't want people to know this about me, I don't want the pity,

> I don't want to be given exceptions or treated differently. I don't want people making judgements on me or my children based on what happened to me. On the other hand, if people don't know this about me, they are missing out on who I am as a person. Why I am the way I am. If you don't know this about me, then you don't actually know me (Marla).

Survivors provide understanding, empowerment, and belonging.

A significant part of survivency, that eases the sense of isolation, is finding a sense of belonging and understanding among other survivors. For these survey respondents, it provided a deep-felt sense of relief:

> I finally met other survivors for the first time about 3 years ago. All of a sudden I belonged somewhere and people understood me. I felt like I could connect with and relate to people for the first time (Angie).

> Getting connected with other survivors within the last 4 years, and especially this last year have been major in ongoing recovery and personal growth (Linda).

> I only recently told my story for the first time, about a year ago. I also felt a sense of relief talking to others who had experienced many of the same experiences as myself. There is a feeling of belonging that I experienced while telling my story (Michela).

> I think the hardest thing for me is not being around other survivors. . . . Honestly, other survivors have been more helpful than anything else. I have never felt so understood, and so empowered, than when I have spoken with other survivors who are leaders in the movement and in their own lives (Ruby).

Healing journeys are lifelong.

One aspect of survivency is the realization that recovery is a lifelong process. Goals are long-range, and survivency means fighting the past, managing the present, and reconstructing life and self across extended periods of time. The commitment to life and wellness sometimes has to be fierce enough to counter decades of death thoughts. These long-term survivors address this:

> . . . Today, I celebrate 17 years exited from a life of prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation. I mention this to let you know that the harms I experienced

> in prostitution are real and the recovery journey to healing is a lifelong process (Burris 2014:1).
>
> Healing takes a lifetime. It does not happen in a day, especially with CSE because your normal development was derailed. It is not just healing, but a total reconstruction of a human person. I learned how to feign belonging, but only recently, in the last few years have actually healed enough to form family again (Ellie).
>
> The trauma never goes away. The shame and self-hatred led me to develop self-destructive thought patterns that haunted and stunted me for decades. I fought wanting to die for nearly two decades. I am still dealing with physical and mental health consequences from CSEC decades later (Sandy).

Counseling, kickboxing, and the arts.

Long-term survivors practice survivency in a myriad of creative ways. Some sources are traditional, like counseling; some are solitary endeavors; many are interpersonal; some are practiced as therapy, while others are connected to affinities for the arts. The wealth of possibilities is one of the benefits of listening to long-term survivors, and the following were things each survivor found helpful:

> Counseling, kickboxing, writing, art, prayer, learning to self soothe, and philosophy, which helped rebuild my mind (Ellie).
>
> I have been helped by various survivor groups and conferences. I've had some excellent psychotherapists and alternative healers . . . meditation retreats, psychotherapy, yoga classes, private yoga sessions, physical therapy, acupuncture, healthy eating, my current marriage, friendships, survivor groups, Alanon meetings, some of my church involvement (Janna).
>
> Being in a community of survivors of child abuse
> Finding a really great therapist
> Peer support groups
> Exercise
> Speaking and training
> A community of survivors of human trafficking and slavery
> Really great allies and friends (Suzanna)
>
> In January of 2000 I started work on the first of what would turn out to be forty-two paintings depicting my life of abuse. This was something I had to do for

> myself. Despite the long journey I had been on, and the therapy I had had, and the amazing presence of my children in my life, I still struggled with a terrible burden of pain and anger. I knew it would be cathartic for me to purge and express my emotions in visible form, transforming the images inside my mind into something tangible. Something I could see and touch (Blac 2012:175).

> I touch the keys on the piano and the heavenly melody of dream songs moves from my soul to the instrument. I had discovered music as a child, and then lost it in a fifteen-year chaos of torture and abuse. When I rediscovered the music, it fed my soul once more—and the healing journey began. It was in the music that my spirit soared and hope embraced me (Barnes, 2015:xiii).

> Writing down the worst (and the best) things that ever happened to me completely changed my life. The demons that had been feasting on me for so long were exorcised; they flew out of me as the words poured onto the page. At times, when I was writing *Chicken*, I'd suddenly realize there were tears streaming down my face. I was weeping and I didn't even know it. The release was so complete it liberated me in a way I could never have imagined. (Sterry 2009:3).

Self-identifying requires a name for the experience.

One of the experiences unique to long-term survivors is that when they experienced CSE, there was no name for it except "prostitution." All of the stigma and blame was placed on the victim. Finding out it was not your entire fault makes an incredible difference, as this wide range of experiences attests:

> I did not realize I was a victim until much later, and I was not treated like a survivor (Stacy).

> Most of my experiences telling my story have been good. I love when women in the audience self-identify. Lots of healing then can happen for them. (Julie).

> For the most part, my experience as a survivor has been empowering. Once I knew I was a survivor, the way I viewed myself and the world were different. I was no longer a victim. Lots of new doors opened for me. I did not identify as a survivor for the first 5 years. I was focusing on my drug recovery. Once I had more stability and was seeking further healing, someone told me I was a survivor! (Julie).

> It has been really tough. It felt very lonely and I felt incredibly isolated in what I had experienced. When I was both in and out of CSE, there was no name for it. I spent so many years as a survivor, not knowing what I had survived from. I didn't

> know anyone else who had been through what I had, and I had no one to relate to. I told a few people I was sexually abused, because that's the only name for it that I knew. There were no resources . . . I never got the help I needed specifically to work through my trauma because it had no name (Angie).

Therapists lacking knowledge, and a lack of resources.

The problem with finding knowledgeable counselors is that few people have worked with the level of trauma survivors of early childhood CSE experience. Since current anti-trafficking research has not addressed early childhood CSE, training requires looking for sources outside the movement.

> The lack of general knowledge and the lack of resources about PTSD and about survivors of trafficking have made my life more difficult. I met with several therapists who were terrible and had no idea what trafficking was or how to treat someone with complex PTSD from prolonged traumatic experiences, before I found a therapist who was really exceptional. I wish there were more therapists who specifically specialized in treating survivors of trafficking . . . I wish there was more knowledge and resources in general for this (Ruby).

> Finding trauma experts and therapists who aren't freaked out but experienced helping someone with D.I.D. is hard. Some therapists can harm more than help. Some say they have experience but end up not knowing how to help. One psychiatrist told me "that doesn't happen in our culture." Another sent me home with the advice of just watching happy movies. I've seen so many therapists. I had one therapist, in our 2nd session, cry and tell me that she can't be my therapist because she's going through her own journey and just coming back to work after having 3 kids. I stopped seeing another therapist because she would begin to shut down (slouching and eyes drooping) and fall asleep . . . I've had to do my own research to find the best treatments. My current therapist is an intern and she's doing better than all the very experienced therapists I've seen. She validates me. She also is a Somatic Experiencing practitioner, which helps me get into my body and not be afraid to feel (Alice).

Dissociation: the key to surviving becomes the block to living.

When faced with the constant pain and dehumanization of CSE, the most widely used defense system is dissociation. Victims make themselves invisible. Children used during early childhood disappear whole parts of themselves—the parts who hold the

memories and emotions of unspeakable trauma. Memories disappear, feeling disappears from the body, and eventually, all feeling disappears—emotions, memories, physicality.

Survivors become invisible to themselves, disconnected from humanity. Dissociation does not automatically resolve after exiting, or even after resolving dissociation in the mind (Dissociative Identity Disorder or DID). The key to living is to resolve physical dissociation. As previously stated, since embodiment is an essential, inextricable part of being human, the degree to which a person lives a dissociated, disconnected, disembodied life, is the degree to which they continue to experience dehumanization. Dealing with dissociation after exiting means learning to return to your body—to be embodied and to live in the present. As one survey respondent wrote, "I had to learn to reconnect with my body and the core of who I was before my experiences changed me" (Debbie).

These were the conversations that emerged in the interviews where I listened and allowed survivors to choose their own direction and talk about the topics they cared about the most. Three survivors talked about the difficulties they still experienced as a result of physical dissociation, and the topic also came up in surveys and survivor writings.

Physical closeness in parenting.

One of the "side effects" of dissociation in parenting is an aversion to physical closeness, to young children wanting to be in physical contact. Grown children have come back to their parents, resentful because of a lack of physical affection while they were growing up. The behavior is incomprehensible because survivors had never disclosed their experiences with CSE to family members.

> You know, April and I talk about this all the time. When our kids were little, and they were crawling all over us, all we could think of was, "Get off me!" We couldn't stand the physical closeness (Cindy).

> I often feel detached, almost cold. I have not liked physical shows of affection unless they are sexual in nature. I struggled as a mother to be physically giving to my children. I know that my lack of physical affection has caused others discomfort. I have improved in this area over time with a lot of effort and honesty (Melinda).

Professional life, yes; personal life, no.

Interestingly, the anti-trafficking organizations' negative perceptions of survivors' professional ability are the *opposite* of the actual limitations that survivors face. Survivors are fully capable of being professional—their greatest strength is their ability to maintain professional lives *in the midst of* ongoing traumatic dissociation. But the tradeoff is their inability to simultaneously function on a personal level.

> I'd say, among the survivors I know, it's almost universal, I'd say, among all the survivors I know, survivors have a professional life that's great and they can function on a day-to-day basis at work, but when they go home, they have nothing. No personal life. No sexual life. Sex, maybe, but sexual intimacy, no (Kiara).

> My personal life was a disaster—although my professional life was at its best. I had a firm rule that I relayed to the men in my life: if anyone caused me grief that spilled over into my career, that affected or interfered with my professional life, the relationship was *over*. A thick and impenetrable wall compartmentalized my relationship with men and my work. I loved my work; it defined me. Work was my drug of choice. If I needed to get out of my head, I worked. If I was in crisis mode, I worked. The precision of my work as an attorney soothed me until I could mentally work out my other issues (Bullock 2013:124).

Sex, maybe; sexual intimacy, no.

Sexual difficulties go to the core of issues that go unresolved for decades, yet the only people talking about it are the older survivors, those who have seen the patterns and identified the ways dissociation has caused their own ongoing issues.

> We experienced commercial *sexual* exploitation. *Of course* we are going to have sexual difficulties after exiting. It wouldn't make any sense if we didn't. But nobody's talking about it, and it's time to confront that big old elephant in the room. How can you ever hope to be intimate with another person and enjoy sex if you can't feel a thing that's going on with your body? I used to be so cut off from my body that if I cut myself working in the kitchen, I wouldn't even feel it. I'd look down and see the blood and be like, damn, when did that happen? But here's the thing: if you can't feel pain, then you can't feel pleasure either. (Emily)

> Many survivors of sexual abuse suffer sexual difficulties. The sexual symptoms present as: avoiding, fearing, or lacking interest in sex, approaching sex as an obligation; experiencing negative feelings such as anger, disgust, or guilt with touch; having difficulty becoming aroused or feeling sensation; feeling emotionally distant or not present during sex; experiencing intrusive or disturbing sexual thoughts; engaging in compulsive or inappropriate sexual behaviors, experiencing difficulty establishing or maintaining an intimate relationship; experiencing vaginal pain or orgasmic difficulties; having flashbacks; and sexually displaying sadistic or masochistic tendencies (Bullock 2013:15).

Using, getting used, and being in crisis at 10 years out

Not all survivors are in a place where they are pursuing healing. Four interviews with survivors receiving subsidized housing were set up for me, based only on the 10+ year criteria and the gift card "thank you" gift. The intention in setting up the interviews was good, but two of the participants seemed to be doing as little as possible on all fronts, an approach that extended to their interviews. Both seemed to still be operating by the rules of the streets, and like Curtis et al., I was a target to scam. One survivor reported:

> Yeah, I just spent all my rent money at Walmart on things I wanted. There were a lot of things I really been waiting to get. Yeah, and anyway, I got a roommate that will cover me (Laura).

For this interaction, I did ask a follow-up question, if it was possible to return the items to the store. She responded,

> "Yeah, I guess I could. I mean, it's all still in the car, but I won't. I don't want to give it back, and anyway, I've done this before, and my roommate won't kick me out"

When this conversation led to the question, “How many more questions I gotta answer to be done and get the card?” I took the loss and moved on to the second interview. This interview did not progress much better.

> “I don’t feel so good, and I don’t really feel like talking much. I’m not doing nothing right now, but I got my disability to cover the rent here, so…” (Jennifer).

It raised some interesting questions about providing long-term support. If you have limited resources, how do you determine who to help? My thoughts at this point include having interviews led by someone with intuition paired with a street background, who can see through a con and does not mind a confrontation.

I knew I was being played, but I do not like conflict, and their behavior in the interview was actually congruent with their current approach to life, so in that regard, they were honest. They both displayed the street-based attitude that anyone available to use is fair game. The remaining two interviews at the site were more productive, but both women were in crisis at 10 years out.

> I just keep asking the Lord to take this out of my spirit. I keep getting used, and I’m trying to take care of everyone. I don’t know how to say, “No.” I keep praying because my mama needs me, and my kids need me, and I gotta go back to school so I can get a job. But my family, we lost [large number] family members last year and another a month ago, and I don’t know how I’m going to do it all. (Alexis).

So, this was the other side of the equation, the person who kept giving and giving and getting used. This was the survivor who cycled rapidly through tears and dissociation throughout the interview, so I was the one who kept things short in this interview.

The last survivor at the site was working through all the trauma put on hold while her kids needed her, but once they were on their own:

> I kept pushing it down and pushing it down and pushing it down so I could do what I needed to for my kids. But it never went away. I just kept pushing it down. I had a husband who was beating me, and I had to protect my kids. But once they were on their own, I left him, and now I'm here. They asked me if I would lead the group tonight, so I guess they think I can handle it (Heather).

I could see why they asked her to lead, because she was genuine and articulate, understood why she was 10 years out without having dealt with CSE trauma, and was making all the constructive decisions necessary to change the future.

Survivency is looking at the past to see the present.

It is satisfying to be able to look back, see the journey, and appreciate the present. It can take a long time, and family is often part of survivors' appreciation for their lives.

> I look back on my life and realize how blessed I have been to be rescued from the human trafficking nightmare. Because I know what life with a sex-trafficker is like, I treasure every moment in life. . . . Sometimes I struggle. There are times that all I want to do is hide in my closet where I feel safe, wanting to stay there forever and cry. I then look at my surroundings and, remembering the past, I feel blessed and happy to be where I am today (Barnes 2015:356-57).

> I live a very full life. I have five adult children . . . with two grandchildren. Family meetings and open conversations are extremely important to me (Hailey).

> I dreamed about having a family when I was growing up. It was one of the things that gave me hope to go on. I knew what I wanted, and I decided to take the steps to make that happen. I had a strong counselor, and when I met my husband, we talked about my past. We decided that it was something we would just need to plan for and accommodate. I love being a wife and a mother. I created what I dreamed of when I was younger (Sandra).

The struggle is real.

Contrary to pathologizing perspectives, I am convinced that the most amazing contribution long-term survivors have is that they experience the ongoing traumatic impact from CSE, *and they cope with it*—every day. They struggle with depression and live with death thoughts for years. They live with constricted abilities to emotionally engage on a personal level, yet they choose to keep going,

> I didn't have a program where I live for survivors so I made my own. I took the responsibility of who I was as a person that I didn't like and I did something about it. I had failed many times and gave up too many times to count. I learned something from every one of my failures and after I was done giving up I tried again. Yes, I had no control over my abuse, I had control over my healing. I took my healing seriously and made it a priority and anyone who didn't got the fuck out of my life. (Which is why I'm mostly alone.) So I research resources in my community and one by one has I was mentally prepare to do it, I did. I had a breakdown and wasn't able to work anymore. I took that as an opportunity to really heal which I couldn't really do when I was working because I had to be more focused on surviving in society instead of healing my wounds. When you dive real deep in your shit, you need time and space along with compassion (Debbie).

The struggle is real, but so is the determination to make something better, and the progression of restoration over time. The results of this restoration are most evident in the lives of older survivors, like the first and last survivors I interviewed. They have had the time to work through the defensiveness and the addictions to chaos and conflict and can call things out as they are—without mincing words—from a place of care, without abrasiveness. They have worked through the oppression, rejected the stigma, and left the helplessness behind.

Survivors of CSE have mansions of rooms to clean out, so restoration takes longer than people expect, but once all those rooms are clear, they become sources of power and insight. Each space becomes a place of confidence and knowledge, a space of gifting and of tools to help others who have experienced similar traumas. It takes longer to see the benefit of all the work, and to learn how to use each space and each tool, but I have met these survivors, and they are powerhouses. They are real.

Six Stages of Survivency

Figure 12 is another envisioning of survivency, drawn from a collage of formations found in Sedona, Arizona. In the early years of survivency, without

intervention to relieve distress, there is a sense of drowning. As the burdens ease, it no longer feels like torrential rains and flooding, and the water begins to recede. As it does, it reveals a fantastical landscape—the kind that can only be formed through torrential rains and floods. The architectural formations are the result of survivency—enduring, waiting, working, and believing that the end will be worth the trauma.

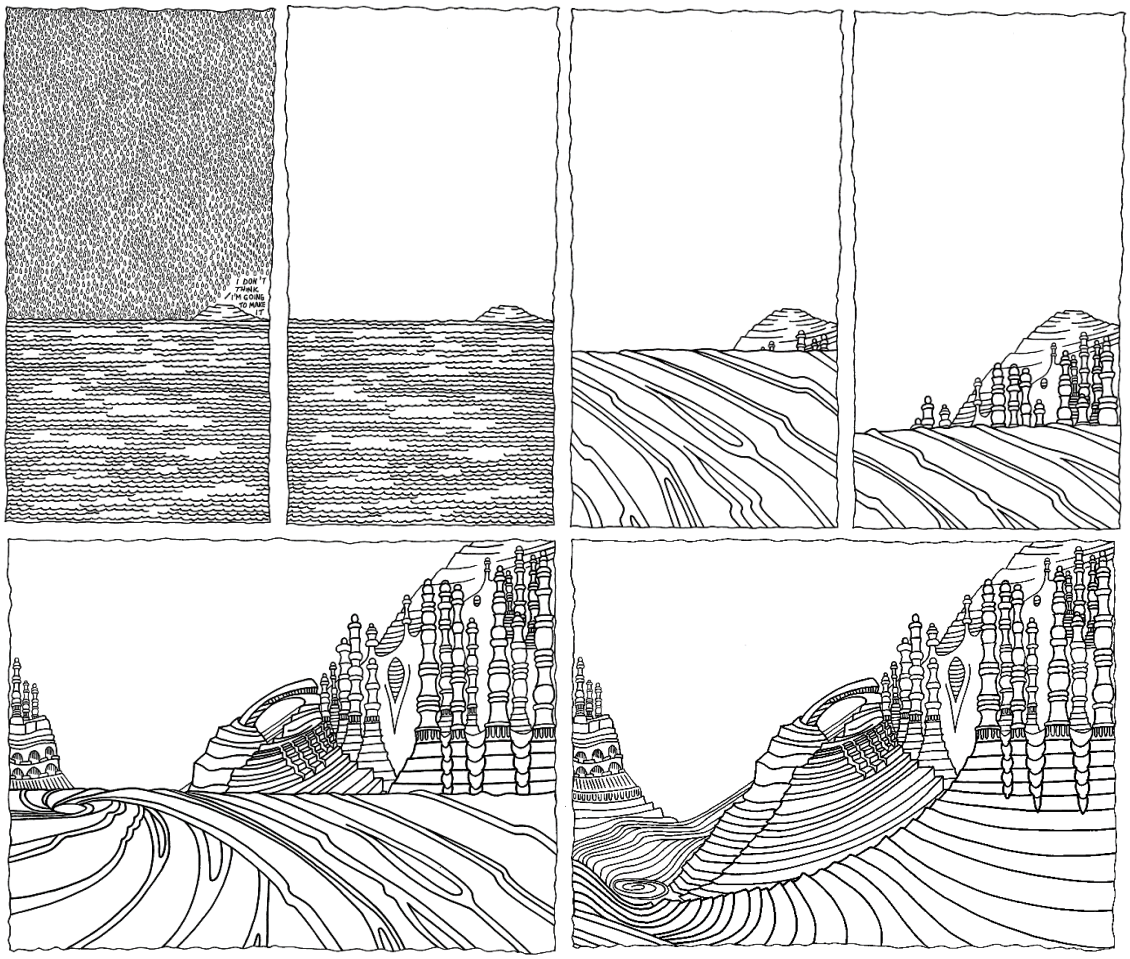


Figure 12. “I don’t think I’m going to make it”: Torrents, Floods, Recedes, Reveals

CHAPTER 5

SURVIVOR VOICE, LIMITATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND EVALUATIONS

The reason I invested such detail in both the literature review of CSE cultures and the systematic analysis was to frame the findings of the scope of CSE in the U.S. The information in this analysis does not indicate the need for a minor revision of current efforts, but the realization that current services only address a small percentage of the population experiencing CSE, specifically those involved for the shortest period of time, experiencing the lowest levels of distress. Creating a response only *begins* with acknowledging the existence of long-term survivors.

The implications of using a wider perspective affect all of the parameters currently used in movement. It expands all of the definitions used to provide services:

- In addition to pimp controlled CSE, CSE in the U.S. has included early childhood CSE, early childhood pornography, survival sex and LGBT youth, teen boys, homeless youth engaged in survival sex, and adults, including those whose exploitation is compounded by our nation's history of perpetrating CSE—Native and African American women—some for centuries, others for decades
- Victims are no longer only mid-adolescent girls, but also infants, toddlers, elementary age boys, girls, LGBT teens and youth, women, and men
- Programs lasting up to two-years are short-term, and do not sufficiently resolve the needs of this population

The acknowledgement of long-term survivors is more than an addendum to the anti-trafficking movement—it requires widening the scope of CSE, including entire

populations of victims currently being neglected, providing services for long-term survivors, and redefining the primary sources of knowledge that define care and restoration.

Limitations: Researcher

There were two limitations to working alone on this particular project. The first involves my standpoint as an outsider in the anti-trafficking movement. It would have been beneficial to receive regular feedback from long-term survivors who have been involved in the anti-trafficking movement over the past two decades. However, while I met people face-to-face and gained approval by gatekeepers, I did not have sufficient time to develop relationships that would support this level of time commitment.

The second limitation to working alone involves my standpoint as an insider who has personally experienced CSE. I could see and respond to data based on personal experience, however, that also means that I did not see issues that a non-survivor might have seen. Also, since I am not a psychologist, I could only conduct a surface assessment of issues survivors face. A deeper analysis requires working with a non-survivor researcher with a psychology background.

Limitations: New Field

In the first two decades of the current anti-trafficking movement, long-term survivors have remained invisible in research. Writing about an unrecognized population has been incredibly difficult, because they represent so many unrecognized facets of the anti-trafficking field. Many of their lived experiences of CSE represent unacknowledged cultures and none of their lived experiences in the decades after exiting have been documented in research. In a bibliography of over five hundred published sources, I

found only one dissertation (Doering 2012) and one report (Sidon 2014) that referred to long-term survivors by name.

I conducted regular searches throughout the writing process, hoping to find relevant sources. I would find an article about recovery, only to discover it defined recovery as the first eighteen months and only included the insights of service providers. Or I would realize that a book included survivors as one of the sources of information, only to discover that the majority of the quotes were from non-survivors working in the field. Even an article that began, "Lifelong Wellbeing . . ." made no distinction for years past exiting. In another example, an article with a title "CSE Adult Survivors" only collected data related to victimization, and survivor voice was limited to a re-telling of the circumstances of being a victim.

This is the context of this study and systematic analysis. Together, they offer an alternative to repeatedly collecting victim stories, but the true potential goes beyond that to survivors' insights about restoration. The movement will need to understand survivency if it is to respond to a larger population of CSE victims and survivors.

I felt the weight of responsibility for presenting long-term survivors as a unique population, distinct from other populations of survivors recognized in research. It still may not be enough to sway researchers who have invested more than a decade in research that has defined recovery as the first two years past exiting. However, it has already been sufficient to influence new researchers who are just beginning to conduct studies in the field, and for those open doors, I am deeply grateful.

I designed the immensity of scale for both this project and my previous art installation for the same reason: that the work would need to be proportional to the issue

in order to have any impact. In this case, the project needed to be proportional to the invisibility of long-term survivors. It needed to provide too much data to ignore, too much inconvertible evidence of existence to deny, and it needed to offer a viable alternative to the incessant collection of victim stories, since that was the stated purpose of several survivor-authors.

Recommendation: Due Diligence and Protection in Research

Reflexive, ethical research with survivors of CSE needs to be protective, humanizing, and empowering. However, after reading IRB protocols and research questions, I was not surprised at their reluctance to participate in yet "another interview." Austin Smith, a survivor-activist wrote, "News reporters can be incredibly rude, blunt, and unapologetically invasive. *So, how many times were you forced to have sex...How much money did you charge?*" (2014:93). The same year Austin Smith published, Pepperdine IRB and a committee from the Department of Education and Psychology approved a list of intrusive and insensitive questions identical to news reports, including: *What did your typical workday look like? What service did you provide and what types of clients do you see? How many clients did you see? How much did you charge?* (Alquitran Counts 2014:137). After reading Austin Smith's book and numerous IRB protocols, I came to the disturbing conclusion that research is more influenced by popular culture than ethical research considerations, to the detriment of survivors who participate.

Due diligence in research requires utilizing available resources, and this project has provided researchers with an entire body of work to refer to prior to conducting research. It has presented extensive demographic information on 43 survivor-authors, descriptions of their 76 writings, and references of anthologies and edited volumes that

contain an additional 178 shorter writings, book sections, or chapters by 136 survivor-authors. One of the key reasons that survivors recorded their victim stories was to prevent the trauma of telling it again. As Austin Smith stated:

> When I am interviewed by the media, I'm very often asked about the "johns" or buyers. . . . I finally answer those questions here only as a way to shed light on the characteristics of those men who buy children for sex, and I hope to never have to speak of it again (Austin Smith 2014:93).

Survivors have spent years writing their victim stories, sacrificially enduring the pain of revisiting trauma, offering researchers an alternate means to access that information.

Conducting an analysis of relevant survivor writings and first-hand accounts prior to embarking on a research not only respects the trauma survivors have already endured, but it also creates more nuanced, relevant findings. The only study that utilized first-hand accounts *prior to conducting interviews* was Doering's 2012 dissertation. To prepare questions for interviews, Doering conducted an "existing document analysis" of ten survivor autobiographies and interviews. The stated purpose of the analysis was to identify "recovery dimensions from survivors' perspectives," and the analysis resulted in "39 themes (later 48) condensed to 16 recovery dimensions to inform survey formation and later theoretical considerations" (2012:89).

This foundational knowledge base produced a noticeably more nuanced understanding of survivors' experiences of recovery, because the written accounts informed both the content and direction of the questions. Not only was there no need to ask intrusive questions about victim experiences, but the knowledgeable foundation built prior to meeting with survivors meant that interactions were focused and productive. Layered processes such as this honor the writings of long-term survivors.

Recommendation: From Dire Predictions to Survivency

It is also time to move beyond dire predictions about survivors' futures. Long-term survivors are neither "helpless victims" nor "inspirational superhumans." Research on CSE outcomes has been based on the wrong questions. The question is not, "What are the negative psychological outcomes of CSE?" because CSE experiences *deeply* impact survivors lives in a multitude of negative ways. This study has begun to answer some of the following questions—and they are worth researching in greater depth, with a wider, larger cross-section of long-term survivors:

- How have long-term survivors accommodated the complex impact of CSE?
    - What aspects of trauma have been the longest lasting?
    - What do they know that might help younger survivors?
    - What information might provide a smoother path? ("I wish I would have known _____ when I was younger—it took so long for me to figure that out on my own!")
- What does survivency look like in long-term survivors' journeys?
    - What strengthened their determination to build a new life?
    - What needs do they currently have, and what might support look like?
- How have they found resolution or experienced restoration?
    - What helped them find the courage to face the trauma of CSE?
    - What type of support was the most helpful?
- How have long-term survivors invested in creating a meaningful life?
    - What outcomes have they considered "meaningful"?
    - What additional support might have assisted in this process?

These questions are at the heart of the paradox in survivors' lives—that the source of their gifts of knowledge is also the source of their ongoing needs support.

Recommendation: Acknowledge Time Since Exiting

Acknowledging "time since exiting" honors and empowers survivors in their chronology towards restoration. In interviews, survivors themselves are already referring to the length of time they have been pursuing recovery. Regardless of the lack of official recognition, for these survivors, the passage of time was an accurate measure of how long each survivor had struggled to overcome, and how much they had learned. They clearly articulated the multiplicity of ways they had sought and found restoration. Honoring their tenacity and resourcefulness in the face of complex, intersecting issues, mandates utilization of their discoveries and documentation of the many paths of restoration available to survivors who walk behind us.

I suspect that, if enough long-term survivors participated in answering the above questions, there would be a multiplicity of answers and paths, but even that would be constructive, because it would provide a range of successful journeys rather than just one answer. Going back to the metaphor of the house, survivors may have similar rooms, but the way they go about cleaning them and the way they use the knowledge from those rooms will differ, depending on the temperament, learning style, and giftings of each survivor. Among survivor-authors, Barnes (2015) found healing through music; Stark used writing to process and communicate experiences (2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2016a, 2016b), Blac found freedom through painting (2012); Phelps found order in mathematics and law (2013). Each gifting became a personalized means of cleaning out rooms and discovering the powerful insights within them. Survivors' documentation

is vital because there are many ways to clear out debris. Means of restoration are not available to all equally (painting, music, math), some paths are useful for a time, and some paths that are healing for one person may feel destructive to another.

Long-term survivors have one body of information that no other population has: how to survive and move beyond a series of traumas so complex that many trained professionals offer little hope for wellness. The ongoing impact of CSE is real, and survivors face a multitude of challenges after exiting, but the only way to understand how to provide effective, long-term support is to identify long-term survivors as experts and to listen to their perspectives without expectation or judgment.

Recommendation: Ownership of Knowledge Production

Just as members of the disability rights movement insists on "Nothing About Us Without Us" (Charlton 2000), I believe that ethical research *about* long-term survivors mandates *full partnership with* survivors. Leadership that excludes survivors, regardless of intentions, weakens our collective potential, but shared leadership multiplies our effectiveness. As Hatcher et al. collectively state,

> …healing goes far beyond a clinical diagnosis of mental health conditions or substance use disorder. Healing is liberation from systems of oppression. Therefore, the movement to end sexual exploitation, sex abuse, and sex trafficking should support survivors in their journeys to become their own leaders, rather than hushing us back to be handmaids of our own movement. This movement was built by us, for us, and on our backs… yet we are not the ones driving it forward (2018:7).

Full collaboration is a dynamic and necessary part of any comprehensive understanding of survivors' experiences of oppression that are rooted in "unspeakable" experiences in an underground unimaginable to non-survivors. Only long-term survivors can lead the way in healing journeys because simple answers offered by non-survivors

are insufficient in the face of realities that do not span weeks or months, but decades. The APA Report made the necessary recommendations for support: “Promote policies that will provide access to lifelong health and mental health care to address the long-term and chronic health issues faced by survivors of trafficking” (Sidun 2014:67). The issues are clear, the problems are identified, and it is time to work through solutions.

In order to accomplish this, survivors, researchers, and survivor-researchers need to collaborate, to develop sensitive means of conducting research. The decision to honor survivors in research and knowledge production requires an honest analysis of the ways they are currently—inadvertently—excluded, sidelined, and marginalized. Survivor inclusion occurs on a continuum, and analysis is a process of discovering where work falls on that continuum, then determining to move future work further along the continuum—to increase survivor involvement.

In research, there are multiple levels of involvement and ways to include survivors. Since projects occur in stages, analysis of involvement looks at each stage. In research about trafficking:

- Were survivors involved in planning the research project?
- Were their opinions considered in the direction of the project?
- Were they consulted in creating research tools?
- Were survivor voices included with authority in publications?
- Were they included as short phrases, sentences, or complete thoughts?
- What percentage of quotes came from survivors?

In published reports about trafficking victims: Were victims’ voices included?

- Did quotes present victims in the best or worst light?

- Did quotes promote voyeurism or images of irreparable brokenness?

In research utilizing multiple sources, whose voices were included?

- Whose quotes were used most authoritatively?
- Were long-term survivors consulted regarding therapeutic recommendations?
- Were original founders of survivor-led service organizations consulted in recommendations about programming?

In edited volumes about trafficking, victims, survivors, or care:

1. Were survivors included in the planning stages of an edited volume?
    a. Were they consulted at the concept stage?
    b. Did they have voice and influence in planning the contents?
2. Were survivors included as authors?
    a. Were survivors assigned topics to fill in a gap in the volume?
    b. Were they invited to write on topics in their area of expertise?
3. Were chapters authored by non-survivors in areas of survivors' expertise?
    a. If so, were survivors invited to participate?
    b. Were survivors quoted in their areas of expertise?
4. To what extent were survivors included as sources of knowledge in research?
    a. Were they included as sources on peripheral issues?
    b. Were they quoted on significant points in their areas of expertise?
    c. In chapter reference lists, how many authors were survivors?

Recommendation: Ownership of Projects

The decision to utilize positions of influence to empower survivors begins prior to envisioning and designing, and planning projects. Empowerment involves a conscious

commitment to prioritize *survivors' visions* over projects that compete with survivors. Respect includes choosing not to compete with survivor-led efforts for limited resources. Projects designed and "owned" by non-survivors, that bring survivors in to fill pre-determined, pre-limited roles, are disingenuous. They sidestep survivors' knowledge during the design and development processes while give the appearance of being

Table 13. Participation Model for Evaluating Involvement

Non-Survivors' Role(s)	Participation Model		Survivors' Role(s)
determine agenda and action plan; choose survivor representatives	control	conform	attend as token representative; (aka "freak on the stage")
determine agenda and action plan; assign tasks (including fundraising)	charge	comply	carry out assigned tasks; (e.g. raise money with victim story)
seek survivors' opinions; determine agenda and action plan	constrain	confer	offer opinions without expectation of implementation
negotiate agenda/priorities with survivors; determine action plan	consult	cooperate	negotiate agenda/priorities; accept non-survivors' action plan
contribute strengths; partner equally in planning and execution of plan	collaborate	collaborate	contribute strengths; partner equally in planning and execution of plan
follow and learn from survivors; trust and appreciate expertise	cheer	coach	determine agenda and action plan; teach survivor-based analyses
provide funding/resources to support survivors and plan for success	care	coalesce	mobilize survivor collective; collaborate on agenda and action plan

Adapted from Herr and Anderson 2015:51

survivor led. At best, survivor involvement at later stages of projects ignores survivors' strengths; at worst, it further exploits them. Table 13 is an evaluation tool for determining the level of survivor involvement. It begins with "token" and "freak on the stage," covers who has voice in decision-making, what true collaboration looks like, and how to move towards survivor empowerment, where learning is reciprocal, and "support" means funding survivors' efforts instead of competing with them for limited funds.

Older long-term survivors differ from younger survivors in their attainment of professional status in their chosen careers and fields. They have mastered skills and earned degrees, and they are qualified sources of knowledge. Empowerment supports

survivors in their areas of strength and expertise and gives them voice at the table before the agenda is set. Empowerment makes deliberate, informed decisions about ownership: who creates knowledge; who has voice; who has authority to make decisions; who is respected enough to be given the seat at the head of the table.

Who has ownership of this project?

- Who was present before the agenda was set?
- Whose knowledge informed the vision and design of this project?
- Who was the expert on the project? Who directed it and made the final decisions?
- Who gained status and recognition? Who gained financially?
- Who worked in paid positions? Who worked as volunteers?

Empowerment communicates respect to a population exploited through the misuse of power and the ownership of one person by another. As the Hatcher et al. collective states: "We want to be treated as key stakeholders with vested interests in the outcomes of the movement" (Hatcher et al. 2018:5).

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APPENDIX A

TRANSFERRABLE SKILLS:

KING 2018 (EX-PIMP)

Transferrable Skills: Abilities, Traits, Talents, Behaviors Acquired through Past Experiences

Marketable Skills in Street Hustling:

- Relentlessly and competitively investing in and pursuing a goal
- Creating a work persona/identity (appearance, attitudes, behaviors, savvy)
- Identifying markets, targeting profitable locations, advertising, selling, and closing a deal
- Interacting, networking, and socializing with a wide range of people
- Reading non-verbal communication in body language and micro facial expressions
- Following intuition in negotiating agreements with difficult people

Transferrable Skills Described by Armand King, 2018

The Game of Pimps and Hustlers	***The Life*** of Pimp-Controlled Prostitutes
The Value of Transferrable Skills: skills used as "a means to make money for many valuable years"	prostitutes "do not believe that they can do or be anything else" and have "no hope inside of them of finding another occupation"
Communication: the "gift of communication is an essential talent that many hustlers have in all forms of street business"	learned skills: to "mingle, conversate, socialize"; "to read body movements and facial expressions….a matter of life and death"; "to get a sell"; or "to have a new person on their team" [NOTE: prostituted women required to recruit new people face prosecution as traffickers]
Branding: "In most of the different levels of street life people take on a nickname to describe who we are or trying to represent." pimps/hustlers prove/defend their identity/brand—one they have been developing since childhood; "you are your own brand" [NOTE: the "pimp" identity is a cultivated investment]	given the brand of the "organization" they work for; pimp's brand becomes prostitute's new identity [NOTE: branding is *created* and *implemented* by the pimp, *given* to prostituted women: the pimp *imposes* his identity/brand onto the "new person on their team"]
Marketing: branding through imagery used in online advertising	"internet ads posted not only by the trafficker but many if not most are produced by prostitute them self" [NOTE: prostituted women required to place ads face prosecution as traffickers]
Selling: "Identify a market in need of a service or goods. Charge a rate that the customer will pay and that you will profit from. Market and distribute that product and service." Pimps have a "sells gift."	"Without knowing they have been involved in and learning a key element of business. Sells." "This skill is valuable and everybody is not capable of succeeding at it."
Supply and Demand: "This is a skill that most hustlers gain in the streets….being a distributor of a product…" "In my time in the game I would cross this country visiting different cities with the intention of making a lot of money."	"Often times what leads to a person being considered trafficked is the movement of their body across county and state lines….traveling to that location is money motivated." [NOTE: prostituted women required to drive other women and girls over state lines face prosecution as traffickers]

The Game of Pimps and Hustlers	*The Life* of Pimp-Controlled Prostitutes
Risk Taking: "A scared person will never win in the business world." "…in your pursuit of wealth and positioning…you will have to test your limits and others limits." "Many of us that are in the street life are extreme risk takers." "…we operated with no fear and no worry…" with "relentless desire…" "The fearlessness of the risk for the potential reward is a strength." [NOTE: pimps can be fearless when prostituted women take all the risks and the pimps take all the financial rewards]	"A prostitute takes a life threatening risk every time they make money." "...the risk that people take in the game can cost their life literally. If not death, they are risking going to jail and prison." They "take risks that can cost them their life, their children's futures and going to prison." "The risks are many and may vary from being robbed, rapped [*sic*], going to jail, losing property…" [NOTE: compare the risks being taken by pimps with the risks being taken by prostituted women]
Tenacity: "Building a professional career is not a sprint it is a marathon." "You have to grind regardless of the immediate outcome…through the setbacks and obstacles."	"Tenacity is a trait that most survivors have. Regardless of going to jail, being robbed, beat, or just taking a loss survivors will start all over and grind again." [NOTE: what feeds this drive—personal choice, lack of options, or the pimp giving no alternative but compliance?]
Staying Hungry: "Not for food for the body but financial food for their wallet." "There is no dollar amount that is the ending point."	"A hustler will make a sell, steal, or sell their body and be ready to do it again and again and again."
Critical Thinking: "…taking a situation and looking at it in all angles and figure out what is really going on." "Every business deal, purchase, sell, new partners, and expansion must be critically thought about."	"…every time a prostitute went into a house or hotel room to make a sell critical thinking was implemented. The first thing they would do is analyze and recognize what the situation looked like…and then a decision was made that could cost their freedom or life." [NOTE: it is only the prostituted women who are facing life or death]
Focus and Discipline: "The same focus and discipline that was applied in the game will enable them to prosper in the business world period."	"In the sex industry their hustle was selling their body. People involved were putting their physical safety on the line."
Competitive Spirit: "You have to be twice as hungry to make up for lost times."	"…they have got to be more competitive than others…"

APPENDIX B

POLARIS:

CATEGORIES OF CULTURES

Category	Gender	Minor/Adult	Citizenship	Specifics
Escort Services 4651 (37%)	94% Female 5% Male	43% Minor 59% Adult	46% U.S. (2,139) 10% Foreign (465)	buyer's hotel room or residence; exploiter's hotel room
Illicit Massage 2949 (24%)	74% Female 2% Male	12% Minor 54% Adult	3% U.S. (88) 42% Foreign (1239)	massage and spa storefronts
Outdoor Solicitation 1643 (13%)	94% Female 4% Male	50% Minor 50% Adult	42% U.S. (690) 3% Foreign (49)	specific city blocks or corners; truck stops
Residential 1290 (10%)	94% Female 8% Male	48% Minor 64% Adult	33% U.S. (426) 24% Foreign (310)	organized brothels; private households; inter-familial
Bars, Strip Clubs 792 (6%)	95% Female 4% Male	35% Minor 70% Adult	31% U.S. (246) 37% Foreign (293)	commercial bars; strip clubs
Pornography 616 (5%)	80% Female 16% Male	61% Minor 42% Adult	36% U.S. (222) 13% Foreign (80)	residences; family members; intimate partners; pimps;
Personal Sexual Servitude 405 (3%)	87% Female 15% Male	30% Minor 74% Adult	39% U.S. (158) 36% Foreign (146)	sale by family; mail-order bride; survival sex for basic needs
Illicit Activities 76 (.6%)	42% Female 61% Male	27% Minor 74% Adult	22% U.S. (17) 56% Foreign (43)	forced participation selling drugs; sex in exchange for drugs
Remote Interactive 78 (.6%)	----- Female ----- Male	----- Minor ----- Adult	----- U.S. ----- Foreign	webcams; texts; chats; phone sex; no physical contact

APPENDIX C

GRAGG ET AL., CURTIS ET AL.,

AND DANK ET AL.

Category	Gragg et al. 2007 Upstate NY	Gragg et al. 2007 NYC	Curtis et al. 2008 NYC	Dank et al. 2015
Commission/ Funding Organization	NY State Office of Children and Family Services (OCFS)	NY State Office of Children and Family Services (OCFS)	National Institute of Justice (NIJ) of the U.S. Department of Justice	Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Programs
Commission Purpose	Prevalence of CSEC in New York	Prevalence of CSEC in New York	Prevalence of CSEC in New York	Characteristics and needs; interactions with service and legal organizations
Eligibility Age	Under 18 (CSEC)	Under 18 (CSEC)	"Juveniles 18 and under" Under 18 (CSEC); 18 (CSE)	15-17 (CSEC) 18-26 (CSE)
CSE Definition/ Inclusion	Sexual act exchanged for something of value; Sexual act recorded; Stripping; Loitering for prostitution	Sexual act exchanged for something of value; Sexual act recorded; Stripping; Loitering for prostitution	Sexual acts in exchange for money, drugs, food, or shelter	Survival sex
Additional Qualifiers	Service recipients July 15 - Sept 15 2006	Service recipients July 15 - Sept 15 2006	None	LGBTQ (94%) YMSM, YWSW (6%)
Source of Data	Child services, service providers and juvenile court	Child services, service providers and juvenile court	249 teens/youth	283 teens/youth
Data Collection Methods	Surveys; Interviews; Focus groups led by Westat research team	Surveys; Interviews Focus groups led by Westat research team	Respondent-Driven Sampling; Interviews by professor and 9 PhD/MA students	Respondent-Driven Sampling; Peer-led interviews
Age at First Experience of CSEC	50% 11 or younger 1% 12-13 years old 11% 14-15 years old 4% 16-17 years old 0% 18 or older	0% 11 or younger 19% 12-13 years old 43% 14-15 years old 12% 16-17 years old 0% 18 or older	2% 11 or younger 14% 12-13 years old 32% 14-15 years old 45% 16-17 years old 7% 18 or older	entry age ranged from 7-22 years old; average 17 years old
Recruiter(s)	58% Adult friend/acquaintance 28% Adult stranger 22% Minor friend/acquaintance 16% Adult family member 96% known to child or teen	24% Adult friend/acquaintance 75% Adult stranger 1% Minor friend/acquaintance 7% Adult family member 32% known to child or teen	47% Peer/friend 23% Customer	46% Friend (68% trans) 26% Customer 20% Self 6% Exploiter 4% Family

CSEC: Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (under 18 years old) LGBTQ: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Queer or Questioning
CSE: Commercial Sexual Exploitation (18 and older)
YMSM: Young (Heterosexual) Men who have Sex with Men; YWSW: Young (Heterosexual) Women who have Sex with Women
(only 17/283 were YMSM or YWSW—cis-gender, heterosexual youth who had sex with people of the same gender)

Category	Gragg et al. 2007 Upstate NY	Gragg et al. 2007 NYC	Curtis et al. 2008 NYC	Dank et al. 2015
Gender	77% Female 22% Male 2% GLBQ 0% Trans	85% Female 14% Male 6% GLBQ 1% Trans	48% Female 45% Male ----- GLBQ 8% Trans (20)	36% Female 47% Male 78% G (65) L (42) B (105) Q (9) 16% Trans (6) T-F (31) T-M (8)
Race	32% African American 10% Hispanic/Latino 47% White 7% Multi-Racial 0% Asian	67% African American 18% Hispanic/Latino 6% White 3% Multi-Racial 2% Asian	29% African American 23% Hispanic 23% White 22% Multi-Racial ----- Asian	37% African American 22% Hispanic/Latino 5% White 30% Multi-Racial ----- Asian
Age at Data Collection*	16% 11 or younger 13% 12-13 years old 35% 14-15 years old 36% 16-17 years old ----- 18-19 years old ----- 20-21 years old	----- 11 or younger 4% 12-13 years old 30% 14-15 years old 60% 16-17 years old ----- 18-19 years old ----- 20-21 years old	----- 11 or younger ----- 12-13 years old 6% 14-15 years old^ 28% 16-17 years old^ (24% 17) 59% 18-19 years old^ (51% 18) 2% 20-21 years old^	----- 11 or younger ----- 12-13 years old ----- 14-15 years old 6% 16-17 years old~ 44% 18-19 years old~ (33% 19) 49% 20-21 years old~ (32% 20)
Current Living Situation	79% Family/relatives 2% Foster or group home 8% Unrelated/friend ----- Shelter ----- Street ----- Own apartment	32% Family/relatives 25% Foster or group home 15% Unrelated/friend ----- Shelter ----- Street ----- Own apartment	21% Family/relatives 1% Foster or group home 30% Unrelated/friend 24% Shelter 38% Street 4% Own apartment	11% Family/relatives ----- Foster or group home 10% Unrelated/friend 48 % Shelter 10% Street 9% Own apartment
Independence	93% Exploiter	92% Exploiter	16% Exploiter	15% Exploited previously
Sex Acts Exchanged For	81% Money 17% Place to stay 15% Food/clothing 13% Drugs	82% Money 23% Place to stay 14% Food/clothing 3% Drugs	95% Money 8% Place to stay 2% Food 9% Drugs	95% Money 31% Place to stay 18% Food 11% clothing 15% Drugs
Location	52% Child's home 22% Exploiter's home 9% Hotel 4% Outside/car	7% Child's home 28% Exploiter's home 44% Hotel 51% Outside/car	3% Youth's apartment 51% Customer's home 55% Hotel/Motel 57% Outside/car	----- Child's home 64% Customer's home 57% Hotel 39% Outside/car

*Two research groups did not provide participants' ages at time of study; percentages were calculated using the ages of participants quoted in report
^Curtis et al. percentages based on 164 quotes from 101 participants, ages 14-20: 14=3;15=3; 16=4; 17=24; 18=52; 19=8; 20=2; age not indicated=5
~Dank et al. percentages based on 149 quotes from 97 participants, ages 16-22: 16=1; 17=4; 18=11; 19=32; 20=31; 21=17; 22=1

APPENDIX D

IRB MATERIALS:

SURVEYS

1 *Consulting Project* with 10+ Year Survivors of CSE

2 Background and Objectives

I am a professional artist and a second year Justice Studies PhD student Arizona State University. I am also a 36+ year survivor of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) in the United States. In the decades since I was sold, CSEC has been referred to by many names…child prostitution, child pornography, child sex work, juvenile prostitution, prostitution, pornography, sex trafficking, Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking (DMST) and Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE). Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE) is an umbrella term that includes a wide range of experiences. The term is inclusive of commercial-front brothels (stores, massage parlors, spas), escort services, forced marriages/mail-order brides, hustling, online/phone sex, personal sexual servitude, pimp-controlled prostitution, pornography, residential brothels (houses/apartments), sex tourism, sex work, strip clubs/dance clubs, and "survival sex." For this reason, consultants' backgrounds will vary.

In 2014, the American Psychological Association (APA) released their *Report of the Task Force on Trafficking of Women and Girls*. In it, they recognized that long-term survivors have extensive knowledge about healing, that we bring expertise to conversations in the anti-trafficking movement and that our voices are essential to finding solutions. The fact that our healing journeys span decades beyond CSE means that our perspective is substantively different from those who have recently exited CSE. Yet our strength, ability to overcome and decades of experience remain undocumented, and are, thus, conspicuously absent in research.

The purpose of this *Consulting Project* is to begin to document this expertise amassed in the years subsequent to involvement in CSE. The goal is to then disseminate the voices and narratives of 10+ year survivors. I refer to participating survivors as *consultants* because they are the only experts I can consult with to understand their personal, lived experiences.

Consulting will *only* occur with long-term survivors, who have attained 10+ years of distance (psychological and physical time and space) from their experiences in the commercial sex industry. In the decades after CSE, survivors establish themselves in careers. Many develop a public presence as survivors through media, web, books, speaking engagements, etc. Intended participants have decades of experience, expertise, knowledge, insight, and understanding about surviving and healing the aftereffects of CSE.

There is a lack of research focused on the distant futures of the people exiting CSE today. Over the course of the past eight years of research into CSE, the only research I have found that addresses the long-term outlook for survivors relates to mental health issues. That research often documents a bleak future, entirely void of the beauty evidenced in the healing process. This *Consulting Project* will begin to counter such deficit focused research by answering the following questions:

What perspective and understanding have 10+ year survivors gained through their experiences in the decades subsequent to exiting CSE?
What strength, resilience, resourcefulness, and creativity have they exhibited in their journeys of healing?
What recommendations can be made for providing more sensitive, effective and supportive assistance to survivors?

This undertaking is intended to assist younger survivors in their healing journeys, and offer a hopeful outlook for their lives. It will also provide anti-trafficking organizations, social workers, psychologists, counselors, rehabilitation counselors, medical personnel, churches, policy-makers, etc. with a deeper understanding of the long-term issues survivors face, and the ways in which they can offer sensitive, effective and on-going support.

American Psychological Association. (2014). *Report of the Task Force on Trafficking of Women and Girls.* Washington, DC: APA.

3 Data Use

The information provided will inform ongoing research and could potentially be disseminated through presentations, articles, book chapters, books or my Justice Studies dissertation.

4 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

I will not be targeting a population identified as a special population (minors, adults unable to consent, pregnant women, prisoners, Native Americans, or undocumented individuals).

However, while survivors of CSE are not considered a special population, they are a vulnerable population. Therefore, the criteria for inclusion in this *Consulting Project* will be that consultants are long-term survivors of CSE in the United States. For the *Consulting Project*, the term "long-term survivors" refers to self-identified survivors who have gained 10 or more years of distance (psychological and physical time and space) from their experiences in the commercial sex industry.

Multiple protections have been included in the design of the *Consulting Project*, in consideration of the potential vulnerability of consultants:

1. All consultants must be over 18.
2. The focus of the *Consulting Project* will be on the lives of survivors subsequent to involvement in CSE.
3. Questions do not address details of CSE trauma.
4. Questions in *Demographics* allow choice of response. Would you be willing to identify _____?
5. Open-ended questions about *Stories of Experiences* include a reminder that answers are optional. *Feel free to skip questions that are uncomfortable or not relevant to your life.*

5 Number of Participants

The total number of participants is unknown. The recruitment Listserv will contain 20-30 contacts, both individuals and survivor-led organizations. Some contacts have access to mailing lists that contain 60-100 survivors. The number of survivors interested in participating is unknown.

6 Recruitment Methods

Recruitment for the *Consulting Project* will include the following steps, conducted by Melanie Weaver:

1. A Listserv will be created through preliminary online research of self-identified 10+ year survivors who are already active in advocacy. Most have developed a public presence through work in anti-trafficking organizations, websites, books, speaking engagements, etc.
2. Melanie Weaver will send the initial *Recruitment Email*, with the Qualtrics link.
3. The *Letter of Informed Consent* will be included as an attachment.
4. Consultants will be asked to forward the email and attachment to other survivors.
5. Thus, recruitment will utilize a snowball sampling method.

7 Procedures Involved

The *Consulting Project* utilizes qualitative research methods. Narrative Analysis seeks to elicit stories of experiences. Phenomenological Research seeks to understand the meaning of survivors' experiences through evaluating the narrative descriptions provided by survivors. Grounded Theory analyzes and codes narratives, to identify themes and develop theories. The content of 10+ year survivors' narratives will determine the future direction of the project.

The *Consulting Project* will include the following steps, conducted by Melanie Weaver:

1. *Demographics* requests information to document the range of CSE experiences represented.
2. *Stories of Experiences* is a list of questions about experiences after CSE.
3. Each consultant will determine the length of time spent on the survey by how many stories they tell.
4. At the end of the survey, participants have an opportunity to provide their email address for future research projects.
5. The survey will close three months after the dispatch of the recruitment emails.

8 Compensation or Credit

Unfortunately, there is no compensation for participation at this time. However, I will be applying for funding from GPSA, which may provide a $25 gift card to consultants.

9 Risk to Consultants

None of the questions will ask for details about the trauma of CSE. However, there are always risks of discomfort. Consultants will be advised that if any topic causes discomfort, they may feel free to skip those topics.

The *Letter of Informed Consent* includes the numbers of two free hotlines for survivors of CSE:
National Human Trafficking Resource Center (1-888-373-7888)
Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking (1-888-539-2373)

10 Potential Benefits to Consultants

There are no guaranteed benefits for consultants. However, consultants may find that taking the time to reflect on their personal expertise, strengths and ability to overcome provides its own benefit.

11 Privacy and Confidentiality

- All information provided by consultants will be kept confidential.
- Identifying information will not be used in conversations about the project.
- Prior to publication, access to information provided by survivors will be limited to people directly involved in the project (e.g. Dr. Elizabeth Blue Swadener and Melanie Weaver).
- Researchers will sign the *ASU Confidentiality Statement*.
- Data will be stored in a password-protected computer that uses a secure wireless connection.
- All identifying information (specific names, places, events, etc.) will be removed prior to publication, unless otherwise specified by the consultant. Asking survivors to refrain from mentioning specific names and places could be perceived as shaming. Requiring survivors to filter their stories as they write is counter-productive to the goal of respecting survivors' lived experiences and perspective. Therefore, I will take full responsibility for removing identifying information from data provided by survivors. If it is not possible to remove identifying information, I will exclude that data from publication.
- At the end of the survey, survivors are given the opportunity to provide email address/contact information, for involvement in future studies. If survivors provide this information, it will be removed from the data and stored separately from the data.

12 Consent Process

Consultants will only be able to enter the survey after they have indicated that all of the following are true:

- ☐ I am a survivor of Commercial Sexual Exploitation.
- ☐ I am older than 18 years old.
- ☐ I am currently living in the United States.
- ☐ A minimum of 10 years has passed since my involvement in CSE.
- ☐ I have read, understood and had the opportunity to print or obtain a copy of the *Letter of Informed Consent*
- ☐ I choose, of my own free will, to participate in the *Consulting Project*

13 Training

06/01/2015 Melanie Weaver IRB-Social and Behavioral Research (Group 2) Stage 1 basic course; CITI Conflicts of Interest, Stage 1

Consulting Project Letter of Informed Consent

Dear Survivor,
My name is Melanie Weaver. I am an artist and fourth year student in the Justice Studies PhD program at Arizona State University. I am also a 38+ year survivor of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) in the United States, and I understand the strength it takes to survive. I understand the coping mechanisms that allowed us to survive. I have lived with disabling conditions that stem from trauma. I have walked the process of healing, and I believe that 10+ year survivors' voices are vital for gaining insight into the years *after* the trauma of CSE.

My role as a researcher is to serve the community of survivors. As a survivor, I recognize that our experiences are varied. I refer to participating survivors as *consultants* because you are the only people I can consult with in order to understand your personal experiences. Unfortunately, I am not able to pay you for your time, and I cannot guarantee that you will experience any benefits to being involved in this project. However, participation may give you time to reflect on your expertise, strengths and ability to overcome as a survivor. I look forward to reading your stories and learning from you, if you choose to participate.

The choice to be involved is up to you. You can decide how much time you spend on this survey by the number of stories you tell. The minimum amount of time required to complete the survey is around 20 minutes. However, if your decades of surviving have provided you with countless stories to tell (as mine have), you are welcome to turn this survey into a journal project. I have provided the questions in the email that contained the Qualtrics survey link, so that you can spend as much time writing as you like, prior to entering the online survey. I will be grateful for whatever amount of time you are able to invest.

The community of survivors in the United States is a diverse group of people. The first questions in the survey are demographic questions, to identify the range of CSE experiences represented by consultants. The next questions are about your experiences in the years *after* CSE: There are no right or wrong answers, just honest ones. You may interpret the questions any way that makes sense to you. Your stories may be about experiences that felt positive or negative. You may skip questions that feel uncomfortable, or that do not relate to your life.

None of the questions ask you to share about the trauma of trafficking experiences. However, there are always risks of discomfort. If any topics cause discomfort, please feel free to skip those questions. If you feel a need to talk to someone, there are two free hotlines: National Human Trafficking Resource Center (1-888-373-7888) and Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking (1-888-539-2373).

At the end of the survey, you will be given the opportunity to provide an email address and/or contact information for future studies. Your email address and/or contact

information will be stored separately from, and will not be linked to, your demographic information and the stories that you provide. I will keep all of the information you provide confidential. I will not use information that might identify you (specific names, places, events). Only the people who are directly involved in this project will have access to the information you provide. I hope to publish the results of this project in articles, book chapters, books or my dissertation.

If you have any questions regarding this project, please feel free to contact me at CSE.SurvivorResearch@gmail.com. My supervisor in the School of Social Transformation is Dr. Elizabeth Blue Swadener, (480) 965-1452 or Beth.Swadener@asu.edu. The *Social Behavioral IRB* at ASU has reviewed and approved the *Consulting Project*. If you cannot reach me, if you have questions, concerns, or complaints that I have not adequately addressed, or if you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the *Social Behavioral IRB* at (480) 965-6788 or research.integrity@asu.edu.

Thank you so much for your time!
Melanie Weaver, MFA
CSE.SurvivorResearch@gmail.com

Dr. Elizabeth Blue Swadener
(480) 965-1452
Beth.Swadener@asu.edu.
Justice Studies PhD Program
School of Social Transformation

Arizona State University
Recruitment Email with Qualtrics Survey Link

My name is Melanie Weaver. I am a professional artist and a fifth-year student in the Justice Studies PhD program at Arizona State University. I am also a 38+ year survivor of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) in the United States.

I am pursuing this project because I believe that the voices of 10+ year survivors need to be included in research about survivors of CSE. In 2014, the American Psychological Association (APA) released their *Report of the Task Force on Trafficking of Women and Girls*. In it, they recognized that survivors have extensive knowledge about healing, that we bring expertise to conversations in the anti-trafficking movement, and that our voices are essential to finding solutions. Yet our decades of experience are under-represented in research.

The main objective of the *Consulting Project* is to collect and learn from the stories of 10+ year survivors. The focus of the project is your personal experiences in the years *after* involvement in CSE. None of the questions focus on the traumatic experiences of CSE.

You can decide how much time you spend on this survey by the number of stories you tell. The minimum amount of time required to complete the survey is around 20 minutes. However, if your decades of surviving have provided you with countless stories to tell (as mine have), you are welcome to turn this survey into a journal project. I have provided the questions below, so that you can spend as much time writing as you like, prior to entering the online survey. I will be grateful for whatever amount of time you are able to invest.

In the years *after* CSE:
1. What has your experience been like, as a survivor of CSE in the United States?
2. What do you wish people understood about survivors?
3. What do you wish people understood about you, as a survivor?
4. What experiences have you had in telling your story?
5. What experiences after CSE have made your life feel more difficult?
6. What experiences after CSE have made your life feel easier to handle?
7. What other experiences have you had as a survivor of CSE?

There are no right or wrong answers, just honest ones. You may interpret the questions any way that makes sense to you. Your stories may be about experiences that felt positive or negative. You may skip questions that feel uncomfortable, or that do not relate to your life.

To participate, you may enter the survey using this survey link:
https://asu.co1.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_eVfoj000YNXGvzL

The link is anonymous. It cannot track any identifying information. All information you provide will be kept confidential. All personal identifying information in your responses

(e.g. names, locations, agencies) will be removed prior to use in any reports or publications.

If you have any questions about this project, please feel free to contact me at CSE.SurvivorResearch@gmail.com. I have attached a copy of the Letter of Informed Consent, so you are able to print a copy.

Even if you choose not to participate at this time, would you please consider forwarding this email to other 10+ year survivors of CSE in the United States who might be interested in participating?

Thank you!
Melanie Weaver, MFA
CSE.SurvivorResearch@gmail.com

Dr. Elizabeth Blue Swadener
(480) 965-1452
Beth.Swadener@asu.edu.
Justice Studies PhD Program
School of Social Transformation
Arizona State University

EXEMPTION GRANTED

Elizabeth Swadener
Social Transformation, School of (SST)
480/965-1452
Beth.Swadener@asu.edu
Dear Elizabeth Swadener:
On 3/14/2016 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Consulting Project with 10+ Year Survivors of CSE
Investigator:	Elizabeth Swadener
IRB ID:	STUDY00003934
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• Consulting Project Demographics.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Consulting Project Protocol.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; • Consulting Project Letter of Informed Consent.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • Consulting Project ASU Confidentiality Statement.pdf, Category: Other (to reflect anything not captured above); • Consulting Project Recruitment Letter.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Consulting Project Stories of Experiences.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions);

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 3/14/2016.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Melanie Weaver
Melanie Weaver

APPENDIX E

IRB MATERIALS:

INTERVIEWS

1 ***Consulting Project Interviews***

2 **Background and Objectives**

I am a professional artist and a second year Justice Studies PhD student Arizona State University. I am also a 36+ year survivor of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) in the United States. In the decades since I was sold, CSEC has been referred to by many names…child prostitution, child pornography, child sex work, juvenile prostitution, prostitution, pornography, sex trafficking, Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking (DMST) and Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE). Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE) is an umbrella term that includes a wide range of experiences. The term is inclusive of commercial-front brothels (stores, massage parlors, spas), escort services, forced marriages/mail-order brides, hustling, online/phone sex, personal sexual servitude, pimp-controlled prostitution, pornography, residential brothels (houses/apartments), sex tourism, sex work, strip clubs/dance clubs, and "survival sex." For this reason, participants' backgrounds will vary.

In 2014, the American Psychological Association (APA) released their *Report of the Task Force on Trafficking of Women and Girls*. In it, they recognized that long-term survivors have extensive knowledge about healing, that we bring expertise to conversations in the anti-trafficking movement and that our voices are essential to finding solutions. The fact that our healing journeys span decades beyond CSE means that our perspective is substantively different from those who have recently exited CSE. Yet our strength, ability to overcome and decades of experience remain undocumented, and are, thus, conspicuously absent in research.

Interviews will *only* occur with long-term survivors, who have attained 10+ years of distance (psychological and physical time and space) from their experiences in the commercial sex industry. Intended participants (mostly women) have established careers as writers, professors, social workers, scientists, teachers, politicians, etc. Many have also developed a public presence as survivors through media, web, books, speaking engagements, etc. They are older survivors (in their thirties, forties, fifties and sixties) who have gained decades of experience, expertise, knowledge, insight, and understanding about surviving and healing the aftereffects of CSE.

The purpose of these interviews is to address the following questions:

What perspective and understanding have 10+ year survivors gained through their experiences in the decades subsequent to exiting CSE?
What strength, resilience, resourcefulness and creativity have they exhibited in their journeys of healing?
What recommendations can be made for providing more sensitive, effective and supportive assistance to survivors?

This undertaking will provide anti-trafficking organizations, social workers, psychologists, counselors, rehabilitation counselors, medical personnel, churches, policy-makers, etc. with a deeper understanding of the issues survivors face, and the ways in which they can offer sensitive, effective and on-going support.

American Psychological Association. (2014). *Report of the Task Force on Trafficking of Women and Girls*. Washington, DC: APA.

3 **Data Use**

The information provided will inform ongoing research and could potentially be disseminated through presentations, articles, book chapters, books or my Justice Studies dissertation.

4 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

I will not be targeting a population identified as a special population (minors, adults unable to consent, pregnant women, prisoners, Native Americans, or undocumented individuals).

However, while survivors of CSE are not considered a special population, they are a vulnerable population. Therefore, the criteria for inclusion in these interviews will be that participants are long-term survivors of CSE in the United States. For the sake of these interviews, the term "long-term survivors" refers to self-identified survivors who have gained 10 or more years of distance (psychological and physical time and space) from their experiences in the commercial sex industry.

Multiple protections have been included in the design these interviews, in consideration of the potential vulnerability of participants:

1. All participants must be over 18.
2. The focus of the interviews will be on research *subsequent to* involvement in CSE.
3. Questions will not address details of CSE trauma.
4. Research discussions will draw on the expertise and strengths of survivors.

5 Number of Participants

I hope to interview 8 or more survivors.

6 Recruitment Methods

Recruitment for these interviews will include the following steps, conducted by Melanie Weaver:

1. Recruitment will utilize a snowball sampling method.
2. I will interview 10+ year survivors on staff at Dignity House, Phoenix.
3. I will ask these staff members to contact other 10+ year survivors they know, who might be interested in participating.
4. I will send these contacts the initial *Recruitment Email*, with the *Letter of Informed Consent* attached.
5. The survivor will determine the meeting time and place. The Dignity House offices in Phoenix are one possible meeting place.

7 Procedures Involved

The interviews will include the following steps, conducted by Melanie Weaver:

1. Initial interviews will last for one hour.
2. I will begin by giving the participant a copy of the Letter of Informed Consent.
3. Initial interview questions will focus on experiences *after* CSE.
4. I will end by asking *Demographics* information, to document the range of CSE experiences represented in the sample.
5. If the participant agrees, one-hour follow-up interviews may be scheduled.
6. Follow-up interview questions will be specific to issues raised by each participant.
7. Participants may choose to schedule additional follow-up interviews, until a saturation point in data is reached.

8 Compensation or Credit

Unfortunately, there is no compensation for participation at this time.

9 Risk to Participants

None of the conversations will focus on details about the trauma of CSE. However, there are always risks of discomfort.

The *Letter of Informed Consent* includes the numbers of two free hotlines for survivors of CSE:

National Human Trafficking Resource Center (1-888-373-7888)
Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking (1-888-539-2373)

10 Potential Benefits to Participants

There are no guaranteed benefits for participants. However, participants may find that taking the time to provide feedback for research projects contributes to their personal process of meaning making.

11 Privacy and Confidentiality

- All information provided by participants will be kept confidential.
- Prior to publication, access to information provided will be limited to people directly involved in the project (e.g. Dr. Elizabeth Blue Swadener, Melanie Weaver).
- Data will be stored in a password-protected computer that uses a secure wireless connection.
- All identifying information (specific names, places, events, etc.) will be removed prior to publication. Asking survivors to refrain from mentioning specific names and places could be perceived as shaming. Requiring survivors to filter their stories as they write is counter-productive to the goal of respecting survivors' lived experiences and perspective. Therefore, I will take full responsibility for removing identifying information from data provided by survivors. If it is not possible to remove identifying information, I will exclude that data from publication.
- Each participant will be assigned a set of initials that are unrelated to their names. The study initials will be used to link information from initial and follow up interviews.
- The list of participants' names and study initials will be kept in a locked box, separate from the information provided during the interviews.

12 Consent Process

Participants will indicate that all of the following are true:

- ☐ I am a survivor of Commercial Sexual Exploitation.
- ☐ I am older than 18 years old.
- ☐ I am currently living in the United States.
- ☐ A minimum of 10 years has passed since involvement in CSE.
- ☐ I have read, understood and had the opportunity to print or obtain a copy of the *Letter of Informed Consent*
- ☐ I choose, of my own free will, to participate in this interview process

13 Training

06/01/2015 Melanie Weaver IRB-Social and Behavioral Research (Group 2) Stage 1 basic course; CITI Conflicts of Interest, Stage 1

Recruitment Letter for Interview

Dear Survivor,

My name is Melanie Weaver. I am an artist activist and fourth year PhD student in Justice Studies, at Arizona State University. I am also a 38+ year survivor of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) in the United States. In the decades since I was sold, CSEC has been referred to by many names…child prostitution, child pornography, juvenile prostitution, survival sex, Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking (DMST), hustling, prostitution, pornography, sex trafficking, and Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE). Regardless of the name used, the commercial sex industry promotes the sale of human beings as sex objects and surviving is an accomplishment.

I am looking for 10+ year survivors of CSE to interview, because I believe that our voices need to be included in research. In 2014, the American Psychological Association (APA) released their *Report of the Task Force on Trafficking of Women and Girls*. In it, they recognized that we have extensive knowledge about healing, that we bring expertise to conversations in the anti-trafficking movement and that our voices are essential to finding solutions. Yet this strength, ability to overcome and decades of experience are under-represented in research.

The 1-hour interview focuses on your personal experiences in the years *after* involvement in CSE. The questions do not address the traumatic experiences of CSE. There is an option of participating in 1-hour follow-up interviews as well.

I hope to publish the results of this project in articles, book chapters, books or my Justice Studies dissertation. You have the freedom to choose whether or not you want to remain anonymous. If you choose to remain anonymous, I will keep all of the information you provide confidential and anonymous. (I will remove all information that might identify you (specific names, places, events and link any follow-up information by a set of initials that are unrelated to your name).

Please feel free to direct any questions you might have about this research to CSE.SurvivorResearch@gmail.com.

Thank you!
Melanie Weaver, MFA
CSE.SurvivorResearch@gmail.com

Dr. Elizabeth Blue Swadener
(480) 965-1452
Beth.Swadener@asu.edu.

Justice Studies PhD Program
School of Social Transformation
Arizona State University

Interview Letter of Informed Consent

Dear Survivor,
My name is Melanie Weaver. I am an artist activist and fourth year Justice Studies PhD student at Arizona State University. I am also a 38+ year survivor of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) in the United States, and I understand the strength it takes to survive. I understand the coping mechanisms that allowed us to survive. I have lived with disabling conditions that stem from trauma. I have walked the process of healing.

My role as a researcher is to serve the community of survivors. I believe that 10+ year survivors' voices are vital for gaining insight into the years *after* the trauma of CSE. I believe that your stories can help promote understanding and provide long-term vision in the anti-trafficking movement. Since CSE crosses all ages, races, ethnicities, sexes and genders, this project welcomes survivors sold at all ages, from any race or ethnicity and of any gender or sexual identity.

Unfortunately, I am not able to pay you for your time, and I cannot guarantee that you will experience any benefits to being involved in this project. However, participation may give you time to reflect on your expertise, strengths and ability to overcome as a survivor.

The choice to be involved is up to you. The interview will last one hour. I have provided the questions below, and I will be grateful for any information you feel comfortable providing. There are no right or wrong answers, just honest ones. You may interpret the questions any way that makes sense to you. Your stories may be about experiences that felt positive or negative.

1. What has your experience been like, as a survivor of CSE in the United States?
2. What do you wish people understood about survivors?
3. What do you wish people understood about you, as a survivor?
4. What experiences have you had in telling your story?
5. What experiences after CSE have made your life feel more difficult?
6. What experiences after CSE have been helpful?
7. What other experiences have you had as a survivor of CSE?

Since the community of survivors in the United States is a diverse group of people, there will also be a few demographic questions at the end of the interview. If you find that there is more information you would like to share, there is an option of participating in additional 1-hour follow-up interviews as well. There is no obligation to continue with follow-up interviews. It is simply an option available in case you find you have more experiences that you would like to share.

None of the questions ask you to share about the trauma of trafficking experiences. However, there are always risks of discomfort. If you feel a need to talk to someone,

there are two free hotlines: National Human Trafficking Resource Center (1-888-373-7888) and Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking (1-888-539-2373).

I hope to publish the results of this project in articles, book chapters, books or my Justice Studies dissertation. You have the freedom to choose whether or not you want to remain anonymous. If you choose to remain anonymous, I will keep all of the information you provide confidential and anonymous. (I will remove all information that might identify you (specific names, places, events and link any follow-up information by a set of initials that are unrelated to your name). If you choose to have your name included with the information you provide, please include your signature at the end of this *Letter of Consent*.

If you have any questions regarding this project, please feel free to contact me at CSE.SurvivorResearch@gmail.com. My supervisor in the School of Social Transformation is Dr. Elizabeth Blue Swadener, (480) 965-1452 or Beth.Swadener@asu.edu. The *Social Behavioral IRB* at ASU has reviewed and approved these interviews. If you cannot reach me, if you have questions, concerns, or complaints that I have not adequately addressed, or if you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the *Social Behavioral IRB* at (480) 965-6788 or research.integrity@asu.edu.

Thank you so much for your time!
Melanie Weaver, MFA
CSE.SurvivorResearch@gmail.com

Dr. Elizabeth Blue Swadener
(480) 965-1452
Beth.Swadener@asu.edu.

Justice Studies PhD Program
School of Social Transformation
Arizona State University

Prior to involvement in this project, please indicate that all of the following are true:

- ☐ I am a survivor of Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE),
  For the purpose of this study, CSE is defined as
  sexual acts performed in exchange for something of value.
- ☐ I am over the age of 18
- ☐ I currently reside in the United States
- ☐ A minimum of 10 years has passed since my involvement in CSE
- ☐ I have read, understood and had the opportunity to print or obtain a copy of the *Letter of Informed Consent*
- ☐ I choose, of my own free will, to participate in this interview process

My signature below indicates that I am choosing to have my name included with any information I provide.

_____
Printed Name

_____ _____
Signature Date

Consulting Project One-hour Interview Questions

The following questions are about your experiences as a survivor, in the years after involvement in the commercial sex industry:
What has your experience been like, as a survivor in the United States?
What do you wish people understood about survivors?
What do you wish people understood about you, as a survivor?
What experiences have you had in telling your story?
What experiences after leaving have made your life feel more difficult?
What experiences after leaving have been helpful?
What other experiences have you had as a survivor?

Consulting Project Clarification Questions

Clarification questions will be specific to each participant, to clarify or expand on points made during the interview:
You mentioned _____. Can you tell me more about that?
You said that _____. Would you explain that further?
Can you think of any specific examples?
One of the experiences you described was _____. Can you explain more about that situation?

Consulting Project Demographic Questions

CSE is not a new phenomenon. Long-term survivors exist. Our voices are important. We have survived for decades, and we have vital information about coping, recovering, healing, and living. We offer a perspective that younger survivors do not have. We have understanding that people in helping professions need to know, in order to help younger survivors. Survivors in the United States are diverse in both trauma experiences and healing processes. The following demographic questions have been included to help identify the range of CSE experiences represented.

The community of survivors includes people of all ages. What is your current age? _____

How many years of expertise do you have as a survivor? That is, how much time has passed since your last experience of CSE? _____

What work/job/career experience have you gained in the years *after* CSE?
_____

What was your mother's highest level of education?
_____

The commercial sex industry uses children, teens and adults of all genders, racial backgrounds and ages,
for varying lengths of time. Would you be willing to identify: your gender? (e.g. male, female, transgender, transsexual…) _____

Your race/ethnicity? _____

Your age(s) during involvement in CSE? _____

The length of time you were in the commercial sex industry?
_____

People who orchestrate involvement in the commercial sex industry range from close relatives to absolute
strangers. Would you be willing to identify the people involved in your experiences?

- acquaintance
- gang member
- neighbor
- older friend
- parent
- peer (similar age) friend
- relative
- sibling

stranger
other_____ other_____

CSE includes a wide range of experiences. Which of the following best describe your experience?

commercial-front brothels (stores, massage parlors, spas)
escort service
forced marriage/mail-order bride
hustling
online/phone sex
personal sexual slavery
pimp-controlled prostitution
pornography
residential brothel (house/apartment)
sex tourism
sex work
strip clubs/dance clubs/bars
“survival sex”
other_____ other_____

Possible Follow-Up Interview Questions

Additional questions will be based on survivor's answers in the first interview:

- Stories from experiences in the anti-trafficking movement:
  - What experiences have you had with anti-trafficking organizations?
  - What experiences have you had at conferences?
  - What experiences have you had with researchers?
  - What experiences have you had with churches involved in the movement?
  - What contributions do non-survivors bring to the movement?
  - What contributions do survivors bring to the movement?
  - What other experiences have you had in the anti-trafficking movement?
- Stories from experiences in the community of survivors:
  - What experiences have you had because you identify as a survivor?
  - What experiences have you had with support within the community of survivors?
  - What benefits have you found in being involved in the community?
  - What drawbacks have you experienced in being involved?
  - What other experiences have you had in the community of survivors?
- Stories from experiences with health care providers:
  - What experiences have you had with medical personnel?
  - What experiences have you had with social workers?
  - What experiences have you had with psychologists or counselors?
  - What experiences have you had with rehabilitation counselors?
  - What experiences have you had with other health care providers?
  - What other experiences have you had with health providers?
- Stories from experiences with different types of healing:
  - What experiences have you had with creative expression (writing, art, music, dance, theatre/drama, etc.)?
  - What experiences have you had with physical activity (walking, running, yoga, etc.)?
  - What experiences have you had with spiritual expression (meditation, prayer, spiritual writings, etc.)?
  - What experiences have you had with gaining information about trafficking, survivor stories, mental health issues, disabilities, etc.?
  - What experiences have you had in interaction with animals (dogs, cats, horses, etc.)
  - What other experiences have you had with different types of healing?

- Stories from experiences with health issues:
  - What experiences have you had in dealing with physical health issues?
  - What experiences have you had in dealing with mental health issues?
  - What are your experiences with visible and invisible disabilities?
  - What other experiences have you had with different types of healing?
- Stories from experiences with long-term support:
  - What types of support systems have you experienced?
  - What on-going support systems might be helpful? What might long-term support systems look like?
  - Is it possible to develop long-term support systems that are sustainable?
  - What support systems might be helpful as survivors reach retirement age?

APPROVAL: EXPEDITED REVIEW

Elizabeth Swadener
Social Transformation, School of (SST)
480/965-1452
Beth.Swadener@asu.edu
Dear Elizabeth Swadener:
On 6/20/2016 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Consulting Project Interviews
Investigator:	Elizabeth Swadener
IRB ID:	STUDY00004414
Category of review:	(7)(b) Social science methods, (7)(a) Behavioral research
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• Initial Interview Questions, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Letter of Informed Consent.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • Follow Up Interview Questions, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Interview Recruitment Letter.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Consulting Project Interviews Protocol.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; • Demographics, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions);

The IRB approved the protocol from 6/20/2016 to 6/19/2017 inclusive. Three weeks before 6/19/2017 you are to submit a completed Continuing Review application and required attachments to request continuing approval or closure.

If continuing review approval is not granted before the expiration date of 6/19/2017 approval of this protocol expires on that date. When consent is appropriate, you must use final, watermarked versions available under the "Documents" tab in ERA-IRB.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Melanie Weaver

APPROVAL: CONTINUATION

Elizabeth Swadener
Social Transformation, School of (SST)
480/965-1452
Beth.Swadener@asu.edu
Dear Elizabeth Swadener:
On 6/28/2017 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Continuing Review
Title:	Consulting Project Interviews
Investigator:	Elizabeth Swadener
IRB ID:	STUDY00004414
Category of review:	(7)(b) Social science methods, (7)(a) Behavioral research
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• Interview Recruitment Letter.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Letter of Informed Consent.pdf, Category: Consent Form;

The IRB approved the protocol from 6/28/2017 to 6/18/2018 inclusive. Three weeks before 6/18/2018 you are to submit a completed Continuing Review application and required attachments to request continuing approval or closure.

If continuing review approval is not granted before the expiration date of 6/18/2018 approval of this protocol expires on that date. When consent is appropriate, you must use final, watermarked versions available under the "Documents" tab in ERA-IRB.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Melanie Weaver

APPROVAL: CONTINUATION

Elizabeth Swadener
Social Transformation, School of (SST)
480/965-1452
Beth.Swadener@asu.edu

Dear Elizabeth Swadener:

On 6/19/2018 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Modification and Continuing Review
Title:	Consulting Project Interviews
Investigator:	Elizabeth Swadener
IRB ID:	STUDY00004414
Category of review:	(7)(b) Social science methods, (7)(a) Behavioral research
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• Initial Interview Questions, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Follow Up Interview Questions, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Modifications Highlighted_Consulting Project Interviews Protocol, Category: IRB Protocol; • Demographics, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Modifications Highlighted_Recruitment Letter, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Modifications Highlighted_Letter of Informed Consent, Category: Consent Form;

The IRB approved the protocol from 6/19/2018 to 6/17/2019 inclusive. Three weeks before 6/17/2019 you are to submit a completed Continuing Review application and required attachments to request continuing approval or closure.

If continuing review approval is not granted before the expiration date of 6/17/2019 approval of this protocol expires on that date. When consent is appropriate, you must use final, watermarked versions available under the "Documents" tab in ERA-IRB.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator
cc: Melanie Weaver

CLOSURE

Elizabeth Swadener
CLAS-SS: Social Transformation, School of (SST)
480/965-1452
Beth.Swadener@asu.edu

Dear Elizabeth Swadener:

On 8/13/2019 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Continuing Review
Title:	Consulting Project Interviews
Investigator:	Elizabeth Swadener
IRB ID:	CR00005327
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None

The IRB acknowledges your request for closure of the protocol effective 8/13/2019. As part of this action:

- The protocol is permanently closed to enrollment.
- All subjects have completed all protocol-related interventions.
- Collection of private identifiable information is completed.
- Analysis of private identifiable information is completed.

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Melanie Weaver

APPENDIX F

AUTHORS:

NOTES ON SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS

Prior to December 2018, I had selectively read only the survivency portions of survivors' writings—the narratives that addressed the years after trafficking. When I came to the realization that I could not write about survivency without first defining who long-term survivors were and what their CSE experiences had been, I went back and re-read survivors' writings, this time starting at the beginning instead of the middle. Reading the victim narratives was personally the most difficult part of the analysis for me. I determined the questions I needed to answer as I read the accounts. When I added a new category, I went back through the books I had already completed, either to verify what I remembered or to find the additional information.

Winter break 2018 I worked three weeks of ten- to twelve-hour days to compile data from the initial 40 survivors' accounts. It was physically, emotionally, and mentally grueling, and it is a task I am grateful to never have to repeat. I had avoided the victim narratives because I knew the personal toll that I would pay for reading them, and I was right about that, but it was a sacrificial act based in social justice, and most activists make costly decisions at certain times. Later additions in August 2019 were easy by comparison, because I had already constructed the basic canon, and I was simply adding a few new profiles of under-represented populations (boys and Asian Americans) and excluding a few others (as discussed above).

As a long-term survivor, this systematic analysis was an act of social justice, centered on the concept that my lived experiences enable me to identify and understand issues differently, and then to envision novel solutions that address the needs of a marginalized population. It felt vitally important to invest the time necessary to include present-day information along with the profiles of CSE cultures, so readers could envision survivency and future outcomes beyond exploitation. Educational achievements were non-negotiable pieces of information for communicating the knowledge survivors have, not only through their lived experiences of CSE but also through their pursuit of excellence in their professions. The results of this analysis needed to include detailed profiles of who long-term survivors are in the present as well as the CSE cultures they experienced in the past.

The reason I identified these pieces of information as critical for presenting a complete picture of long-term survivors is because of my personal experience living through 40 years of secondary trauma *subsequent to* my experiences of CSE. I do not have to research the stigmas and disregard with which long-term survivors are treated because I have first-hand knowledge of it, and that was foundational to every decision I made in this project. Based on my experiences of survivency in the decades after CSE, I identified and defined problems, created solutions, and charted a path for research that extended beyond preconceptions identified in current anti-trafficking research.

I stress this point because these are the types of gifts that come from spending decades cleaning out dozens of rooms in the mansions created by experiences in CSE. These are the keys long-term survivors have—the reasons why their perspectives are absolutely irreplaceable in the anti-trafficking movement. We see issues outside of the central and peripheral vision of non-survivors because we live in taller houses. We see a different picture because we stand in a different place.

This does not exclude or dismiss the work non-survivors are doing in the field—but it indicates a need to expand the scope and parameters of the anti-trafficking

movement. The entire field of survivency does not yet exist, because the parameters of the anti-trafficking movement are narrowly set to include only victims, exiting, crisis care, and short-term programs. The current definitions of "long-term support" and "recovery" refer to the first two years past exiting, and the founders of the few organizations that provide any assistance or care beyond those first two years are survivors (e.g. *Breaking Free* in Minneapolis provides long-term housing at any point in recovery; *Sun Gate Foundation* provides educational scholarships).

In many ways (that are blatantly obvious in the multitude of Appendices at the end of this dissertation), the systematic analysis engaged my attention at a deeper level than the traditional data collected. The data collected through present-day interviews and surveys were helpful in providing snapshots survivency—short representations of the present lives and thoughts of long-term survivors at the point in time that they participated. But they were brief, like the writings in anthologies. By comparison, the survivor writings I analyzed were thousands of pages of lived experiences—mindfully written narratives that spanned decades rather than minutes. However, when I completed both analyses, there was an incredible continuity between the insights and experiences of participants and authors—common threads of experiences woven across decades and into the present.

APPENDIX G

AUTHORS:

NAMES, INCLUSIONS, EXCLUSIONS

n = 43

1. Amaya, Barbara	16. Jay, Alice	30. Phelps, Carissa
2. Austin Smith-Gibbs, Holly	17. Jensen, Jenni	31. Pierce, Alexandra "Sandi"
3. Bailey, Carrie {Canada}	18. Kessler, Judy	32. Price, Kathleen
4. Barnes, Wendy	19. Kim, Chong	33. Richardson, Elaine
5. Bender, Rebecca	20. Kline, Rev. Kevin	34. Rondon, Ruth
6. Birrell, Nani	21. Lloyd, Rachel {Germany}	35. Rosenblatt, Katariina
7. Blac, Suzzan {England}	22. Lovelace, Linda	36. Sanders, Savanna
8. Bullock, Mary Elizabeth	23. Maloney, Patsyann	37. Stark, Christine (Gussendorf)
9. Burris, Autumn	24. Marino, Jasmine Grace	38. Sterry, David Henry
10. Carter, Vednita (Nelson)	25. McDonald, Christine	39. Stevens, Michelle
11. Dang, Minh	26. Mitchell, Kathleen	40. Walker, Nancy Jean
12. Dworkin, Andrea	27. Mock, Janet	41. Weaver, Melanie*
13. Early, Justin Reed	28. Moran, Rachel {Ireland}	42. Wheeler, Sean
14. Flores, Theresa	29. Parker-Bello, Brook	43. Whitaker, Rick
15. Hotaling, Norma		

* In 2018 I published an academic chapter in an edited volume, and I included myself in the analysis to show where my experiences fall in the scope of published survivors.

Male Authors *n* =5 12% (5/43)

Cis-Gender Men	Sean Wheeler
Gay or Bisexual Men	Justin Reed Early, Rev. Kevin Kline, David Henry Sterry, Rick Whitaker

Races/Ethnicities Represented in Published Works (Not White/Caucasian)* *n* =11 26% (11/43)

African American	Vednita (Nelson) Carter
Jamaican American	Elaine Richardson
African American/Native American	Alice Jay
Native American/Caucasian	Christine (Grussendorf) Stark, Holly Austin Smith-Gibbs, Alexandra "Sandi" Pierce
Multiracial	Janet Mock
Mexican American	Carissa Phelps
Vietnamese American	Minh Dang
Korean American	Chong Kim
Micronesian	Nani Birrell

* Information survivors made public (publishing, interviews, news reports, posting on websites).

LGBTQ: Genders, Gender Orientations, Gender Expressions** *n* =7 16% (7/43)

Gay or Bisexual Men	Justin Reed Early, Rev. Kevin Kline, David Henry Sterry, Rick Whitaker
Lesbian	Christine Stark, Michelle Stevens
Trans	Janet Mock

** Information survivors made public (publishing, interviews, news reports, posting on websites).

Inclusions: Long-term Survivors Exploited Outside of US

Survivor	*Citizenship*	*Exploited In*	*Currently*	*Reason Included*
Carrie Bailey	Canadian	Canada	Australia	Insights into restoration
Suzzan Blac	British	England	England	Unique insights about art activism
Andrea Dworkin	U.S.	Amsterdam	deceased (U.S.)	Early feminist activist
Rachel Lloyd*	British	Germany	United States	Early service organization founder
Rachel Moran	Irish	Ireland	Ireland	Unique feminist analysis

*Rachel Lloyd was already in Germany when she started strip dancing, and later met "boyfriend" pimps.

Exclusions: Categories Beyond the Scope of This Study

Publications Not Included	Reason
Survivor	*trafficked between countries**
Sophie Hayes	trafficked from Britain to Spain
Marti MacGibbon	trafficked from US into Japan
Timea Nagy	trafficked from Hungary into Canada
Maria Suarez	trafficked from Mexico into US
Jabali Smith	trafficked from U.S. into Mexico; religious cult
Survivor	*stranger abduction exploitation***
Jenna Hawkins	abduction
Elizabeth Smart	abduction
Amanda Berry	abduction; 5+ years out
Gina DeJesus	abduction; 5+ years out
Michelle Knight	abduction; 5+ years out
Jaycee Duggard	abduction; 9+ years out

*Trafficking between countries involves a different group of traffickers and unique needs (language barriers, immigration issues, incarceration, etc.) that are worth analyzing as a group separate from this domestic analysis.

**Stranger abduction is also a distinct category. Developing a representative population of 10+ year survivors in this category and providing a thorough analysis is beyond the scope of this current study.

APPENDIX H

AUTHORS:

OVERVIEW OF DEMOGRAPHICS

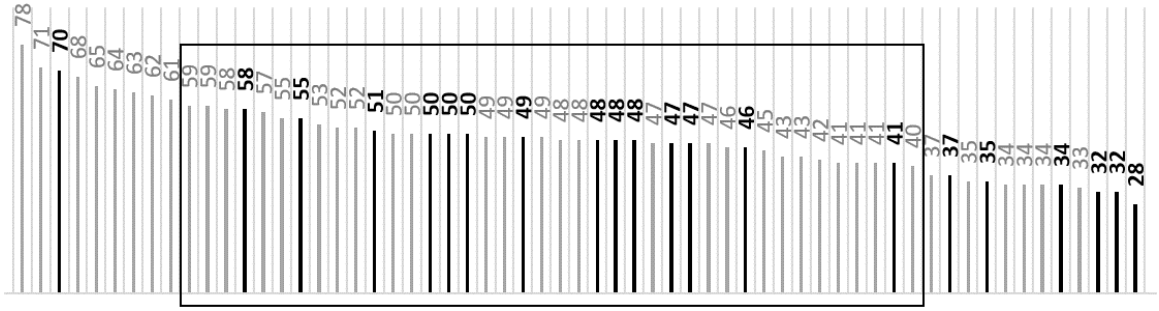
n = 43	~Age 2018	Yrs Out	Decades Used	Time In	Ages Involved
Patsyann Maloney	78	41+	mid to late 1970s	6 yrs	8, 31-37
Alexandra "Sandi" Pierce, BA, PhD	71*	39+	1960s - late 1970s*	14+ yrs	juv; adult
(Hon.) Mary Elizabeth Bullock, JDMBA	68	55+	late 1950s-early 1960s	10 yrs	3-13
Nancy Jean Walker	65	44+	early 1970s	3 yrs	18-21
Vednita Carter, BA	64	45+	early 1970s	12 mos	18
Ruth Rondon	63	29+	early 1970-late 1980s	19 yrs	15-34
Kathleen Mitchell, AA	63	30+	early 1970s-late 1980s	18 yrs	27-45
Barbara Amaya	62	41+	late 1960s-late 1970s	9 yrs	13-21
David Henry Sterry, BA	61	44+	mid 1970s	9 mos	17
Elaine Richardson, BA, MA, PhD	59	33+	early 1970s-mid 1980s	12 yrs	14-26
Rev. Kevin Kline, BA, MDiv	59	43+	mid 1970s	3 mos	14
Suzzan Blac {England}	58	42+	mid 1970s	wks	16
Andrea Dworkin, BA (dec'd 2005)	58	23	early 1970s	1 yr*	25
Judy Kessler	57	39+	early 1960s-late 1970s	18 yrs	0-18
Norma Hotaling, BS (dec'd 2008)	57	19	mid 1970s-late 1990s	21 yrs	5-13, 25-38
Brook Parker-Bello, BBS, MM	55	33+	late 1970s-mid-1980s	7 yrs	15-22
Linda Lovelace (dec'd 2002)	53	28	early 1970s-mid 1970s	4 yrs	21-25
Autumn Burris, BA	53	20+	early 1980s-late 1990s	15 yrs	18-33
Melanie Weaver, BS, MFA, [PhD]	52	39+	early 1970s-late 1970s	8 yrs	5-13
Theresa Flores, BSW, MA	52	35+	early 1980s	2 yrs	15-17
Michelle Stevens, BFA, MA, PhD	50	36+	late 1970s-early 1980s	6 yrs	8-14
Rick Whitaker, BA	50	18+	early 1990s to 2000	7 yrs	25-32
Christine Stark, BA, MFA, MSW	49	31+	late 1960s-late 1980s	18 yrs	0-18
Justin Reed Early	49	28+	late 1970s-early 1990s	11 yrs	10-21
Christine McDonald	49	14+	late 1980s-mid 2000s	17 yrs	17-35
Nani Birrell	48	39+	late 1970s	3 yrs	6-9
Sean Wheeler, BS	48	39+	late 1970s	4 yrs	5-9
Kathleen Price, BA, MA, [PhD]	47	37+	early 1970s-early1980s	10 yrs	0-10
Wendy Barnes, AA	47	18+	mid 1980s-2000	14 yrs	15-29
Katariina Rosenblatt, BA, LLM, PhD	46	30+	late 1980s	mos	13-16
Jenni Jessen	45	28+	late 1970s-1990	13 yrs	4-17
Carrie Bailey {Canada}	43	29+	late 1980s	5 yrs	9-14
Rachel Lloyd, BS, MA {Germany}	43	24+	early 1990s	2 yrs	17-19
Chong Kim	42	20+	mid to late 1990s	4 yrs	18-22
Carissa Phelps, BA, JDMBA	41	29+	late 1980s	wks	12
Rachel Moran, BA, MFA {Ireland}	41	19+	1990s	7 yrs	15-22
Holly Austin Smith-Gibbs, BS	40	26+	early 1990s	wks	14
Alice Jay	37	15+	early 1990s-early 2000s	10 yrs	12-22
Janet Mock, BS, MA	35	18+	late 1990s-early 2000s	3 yrs	16-18
Savannah Sanders, AA, BSW	34	18+	1999/2000	mos	15/16
Rebecca Bender, BA, MA	34	11+	early to mid-2000s	6 yrs	18-23
Jasmine Grace Marino, BA	34	11+	late 2000s	5 yrs	19-23
Minh Dang, BA, MSW, [PhD]	33	13+	mid 1990s-mid 2000s	10 yrs	10-20

*Best estimate based on published writings and public information (interviews or news reports; information provided on organizational websites; posts on personal websites)

APPENDIX I

AUTHORS/SURVEY PARTICIPANTS:

AGES IN 2018



Survey Participants		
Age Range: 28-70 years old		
Mean: 45.52		
Median: 48		
Mode: 48		
5%	(1/21)	20 to 29 years old (28)
24%	(5/21)	30 to 39 years old (32, 32, 34, 35, 37)
38%	(8/21)	40 to 49 years old (41, 46, 47, 47, 48, 48, 48, 49)
29%	(6/21)	50 to 59 years old (50, 50, 50, 51, 55, 58)
5%	(1/21)	60 or more years old (70)
Survivor-Authors		
(the three survivors who are deceased not included: ages 53, 57, and 58)		
Age Range: 33-78 years old		
Mean: 50.8		
Median: 49		
0%	(0/40)	20 to 29 years old
15%	(6/40)	30 to 39 years old (33, 34, 34, 34, 35, 37)
40%	(16/40)	40 to 49 years old (40, 41, 41, 41, 42, 43, 43, 45, 46, 47, 47, 48, 48, 49, 49, 49)
25%	(10/40)	50 to 59 years old (50, 50, 52, 52, 53, 55, 57, 58, 59, 59)
20%	(8/40)	60 or more years old (61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68, 71, 78)
Survey Participants and Survivor-Authors Combined		
Age Range: 28-78 years old		
Mean: 48.87		
Median: 48		
Mode: 48		
2%	(1/61)	20 to 29 years old (28)
18%	(11/61)	30 to 39 years old (32, 32, 33, 34, 34, 34, 34, 35, 35, 37, 37)
39%	(24/61)	40 to 49 years old (40, 41, 41, 41, 41, 42, 43, 43, 45, 46, 46, 47, 47, 47, 47, 48, 48, 48, 48, 48, 49, 49, 49, 49)
26%	(16/61)	50 to 59 years old (50, 50, 50, 50, 50, 51, 52, 52, 53, 55, 55, 57, 58, 58, 59, 59)
15%	(9/61)	60 or more years old (61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68, 70, 71, 78)

APPENDIX J

AUTHORS:

ACTIVISM

$n = 43$

	~Age 2018	Yrs Out	memoir writer	speaker	advocate	trainer / educator	policy influencer	mentor	prevention educator	program dev.	professional writer	academic writer	academic researcher	curriculum dev.	counselor	visual artist	music, performer
Patsyann Maloney	78	41+	x														
Alexandra "Sandi" Pierce, BA, PhD	71*	39+		x	x	x	x			x		x	x				
(Hon.) Mary Elizabeth Bullock, JDMBA	68	55+	x	x	x		x		x								
Nancy Jean Walker	65	44+	x		x												
Vednita Carter, BA	64	45+		x	x	x	x	o	x	o		x		o			
Ruth Rondon	63	29+	x	x	x	x			x	x							
Kathleen Mitchell, AA	63	30+		x	x	o	x	o		o				o			
Barbara Amaya	62	41+	x	x	x	x	x				x						
David Henry Sterry, BA	61	44+	x	o							o						
Elaine Richardson, BA, MA, PhD	59	33+	x	x	x						x	x	x				x
Suzzan Blac {England}	58	42+	x	x	x	x										x	
Andrea Dworkin, BA (dec'd 2005)	58	23	o	o	o						o						
Judy Kessler	57	39+	x														
Rev. Kevin Kline, BA, MDiv	59	43+	x														
Norma Hotaling, BS (dec'd 2008)	57	19		o	o	o	o	o		o				o			
Brook Parker-Bello, BBS, MM	55	33+	x	x	x	x		x	x	x				x	x		x
Linda Lovelace (dec'd 2002)	53	28	o	o	o												
Autumn Burris, BA	53	20+		x	x	x	x		x								
Melanie Weaver, BS, MFA, [PhD]	52	39+		x		x						x	x			x	
Theresa Flores, BSW, MA	52	35+	x	x	x	x			x						x		
Michelle Stevens, BFA, MA, PhD	50	36+	x	x							x	x	x		x		
Rick Whitaker, BA	50	18+	x								x						
Christine Stark, BA, MFA, MSW	49	31+	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	x			x	
Justin Reed Early	49	28+	x														
Christine McDonald	49	14+	x	x	x	x	x	x									
Nani Birrell	48	39+	x														
Sean Wheeler, BS	48	39+	x	x	x												
Kathleen Price, BA, MA, [PhD]	47	37+		x	x		x					x	x				
Wendy Barnes, AA	47	18+	x														
Katariina Rosenblatt, BA, LLM, PhD	46	30+	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x			
Jenni Jessen	45	28+	x	x	x	x		x									
Carrie Bailey {Canada}	43	29+	x														
Rachel Lloyd, BS, MA {Germany}	43	24+	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x			
Chong Kim	42	20+	x	x	x												
Carissa Phelps, BA, JDMBA	41	29+	x	x	x	x	x	x		x							
Rachel Moran, BA, MFA {Ireland}	41	19+	x								x						
Holly Austin Smith-Gibbs, BS	40	26+	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x							
Alice Jay	37	15+	x		x			x									
Janet Mock, BS, MA	35	18+	x		x						x						
Savannah Sanders, AA, BSW	34	18+	x	x	x	x		x	x					x	x		
Rebecca Bender, BA, MA	34	11+	x	x	x	x		x						x			
Jasmine Grace Marino, BA	34	11+	x	x	x	x											
Minh Dang, BA, MSW, [PhD]	33	13+		x	x	x	x	x				x	x				

$n = 43$	memoir-style writer	speaker	advocate	educator / trainer	policy influencer	mentor	prevention educator	program developer	professional writer	academic writer	academic researcher	curriculum developer	professional counselor	visual artist	musician, performer
current involvement	33	27	28	20	14	11	10	7	6	9	8	5	4	3	2
involved in the past	2	4	3	2	1	3	--	3	3	--	--	3	--	--	--
total involved	35	31	31	22	15	14	10	10	9	9	8	8	4	3	2
percentage involved	81%	72%	72%	51%	35%	33%	23%	23%	21%	21%	19%	12%	9%	7%	5%

APPENDIX K

AUTHORS:

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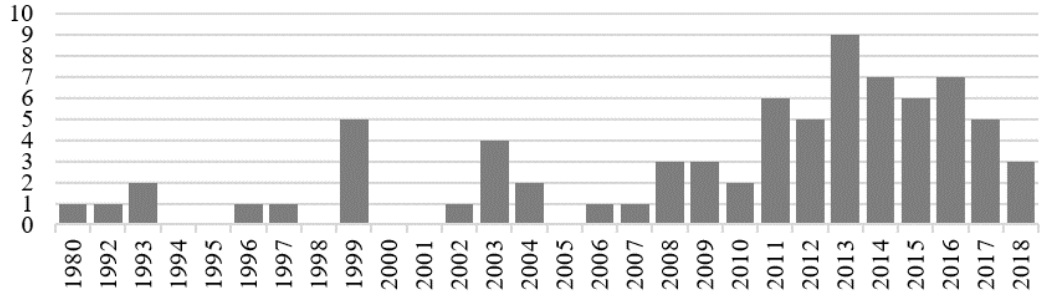
APPENDIX L

AUTHORS:

PUBLICATION DATES

n = 76 published works



1980	Linda Lovelace
1992	Judy Kessler
1993	Vednita Nelson (Carter)
1993	Andrea Dworkin
1996	Judy Kessler
1997	Andrea Dworkin
1999	Vednita Carter (2)
1999	Christine Grussendorf
1999	Kathleen Mitchell
1999	Rick Whitaker

2002	Andrea Dworkin
2003	Vednita Carter (2)
2003	Norma Hotaling
2003	Christine Stark
2004	Chong Kim
2004	Christine Stark
2006	Norma Hotaling
2007	Theresa Flores
2008	Christine Stark (2)
2008	Patsyann Maloney
2009	Alexandra "Sandi" Pierce
2009	David Henry Sterry (2)

2010	Theresa Flores
	Christine Stark

2011	Rachel Lloyd
	Alexandra "Sandi" Pierce
	Kathleen Price
	Christine Stark (2)
	David Henry Sterry

2012	Alexandra "Sandi" Pierce
	Suzzan Blac
	Christine Stark (2)
	Michelle Stevens

2013	Rebecca Bender
	Mary Elizabeth Bullock
	Minh Dang
	Justin Reed Early
	Christine McDonald
	Brook Parker-Bello
	Carissa Phelps
	Elaine Richardson
	David Henry Sterry

2014	Holly Austin Smith
	Carrie Bailey
	Alice Jay
	Rachel Lloyd
	Janet Mock
	Katariina Rosenblatt (2)

2015	Barbara Amaya
	Wendy Barnes
	Rev. Kevin Kline
	Rachel Moran
	Alexandra "Sandi" Pierce
	Savannah Sanders

2016	Autumn Burris
	Jenni Jenson
	Jasmine Grace Marino
	Ruth Rondon
	Christine Stark (2)
	Sean Wheeler

2017	Rebecca Bender
	Nani Birrell
	Chong Kim
	Janet Mock
	Michelle Stevens

2018	Minh Dang
	Nancy Jean Walker
	Melanie Weaver

APPENDIX M

AUTHORS:

PUBLISHERS AND PUBLICATIONS

Academic Publisher Books	*Independent Press Books*	*Popular Press Books*	*Organizational Publishing Books*	*Self-Publishing Books*
Judy Kessler (2nd au)(2) Rachel Moran	Barbara Amaya Rev. Kevin Kline Elaine Richardson Katariina Rosenblatt (co) Savannah Sanders Christine Stark David Henry Sterry Rick Whitaker	Holly Austin Smith Suzzan Blac Andrea Dworkin (3) Rachel Lloyd Linda Lovelace Janet Mock (2) Carissa Phelps (co) Michelle Stevens	Rachel Lloyd (2nd au)	Carrie Bailey Wendy Barnes Rebecca Bender Rebecca Bender (co) Nani Birrell (co) Mary Elizabeth Bullock Justin Reed Early Theresa Flores Theresa Flores (co) Alice Jay Jenni Jessen Chong Kim Patsyann Maloney (co) Jasmine Grace Marino Christine McDonald Brook Parker-Bello Ruth Rondon Nancy Jean Walker Sean Wheeler
Academic Publisher Book Chapters	*Independent Press Co-Edited Books*			
Vednita Carter Norma Hotaling (1st au) Alexandra "Sandi" Pierce Kathleen Price Christine Stark (1st au) Melanie Weaver	Christine Stark (1st ed) David Henry Sterry (1st ed) (2)			
Academic Publisher Book Sections	*Independent Press Book Sections*	*Popular Press Book Sections*	*Organization as Publisher Book Sections*	
Minh Dang (Foreword) Christine Stark	Autumn Burris Chong Kim Christine Stark (2) David Henry Sterry	Vednita Carter	Vednita Carter Christine Grussendorf (Stark) Kathleen Mitchell	
Academic Journals Journal Articles	*Independent Press Journals Journal Articles*		*Organization as Publisher Scholarly Research Report*	
Vednita Carter (1st au) Minh Dang (2nd au) Vednita Nelson (Carter) Norma Hotaling (1st au) Alexandra "Sandi" Pierce Christine Stark (3)	Christine Stark		Alexandra "Sandi" Pierce Alexandra "Sandi" Pierce (1st au) Christine Stark (5th au)	Self-published books hold significance as first-person memoirs, autobiographies, diaries—as testimonies of long-term survivors' lived experiences
Dissertations				
Katariina Rosenblatt Michelle Stevens				

APPENDIX N

EDITED VOLUMES

AND ANTHOLOGIES

Table X. Six Anthologies and One Edited Volume of Survivor Writings

Publisher	Date	Editor(s)	Title	SA*	W**
Independent	1987	Delacoste, Alexander	*Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*	31 (-1)^	56 (-1)^
Organization	1999	Hughes, Roche	*Making the Harm Visible: Global Sexual Exploitation of Women and Girls*	12 (-4)	13 (-4)
Popular Press	2003	Morgan	*Sisterhood is Forever: The Women's Anthology for a New Millennium*	2 (-1)	2 (-1)
Academic	2003	Farley	*Prostitution, Trafficking, and Traumatic Stress*	4+ (-3)	3 (-3)
Independent	2004	Stark, Whisnant	*Not for Sale: Feminists Resisting Prostitution and Pornography*	6 (-1)	6 (-1)
Independent	2009	Sterry, Martin	*Ho's, Hookers, Call Girls, and Rent Boys: Professionals Writing on Life, Love, Money, and Sex*	71 (-1)	88 (-1)
Independent	2012	Norma, Tankard Reist	*Prostitution Narratives: Stories of Survival in the Sex Trade*	23 (-2)	23 (-2)
TOTALS	**25 years**	**11 editors**	**1 academic volume; 6 anthologies 13 authors/13 writings included in analysis**	149 (-13)^ =136	191 (-13)^ =178

***SA: Survivor-Authors **W: Writings ^Included in Analysis**

Delacoste, Frédérique and Priscilla Alexander. 1987. *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry.* Pittsburgh, PA: Cleis Press. (Independent Publisher)

Farley, Melissa. 2003. *Prostitution, Trafficking, and Traumatic Stress.* New York: The Haworth Maltreatment & Trauma Press, Inc. (Academic Publisher)

Hughes, Donna M. and Claire Roche, eds. 1999. *Making the Harm Visible: Global Sexual Exploitation of Women and Girls*. Kingston, RI: Coalition Against Trafficking in Women. (Organization as Publisher)

Morgan, Robin, ed. 2003. *Sisterhood is Forever: The Women's Anthology for a New Millennium.* New York: Washington Square Press. (Popular Press)

Norma, Caroline, and Melinda Tankard Reist, eds. 2016. *Prostitution Narratives: Stories of Survival in the Sex Trade*. North Melbourne, Victoria, Australia: Spinifex Press. (Independent Press)

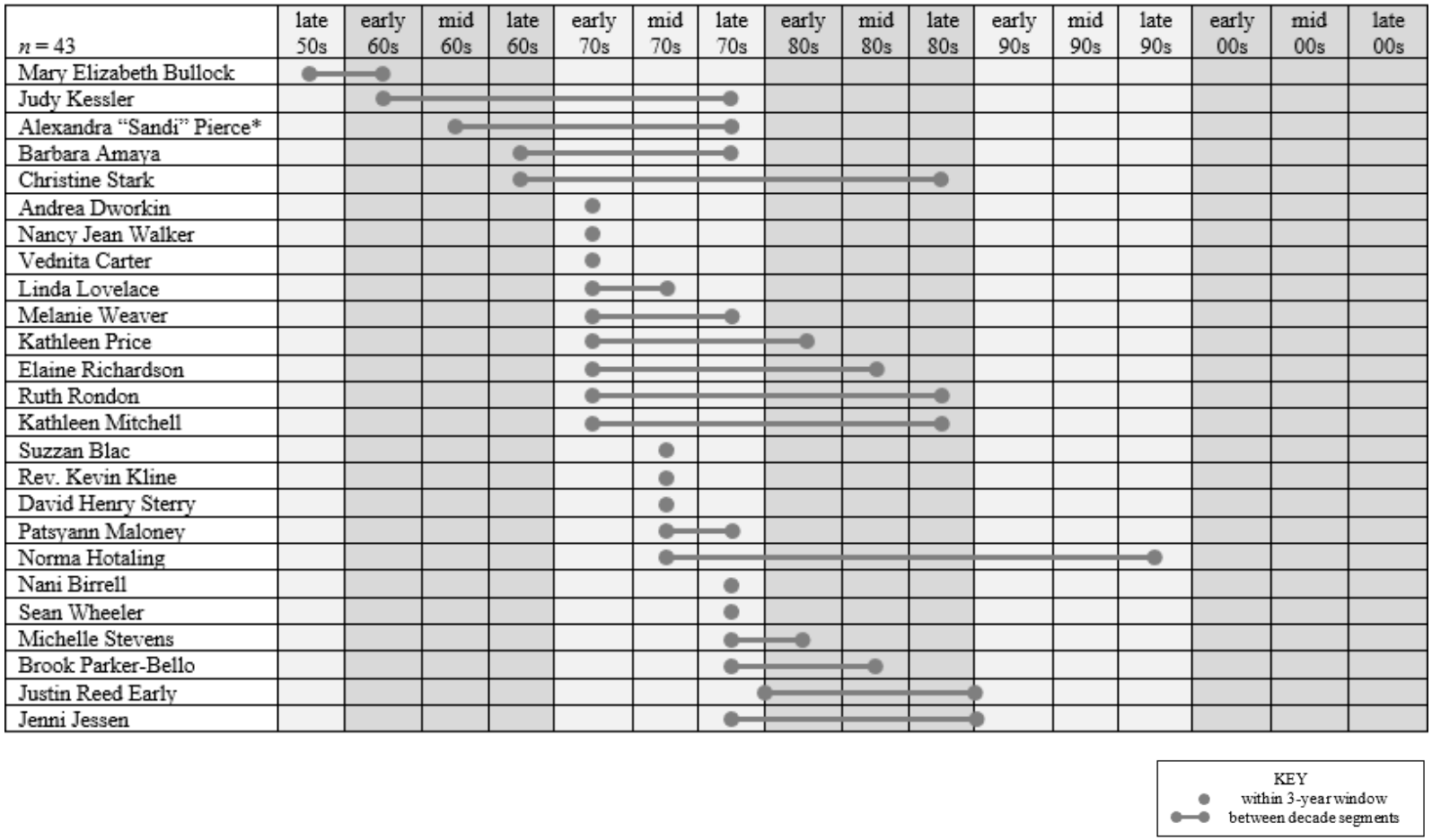
Stark, Christine and Rebecca Whisnant, eds. 2004. *Not for Sale: Feminists Resisting Prostitution and Pornography*. North Melbourne, Victoria, Australia: Spinifex Press. (Independent Press)

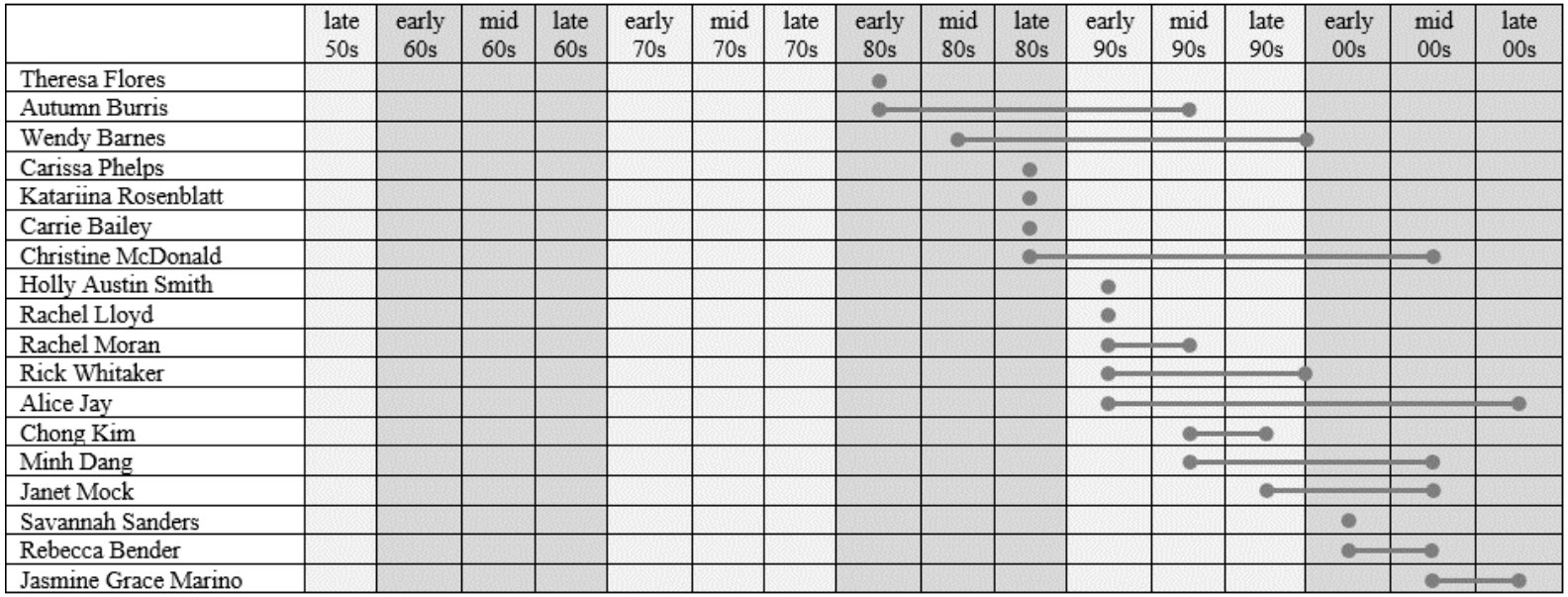
Sterry, David Henry and R. J. Martin, Jr., eds. 2009. *Ho's, Hookers, Call Girls, and Rent Boys: Professionals Writing on Life, Love, Money, and Sex.* Brooklyn: Soft Skull Press. (Independent Press)

APPENDIX O

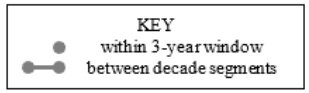
AUTHORS:

DECADE(S) OF CSE


n = 43
late 50s
early 60s
mid 60s
late 60s
early 70s
mid 70s
late 70s
early 80s
mid 80s
late 80s
early 90s
mid 90s
late 90s
early 00s
mid 00s
late 00s
Mary Elizabeth Bullock
Judy Kessler
Alexandra "Sandi" Pierce*
Barbara Amaya
Christine Stark
Andrea Dworkin
Nancy Jean Walker
Vednita Carter
Linda Lovelace
Melanie Weaver
Kathleen Price
Elaine Richardson
Ruth Rondon
Kathleen Mitchell
Suzzan Blac
Rev. Kevin Kline
David Henry Sterry
Patsyann Maloney
Norma Hotaling
Nani Birrell
Sean Wheeler
Michelle Stevens
Brook Parker-Bello
Justin Reed Early
Jenni Jessen
KEY
within 3-year window
between decade segments



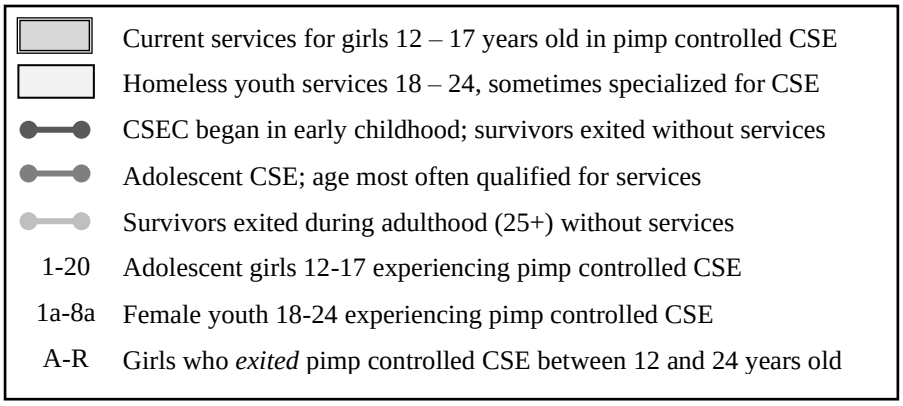
The chart used in Chapter 4 did not include the five people who were exploited in countries other than the U.S. (Bailey in Canada; Blac in England; Dworki
Amsterdam; Lloyd in Germany; Moran in Ireland). These charts include all 43 survivor-authors.

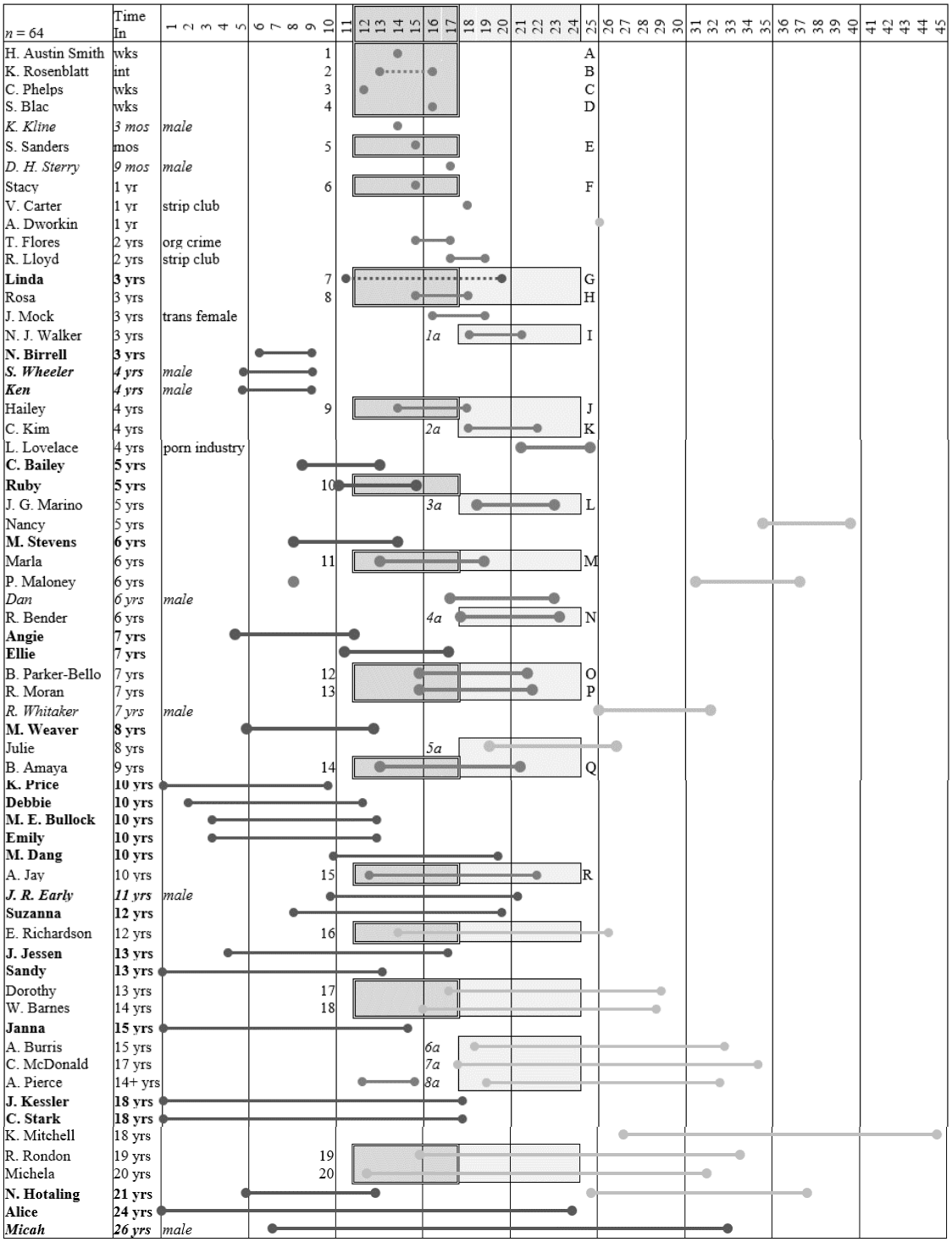


APPENDIX P

AUTHORS/SURVEY RESPONDENTS:

AGES DURING CSE


Current services for girls 12 – 17 years old in pimp controlled CSE
Homeless youth services 18 – 24, sometimes specialized for CSE
CSEC began in early childhood; survivors exited without services
Adolescent CSE; age most often qualified for services
Survivors exited during adulthood (25+) without services
1-20
Adolescent girls 12-17 experiencing pimp controlled CSE
1a-8a
Female youth 18-24 experiencing pimp controlled CSE
A-R
Girls who *exited* pimp controlled CSE between 12 and 24 years old


n = 64
Time In
H. Austin Smith wks
K. Rosenblatt int
C. Phelps wks
S. Blac wks
K. Kline 3 mos male
S. Sanders mos
D. H. Sterry 9 mos male
Stacy 1 yr
V. Carter 1 yr strip club
A. Dworkin 1 yr
T. Flores 2 yrs org crime
R. Lloyd 2 yrs strip club
Linda 3 yrs
Rosa 3 yrs
J. Mock 3 yrs trans female
N. J. Walker 3 yrs
N. Birrell 3 yrs
S. Wheeler 4 yrs male
Ken 4 yrs male
Hailey 4 yrs
C. Kim 4 yrs
L. Lovelace 4 yrs porn industry
C. Bailey 5 yrs
Ruby 5 yrs
J. G. Marino 5 yrs
Nancy 5 yrs
M. Stevens 6 yrs
Marla 6 yrs
P. Maloney 6 yrs
Dan 6 yrs male
R. Bender 6 yrs
Angie 7 yrs
Ellie 7 yrs
B. Parker-Bello 7 yrs
R. Moran 7 yrs
R. Whitaker 7 yrs male
M. Weaver 8 yrs
Julie 8 yrs
B. Amaya 9 yrs
K. Price 10 yrs
Debbie 10 yrs
M. E. Bullock 10 yrs
Emily 10 yrs
M. Dang 10 yrs
A. Jay 10 yrs
J. R. Early 11 yrs male
Suzanna 12 yrs
E. Richardson 12 yrs
J. Jessen 13 yrs
Sandy 13 yrs
Dorothy 13 yrs
W. Barnes 14 yrs
Janna 15 yrs
A. Burris 15 yrs
C. McDonald 17 yrs
A. Pierce 14+ yrs
J. Kessler 18 yrs
C. Stark 18 yrs
K. Mitchell 18 yrs
R. Rondon 19 yrs
Michela 20 yrs
N. Hotaling 21 yrs
Alice 24 yrs
Micah 26 yrs male
1a
2a
3a
4a
5a
6a
7a
8a
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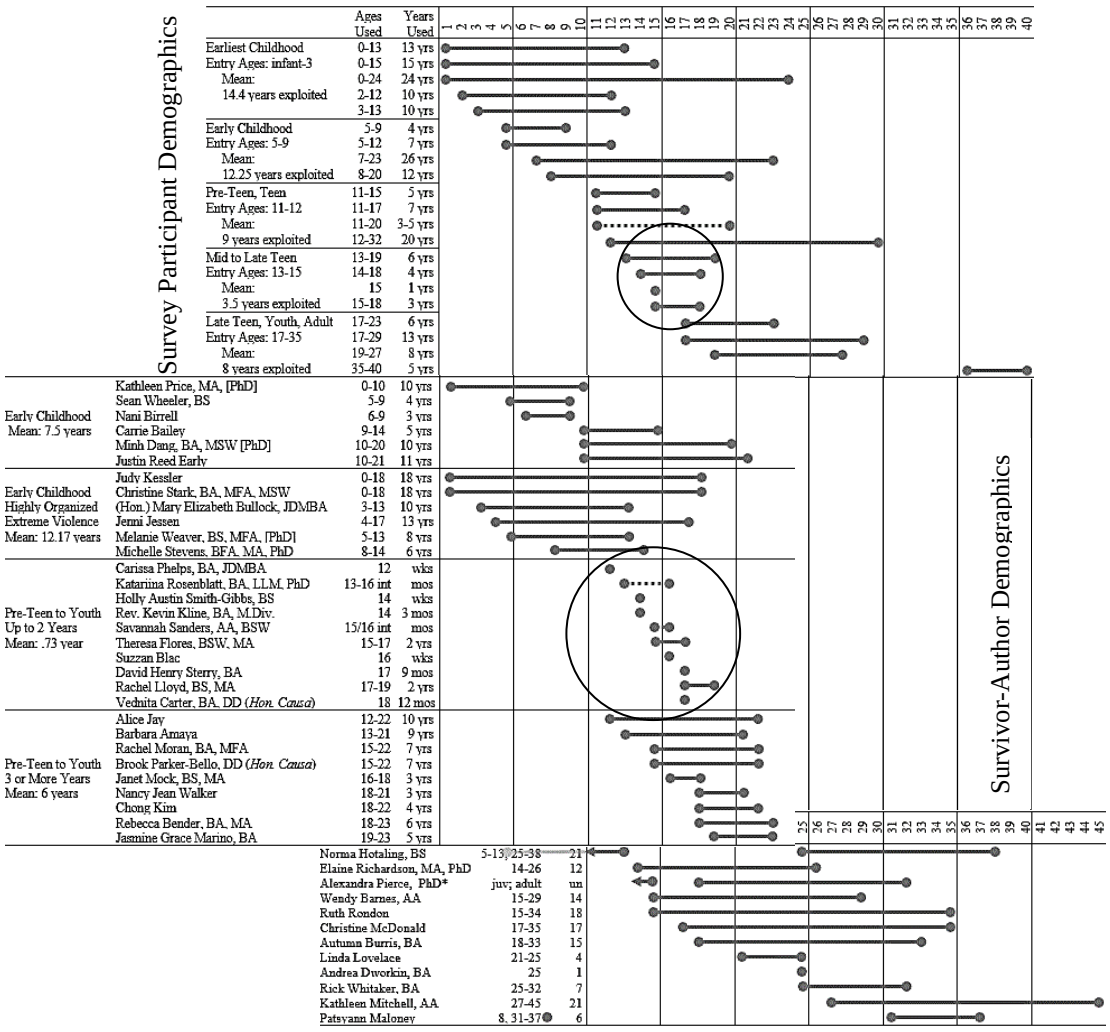
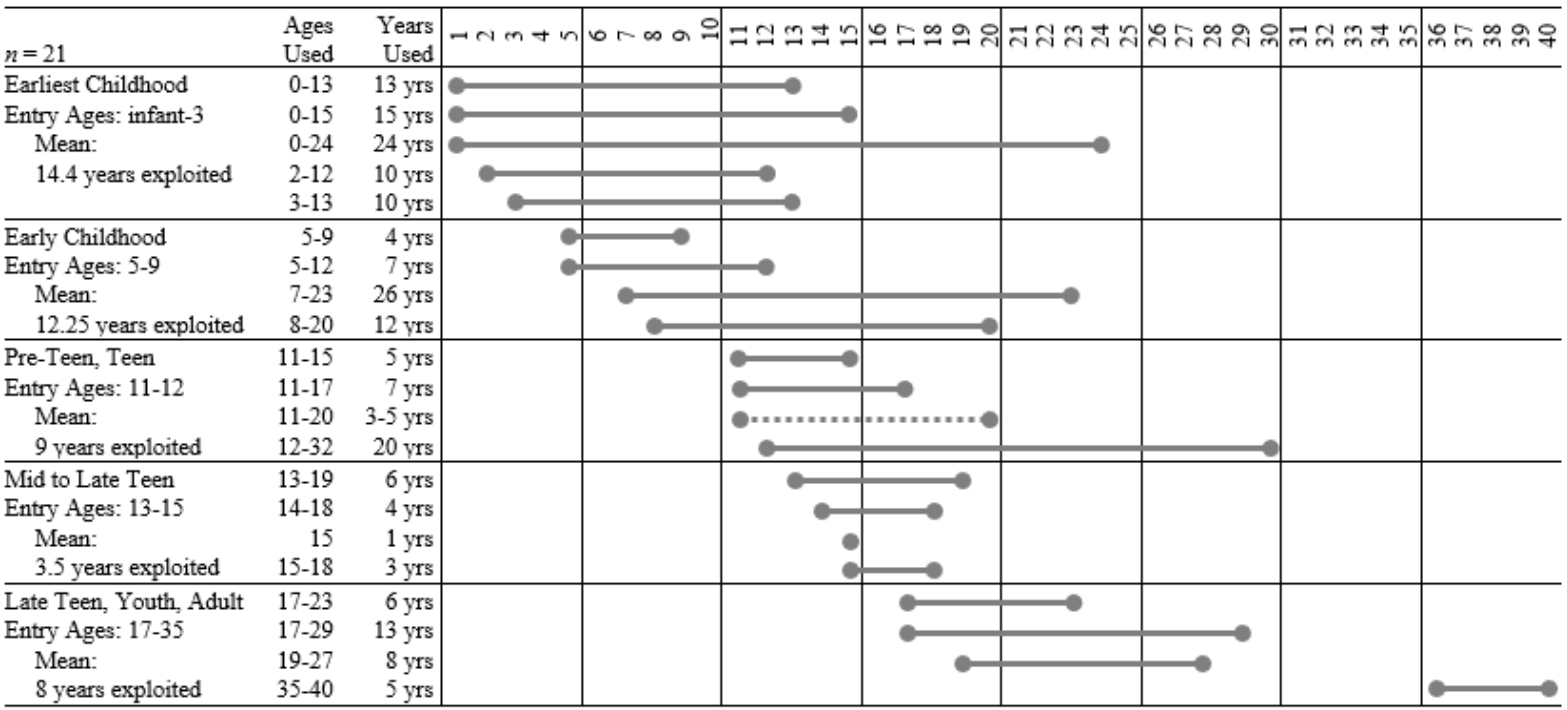
APPENDIX Q

AUTHORS/SURVEY RESPONDENTS:

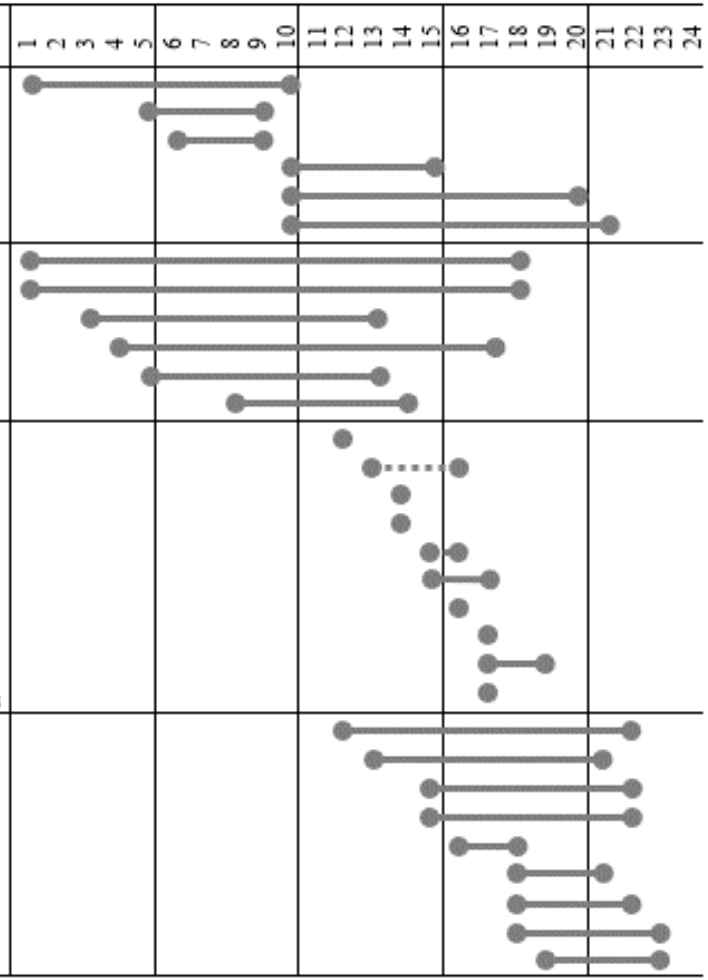
CSE CULTURES


Survey Participant Demographics
Survivor-Author Demographics
Ages Used
Years Used
Earliest Childhood 0-13 13 yrs
Entry Ages: infant-3 0-15 15 yrs
Mean: 0-24 24 yrs
14.4 years exploited 2-12 10 yrs
3-13 10 yrs
Early Childhood 5-9 4 yrs
Entry Ages: 5-9 5-12 7 yrs
Mean: 7-23 26 yrs
12.25 years exploited 8-20 12 yrs
Pre-Teen, Teen 11-15 5 yrs
Entry Ages: 11-12 11-17 7 yrs
Mean: 11-20 3-5 yrs
9 years exploited 12-32 20 yrs
Mid to Late Teen 13-19 6 yrs
Entry Ages: 13-15 14-18 4 yrs
Mean: 15 1 yrs
3.5 years exploited 15-18 3 yrs
Late Teen, Youth, Adult 17-23 6 yrs
Entry Ages: 17-35 17-29 13 yrs
Mean: 19-27 8 yrs
8 years exploited 35-40 5 yrs
Early Childhood Mean: 7.5 years
Kathleen Price, MA, [PhD] 0-10 10 yrs
Sean Wheeler, BS 5-9 4 yrs
Nani Birrell 6-9 3 yrs
Carrie Bailey 9-14 5 yrs
Minh Dang, BA, MSW [PhD] 10-20 10 yrs
Justin Reed Early 10-21 11 yrs
Early Childhood Highly Organized Extreme Violence Mean: 12.17 years
Judy Kessler 0-18 18 yrs
Christine Stark, BA, MFA, MSW 0-18 18 yrs
(Hon.) Mary Elizabeth Bullock, JDMBA 3-13 10 yrs
Jenni Jessen 4-17 13 yrs
Melanie Weaver, BS, MFA, [PhD] 5-13 8 yrs
Michelle Stevens, BFA, MA, PhD 8-14 6 yrs
Pre-Teen to Youth Up to 2 Years Mean: .73 year
Carissa Phelps, BA, JDMBA 12 wks
Katariina Rosenblatt, BA, LLM, PhD 13-16 int mos
Holly Austin Smith-Gibbs, BS 14 wks
Rev. Kevin Kline, BA, M.Div. 14 3 mos
Savannah Sanders, AA, BSW 15/16 int mos
Theresa Flores, BSW, MA 15-17 2 yrs
Suzzan Blac 16 wks
David Henry Sterry, BA 17 9 mos
Rachel Lloyd, BS, MA 17-19 2 yrs
Vednita Carter, BA, DD (Hon. Causa) 18 12 mos
Pre-Teen to Youth 3 or More Years Mean: 6 years
Alice Jay 12-22 10 yrs
Barbara Amaya 13-21 9 yrs
Rachel Moran, BA, MFA 15-22 7 yrs
Brook Parker-Bello, DD (Hon. Causa) 15-22 7 yrs
Janet Mock, BS, MA 16-18 3 yrs
Nancy Jean Walker 18-21 3 yrs
Chong Kim 18-22 4 yrs
Rebecca Bender, BA, MA 18-23 6 yrs
Jasmine Grace Marino, BA 19-23 5 yrs
Norma Hotaling, BS 5-13, 25-38 21
Elaine Richardson, MA, PhD 14-26 12
Alexandra Pierce, PhD* juv; adult un
Wendy Barnes, AA 15-29 14
Ruth Rondon 15-34 18
Christine McDonald 17-35 17
Autumn Burris, BA 18-33 15
Linda Lovelace 21-25 4
Andrea Dworkin, BA 25 1
Rick Whitaker, BA 25-32 7
Kathleen Mitchell, AA 27-45 21
Patsyann Maloney 8, 31-37 6

$n = 21$	Ages Used	Years Used
Earliest Childhood	0-13	13 yrs
Entry Ages: infant-3	0-15	15 yrs
Mean:	0-24	24 yrs
14.4 years exploited	2-12	10 yrs
	3-13	10 yrs
Early Childhood	5-9	4 yrs
Entry Ages: 5-9	5-12	7 yrs
Mean:	7-23	26 yrs
12.25 years exploited	8-20	12 yrs
Pre-Teen, Teen	11-15	5 yrs
Entry Ages: 11-12	11-17	7 yrs
Mean:	11-20	3-5 yrs
9 years exploited	12-32	20 yrs
Mid to Late Teen	13-19	6 yrs
Entry Ages: 13-15	14-18	4 yrs
Mean:	15	1 yrs
3.5 years exploited	15-18	3 yrs
Late Teen, Youth, Adult	17-23	6 yrs
Entry Ages: 17-35	17-29	13 yrs
Mean:	19-27	8 yrs
8 years exploited	35-40	5 yrs



Group Distinctions	Survivor-Author	Ages Used	Time Used
	Kathleen Price, MA, [PhD]	0-10	10 yrs
	Sean Wheeler, BS	5-9	4 yrs
Early Childhood	Nani Birrell	6-9	3 yrs
Mean: 7.5 years	Carrie Bailey	9-14	5 yrs
	Minh Dang, BA, MSW [PhD]	10-20	10 yrs
	Justin Reed Early	10-21	11 yrs
	Judy Kessler	0-18	18 yrs
Early Childhood	Christine Stark, BA, MFA, MSW	0-18	18 yrs
Highly Organized	(Hon.) Mary Elizabeth Bullock, JDMBA	3-13	10 yrs
Extreme Violence	Jenni Jessen	4-17	13 yrs
Mean: 12.17 years	Melanie Weaver, BS, MFA, [PhD]	5-13	8 yrs
	Michelle Stevens, BFA, MA, PhD	8-14	6 yrs
	Carissa Phelps, BA, JDMBA	12	wks
	Katariina Rosenblatt, BA, LLM, PhD	13-16 int	mos
	Holly Austin Smith-Gibbs, BS	14	wks
Pre-Teen to Youth	Rev. Kevin Kline, BA, MDiv	14	3 mos
Up to 2 Years	Savannah Sanders, AA, BSW	15/16 int	mos
Mean: .73 year	Theresa Flores, BSW, MA	15-17	2 yrs
	Suzzan Blac	16	wks
	David Henry Sterry, BA	17	9 mos
	Rachel Lloyd, BS, MA	17-19	2 yrs
	Vednita Carter, BA	18	12 mos
	Alice Jay	12-22	10 yrs
	Barbara Amaya	13-21	9 yrs
	Rachel Moran, BA, MFA	15-22	7 yrs
Pre-Teen to Youth	Brook Parker-Bello, BBS, MM	15-22	7 yrs
3 or More Years	Janet Mock, BS, MA	16-18	3 yrs
Mean: 6 years	Nancy Jean Walker	18-21	3 yrs
	Chong Kim	18-22	4 yrs
	Rebecca Bender, BA, MA	18-23	6 yrs
	Jasmine Grace Marino, BA	19-23	5 yrs



* as juvenile by father; as adult by husband (for 14 years); exact dates and years not public knowledge

Exploited into Adulthood Mean: 12.75 years	Ages Used	Yrs Used
Norma Hotaling, BS	5-13; 25-38	21
Elaine Richardson, MA, PhD	14-26	12
Alexandra Pierce, PhD*	juv; adult	un
Wendy Barnes, AA	15-29	14
Ruth Rondon	15-34	18
Christine McDonald	17-35	17
Autumn Burris, BA	18-33	15
Linda Lovelace	21-25	4
Andrea Dworkin, BA	25	1
Rick Whitaker, BA	25-32	7
Kathleen Mitchell, AA	27-45	21
Patsyann Maloney	8, 31-37	6

APPENDIX R

SURVEY PARTICIPANTS:

CSE CULTURE DETAILS

n = 21																																		
Survey #	Gender	Decades Used					~Age 2018	Yrs Out	Yrs In	Ages Used	CULTURES	pornography	residential brothel	pimp controlled	escort service	survival sex	commercial front brothel	strip/dance clubs, bars	personal sexual slavery	sex tourism	sex work	other cultures*	EXPLOITERS	parent	sibling	relative	older friend	peer/similar age friend	neighbor	gang member	acquaintance	stranger	other exploiters**
6	F		70s	80s			48	35	13	0 - 13	2	x		x									1	x									
19	F	60s	70s				58	43	15	0 - 15	3	x							x			1	5	x	x				x		x	x	
5	F		70s	80s	90s		48	24	24	0 - 24	4	x	x									2	4	x	x								2
18	F				90s	00s	28	16	10	2 - 12	4	x	x	x		x							4	x					x	x		x	
16	F		70s				51	38	10	3 - 13	2	x	x										3						x				2
22	M		70s				48	39	4	5 - 9	2	x	x										1										1
9	F			80s	90s		35	23	7	5 - 12	2	x	x										4				x	x	x		x		
14	M		70s	80s	90s	00s	50	17	26	7 - 33	5	x				x			x		x		9	x			x	x	x		x	x	3
15	F				90s	00s	32	12	12	8 - 20	2			x			x						3	x		x						x	
2	F				90s	00s	32	17	5	11 - 15	3			x	x	x							4				x	x				x	1
7	F			80s			47	30	7	11 - 17	2	x										1	3	x							x	x	
4	F			80s			50	30	3 - 5	11 - 20	2				x	x							2			x	x						
1	F			80s	90s	00s	49	17	20	12 - 32	6			x	x	x	x	x			x		6				x	x		x	x	x	1
21	F				90s	00s	34	15	6	13 - 19	4	x	x	x		x							4				x	x		x		x	
8	F			80s			50	32	4	14 - 18	6		x	x		x		x	x	x			2						x		x		
11	F		70s				55	40	1	15	5			x	x	x	x	x					1									x	
12	F			80s			47	29	3	15 - 18	4			x	x	x		x					4	x			x				x	x	
20	M				90s		41	18	6	17 - 23	2			x	x								1								x		
10	F			80s	90s	00s	46	17	13	17 - 29	3			x	x	x							1					x					
13	F					00s	37	10	8	19 - 27	5			x	x	x	x	x					2								x		1
3/17	F			80s			70	30	5	35 - 40	5			x	x		x	x				1	1								x		

*other CSE experiences: 3/17-legal brothel; 5-photo printing shop (front for child porn and snuff films); religious leader homes; pedophile homes; doctor's office; jail cells; 5-pedophile ring; child sex-trafficking ring; 7-brothel type warehouse of underage girls

**other exploiters: 1-girlfriend; 2-landlord/roommate; 4-trusted family friend; 8-boyfriend; motorcycle club; 13-boyfriend; 14-foster siblings; foster parent; gang member; 16-organized crime; pedophile rings; 19-familial human trafficking; 21-boyfriend; 22-family acquaintance

APPENDIX S

AUTHORS:

CSE CULTURE DETAILS

Survivor Authors
Exploited During
Early Childhood

6 Published Survivors	~Age 2018	Yrs Out	Yrs In	Ages Used	CULTURES	CSEC	pedophile(s)	images/film/video	LOCATIONS	residential	commercial	outdoor structures	EXPLOITERS	one family member	both parents	peers or older friends	acquaintance
Nani Birrell	48	39+	3	6-9	2	x	x		1	x			1	M			
Sean Wheeler, BS	48	39+	4	5-9	2	x		x	2	x		x	1				x
Carrie Bailey	43	29+	5	9-14	2	x	x		1	x			1	AF			
Minh Dang, BA, MSW, [PhD]	33	13+	10	10-20	1	x			2	x	x		2		x		
Kathleen Price, BA, MA, [PhD]	47	37+	10	0-10	2	x	x		3	x	x		1	F			
Justin Reed Early	49	28+	11	10-21	2	x	x		2	x		x	--				

Family Members: M=Mother, F=Father; AF=Adoptive Father; U=Uncle

NOTE: Other than my own experiences, all chart information came from public or published material. Time frames are minimum amounts of time; actual times may be longer than indicated. If survivors experienced more than they were willing to put into print, there may be survivors in this Early Childhood chart whose experiences place them in the Highly Organized chart of Early Childhood.

Survivor Authors
Exploited During
Early Childhood
Highly Organized
High Levels of Violence

6 Published Survivors	~Age 2018	Yrs Out	Yrs In	Ages Used	CULTURES	CSEC	images/film/video	ritualized	personal sex slave	LOCATIONS	residential	commercial	hotel, motel	outdoor structures	EXPLOITERS	family and relatives	one family member	pedophile ring	prostitution ring	pornography ring	organized crime	neighbors
Michelle Stevens, BFA, MA, PhD	50	36+	6	8-14	2	x	x		x	2	x		x		5		AF	x	x	x	x	
Melanie Weaver, BS, MFA, [PhD]	52	39+	9	5-13	4	x	x	x		2	x			x	5			x	x	x	x	x
(Hon.) Mary Elizabeth Bullock, JDMBA	68	55+	10	3-13	3	x			x	2	x		x		2		F	x				
Jenni Jessen	45	28+	13	4-17	5	x	x	x	x	3	x		x	x	2		GF	x				
Judy Kessler	57	39+	18	0-18	4	x	x	x		1	x				4	x		x	x	x		
Christine Stark, BA, MFA, MSW	49	31+	18	0-18	4	x	x	x		4	x	x	x	x	5	x		x	x	x	x	

Family Members: F=Father; AF=Adoptive Father; GF=Grandfather

Highly organized pedophile rings; ritualized abuse or personal sexual slavery; high levels of violence where torture was common

Survivor Authors
Exploited or Involved
Pre-Teen to Youth (up to 2 years)

10 Published Survivors	~Age 2018	Yrs Out	Time In	Ages Used	CULTURES	CSEC/CSE	pimp-controlled	strip/dance clubs	escort service	massage parlor	image/film/video	LOCATIONS	residential	commercial	motel/hotel	street/outdoors	EXPLOITERS	pimp	organized crime	peer/friend	neighbor	acquaintance	stranger
Holly Austin Smith-Gibbs, BS	40	26+	wks	14	2	x	x					1				x	1	x					
Carissa Phelps, BA, JDMBA	41	29+	wks	12	2	x	x					2	x			x	2					x	x
Suzzan Blac	58	42+	wks	16	3	x	x				x	2	x		x		1						x
Rev. Kevin Kline, BA, MDiv	59	43+	3 mos	14	2	x	x					2	x			x	1					x	
Savannah Sanders, AA, BSW	34	18+	mos	15/16	5	x	x			x	x	2	x	x			2						2
Katariina Rosenblatt, BA, LLM, PhD	46	30+	mos	13-16	2	x	x					2	x		x		3			x	x	x	
David Henry Sterry, BA	61	44+	9 mos	17	3	x	x		x			1	x				1					x	
Vednita Carter, BA	64	45+	1 yr	18	2	x		x				1		x			--						
Theresa Flores, BSW, MA	52	35+	2 yrs	15-17	2	x	x				x	2	x		x		2	x	x				
Rachel Lloyd, BS, MA	43	24+	2 yrs	17-19	3	x	x	x				1		x			2	2					

Survivor Authors
Exploited or Involved
Pre-Teen to Youth (3+ Years)

9 Published Survivors	~Age 2018	Yrs Out	Yrs In	Ages Used	CULTURES	CSEC/CSE	pimp-controlled	strip/dance clubs	escort service	massage parlor	personal sex slave	bottom girl	madam	image/film/video	LOCATIONS	residential	commercial	motel/hotel	street/outdoors	EXPLOITERS	pimp	acquaintance	stranger	organized crime
Janet Mock, BS, MA	35	18+	3	16-18	2	x								x	3	x		x	x	--				
Nancy Jean Walker	65	44+	3	18-21	6	x	x		x		x	x		x	2	x			x	3+	x	x	x	
Chong Kim	42	20+	4	18-22		x	x	x	x		x	x	x		4	x	x	x	x	2		x		x
Jasmine Grace Marino, BA	34	11+	5	19-23	4	x	x			x		x			3	x	x	x		1		x		
Rebecca Bender, BA, MA	34	11+	6	18-23	5	x	x	x	x		x				3	x		x	x	3	x	x	x	
Rachel Moran, BA, MFA	41	19+	7	15-22	2	x			x						4	x	x	x	x	--				
Brook Parker-Bello, BBS, MM	55	33+	7	15-22	4	x	x		x			x			4	x	x	x	x	3+		x	2	
Barbara Amaya	62	41+	9	13-21	2	x	x								1				x	1	x			
Alice Jay	37	15+	10	12-22	5	x	x	x		x		x			4	x	x	x	x	3	3			

Survivor Authors Exploited or Involved into Adulthood					CULTURES										LOCATION					EXPLOITERS				
12 Published Survivors	~Age 2018	Yrs Out	Time In	Age(s) Used	CSE	pimp-controlled	strip/dance clubs	escort service	madam of brothel	forced facilitation	image/film/video	un	street/outdoors	residential	commercial	motel/hotel	--	1	--	--	4	4	2	1	--	2	un	parent	pimp	husband	organized crime
Andrea Dworkin, BA (dec'd 2005)	59	23	1 yr	25	2	x																								
Linda Lovelace (dec'd 2002)	53	28	4 yrs	21-25	3	x	x				x	1			x															
Patsyann Maloney	78	41+	6 yrs	8, 31-37	2	x			x			2		x	x														x	
Rick Whitaker, BA	50	18+	7 yrs	25-32	2	x		x				2	x	x																
Elaine Richardson, BA, MA, PhD	59	33+	12 yrs	14-26	3	x	x			x		1	x																	
Wendy Barnes, AA	47	18+	14 yrs	15-29	3	x	x			x		2	x			x														
Autumn Burris, BA	53	20+	15 yrs	18-33	3	x	x	x				3	x		x	x														
Christine McDonald	49	14+	17 yrs	17-35	3	x		x				3	x	x		x														
Alexandra "Sandi" Pierce, BA, PhD	71	39+	14+ yrs	juv; adult	3	x	x		x			2		x	x	x														
Ruth Rondon	63	29+	19 yrs	15-34	2	x	x					1	x																	
Kathleen Mitchell, AA	63	30+	18 yrs	27-45	5	x	x		x	x	x	2	x		x															
Norma Hotaling, BS (dec'd 2008)	57	19	21 yrs	5-13, 25-38	1	x						3	x	x		x														

APPENDIX T

COMPARISONS:

CSE CULTURES, LOCATIONS, EXPLOITERS

	CSE CULTURES	*pedophiles*	*pedophile rings*	*ritualized*	**personal sex slave**	**images/film/video**	**pimp-controlled**	**strip/dance clubs**	**escort service**	*massage parlor*	*bottom girl*	*forced facilitation*	*madam of brothel*
Early Childhood		××	⊗		⊙	⊗	⊙						
Early Childhood; Organized		×·	⊗	×·	⊗	⊗	⊙						
Pre-Teen to Youth to 2 Years					×·	×·	⊗	⊗	⊗	⊗			
Pre-Teen to Youth 3+ Years					⊗	×·	⊗	⊗	⊗	⊗	⊗	×·	×·
Into Adulthood					×·	×·	⊗	⊗	⊗	⊗		×·	×·

Gang-controlled CSE will be represented when survivors published about it.

	LOCATIONS	**residential**	**commercial**	*outdoor structures*	*motel/hotel*	*street / outdoors*
Early Childhood		⊗	×·	×·		
Early Childhood; Organized; Torture		⊗	⊗	×·	×·	
Pre-Teen to Youth to 2 Years		×·	⊗		×·	×·
Pre-Teen to Youth 3+ Years		⊗	⊗		×·	×·
Into Adulthood		×·	⊗		×·	×·

	EXPLOITERS	**family / relatives**	**both parents**	**one family member**	*pedophile ring*	*prostitution ring*	*pornography ring*	**neighbors**	**peers or friends**	*organized crime*	**pimp(s)**	**neighbor(s)**	**acquaintance**	**stranger**	*husband*
Early Childhood		⊙	⊗	×·	⊗	⊗	⊗	⊙	⊗	⊗	⊙	⊗	⊙	⊙	
Early Childhood; Organized		⊗	×·	⊙	×·	×·	×·	⊗	⊙	⊗	⊙	⊗	⊙	⊙	
Pre-Teen to Youth to 2 Years		⊙		⊙				⊗	⊗	×·	⊗	⊗	⊙	⊗	
Pre-Teen to Youth 3+ Years		⊙						⊙	⊙	×·	⊗		⊗	⊗	
Into Adulthood									⊙	×·	⊗	⊙	⊗	⊙	×·

Category found in research, used in surveys
Categories added from survivor-authors' writings, not specifically listed in surveys
⊙ survey participants
×· survivor-authors' writings
⊗ both survey participants and survivor-authors' writings
(in the survey, participants wrote in "other" categories not listed)

APPENDIX U

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF

SURVIVOR-AUTHORS' TITLES

Taken as a body of work produced by authors who have experienced CSE, followed by years of survivency, the titles survivors crafted were an integral part of their communication to readers. If an author could only communicate one message to a potential reader, they put that message in their title. I conducted a textual analysis of 50 survivor-authors' titles to understand how they defined and framed their experiences for their readers and noted distinct differences in tone.

- twelve titles (24%) focused only on victimization or the time of victimization
- nine titles (18%) included both victimization and survival
- eleven (22%) communicated their journey from victimization to redemption
- nine (18%) focused solely on redemption and restoration
- nine authors (18%) focused on communicating activism or advocacy

Put differently: 42% included victimization; 40% included redemption; 18% included surviving; and 18% included activism or advocacy. Together, these themes accurately represent the range of lived experiences encompassed in long-term survivency—the good, the bad, the "barely making it out alive," "barely making it," and with time—powerful experiences of restoration, redemption, and meaning-making. Nine authors focused on advocacy or activism:

- *Walking Prey: How America's Youth are Vulnerable to Sex Slavery* (Austin Smith 2014)
- *No Life for a Human Being* (Burris 2016)
- *Prostitution = Slavery* (Carter 2003a)
- *The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Women and Girls: A Survivor Service Provider's Perspective* (Hotaling, Miller, and Trudeautt 2006)
- *American Indian Adolescent Girls: Vulnerability to Sex Trafficking, Intervention Strategies* (Pierce 2012)
- *New Language, Old Problem: Sex Trafficking of American Indian Women and Children* (Pierce and Koepplinger 2011)
- *Collapsing this Hushed House: Deconstructing Cultural Images of Child Prostitution in the United States* (Price 2011)
- *Sex Trafficking Prevention: A Trauma Informed Approach for Parents and Professionals* (Sanders 2015).
- *Not for Sale: Feminists Resisting Prostitution and Pornography* (Stark and Whisnant 2004)

Non-survivor members of the anti-trafficking movement have fixated on victim stories for over a decade, so it is no surprise that twelve titles focused only on CSE, trafficking, victimization, or trauma:

- *Judging Me* (Bullock 2013)
- *Letters from a War Zone* (Dworkin 1993)
- *Street Child: A Memoir* (Early 2013)
- *Faraway Boy: A Suburban Boy's Story as a Victim of Sex Trafficking* (Kine and Maurer 2015)
- *Ordeal: The Truth Behind Deep Throat* (Lovelace and McGrady 1980)
- *The Making of a Madam: A Memoir* (Maloney and Holmes 2008)

- *Shattered Hearts: The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of American Indian Women and Girls in Minnesota* (Pierce 2009)
- *Trafficking in America: Real Life Stories* (Rosenblatt 2014)
- *Stolen: The True Story of a Sex Trafficking Survivor* (Rosenblatt and Murphy 2014)
- *When You Become Pornography* (Stark 2016b)
- *Self-Portrait of a Chicken: Young Man for Rent* (Sterry 2013)
- *Assuming the Position: A Memoir of Hustling* (Whitaker 1999)

Nine titles encompassed issues of both victimization and survival:

- *The Slave Across the Street: The True Story of How an American Teen Survived the World of Human Trafficking* (Flores 2010)
- *Surviving Sexual Slavery: Women in Search of Freedom* (Grussendorf 1999)
- *Paid For: My Journey Through Prostitution* (Moran 2015)
- *A Full Freedom: Contemporary Survivors' Definitions of Slavery* (Nicholson, Dang, and Trodd 2018)
- *Runaway Girl: Escaping Life on the Streets* (Phelps and Warren 2013)
- *PHD to Ph.D.: Po H# on Dope* (Richardson 2013)
- *Wildflower: An Abducted Life—A Memoir* (Walker 2017)
- *Long-Term Survivors of Commercial Sexual Exploitation: Survivor Voice and Survivency in the Decades After Exiting* (Weaver 2019)
- *The Survivor's Guide to Leaving* (White and Lloyd 2014)

Over the past two decades, survivors have been dismissed as "broken," considered incapable of working in the anti-trafficking field (in some non-survivor led organizations anyway). Thus, a focus on surviving and overcoming is consistent with lived experiences in the years following CSE. Like the slave narratives of the 18th and 19th centuries, there is a redemptive focus in survivors' self-published narratives (McAdams 2013). It is not surprising, then that the most common message, communicated by eleven survivors was their personal journey from tragedy to redemption:

- *Nobody's Girl: A Memoir of Lost Innocence, Modern Day Slavery and Transformation* (Amaya 2015)
- *Flying on Broken Wings: A Journey of Unimaginable Betrayal, Resilience and Hope* (Bailey 2014)
- *And Life Continues: Sex Trafficking and My Journey to Freedom* (Barnes 2015)
- *Witness: One Woman's Story from Human Trafficking to Freedom—A Memoir* (Birrell and Perez 2017)
- *Broken Silence: A Triumphant Journey of a Human Trafficking Victim to an Inspirational Advocate* (Kim and NiwaHu 2017)
- *Girls Like Us: Fighting for a World Where Girls Are Not for Sale--An Activist Finds Her Calling and Heals Herself* (Lloyd 2011)
- *The Diary of Jasmine Grace: Trafficked. Recovered. Redeemed* (Marino 2016)
- *Cry Purple: One Woman's Journey through Homelessness, Crack Addiction and Prison to Blindness, Motherhood and Happiness* (McDonald 2013)
- *The Realities of Human Trafficking: From the Inside Out to Freedom* (Rondon 2016)

- *Selfless: My Journey from Abuse and Madness to Surviving and Thriving* (Stevens 2017)
- *Wretch: Haunted by Shadows-Rescued by Jesus* (Wheeler 2016)

Nine authors created titles that focused solely on redemption and restoration:

- *The Rebirth of Suzzan Blac* (Blac 2012)
- *Roadmap to Redemption* (Bender 2013)
- *Beyond Integration: One Multiple's Journey* (Bryant and Kessler 1996)
- *Breaking Free* (Carter 1999)
- *Out of the Darkness: A Survivor's Story* (Jay 2014)
- *The Lucky One* (Jessen 2016)
- *Phoenix Rising* (Mitchell 1999)
- *Redefining "Realness": My Path to Womanhood, Identity, Love, and So Much* More (Mock 2014)
- *Living Inside the Rainbow: Winning the Battlefield of the Mind* (Parker Bello 2013).

A similar progression from victimization to redemption was also evident between first and second book titles when books were re-written. Flores wrote one version of her book in 2007, and a second version in 2010 with a co-author. The first title focused only on victimization: *The Sacred Bath: An American Teen's Story of Modern Day Slavery*. Compare that to the second title, that included the victimization of slavery but added a focus on survival: *The Slave Across the Street: The True Story of How an American Teen Survived the World of Human Trafficking*. Similarly, Stevens also published two memoir versions, the first as a dissertation, and the second with a popular press publisher. The titles showed a progression from victimization alone to victimization plus survivency. The title of the dissertation was: *Scared Selfless: An Autoethnographic Account of Enslavement in a Pedophilic Sex Ring*. The title of the book that followed included both surviving and thriving: *Selfless: My Journey from Abuse and Madness to Surviving and Thriving* (Stevens 2017).

Like the slave narratives of the 18th and 19th centuries, there is a redemptive focus in survivors' self-published narratives, particularly because all but three authors wrote and published in the U.S., where historical themes of redemption can be traced back hundreds of years (McAdams 2013). Examining individual word choices provides a clearer picture of victimization: variations of the word *slave* (*slavery*, *slave*, or *enslavement*); depictions of hunting: (*prey*, *abducted*, and *stolen*); and negative outcomes (*shattered*, *betrayal*, *lost innocence*, *darkness*, *abuse*, and *madness*). Countering those experiences were powerful words of survivency: resistance (*searching*, *escaping*, *fighting*, *breaking free*, *deconstructing*); voice (*breaking the silence*, *collapsing this hushed house*, and *witness*); and positive outcomes (*transformation*, *resilience*, *hope*, *triumphant*, *inspirational*, *healing*, *happiness*, *rebirth*, *redemption*, *living*, and *thriving.*

The breadth and intensity of long-term survivors' lived experiences are reflective of the dozens of rooms in their mansions, the destruction that built them, the work that cleaned them out, and the satisfying results of using the powerful tools unearthed in the process. In multiple ways, the titles crafted by long-term ssurvivors communicate their different standpoints, struggles, and achievements in survivency.

The titles in the above analysis were all written by female survivor-authors, and there were gender-related differences in the percentages of titles authored by men. Only 15% of the titles authored by women focused only on victimization (5 of 33). However, four of the five male authors (80%) chose memoir titles that focused only on the period of time during victimization:

- *Street Child: A Memoir* (Early 2013)
- *Faraway Boy: A Suburban Boy's Story as a Victim of Sex Trafficking* (Kline and Maurer 2015)
- *Self-Portrait of a Chicken: Young Man for Rent* (Sterry 2013)
- *Assuming the Position: A Memoir of Hustling* (Whitaker 1999)

Wheeler, the fifth author in this group, titled his memoir, Wretch: Haunted by Shadows-Rescued by Jesus (2016). The negative connotations in the word "wretch" are the strongest used by an author to refer to themselves, particularly compared to words like advocate and activist that the female survivors used to refer to themselves. The author paired the victim focus and negative self-assessment with a passive rather than active term for resolution: "rescued."

Both male and female survivors struggle against societal condemnation, but it takes different forms. Because women have to fight against being seen as broken, helpless, perpetual victims, they strive to communicate strength and self-determination in their language. Men experience a specific type of victim blaming that stems from societal expectations that they should be strong enough to defend themselves. Even harsher, they face discrimination under the (false) assumption that sexually abused boys become men who are sexual predators. Titles crafted by men who survived childhood CSE focus on the time period of victimization and communicating a need for rescue also confronts this different societal reality. In multiple ways, the titles crafted by long-term survivors communicate their different standpoints, struggles, and achievements in survivency.