

JUVENILE SEX TRAFFICKING AND HAWAI‘I PUBLIC POLICY:  
EXAMINING THE POLICY IMAGE OF JUVENILES INVOLVED WITH COMMERCIAL  
SEXUAL ACTIVITY IN HAWAI‘I

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY  
OF HAWAI‘I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR  
THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

SOCIAL WELFARE

MAY 2018

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Keywords: prostitution survivorship, social work, content analysis, framing theory  
codebook, policy elite theory, Hawai‘i public communications

## ABSTRACT

Juvenile sex trafficking is a grave social problem that involves the commercial sexual exploitation of children. At the beginning of 2016, Hawai‘i ranked among the states with the least amount of protective legislation for juvenile sex trafficking victims. A potential factor contributing to this state-level response was the way in which the issue was discussed and framed within Hawai‘i’s public communications. The purpose of this dissertation was to examine the policy image created within the communication frames used by policy elite actors in Hawai‘i.

This study drew data from two distinct sources: Hawai‘i’s major newspapers (n = 102 articles) and written testimony submitted to the Hawai‘i State Legislature (n = 399 testimony). A mixed methods content analysis was utilized to analyze the data. Analysis was guided by framing theory and was based upon Entman’s four-part typology: problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and policy recommendation. Specific attention was paid to the use of episodic and thematic frames.

Within the newspaper article data set, the overall policy image of juveniles was a variable one. Most often an image of juveniles as victims of sexual exploitation was used (45%), although in almost a quarter of the articles (22%) juveniles were clearly portrayed as criminals, and in a third of the articles (33%) juveniles were portrayed as both criminals and victims. Within the legislative testimony data set, the overall policy image of juveniles involved with commercial sexual activity was unmistakably an image of juveniles as victims of sexual exploitation (90%).

A gradual shift in the policy image of commercially sexually involved juveniles is emerging within Hawai‘i’s public communications. Juveniles are increasingly being framed as victims of sexual exploitation rather than as criminals offending society. A key conceptual

change necessary for disrupting exploitation and addressing juvenile need is to view juveniles as victims deserving of social aid rather than as criminals undeserving of social aid. The trend that is emerging in Hawai‘i’s major newspapers and in State legislative records seems to indicate that this key conceptual change is occurring within the communication frames used by Hawai‘i’s policy elite actors.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### Juvenile Sex Trafficking

#### *Definition*

Juvenile sex trafficking is a grave social problem that involves the commercial sexual exploitation of children. It is synonymous with underage prostitution, youth survival sex, prostitution of minors, child sex trafficking, and domestic minor sex trafficking (DMST) when American juveniles are involved (Estes & Weiner, 2001; Kotrla, 2010; Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2010; Rand, 2009; Reid, 2011; Shared Hope International, 2015a; Swaner, Labriola, Rempel, Walker, & Spadafore, 2016). This form of juvenile sexual exploitation can be applied to a wide range of situations and behaviors including street prostitution, pornography, stripping, erotic massage, escort services, phone sex lines, private parties, gang-based prostitution, interfamilial pimping, and internet-based exploitation, among others (18 U.S. Code § 2251 – sexual exploitation of children).

Under federal guidelines, a victim of juvenile sex trafficking can be understood as any person under the age of 18 who is engaged in any sexual act in exchange for anything of value, such as food, money, shelter, drugs, or protection, or even the promise of something of value (Estes & Weiner, 2001; Klain, 1999; Senate Testimony, 2014d). A third party need not be involved. If a juvenile is involved in a commercial sexual exchange, then the juvenile is considered a victim of sex trafficking and the other party is considered the exploiter (Klain, 1999; Senate Testimony, 2014d; Swaner et al, 2016).

#### *Consequences*

Consequences for juvenile sex trafficking have been documented as serious and long-term. These consequences extend not only to victims, but to families, communities, and the

larger society (Birckhead, 2011; Clayton, Krugman, & Simon, 2013; Hanna, 2002; Mitchell et al, 2010; Musto, 2013; PASS, 2013; Reid & Jones, 2011; Smith, Vardaman, & Snow, 2009). As highlighted in the report by the Committee on the Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Sex Trafficking of Minors in the United States (Clayton et al, 2013), victims of trafficking face immediate and long-term social, legal and health consequences, including sexually transmitted diseases, unplanned pregnancies, illegal drug use, post-traumatic stress disorder, and self-destructive behaviors. Exploiters and traffickers are often able to operate undetected and without serious penalties (Swaner et al, 2016). The perpetrators of these crimes contribute to and benefit financially from the exploitation and abuse of juveniles, and those who purchase or trade for sex with juveniles engage in and help fuel the ongoing demand for juveniles in commercial sexual activity. The Committee concludes by cautioning that a nation unaware of these issues or disengaged from their solutions unwittingly contributes to the ongoing abuse of juveniles. It warns that inattention to the exploitation of juveniles ensures that the related issues and the victims themselves remain marginalized and misunderstood (Clayton et al, 2013).

### *Estimates*

Reliable estimates of juvenile sex trafficking are difficult to obtain due to the clandestine nature of the problem, the questionable methodologies of prior studies, and a lack of sufficient attention to the issue in the past (Swaner et al, 2016; Stransky & Finkelhor, 2008; Musto, 2013). The hidden nature of the problem creates many challenges including juvenile victims that are difficult to locate, reluctant to self-identify, and resistant to services (Clawson & Dutch, 2008; Estes & Weiner, 2001; Friedman, 2005; Williams, 2009). They may be unaware of, or unable to find services, and may be unable to escape from an exploiter (Dorais & Carriveau, 2009; Swaner et al, 2016). The challenges presented by the lack of comprehensive research samples include an

over-reliance on statistics that represent only a portion of the population, such as those juveniles who come into contact with law enforcement or social services or the medical profession (Swaner et al, 2016).

The greatest challenge, however, is simply a lack of available research data. The State of Hawai‘i, for example, only began to officially collect human trafficking data in January 2014, in compliance with the 2008 William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (Fuatagavi & Perrone, 2016). To date, there are very few empirical studies that estimate the number of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity nationally and there are no empirical studies that estimate juvenile sex trafficking in Hawai‘i specifically (Swaner et al, 2016). Those studies that do attempt an estimate rely on methodologies that have clear limitations. These limitations include measuring ‘at risk’ juveniles or utilizing arrest records (Estes & Weiner, 2001; Mitchell et al, 2010; Stransky & Finkelhor, 2008; Swaner et al, 2016).

### *National Characteristics*

The limited data that are available suggest that the average age of juveniles who are commercially sexually exploited is between 11 and 14 years old, about the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> grade; some children are as young as 4 years old (Adams, Owens, & Small, 2010; Barnitz, 2001; Estes & Weiner, 2001; Friedman, 2005; Kreston, 2000; Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2013; NCMEC, 1992; Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016; Senate Testimony, 2014c; Siskin & Wyler, 2013). Estimates also suggest that eighty percent of adults in prostitution were first juvenile victims of sexual exploitation, indicating a strong correlation between juvenile sex trafficking and adult prostitution (Birckhead, 2011; Hanna, 2002).

Analysis of juvenile narratives indicate that physical, emotional, and sexual abuse, particularly sexual trauma, are defining features in the lives of many involved with commercial

sexual activity (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2013; Chesney-Lind & Sheldon, 2014; Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016; Wilson & Widom, 2010). Research shows that these negative emotional experiences create profound disruption in psycho-social functioning which results in difficulty regulating impulses and problems with developing emotional attachment to non-abusive relationships while fostering familiarity and comfort with sexually exploitive ones (Wilson & Widom, 2010). The psycho-social effects caused by early sexual abuse condition many of these juveniles to develop a familiarity, comfort, and enthrallment with commercial sexual exploitation (Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016). Part of this enthrallment can entail feelings of romantic attachment to an exploitive relationship, denial of the existence of commercial sexual exploitation, and an increased sense of worth and power connected to the exploitation, however temporary that sense may be (Dorais & Carriveau, 2009; Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016). Many juveniles may self-identify as survivors, rather than agree with a simplistic depiction of them as ‘victims’ or even ‘offenders’ (Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016; Swaner et al, 2016; Williams, 2009).

Homeless and runaway youth are the primary population from which juvenile sex trafficking victims are drawn (Swaner et al, 2016). These juveniles have often experienced complex trauma prior to their commercial exploitation, including domestic violence, neglect, abuse, and sexual violence (Williams, 2009). These experiences often lead to their running from home, increasing the risk of recruitment into sex trafficking and sexual victimization on the streets (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2013; Dorais & Carriveau, 2009; Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016; Williams & Fredrick, 2009). According to the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC), 1 in 5 of the 11,800 runaways reported to NCMEC in 2015 were likely sex trafficking victims. This number is an increase from 1 in 6 runaways in 2014, and 1 in 7

runaways in 2013 (NCMEC, 2016). The steady, persistent increase in these numbers reflects the growing nature of this problem in America (SHI, 2015a).

### *Hawai'i State Characteristics*

Existing research and information specific to homeless and runaway youth in Hawai'i is limited and quite dated (Yuan, Stern, Gauci, & Liu, 2018). To help rectify this situation, in 2018, the University of Hawai'i's Center on the Family released a survey of O'ahu's street youth, the first of its kind in four decades. The survey provides a snapshot of O'ahu's homeless and unaccompanied youth, including data on survival strategies such as survival sex. It reveals a range of demographic backgrounds and experiences, and it indicates an intersectionality of gender and race which is unique to Hawai'i.

Almost half (44.4%) of those surveyed were Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian. A similar proportion of the respondents had lived in Hawai'i their entire lives, indicating that the majority of Hawai'i's young homeless are born in the Hawaiian Islands. The majority of the young people interviewed (58.9%) were male, with over a third (37.1%) being female and 4.0% transgender or gender non-conforming. More than one in 10 reported engaging in survival sex, with about two-thirds (65.0%) of these saying they were forced. The study found that the youth faced high rates of violence, sexual assault and sexual exploitation, and they were likely to engage in high-risk behaviors such as substance abuse. The study concludes that, beyond basic physical care, street youth who engage in survival sex and other risky sexual behaviors could benefit from more intensive health services, including treatment for sexually transmitted infections and healthcare for unplanned pregnancies.

In 2015, the last year that data was available for this research project, in Hawai'i there were 2,078 reported runaways. An estimated one-third of these runaways were deemed at high-

risk for trafficking (Fuatagavi & Perrone, 2016; PASS, 2013). Juveniles deemed at high-risk are those with a history of sexual abuse and repeated runaway incidents. Juveniles of Native Hawaiian ethnicity are disproportionately represented among Hawai'i's runaway population (34%) and, according to the NCMEC, 74% of these likely victims were in the care of social services or foster care when they went missing (NCMEC, 2016). In 2015, of all juvenile arrests (n=6,237) in Hawai'i, 33% (n=2,078) were for runaway offenses. Of these arrests, three juveniles aged 13-14 and three juveniles aged 17 were arrested on prostitution charges (Fuatagavi & Perrone, 2016).

Research has shown that Native Hawaiian juveniles are dramatically overrepresented among those detained at the Hawai'i Youth Correctional Facility (Bilsky & Chesney-Lind, 2011). Despite decades of a focus on 'disproportionate minority confinement,' a study conducted by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and the Justice Policy Institute concludes that disparate imprisonment continues to fall on Native Hawaiians (Bilsky & Chesney-Lind, 2011; Chesney-Lind & Bilsky, 2011; OHA/JPI, 2010). The criminal justice system in the United States has long been implicated in the enforcement of racial privilege, and the over-detention of Native Hawaiian juveniles underscores that reality (Alexander, 2010; Chesney-Lind & Bilsky, 2011).

A detailed reading of Hawaiian history reveals that the criminal justice system has always played an active role in the colonizing of the islands (Chesney-Lind & Bilsky, 2011). Scholars note that carceral systems have been fundamental strategies in the colonization process, as exemplified by the imprisonment of Queen Lili'uokalani (Chesney-Lind & Bilsky, 2011; Keahiolalo-Karasuda, 2008; Merry, 2000). Carceral strategies have included the total absence of freedom, social stigma, fear of the unknown, the experience of surveillance, the searching of one's body and belongings, and 'rituals of degradation' (Bilsky & Chesney-Lind, 2011;

Chesney-Lind & Bilsky, 2011; Keahiolalo-Karasuda, 2008; Piven & Cloward, 1971). For Native Hawaiians, law enforcement, punishment, and prisons were central components of colonial rule, and research suggests that the current juvenile justice system may be playing a unique role in Hawai‘i where both punishment and incarceration are understood to be key elements of the colonizing effort (Chesney-Lind & Bilsky, 2011; Keahiolalo-Karasuda, 2008; Merry, 2000).

### **Juvenile Sex Trafficking Policy**

#### ***Historical Policy Development***

Historically, juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity have been referred to as child prostitutes or underage sex workers. These juveniles have been prosecuted as criminals and subjected to arrest, detention, incarceration, and required to register as sex offenders under state criminal and juvenile delinquency laws (Clayton et al, 2013). Limited protections have historically been provided under the 1910 Mann Act, also known as the White Slave Traffic Act, especially after the act was specifically amended in 1978 and 1986 to address the commercial sexual exploitation of juveniles (18 USC §§ 2421-2424). However, historically, only some aspects of juvenile prostitution were criminalized, and it was largely misunderstood and overlooked (Adams et al, 2010; Clayton et al, 2013; Klain, 1999). Only in the past two decades has this particular form of child sexual abuse begun to be addressed.

Within the past two decades, both national and international perspectives have begun to shift. Increasingly these juveniles are being identified as victims of insupportable sexual exploitation (Swaner et al, 2016). In 1996, the growing international concern about exploitive sexual practices involving juveniles culminated in the first World Congress Against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children. Convened in Stockholm, Sweden with 119 participating countries, the gathering resulted in the unanimous adoption of The Stockholm

Declaration and Agenda for Action (Adams et al, 2010; Mahler, 1997). This Agenda for Action established the first international working definition for the commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth:

“The commercial sexual exploitation of children is a fundamental violation of children’s rights. It comprises sexual abuse by the adult and remuneration in cash or kind to the child or a third person or persons. The child is treated as a sexual object and as a commercial object. The commercial sexual exploitation of children constitutes a form of coercion and violence against children, and amounts to forced labor and a contemporary form of slavery.”

The Declaration further specified:

“Every child is entitled to full protection from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse... States are required to protect the child from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse and promote physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration of the child victim.”

### ***Contemporary Policy Development***

Following this, the United States Congress enacted the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Prevention Act of 2000, also known as the TVPA. Within the TVPA, Congress established for the first time that all juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity were to be identified as victims of sex trafficking. The TVPA clarified that it was a crime to recruit, entice, harbor, transport, provide, obtain, advertise, maintain, patronize, or solicit by any means any person under the age of 18 for the purpose of a commercial sex act (TVPA, 2000).

The TVPA (Public Law 106-386) is considered to be the cornerstone of U.S. legislative efforts to address the commercial sexual exploitation of children in America (Adams et al, 2010). As the first comprehensive law to combat human trafficking, it criminalized human trafficking on a federal level and focused anti-trafficking efforts on prevention, protection, and prosecution (Adams et al, 2010).

Several events following the TVPA’s passage helped to strengthen federal efforts to combat juvenile sex trafficking. In 2003, Congress passed the Prosecutorial Remedies and Other



Tools to End the Exploitation of Children Today (PROTECT) Act (Public Law 108-21). The PROTECT Act expanded territorial jurisdiction so that Americans abroad could be prosecuted. Also in 2003, the FBI's Innocence Lost National Initiative was launched and has become the U.S. government's largest initiative against juvenile sex trafficking. It operates task forces and working groups throughout the United States. As part of the initiative, the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) and the U.S. Attorneys' offices work in tandem with the FBI's Office for Victim Assistance to train local and federal law enforcement and social service providers on multidisciplinary approaches to address juvenile sex trafficking in the United States. The TVPA and its reauthorizations in 2003, 2005, 2008, and 2013, the PROTECT Act of 2003, and other acts such as the 2006 Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act, have funded task forces to better identify victims, enhance victim services and increase penalties for perpetrators (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011; Finklea, Fernandes-Alcantara, & Siskin, 2011; Finn, Sims Blackwell, Jackson, & Oakley, 2009; Monto, 2004; Muslim, Labriola, & Rempel, 2008; Siskin & Wyler, 2013; Small, Adams, Owens, & Roland, 2008).

These foundational initiatives at both the national and international level signal an important shift in the global perspective concerning juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity. A global commitment has been established to re-conceptualize prostituted juveniles such that they are identified as victims rather than as criminals. Internationally, anti-trafficking efforts have accelerated since the passage of the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons in 2000 (TVPA, P.L. 106-386 in Siskin and Wyler, 2013; UNTOC, 2012). Nationally, anti-trafficking policy efforts have accelerated since the enactment of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act in 2000. The United States and the United Nations have identified prevention, protection, and prosecution as the key components necessary to combat

human trafficking. Subsequent national and international efforts have progressively focused on providing juveniles with services while increasing the legal consequences for the adults who exploit them (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011; Finklea et al, 2011; Finn et al, 2009; Monto, 2004; Muslim et al, 2008; SHI, 2016b; Siskin & Wyler, 2013; Small et al, 2008; Todres, 2011).

### ***Federal and State Policy Development***

Since 2000, within the United States, federal, state, and local policymakers have responded to anti-trafficking efforts with an array of initiatives. Included among these initiatives are those that expand federal and state enforcement for perpetrators who exploit juveniles for commercial gain; training for law enforcement in identifying at-risk and involved juveniles; specialized human or sex trafficking courts that seek to connect juveniles with court-ordered services; and interagency task forces designed to coordinate action among advocates and the criminal, child welfare, juvenile justice, and social service systems (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011; Finklea et al, 2011; Finn et al, 2009; Monto, 2004; Muslim et al, 2008; Siskin & Wyler, 2013; Small et al, 2008).

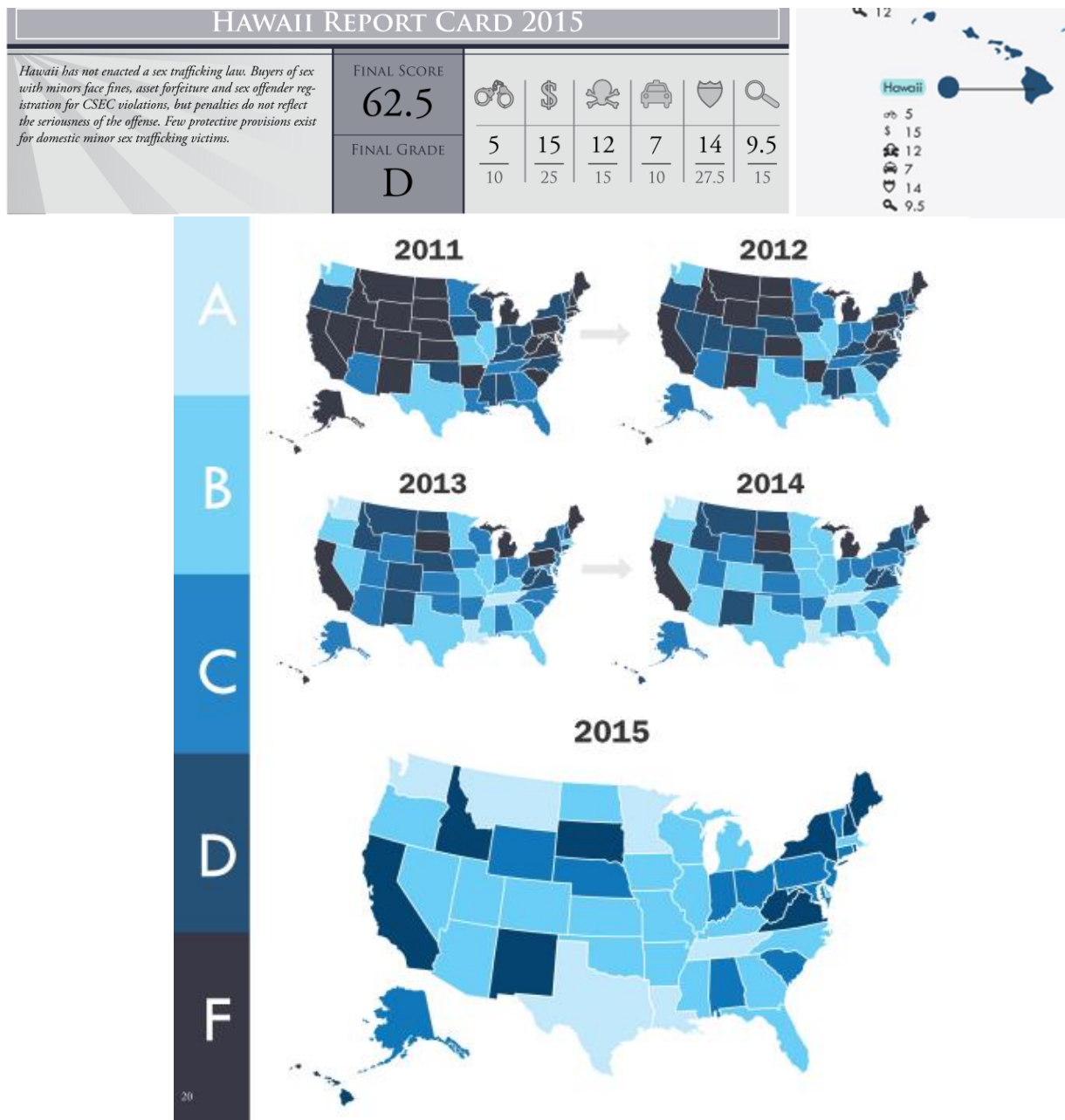
Policy intervention at both the federal and state level is one of the most effective ways to address the issue of juvenile sex trafficking. To accomplish this, four primary policy principles are identified: 1) eliminating demand; 2) prosecuting traffickers; 3) identifying victims; and 4) providing protection, access to services, and shelter for victims (Smith et al, 2009).

Demand is the primary driver of the commercial sex industry. Those who purchase sex with juveniles are classified as preferential (pedophiles), opportunistic (thrill seekers), or situational (indifferent to the age of the person being prostituted), and yet many are not recognized as critical participants in this form of juvenile victimization (SHI, 2012; SHI, 2015a). The ability to arrest and prosecute a trafficker is often based solely on the victim's cooperation

with the investigation and testimony at trial, and yet this approach often places a heavy burden on juvenile victims who typically require a lengthy amount of time before disclosing the facts of his or her victimization (SHI, 2012).

By elaborating on these four primary policy principles, a legislative framework has been established from which a robust state-level policy agenda can be developed and evaluated (SHI, 2016b; Smith et al, 2009). Developing a robust policy agenda entails grouping the four policy principles into the following six areas of law: 1) criminalization of juvenile sex trafficking; 2) criminal provisions addressing demand; 3) criminal provisions for traffickers; 4) criminal provisions for facilitators; 5) protective provisions for the child victims; and, 6) criminal justice tools for investigation and prosecution. Each area of law may include several laws that affect the policy within a state's legal code, and each area can be scrutinized to determine if the state's laws are sufficient in addressing the specified policy need.

A federally funded initiative entitled The Protected Innocence Challenge provides an annual, comprehensive study of state juvenile sex trafficking laws based on this legislative framework. This initiative utilizes a Report Card approach to evaluating the strength of individual state policy responses, and it publishes annual report cards for each state (SHI, 2015a). These report cards assign a letter grade (A-F) to each state based on 41 key legislative components that must be addressed in a state's legal code in order for the state to have a sufficiently robust policy response to the crime of juvenile sex trafficking. By 2015, Hawai'i still rated at a "D" for its legislative response to the issue of juvenile sex trafficking (SHI, 2015b).



**FIGURE 1: HAWAI‘I’S 2015 STATE RATING** REPRINTED BY PERMISSION OF SHARED HOPE INTERNATIONAL

**Statement of the Problem**

***Punitive State-Level Policy Responses***

The development of a robust policy agenda at the individual state level is critical in establishing an effective strategy to address juvenile sex trafficking (PASS, 2013; Polaris Project, 2013; SHI, 2015a). A key conceptual change necessary is viewing juveniles involved in

commercial sexual activity as victims rather than criminals. However, despite efforts to address this issue, an inconsistency exists between federal and state policies focused on juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity (Reid & Jones, 2011; Menaker & Franklin, 2013). At the federal level, all juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity are identified as victims of exploitation in need of protective policies focused on recovery and restoration. At the individual state level, however, and in many states including Hawai‘i, juveniles involved with commercial sexual activity can still be subjected to criminal policies focused on punishment and correction (Adams et al, 2010; Fuatagavi & Perrone, 2016; Mitchell et al, 2013; SHI, 2015b; SHI, 2016b; Swaner et al, 2016).

One of the primary barriers to effectively addressing juvenile sex trafficking is misidentifying juveniles as criminals rather than victims. Juvenile incarceration is the most extreme form of punishment available to a society intent on controlling juvenile misbehavior, and the identification of juveniles as criminals creates a number of negative consequences (Chesney-Lind & Bilsky, 2011). One of the most significant consequences for juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity is a failure to receive the services necessary to interrupt and treat the trauma that has occurred. Providing protection, access to services, and shelter for victims are among the primary services necessary to address the effects of commercial sexual exploitation, and yet juveniles who have been identified as offenders and subjected to detention rarely have access to these specialized services (Willimas, 2009). As research has shown, the conditions of juvenile confinement have long been a source of controversy and concern, and yet many districts in the United States, including Hawai‘i, continue to focus on incarcerating and punishing delinquent juveniles (Chesney-Lind & Bilsky, 2011).

## *Hawai‘i’s Policy Response*

As late as 2016, Hawai‘i ranked among the states with the least amount of legislative protection for juvenile sex trafficking victims. Based upon the policy framework of the Protected Innocence Challenge, Hawai‘i was among the worst states regarding its response to the issue. In the five years, 2011-2015, that the Protected Innocence Challenge had analyzed nationwide data for the fifty states and the District of Columbia, Hawai‘i had not risen above a “D” for its legislative response. In 2015, only three other states – Maine, New Hampshire, and South Dakota – received as equally low a score as Hawai‘i (SHI, 2016a).

Rhode Island	10	20.5	12	7.5	8.5	9.5	68	D
New York	8.5	12	12.5	9	14	10	66	D
Virginia	7.5	17	12.5	5	11.5	12.5	66	D
West Virginia	7.5	18	12	3.5	13	12	66	D
California	7.5	14	11	3.5	20	9.5	65.5	D
Idaho	7.5	18.5	15	5	8.5	10	64.5	D
New Mexico	7.5	13.5	12.5	6	14.5	10	64	D
Hawaii	5	15	12	7	14	9.5	62.5	D
Maine	7.5	14.5	12	6	15	7.5	62.5	D
New Hampshire	8.5	10	14.5	3.5	19	7	62.5	D
South Dakota	8	17.5	15	7.5	7.5	7	62.5	D

**FIGURE 2: LOWEST 2015 STATE RATINGS REPRINTED BY PERMISSION OF SHARED HOPE INTERNATIONAL**

In 2016 Hawai‘i became the very last state in America to pass a law that specifically criminalized sex trafficking (PASS, 2013; Polaris Project, 2013; SHI, 2015a). In 2016 Hawai‘i also became the very last state to pass a law that specifically made juvenile sex trafficking a serious offense without regard to the use of force, fraud or coercion (SHI, 2016b).

In Hawai‘i, prostitution laws could still be applied to juveniles, leaving them vulnerable to prosecution as criminals. Accordingly, juvenile sex trafficking victims faced criminalization for commercial sex acts committed as a result of their victimization, and there was no prohibition on a defendant raising consent of the juvenile to the commercial sex act as a defense to prosecution (SHI, 2015a). This policy response to the issue of juvenile sex trafficking left Hawai‘i’s exploited juveniles vulnerable to prosecution as criminals rather than protected as

victims with specialized needs, and it placed them among some of the least protected juveniles in the nation.

Hawai‘i’s policy response indicated a perspective on the issue of juvenile sex trafficking that was inconsistent with the prevailing national perspective. The consequence of this inconsistency was a state-wide failure to identify juveniles as sex trafficking victims. As a result, there continues to be an inability to provide juveniles with the specialized services needed to disrupt their exploitation, address their trauma, and provide them with physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration (Mitchell et al, 2010; Musto, 2013; NCMEC, 2016; PASS, 2013; Polaris Project, 2013; Smith et al, 2009).

### **Significance of the Problem**

In Hawai‘i, juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity are often vulnerable to prosecution as offenders. Data indicate that Hawai‘i’s exploited juveniles fail to receive the specialized services needed to interrupt their exploitation and address their trauma (Fuatagavi & Perrone, 2016; Musto, 2013; NCMEC, 2016; PASS, 2013; Polaris Project, 2013; SHI, 2015b; Smith et al, 2009). As late as 2016, under Hawai‘i’s legal statutes, commercially sexually exploited juveniles could still be arrested and charged as prostitutes (SHI, 2015b). Both males and females as young as 13 were arrested and charged every year with prostitution in Hawai‘i (Fuatagavi & Perrone, 2016). Law enforcement officers have expressed frustration and regret that they are often compelled to charge a commercially sexually exploited juvenile with a delinquent offense, such as prostitution, in order to detain the juvenile and keep him or her safe from traffickers (Musto, 2013; SHI, 2015a; Smith et al, 2009). Detention, however, is detrimental to these juveniles (Bilsky & Chesney-Lind, 2011). Not only do they rarely have access to specialized services in detention, but detention in the juvenile justice process sends the

message that the juveniles are the criminals and are responsible for the crimes committed against them (Menaker & Franklin, 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Musto, 2013).

One of the greatest challenges working with juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity may be changing the long-standing perception of these juveniles as criminals (Clawson & Goldblatt Grace, 2007). It is a view commonly held by society, and it is a view often held by many of the juveniles themselves (Menaker & Franklin, 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013). Rather than presenting as victims, these juveniles may present as strong, willful survivors who seem very different from the victims portrayed in the media (Goddard, Bortoli, Saunders, & Tucci, 2005; Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016; Williams, 2009). These juveniles realize they are in the system because their own efforts at survival have been criminalized, and they have been identified as ‘offenders’ because they do not conform to the stereotype of a victim (Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016; Williams, 2009). The narratives of these juveniles suggest themes of coping, survival, and even personal agency that challenge portrayals of them simply as ‘victims’ or ‘offenders’ (Dorais & Carriveau, 2009; Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016; Swaner et al, 2016; Williams, 2009). Research indicates that the pathways toward commercial sexual exploitation, especially for girls, appear to be multi-faceted and complex. These pathways may entail different relationships, many layers of enthrallment, socialization to these behaviors in early adolescence, criminalized survival and coping strategies, and varying degrees of family court and justice system intervention, suggesting a need for a more nuanced understanding of this population. (Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016; Swaner et al, 2016; Williams, 2009; Williams & Fredrick, 2009).

Scholars have noted that public perceptions of girls involved in the commercial sex industry are influenced by media portrayals (Goddard et al, 2005; Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016; Williams, 2009). These media representations skew public understanding of forced and coerced



prostitution, and they limit the degree to which exploited juveniles are recognized as needing rehabilitative aid. Juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity continue to be portrayed as prostitutes complicit with their abuse rather than as victims of abuse, and research findings suggest that society often holds these juveniles responsible for their exploitation (Birckhead, 2011; Halter, 2010; Menaker & Franklin, 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; SHI, 2015a).

The identification of juveniles as criminals occurs at all levels and stages. From law enforcement arrests on the street to the intake processes of homeless and runaway youth shelters to court adjudication, juveniles are commonly identified as delinquents for offenses committed as a result of their exploitation (Menaker & Franklin, 2013; Reid & Jones, 2011; Schwartz, 2008; SHI, 2015a). Research indicates that local law enforcement officers are likely to be the first responders in contact with juvenile victims of commercial sexual exploitation (Friedman, 2005; Halter, 2010; Mitchell et al, 2013; Musto, 2013). However, law enforcement officers often perceive the juveniles as willing prostitutes and tend to dismiss the idea of juvenile sex trafficking as a distant and unrelated concern (Halter, 2010; Rand, 2009; Wilson, Walsh, & Kleuber, 2006).

As a result of this pervasive image of criminality, juveniles can still be prosecuted as sex offenders engaged in socially destructive behavior (Birckhead, 2011; Fuatagavi & Perrone, 2016; Halter, 2010; Mitchell et al, 2013; Musto, 2013; Polaris Project, 2013). Prosecuted as delinquents and criminals, juveniles fail to receive the services necessary to interrupt and address the trauma they have experienced (Musto, 2013; Polaris Project, 2013; SHI, 2015a). Adjudicating juveniles as delinquents and detaining them in juvenile facilities underscore the message that the juveniles are responsible for their own victimization (Birckhead, 2011; Musto, 2013; Schwartz, 2008). Detention can also contribute to the retention of juveniles in commercial sexual exploitation by

reinforcing the unique trauma bonding that occurs between victims and their traffickers, convincing juveniles to return to those who are responsible for their exploitation (Menaker & Franklin, 2013; Reid & Jones, 2011; Schwartz, 2008; Senate Testimony, 2014d).

### **Purpose of the Study**

Research efforts that focus on the re-conceptualization of this population as victims of exploitation are needed. Juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity have traditionally been considered delinquents, thus much of the existing research has been conducted by criminology and other disciplines focused on juvenile maladaptive behaviors (Flowers, 2001; Kreston, 2000; Mitchell et al, 2010). Accordingly, there is a lack of research conducted by social welfare and other disciplines focused on juvenile protection and social justice (Goddard et al, 2005; Menaker & Franklin, 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Mitchell et al, 2010; Mitchell et al, 2013; Todres, 2011). Given the current shift in perspective that is occurring, research is warranted which examines a potentially corresponding shift in the policy image for this population. Also, given the global consensus that is emerging, research that examines disparities that persist which potentially undermine stronger protective legislation for this vulnerable population is necessary.

Framing theory, used widely in public policy research, may offer some insight into the factors contributing to the inconsistency that exists between America's federal response to juvenile sex trafficking and Hawai'i's state level response to the issue. Framing theory and public policy studies suggest that policy decisions are strongly influenced by the frames used in the communication between policy elite actors and the American public (Brewer, Graf, & Willnat, 2003; Brewer & Sigelman, 2002; Chong & Druckman, 2007; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Policy elite actors are defined as those within society who have a substantial and often disproportionate influence in policy decision making. Examples of policy elite actors are

scholars, the media, and stakeholders such as interest groups and community leaders.

Communication frames are defined as the selective language used to highlight certain aspects of a problem and promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, or solution to the problem (Entman, 2004). The ways in which policy elite actors may communicate with the American public encompass a wide variety of means including mass media, newspapers, journals, broadcasts, news reports and official public statements.

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the communication frames used by policy elite actors in Hawai‘i to discuss the issue of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity. Research indicates that the way in which a population or an issue is discussed and portrayed within public communications affects public policies directed toward that population or issue. Baumgartner and Jones (1991) referred to this social construction as a ‘policy image,’ and Entman (1993) developed a four-part typology that can be utilized to evaluate the policy image created within these communication frames. This typology organizes communication frames into four categories: defining the problem, identifying causes, making moral judgements, and suggesting remedies. By examining the communication frames used by policy elite actors in Hawai‘i, it will help to better evaluate perspectives and attitudes that influence the policy response to the issue of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity in Hawai‘i.

### **Research Questions**

The following Research Questions were the focus of this dissertation:

- 1) How is the issue of juveniles involved with commercial sexual activity in the United States framed by policy elite actors within Hawai‘i’s public communications? Specifically:
  - a) How is the problem defined?
  - b) What are potential causes that are identified?

- c) What are moral evaluations that are offered?
  - d) What are policy remedies that are suggested?
- 2) Have these frames changed since the passage of the TVPA in 2000? If so, how?

## CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### Framing Theory

This dissertation utilizes framing theory to examine communication frames used by policy elite actors when addressing the issue of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity in Hawai‘i. Framing refers to the process by which an audience develops a particular conceptualization about an issue or re-orient their thinking about that issue (Chong & Druckman, 2007). In essence, framing theory suggests that the way in which information is communicated, or framed, for an audience will influence the choices that the audience will make about that information (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996; Goffman, 1974; Scheufele, 1999). The major premise of framing theory is that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives, and an issue can be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Framing is a fundamental part of political communication, and frames can be communicated through rhetorical devices including metaphors, quotes, caricatures, catchphrases, and visual images (Aaroe, 2011; Entman, 1993; Nelson, Clawson, & Oxley, 1997). Framing theory, from the field of communication, draws upon Erving Goffman’s work in economics, and the earlier agenda-setting theory associated with Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw (Goffman, 1974; McCombs & Shaw, 1993).

#### *Communication Frames and Policy Elite Actors*

Framing theory suggests that policy decisions are strongly influenced by the frames used in the communication between policy elite actors and the American public. Examples of policy elite actors are academic experts, media outlets, interest groups, and opinion leaders (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Political elite theory proposes that the ability to influence policy is concentrated in the hands of a powerful minority. This minority consists of individuals or groups

to whom decision makers look for advice, and whose interests and opinions exert significant influence over decision makers (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Domke, Lagos, LaPointe, Meade, & Xenos, 2000; Davis, 2003; Maloy, 2008; Shah, Watts, Domke, & Fan, 2002; Stachowiak, 2008).

This perspective contends that the majority of the American public does not directly experience politics, nor do they hold strong, stable attitudes about many social topics. Rather, the majority of the American public adopt attitudes and perspectives on issues that are presented in the public communications of political elite actors (Iyengar, 1991; Shah et al, 2002). Instead of closely following political debates about many social issues personally, the majority of the American public allow policy elites to grapple with the specific details of these complex issues, and then they form attitudes and opinions based on the frames these policy elites present in their communications with the public (Domke et al, 2000; Kuklinski & Hurley, 1994; Mondak, 1993; Shah et al, 2002).

### ***Communication Frames and Public Policy***

The research literature which draws upon framing theory indicates that communication frames have the potential to significantly impact public policy (Carragee & Roefs, 2004; Dardis, Baumgartner, Boydston, De Boef & Shen, 2008; Druckman, Jacobs, & Ostermeier, 2004; Druckman & Nelson 2003; Edwards & Wood, 1999; Entman, 2004; Fridkin & Kenney, 2005; Gamson, 1992; Rose & Baumgartner, 2013; Scheufele, 1999; Walsh, 2003). Public policy research acknowledges that there are numerous variables, both known and unknown, which impact policy and lead to change, but the research seems clear that media framing and public narratives concerning certain issues and populations have a strong potential impact (Aaroe, 2011; Baumgartner & Jones, 1991; Gross, 2008; Hart, 2011; Lawrence, 2004; Rose & Baumgartner, 2013; Schneider & Ingram, 1993).

According to Kingdon, in his influential book "Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies" (1984), the way in which the public views a social issue determines the potential public policy solutions proposed. This 'social construction' understanding of the policy process posits that populations and issues can be presented as either deserving or undeserving of policy aid, and this influences the direction of the public policies proposed (Baumgartner & Jones, 1991; Lawrence, 2004; Rose & Baumgartner, 2013; Schneider & Ingram, 1993). For example, in both qualitative and quantitative studies examining public policy and the framing of those in poverty, the focus is often on the discussion of the poor as deserving or undeserving (Gilens, 1999; Hancock, 2004; Handler & Hasenfeld, 1991, 2007; Katz, 1989). The deserving poor are framed as social dependents: widows, children, those with disabilities. The undeserving poor are framed as social deviants: drug addicts, criminals, those who cheat the system.

Other scholars have described a more intersectional framing of the poor, as involving race, gender, class, and other factors as determinants of public support. One example is the construction of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) recipients as 'welfare queens', defined by stereotypes such as laziness and a tendency to have numerous children (Hancock, 2004; Rose & Baumgartner, 2013). Whereas previously the poor had been framed as victims of the economic system, by the 1980's they were framed as 'cheaters and swindlers' of the welfare system (Rose & Baumgartner, 2013). Another example is the construction of juveniles of color as 'superpredators', defined as 'Godless' and 'deviant creatures' that suffer from a condition of 'abject moral poverty' (Moriearty, 2010). Whereas previously juvenile offenders had been protected from public exposure by law and practice, by the 1990's nearly every state in the country had passed legislation that made it easier to prosecute juveniles as adults in criminal court (Moriearty, 2010).

Research indicates that as these image frames have shifted, public policies have followed (Hancock, 2004; Moriearty, 2010; Rose & Baumgartner, 2013). Scholars have noted that the image of welfare recipients as ‘welfare queens’ helped to play a role in the passage of stringent welfare reforms including the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families program (Hancock, 2004; Rose & Baumgartner, 2013). The image of the juvenile of color ‘superpredator’ helped to establish a sustained legislative effort that resulted in racial bias in the administration of juvenile justice and a much more punitive approach to the juvenile justice system, including rapidly increasing racial disparities (Moriearty, 2010).

### ***Communication Frames and Policy Image***

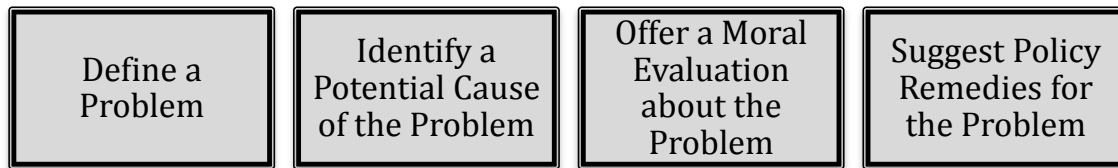
Baumgartner and Jones (1991) referred to this social construction and framing of an issue as a ‘policy image.’ How a policy is discussed in the public creates a policy image which is a reflection of the beliefs and values, both positive and negative, concerning that issue. For example, in Weart’s (1988) analysis of the history of images of nuclear power, he shows how the image of nuclear power changed during the 20<sup>th</sup> century from solidly positive to overwhelmingly negative, and he argues that this change in image is the primary cause of changing policies toward nuclear power. In Baumgartner and Jones’ study on issues such as nuclear power, smoking, and pesticides, they showed that attention shifted dramatically from a focus on relatively benign or positive elements of the industry to a highly negative focus and that the direction of public policy followed (Baumgartner & Jones, 2009; Rose & Baumgartner, 2013). Concerning nuclear power, the distinction in policy imagery was clear: positive imagery included economic growth, jobs, and high-technology solutions; negative imagery included mushroom clouds, leaks, and waste. The corresponding shift in public policies that occurred was



not based so much on changing realities as it was on changing images (Baumgartner & Jones, 2009; Weart, 1988).

### ***The Goal of Communication Frames***

To frame, according to Entman (1993), is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make those aspects more salient (i.e., noticeable, meaningful, or memorable) in a communicating text. The goal of the frames chosen can be four-fold: to promote a particular problem definition, to offer a causal interpretation, to present a moral evaluation, and to suggest a policy recommendation. To create a problem definition, frames determine what a causal agent is doing and at what cost or benefit, usually measured in terms of common cultural values. To offer a causal interpretation, frames identify the forces potentially creating the problem. To make a moral evaluation, frames assess causal agents and their effects. To suggest a policy recommendation, frames offer and justify remedies for the problem and predict likely effects.



**FIGURE 3: ENTMAN’S FOUR-PART CLASSIFICATION OF FRAMES**

Thus, frames can function in four different categories (Entman, 1993): defining problems, interpreting causes, offering moral evaluations, and suggesting remedies. For example, in Gamson’s (1992) exploration of the “cold war” frame prevalent in U.S. news coverage of foreign affairs, problems were defined (foreign events such as civil wars), causes were identified (communist rebels), moral evaluations were offered (atheistic aggression), and particular solutions were recommended (U.S. support for the other side).

Framing theory can also be helpful in understanding how ‘traditional’ issues are transformed into ‘new’ issues by re-framing (Chong & Druckman, 2007). In the literature, framing has been construed as both positive and negative. It can be viewed as a strategy to manipulate and deceive individuals, or it can refer more neutrally to a learning process in which people acquire common beliefs, as in the coordination of people around a social norm (Chong, 2000). The research on frames in communication is acknowledged as providing insight into cultural shifts, public understanding, and opinion formation (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

The research also demonstrates that framing is best conceptualized as a process that evolves over time (Chong & Druckman, 2007). The dimension of time allows for separating newly defined issues from previously debated traditional issues. Although new issues are often variants of traditional issues that have been presented in the past, they are distinguished by the absence of a contemporary general agreement about how to understand them. By contrast, traditional issues have a previously defined structure and elicit more routine considerations (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

There are abundant examples of research on communication frames utilizing this or a similar approach, including analyses of the poor (Rose & Baumgartner, 2013), affirmative action (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987), the death penalty (Dardis et al, 2008), support for war (Dimitrova, Kaid, Williams, & Trammell, 2005), opinions about stem cell research (Nisbet, Brossard, & Kroepsch, 2003), cynicism toward government (Brewer & Sigelman, 2002) and responsibility for the obesity epidemic (Lawrence, 2004). These analyses provide insight into numerous phenomenon including media biases, public understanding, cultural shifts, and opinion formation (Berinsky & Kinder, 2006; Richardson & Lancendorfer, 2004; Schudson, 2002). This

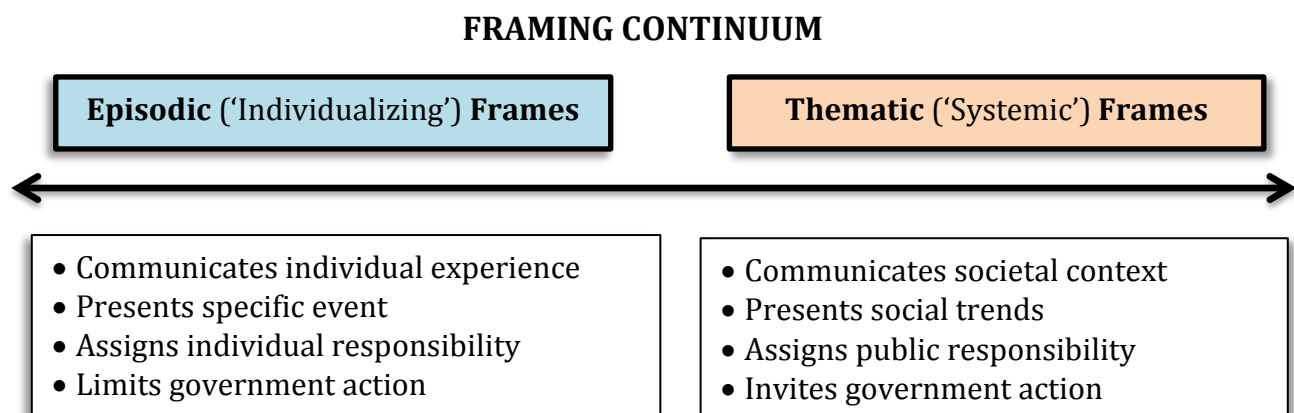
dissertation utilizes framing theory to analyze the issue of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity in Hawai‘i.

### ***Episodic Frames and Thematic Frames***

When analyzing a communicating text within this general conceptualization of framing, one important aspect to consider is the presence of either an episodic frame or a thematic frame (Bennett, 2012; Edelman, 1995; Entman, 1993; Iyengar, 1991). An episodic, or individualizing, frame focuses on one individual’s experiences or one specific event, while a thematic, or systemic, frame explains the issue within a larger societal context (Iyengar, 1991; Lawrence, 2004). Episodic frames describe concrete events and particular cases that illustrate an issue, such as a news story about an elderly, disabled woman unable to get public home care (Aaroe, 2011). Thematic frames focus on political issues and events in a broader context. They present collective, abstract, and general evidence, such as a news story about cuts in government welfare expenditures substantiated by statistical figures (Aaroe, 2011).

Research has shown that episodic or thematic frames can strongly influence the audience’s perception of who is responsible for an issue, whether it is the afflicted individual or the larger society (Barnett, 2006; Chenot, 2011; Gross, 2008; Hart, 2011; Iyengar, 1996). Episodic, or individualizing, frames limit the causes of problems to particular individuals, often those who are afflicted with the problem. Thematic, or systemic, frames broaden the focus, assigning responsibility to government, business, and larger social forces. When episodic or thematic frames are used, they can affect the audience’s perception of who is responsible for addressing an issue, whether individuals are solely responsible for their own problems or if society as a whole is expected to address the issue.

It can be useful to conceptualize of episodic and thematic frames as anchoring opposite ends of a continuum, with some arguments drawing elements from both (Lawrence, 2004). The more the overall pattern of framing moves toward the episodic, or individualizing, end of the continuum, the less support there is for public policies that hold political institutions responsible for addressing the problem. The more the overall pattern of framing moves toward the thematic, or systemic, end of the continuum, the more support there is for public policies that hold political institutions responsible for addressing the problem.

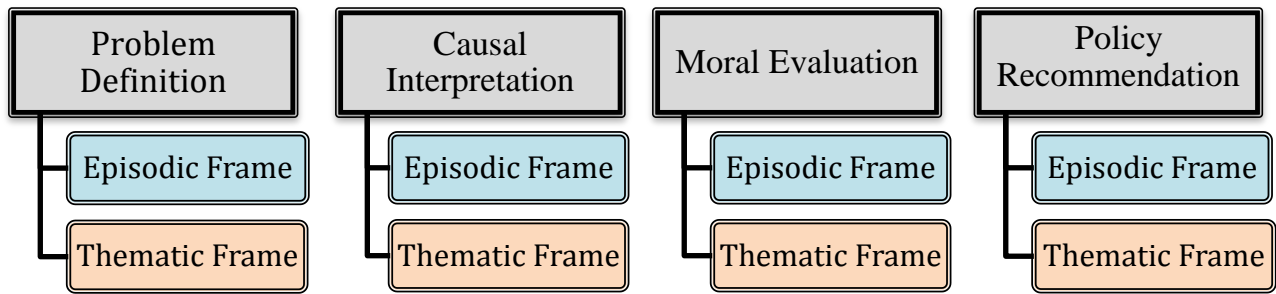


**FIGURE 4: EPISODIC FRAMES VS. THEMATIC FRAMES**

Defining a problem through the use of episodic frames limits government responsibility for addressing the problem, while thematic frames invite government action. For example, Iyengar (1990) found that audiences who saw a story about poverty framed around one person's experience (episodic frame) were more likely to believe that the individual was responsible for the situation, while audiences who saw a story about poverty which discussed the larger factors contributing to poverty (thematic frame) were more likely to believe society as a whole was responsible for addressing poverty. Scholars have examined the use of episodic or thematic frames on a wide range of issues, including poverty (Iyengar, 1990), domestic violence

(Maxwell, Huxford, Borum, & Hornik, 2000), child abuse (Chenot, 2011), maternal infanticide (Barnett, 2006), mandatory minimum sentencing (Gross, 2008), and climate change (Hart, 2011).

This dissertation examined the issue of juvenile sex trafficking through the use of framing theory and through the use of episodic or thematic frames. Data were analyzed to determine the presence or absence of one or more of the frames identified in Entman's four-part classification: problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and policy recommendation, and specific attention was paid to the use of episodic and thematic frames.



**FIGURE 5: ENTMAN'S FOUR-PART CLASSIFICATION & EPISODIC VS THEMATIC FRAMES**

## CHAPTER 3: METHOD

### Research Design

A mixed-methods content analysis was utilized to analyze the data. A mixed methods design is characterized by the combination of at least one qualitative and one quantitative research component (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007; Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017). The goal of a mixed methods approach is to answer the research question with heightened validity. A mixed methods approach attempts to do this through the use of such elements as triangulation, complementarity, context, illustration, and enhancement (Bryman, 2006; Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989). This research project utilized a “fully-integrated mixed design” in which mixing occurred in an interactive manner at all stages of the study (Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

Content analysis is a research technique that includes the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (Bryman, 2008). It is an approach to the analysis of documents and text that seeks to organize content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner. Within political science and communications literature, research that utilizes content analysis has focused on the potential impact that frames used in the communications of political elite actors can have on the frames and attitudes of the public (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

A mixed-methods content analysis can be an effective method for evaluating the trends in the depiction of a population, especially over time (Bryman, 2008). Through utilization of content analysis, many studies of framing in the mass media involve the specification of a research problem in the form of ‘the representation of X in the mass media.’ In this study, the

research problem was in the form of the representation of juveniles involved with commercial sexual activity in the public communications of Hawai'i's policy elite actors.

In content analysis, however, messages are almost always embedded and derive their meanings from the context of other messages (Krippendorff, 1980). All inferences that can be obtained from content analysis are inductive in nature; therefore, an effort was made to increase validity by utilizing a constant interplay between inductive inference (based on observation in the data) and deductive inference (based on established theories in the literature). Drawing upon recommendations in content analysis literature, this research project endeavored to decrease threats to internal and external validity through the use of construct variability where it was available, primarily in the creation of the codebook and its constructs (Bryman, 2006; Greene et al, 1989; Krippendorff, 1980; Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). This strategy allowed the research study to get closer to the 'truth' of what lay within the public communications of Hawai'i's policy elite actors, although there is no strategy that can ascertain the truth with complete certainty.

To conduct a content analysis utilizing framing theory, first an event or issue is chosen (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Entman 2004). Second, a specific attitude concerning the issue is identified. Third, an initial set of frames for the issue is created in order to establish a coding scheme. Fourth, sources are selected for content analysis. Often, scholars analyze mass media sources including major newspapers, magazines, websites, and television broadcasts, although content analysis lends itself to a broad range of communication media (Bryman, 2008). Articles or stories are identified via searches, such as keyword searches on electronic databases, and serve as the unit of analysis (Bryman, 2008; Chong & Druckman, 2007; Dimitrova et al, 2005). Once

the units of analyses are collected, then coding is carried out by identifying the presence or absence of one of the predefined frames in the story or article.

For this dissertation, the content analysis utilized a framing theory based upon Entman's four-part typology. First, the specific issue chosen was juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity in Hawai'i. Second, the specific attitude chosen concerning the issue was one of either criminality or exploitation: were the juveniles framed as juvenile criminals or as juvenile victims. Third, a set of coding schemes were established based upon these predefined attitudes and structured from Entman's typology (see **Measure and Analysis**). Fourth, the sources selected for content analysis were drawn from Hawai'i's local newspapers and from testimony submitted to the Hawai'i State Legislature.

### **Data Collection**

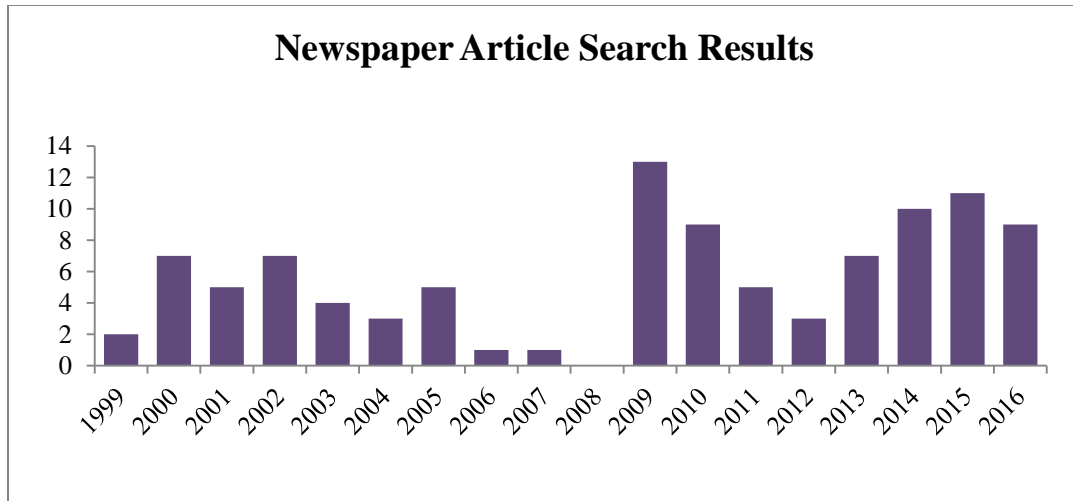
In order to collect the units of analyses, this study sought data from two distinct sources: Hawai'i's major newspapers and written testimony submitted to the Hawai'i State Legislature during the fifteen years prior to the passage of the TVPA and the fifteen years following, 1985-2015. Due to the fact that Hawai'i's State Legislature operates on a two-year session starting in odd years, however, the timeframe was extended to include the year 2016 for both data sets. Newspapers were chosen because they can be used as a primary source for tracking how an issue is framed by and for policy elite actors (Lawrence, 2004). Newspapers are also an influential source of political information for the general public when compared with other popular media sources, such as television and radio (Chaffee & Frank, 1996; Johnson, Stamm, Lisosky, & James, 1995; Lens, 2002). Written legislative testimony were chosen because they present an official, public record of the views and opinions of policy stakeholders specifically concerning the issue of juveniles involved with commercial sexual activity.



### *Newspaper Article Data Set*

To collect the data for the Hawai‘i newspaper article data set, a search was made of publically available digital newspaper indices for three of Hawai‘i’s local newspapers during the years 1985-2016. The three newspapers were the Honolulu Advertiser, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, and the Honolulu Star-Advertiser. These newspapers were chosen because they represent the majority of the newspaper circulation for the State of Hawai‘i during that time frame, and they have publically available, searchable digital indices.

Articles specifically concerned with juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity were identified. This was achieved by searching the digital indices of each newspaper using a comprehensive set of terms which was intended to include all of the potential descriptors applied to this population during this time frame (**Appendix B**). Specifically, the following process was implemented. 1) The ProQuest search database was entered, located at <https://search-proquest-com.eres.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/results/27A9D1A93D0C4026PQ/1?accountid=27140>. 2) The date range timeline of 1985-2016 was specified. 3) A ProQuest Advanced Search of: “Exact("Honolulu Advertiser" OR "Honolulu Star - Bulletin" OR "Honolulu Star - Advertiser") AND X\*” was conducted with X\* representing the various combination of search terms used (**Appendix B**). A total of 473 articles were initially identified. 4) Any articles that were duplicates were excluded from the data set, a total exclusion of 223 articles. 5) Articles which did not specifically deal with juveniles involved with commercial sexual activity in the United States were excluded from the data set, a total exclusion of 148 articles. 6) Articles which dealt specifically with juveniles involved with commercial sexual activity in the United States were assigned a unique identification number, a total of 102 articles. 7) The final compilation comprised the newspaper article data set (n = 102). (See Figure 6)



**FIGURE 6: HAWAI‘I NEWSPAPER ARTICLE SEARCH RESULTS**

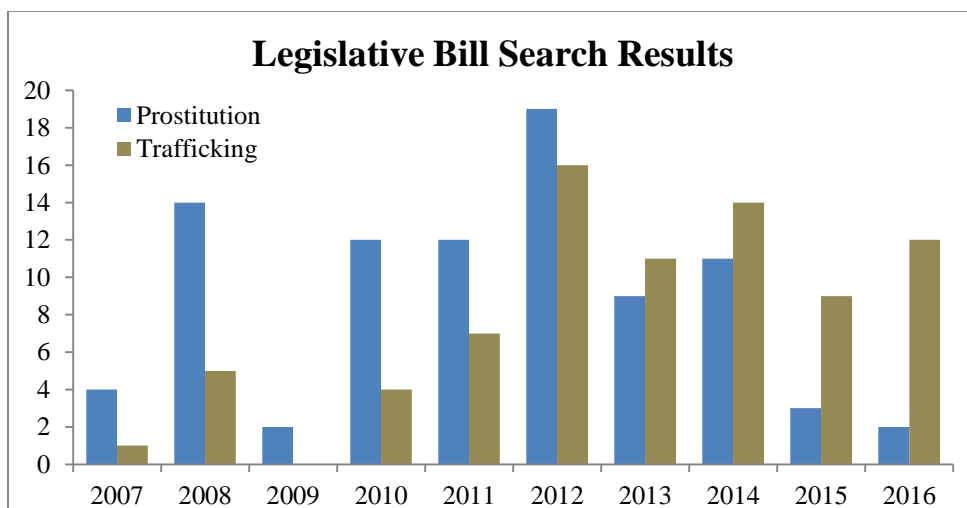
***Legislative Testimony Data Set***

To collect the data for the legislative testimony data set, a search was made of the publically available, indexed archives of the Hawai‘i State Legislature. The Hawai‘i State Legislature website is located at: [www.capitol.hawaii.gov](http://www.capitol.hawaii.gov), and it has archived documents for each of its annual regular sessions from 1999-2016. The website is jointly operated by the Hawai‘i State Senate and House of Representatives. It is designed to promote open access to information and records of the Hawai‘i State Legislature. All public hearing transcripts and testimony are public documents, therefore, any testimony that is submitted for use in the legislative hearing process is public information. The content of testimony is not altered or changed in any manner before publication, and, to ensure that testimony is valid, personal information is required to submit testimony through the Legislature's website.

To collect the data needed for the legislative testimony data set, testimony specifically discussing juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity were identified. This was achieved by first searching the digital index of each legislative annual session using a set of terms intended to include all of the potential descriptors applied to this population during this time frame:

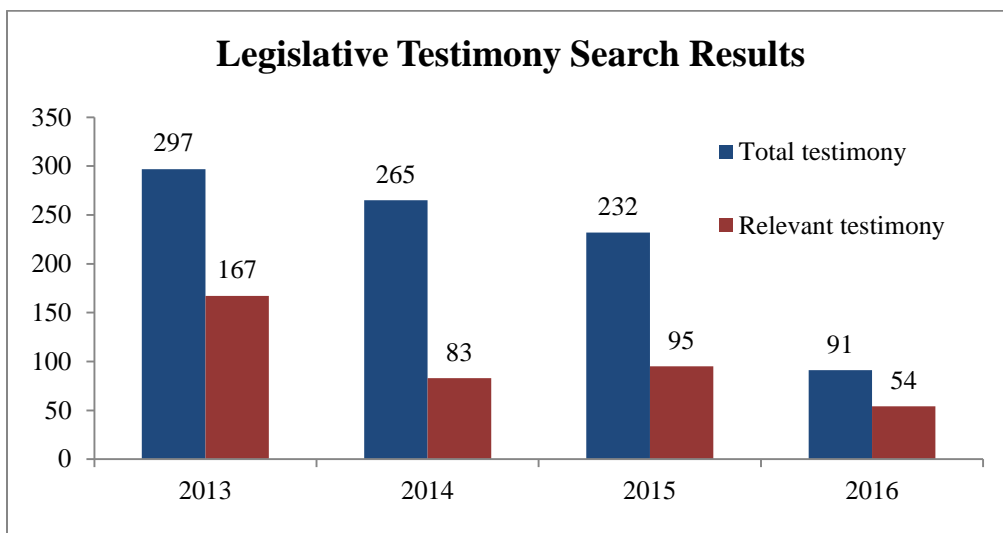
Trafficking, Prostitution, and Runaways. Policy bills specifically concerned with juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity were identified. Public testimony submitted in relation to the identified bills were compiled and organized. Testimony which dealt specifically with juveniles involved with commercial sexual activity were included in the data set. Testimony which did not specifically mention juveniles were excluded.

Specifically, the following process was implemented. 1) The Hawai‘i State Legislature website at [www.capitol.hawaii.gov](http://www.capitol.hawaii.gov) was entered. 2) The State Legislative ‘archives’ were accessed via the navigation option. 3) Each of the archived annual regular sessions was systematically searched. 4) The search of the documents for the selected year was performed by systematically entering one of the following Keyword Search terms: Trafficking, Prostitution, Runaways. 5) A master reference list of bills was generated, a total of 167 bills. This list included 88 bills which referenced Prostitution and 79 bills which referenced Trafficking (See Figure 7). There were no bills which specifically referenced Runaways. 6) Bills that did not specifically address juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity or bills that did not have attendant testimony were excluded from further consideration, a total exclusion of 148 bills. Bills



**FIGURE 7: HAWAI‘I STATE LEGISLATURE BILL SEARCH RESULTS**

that specifically addressed juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity and had attendant testimony were included for further consideration, a total inclusion of 19 bills. 7) Each testimony attached to the 19 bills were read to determine potential relevance for this research project, a total of 885 testimony. 8) Testimony that did not specifically mention juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity were excluded from the data set, a total exclusion of 486 testimony. Testimony that specifically mentioned juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity were assigned a unique identification number, a total of 399 testimony. 9) The final compilation of testimony comprised the legislative testimony data set (n = 399). (See Figure 8)



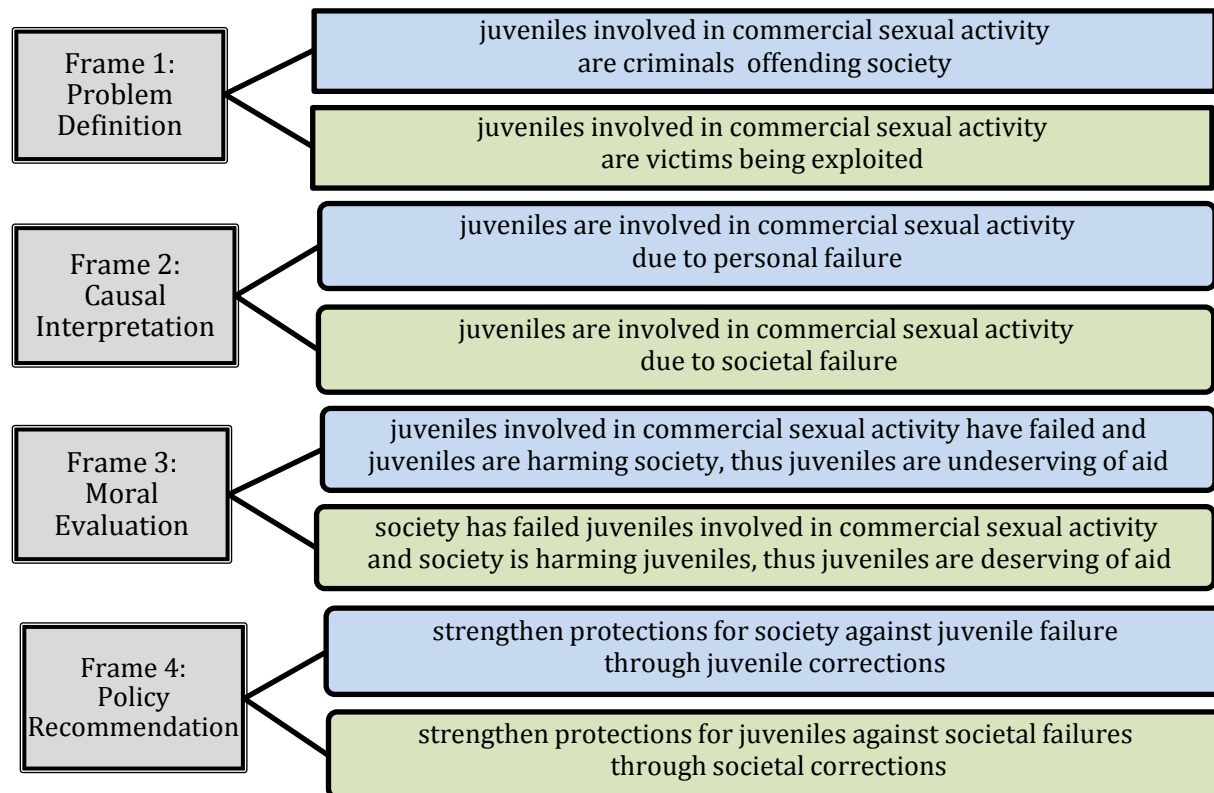
**FIGURE 8: HAWAI‘I STATE LEGISLATURE TESTIMONY SEARCH RESULTS**

### Measure and Analysis

To conduct a content analysis once the units of analyses are collected, coding is carried out by identifying the presence or absence of one of the predefined frames within each unit of analysis. To establish the coding scheme for this research project, a codebook was created based upon predefined attitudes concerning juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity (juveniles are criminals or juveniles are victims) and structured from Entman’s four-part typology: problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and policy recommendation (see **Appendix**

C). These predefined attitudes were a result of the mixed methods design approach which incorporated both inductive inference and deductive inference (see **Research Design**).

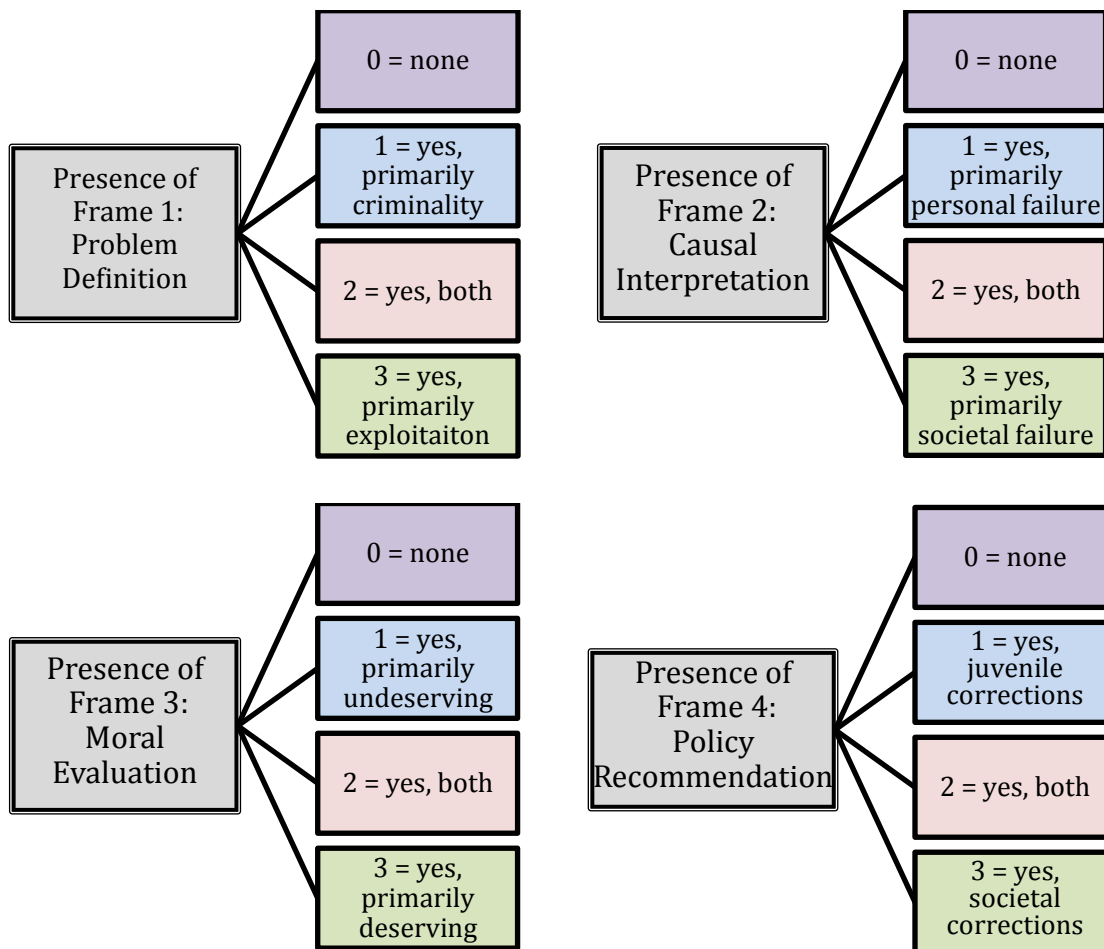
Each unit of analysis, either one individual testimony or one newspaper article, was analyzed to determine the presence of each typology: problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and policy recommendation. To determine the presence of Frame 1: Problem Definition, the Problem Definition was constructed as ‘juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity are criminals offending society OR juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity are victims being exploited’. To determine the presence of Frame 2: Causal Interpretation, the Causal Interpretation was constructed as ‘juveniles are involved in commercial sexual activity due to personal failure OR juveniles are involved in commercial sexual activity due to societal failure’. For Frame 3: Moral Evaluation, the Moral Evaluation was constructed as ‘juveniles



**FIGURE 9: FOUR-PART FRAME CONSTRUCTION**

involved in commercial sexual activity have failed and are harming society, thus juveniles are undeserving of aid OR society has failed juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity and society is harming juveniles, thus juveniles are deserving of aid'. For Frame 4: Policy Recommendation, the Policy Recommendation was constructed as 'strengthen protections for society against juvenile failure through juvenile corrections OR strengthen protections for juveniles against societal failures through societal corrections'. (See Figure 9)

If a particular typology was not present, the unit was coded '0 = none.' If the typology was present, the unit was coded to determine if the typology was primarily one or the other of the predefined categories or if both categories were present. For Frame 1: Problem Definition, the

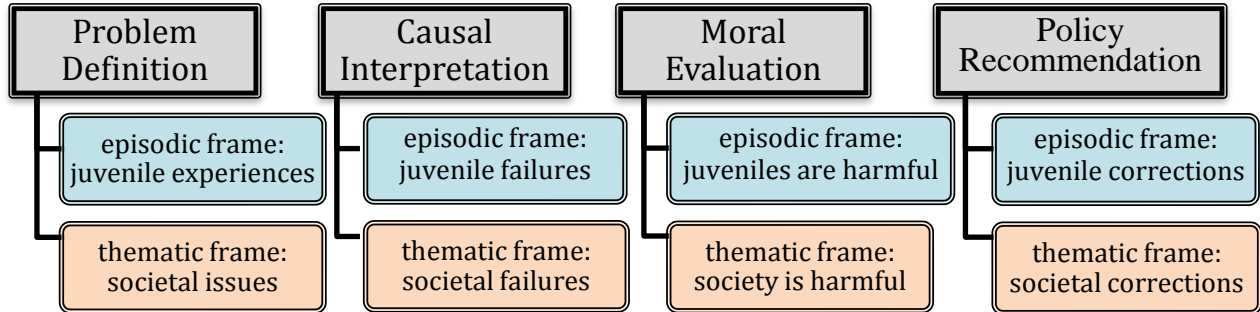


**FIGURE 10: CODING OF THE FOUR-PART FRAME CLASSIFICATIONS**

predefined categories were criminality or exploitation, therefore the unit would be coded '1 = yes, primarily criminality; 2 = yes, both criminality and exploitation; or 3 = yes, primarily exploitation'. For Frame 2: Causal Interpretation, the predefined categories were personal failure or societal failure, therefore the unit would be coded '1 = yes, primarily personal failure; 2 = yes, both personal and societal failure; or 3 = yes, primarily societal failure'. For Frame 3: Moral Evaluation, the predefined categories were juveniles are undeserving of aid or juveniles are deserving of aid, therefore the unit would be coded '1 = yes, primarily juveniles are undeserving; 2 = yes, juveniles are both undeserving and deserving of aid; or 3 = yes, juveniles are deserving of aid'. For Frame 4: Policy Recommendation, the predefined categories were juvenile correction or societal correction, therefore the unit would be coded '1 = yes, primarily strengthen juvenile corrections; 2 = yes, strengthen both juvenile and societal corrections; or 3 = yes, primarily strengthen societal corrections'. (See Figure 10)

The units were also coded to determine the presence or absence of episodic or thematic elements. If a particular typology was present, the unit was then coded to determine the presence of an episodic frame or a thematic frame or both. For Frame 1: Problem Definition, an episodic frame was defined as 'individual juvenile experiences are discussed', and a thematic frame was defined as 'societal issues are discussed', therefore the unit would be coded as 0 = none; 1 = episodic frame present; 2 = both episodic and thematic frames present; or 3 = thematic frame present. For Frame 2: Causal Interpretation, an episodic frame was defined as 'individual juvenile failures are discussed', and a thematic frame was defined as 'societal failures are discussed'. For Frame 3: Moral Evaluation, an episodic frame was defined as 'individual juvenile failures are deemed harmful', and a thematic frame was defined as 'societal failures are deemed harmful'. For Frame 4: Policy Recommendation, an episodic frame was defined as

‘individual juvenile corrections are discussed’, and a thematic frame was defined as ‘societal policy corrections are discussed’. (See Figure 11)



**FIGURE 11: CODING OF EPISODIC AND THEMATIC ELEMENTS**

In addition to the quantitative data recorded, qualitative data were also gathered for each typology. As the goal of a mixed methods approach is to answer the research question(s) with heightened validity, these data were sought in order to accomplish ‘triangulation, complementarity, context, illustration, and enhancement’ (Bryman, 2006; Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989). Thus, if a typology was present, the specific language used to identify that particular frame was also recorded to capture themes and specific phrases used.

Inter-rater reliability was utilized to ensure both quantitative and qualitative data reliability. A coder was taught the coding scheme and was given a random sample of newspaper articles and legislative testimony to analyze using the code book. The results from the individual coder were consistent with this researcher’s quantitative and qualitative coding results.



## CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

The purpose of this dissertation was to examine the communication frames used by policy elite actors in Hawai‘i to discuss the issue of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity. Policy elite actors were defined as those within society who have a substantial and often disproportionate influence in policy decision making, e.g., media outlets, interest groups and community leaders. Communication frames were defined as the selective language used to highlight certain aspects of an issue so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, or solution. Data was drawn from two distinct sources of public communication, Hawai‘i’s major newspapers and written testimony submitted to the Hawai‘i State Legislature.

Research Question #1 asked: ‘How is the issue of juveniles involved with commercial sexual activity in the United States framed by policy elite actors within Hawai‘i’s public communications?’ In order to answer RQ #1, analysis was guided by Entman’s four-part classification for frames. In particular information was sought concerning: ‘How is the problem defined? What are potential causes that are identified? What are moral evaluations that are offered? What are policy remedies that are suggested?’ Specific attention was given to the use of episodic or thematic framing within the data as research has shown that the use of episodic or thematic frames can strongly influence the audience’s perception of who is responsible for an issue, whether it is the afflicted individual or the larger society (Barnett, 2006; Chenot, 2011; Gross, 2008; Hart, 211; Iyengar, 1996).

Research Question #2 asked: ‘Have these frames changed since the passage of the TVPA in 2000? If so, how?’ In order to answer RQ #2, data was sought for the fifteen years prior to the passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act and the fifteen years following, 1985-2015. However, due to the fact that the Hawai‘i’s State Legislature operates on a two-year session

starting in odd years, the timeframe was extended to include the year 2016 for both data sets. Analysis was guided by an examination of the change over time that has occurred in the policy image presented of commercially sexually involved juveniles within the two data sets.

The results from the coding of the data sets are presented within the following two sections. The first section presents the coding results of the newspaper article data set (n = 102 articles) and the legislative testimony data set (n = 399 testimony). The second section presents the results of the examination in the policy image change over time within both data sets.

### **Coding Results**

To answer the first part of RQ #1: ‘How is the issue of juveniles involved with commercial sexual activity in the United States framed by policy elite actors within Hawai‘i’s public communications?’, data was drawn from two distinct sources of public communication, Hawai‘i’s major newspapers and written testimony submitted to the Hawai‘i State Legislature.

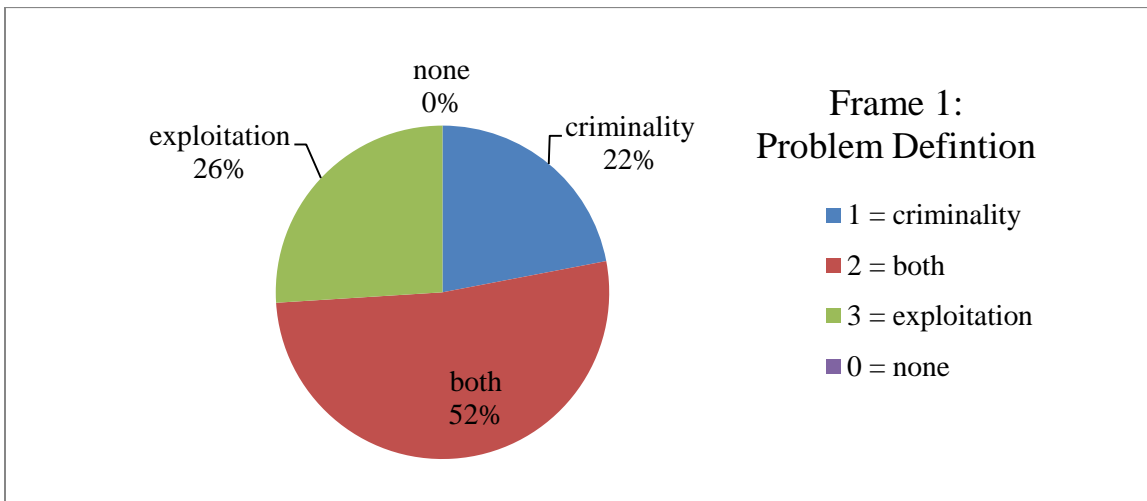
To answer the second part of RQ #1, coding was carried out by identifying the presence or absence of the predefined frames within each unit of analysis. One unit of analysis was defined as either one newspaper article (n = 102) or one individual testimony (n = 399). The coding scheme for juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity was structured around the predefined categories of either ‘juveniles are criminals’ or ‘juveniles are victims’, and coding was based upon Entman’s four-part classification for frames: problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and policy recommendation. Each unit was also coded to determine the presence of episodic and thematic elements.

A theme which continuously emerged in the data, but which was not included in the original coding scheme, was the concept of survivorship and the image of ‘juveniles as survivors.’ Survivor language was not included in the original coding scheme, thus survivor

imagery was not coded, but survivor language emerged frequently enough that preliminary qualitative data were collected. Language identifying juveniles as survivors of extremely adverse circumstances and language referencing survival skills could be found within both data sets for many of the four categories coded. Examples of survivorship language included the identification of juveniles as sex trafficking survivors, survivors of violent crime, and prostitution survivors.

***Hawai'i Newspaper Articles – Frame 1: Problem Definition***

To determine the presence of Frame 1: Problem Definition, the Problem Definition Frame was constructed as ‘juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity are criminals offending society or juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity are victims being exploited’. The results of the coding were: criminality (22%), exploitation (26%), and both (52%). (See Figure 12)

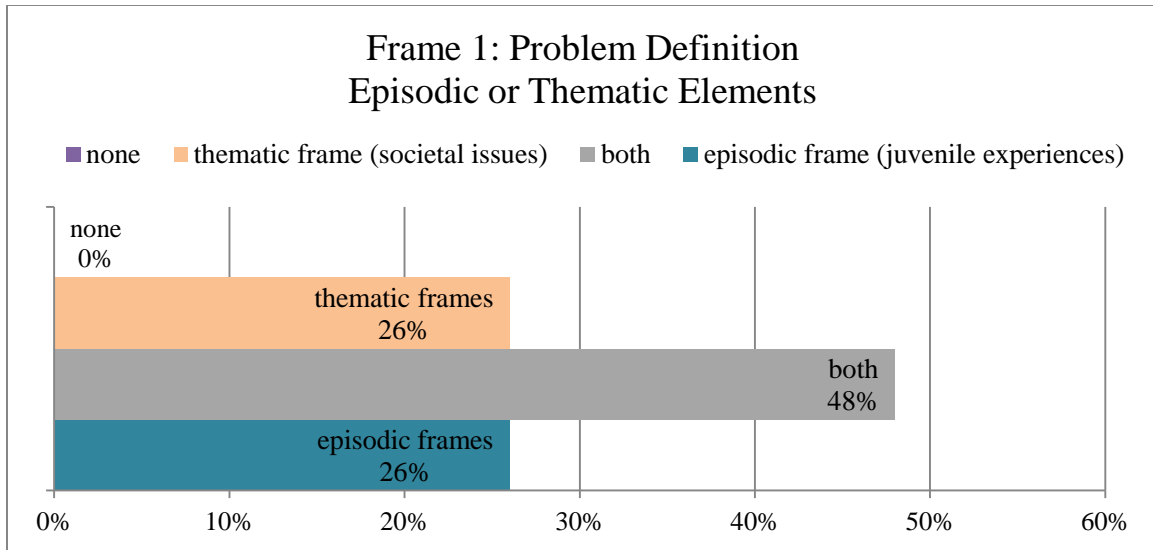


**FIGURE 12: HAWAI'I NEWSPAPER FRAME 1: PROBLEM DEFINITION PERCENTAGES**

To determine the presence of episodic or thematic elements within Frame 1: Problem Definition, an episodic frame was defined as ‘individual juvenile experiences are discussed’ and

a thematic frame was defined as ‘societal issues are discussed’. The results of the coding were: episodic frames present (26%), thematic frames present (26%), and both (48%) (See Figure 13)

Themes and specific phrases used to identify a Problem Definition Frame are displayed within Table 1. Articles which defined the problem as ‘primarily criminality’ used language that depicted juveniles as being personally responsible for engaging in illegal behavior. Articles



**FIGURE 13: HAWAI‘I NEWSPAPER FRAME 1 – PRESENCE OF EPISODIC OR THEMATIC ELEMENTS**

which defined the problem as ‘primarily exploitation’ used language that depicted juveniles as being exploited by forces outside of their control. Articles which were coded as ‘both’ either used language depicting juveniles as both or used language that was mixed. The theme of survivorship emerged through the use of phrases such as, “teenagers on the margins - alienated from their families and surviving on the streets as runaways” (“Toughen child sex-trafficking laws”, 2014).

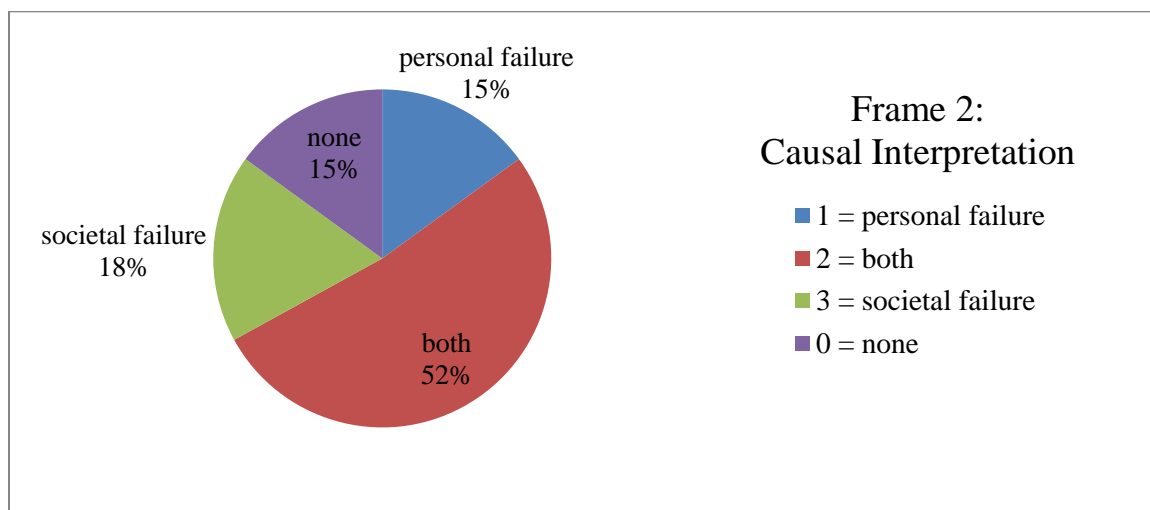
**TABLE 1: HAWAI‘I NEWSPAPER ARTICLE PROBLEM DEFINITION FRAME LANGUAGE**

Newspaper Articles: Language used in Problem Definition Frames	
primarily criminality	under 18 ...working in a nude dancing club (Pang, 1999) three teenage girls were arrested...they advertised themselves as prostitutes (Antone, 2002)

	children ...may engage in prostitution to get (goods) beyond the means of their allowance (Leone, 2001)
	children, young girls, runaways they fall victim to these situations and they're easily exploited (Lum, 2005b)
both	girls trying to leave the sex industry, whether they are call girls, working the streets, as lap dancers or in illicit massage parlors (Donnelly, 2000f)
	the runaway girl working in a massage parlor, "this population, they're victims themselves" (Donnelly, 2000b)
	teenagers on the margins - alienated from their families and surviving on the streets as runaways (" <i>Toughen child sex-trafficking laws</i> ", 2014)
primarily exploitation	brutalized and virtually enslaved by pimps who control the cash flow, these adolescents and teenagers...can rarely escape on their own (" <i>Toughen child sex-trafficking laws</i> ", 2014)
	forced her to work as a prostitute (Daranciang, 2011)
	prostituting a 16-year-old girl and advertising her services (" <i>Three men indicted</i> ", 2009)

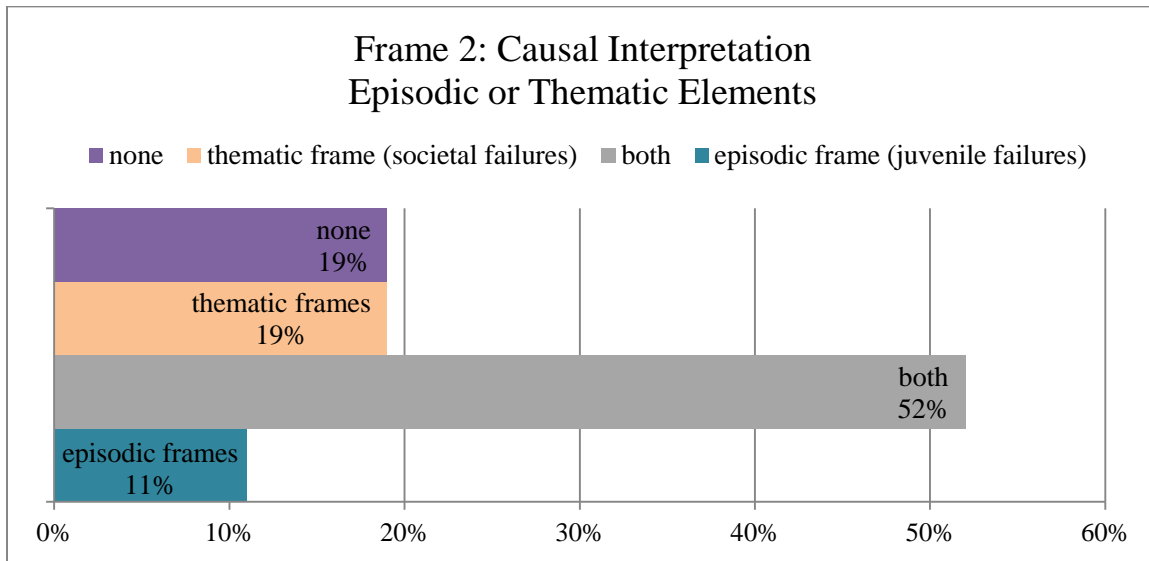
***Hawai'i Newspaper Articles – Frame 2: Causal Interpretation***

To determine the presence of Frame 2: Causal Interpretation, the Causal Interpretation Frame was constructed as ‘juveniles are involved in commercial sexual activity due to personal failure or juveniles are involved in commercial sexual activity due to societal failure’. The results of the coding were: personal failure (15%), societal failure (19%), and both (52%). A Causal Interpretation Frame was absent in 15% of the articles. (See Figure 14)



**FIGURE 14: HAWAI'I NEWSPAPER FRAME 2: CAUSAL INTERPRETATION PERCENTAGES**

To determine the presence of episodic or thematic elements within Frame 2: Causal Interpretation, an episodic frame was defined as ‘individual juvenile failures are discussed’ and a thematic frame was defined as ‘societal failures are discussed’. The results of the coding were: episodic frames present (11%), thematic frames present (19%), and both (52%). Episodic and



**FIGURE 15: HAWAI‘I NEWSPAPER FRAME 2 – PRESENCE OF EPISODIC OR THEMATIC ELEMENTS**

thematic elements associated with a Causal Interpretation were absent in 19% of the articles. (See Figure 15)

Themes and specific phrases used to identify a Causal Interpretation Frame are displayed within Table 2. Articles which interpreted the cause as ‘primarily due to personal failure’ used

**TABLE 2: HAWAI‘I NEWSPAPER ARTICLE CAUSAL INTERPRETATION FRAME LANGUAGE**

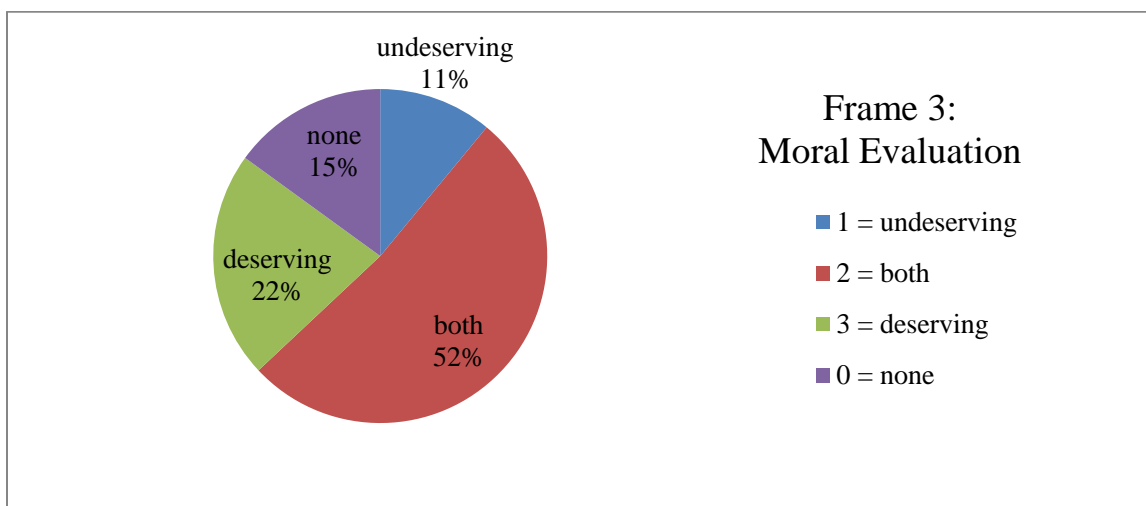
Newspaper Articles: Language used in Causal Interpretation Frames	
primarily personal failure	juveniles employed by (him) as prostitutes (Kreifels, 1999)
	first got into prostitution at the age of 15, she thought she would be entering a glamorous life (Gee, 2002)
	young wayward girls...engaging in prostitution to support themselves (Schaefer, 2015)
	girls...drawn into behaviors like survival sex for a place to stay, for food, for drugs (Donnelly, 2000d)
both	young girls are easy to fool into believing that prostitution is safe, fun and glamorous (Arcayna, 2004)

	recruiters target girls who exhibit low self-esteem, grooming them to be prostitutes (Shapiro, 2000)
	10- and 12-year-olds prostituting for ice, "that's reality" (Dayton, 2003)
primarily societal failure	sexual predators (Omandam, 2001)
	forcing her (15-year-old girl) to engage in prostitution (Lum, 2005a)
	children are forced into essentially modern-day slavery (Shapiro, 2002)
language discussing individual juvenile failures leading to juvenile involvement in commercial	

sexual activity. Articles which interpreted the cause as ‘primarily due to societal failure’ used language discussing societal failures leading to juvenile involvement in commercial sexual activity. Articles which were coded as ‘both’ either used language discussing both juvenile and societal failures or used language that was mixed. The theme of survivorship emerged through the use of phrases such as, “girls...drawn into behaviors like survival sex for a place to stay, for food, for drugs” (Donnelly, 2000d).

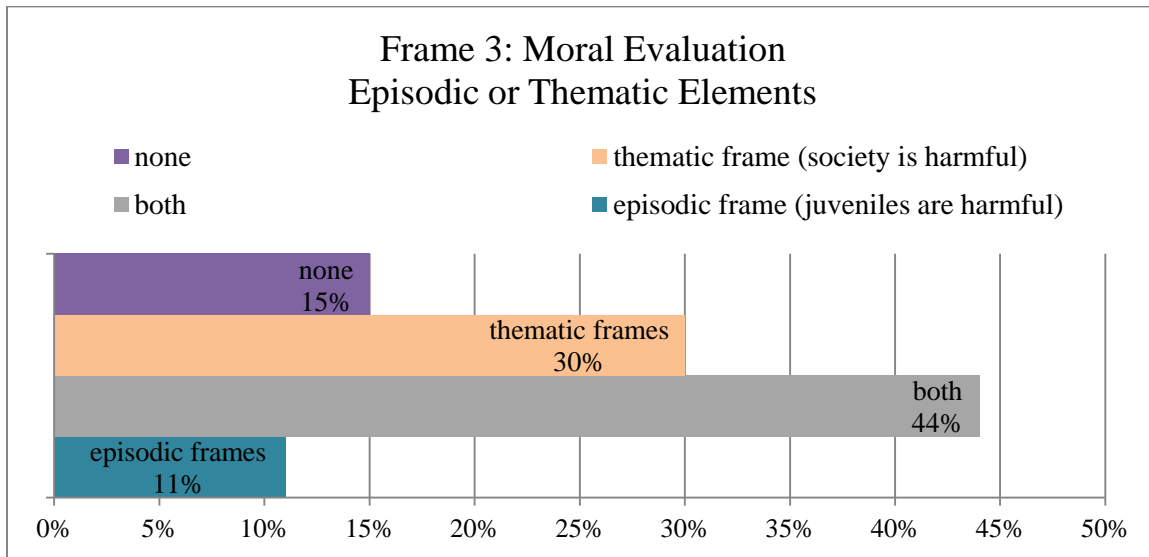
***Hawai‘i Newspaper Articles – Frame 3: Moral Evaluation***

To determine the presence of Frame 3: Moral Evaluation, the Moral Evaluation Frame was constructed as ‘juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity have failed and are harming society, thus juveniles are undeserving of aid or society has failed juveniles involved in



**FIGURE 16: HAWAI‘I NEWSPAPER FRAME 3: MORAL EVALUATION PERCENTAGES**

commercial sexual activity and is harming juveniles, thus juveniles are deserving of aid’. The results of the coding were: juveniles were undeserving of aid (11%), juveniles were deserving of aid (22%), and both (52%). A Moral Evaluation Frame was absent in 15% of the articles. (See Figure 16)



**FIGURE 17: HAWAI‘I NEWSPAPER FRAME 3 – PRESENCE OF EPISODIC OR THEMATIC ELEMENTS**

To determine the presence of episodic or thematic elements within Frame 3: Moral Evaluation, an episodic frame was defined as ‘individual juvenile failures are deemed harmful’ and a thematic frame was defined as ‘societal failures are deemed harmful’. The results of the coding were: episodic frames present (11%), thematic frames present (30%), and both (44%). Episodic and thematic elements associated with a Moral Evaluation were absent in 15% of the articles. (See Figure 17)

Themes and specific phrases used to identify a Moral Evaluation Frame are displayed within Table 3. Articles which suggested a moral evaluation of ‘primarily juveniles are undeserving of aid’ used language that depicted juveniles as having failed in some way which led to social harm. Articles which suggested a moral evaluation of ‘primarily juveniles are deserving of aid’ used language that depicted society as having failed in some way which led to



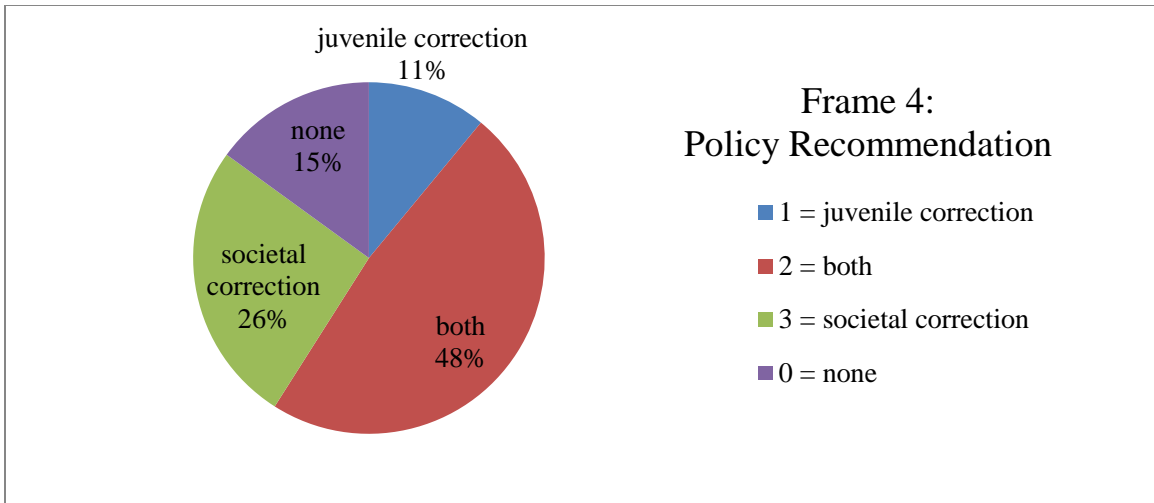
**TABLE 3: HAWAI‘I NEWSPAPER ARTICLE MORAL EVALUATION FRAME LANGUAGE**

Newspaper Articles: Language used in Moral Evaluation Frames	
primarily undeserving of aid	“underage girls prostituting themselves, that's disgusting” (Daranciang, 2001)
	public sex solicitation is a problem...bringing along related trouble such as drugs, gambling and organized crime (Donnelly, 2000a)
both	minor girl was a runaway who... set up an ad for herself (Daranciang, 2016)
	homeless kids ...are being drawn into sex trafficking (“Reach out to help”, 2015)
	the girl, who was just 13 at the time (and trafficked off the island), also tried to recruit her daughter (Schaefers, 2015)
primarily deserving of aid	girls with troubled home lives were particularly vulnerable to destructive sexual relationships with older men (Donnelly, 2000e)
	protect minors from practices that cause thousands of teens to be abused (Asato, 2001a)
	the center's pediatric and adolescent patients were sex-trafficking victims (Consillio, 2016)
	ignoring their exploitation would be the highest form of negligence and moral insensitivity (Schaefers 2013)
	<i>sex trafficking survivors are victims of violent crimes (Dayton, 2015)</i>

juvenile harm. Articles which were coded as ‘both’ either used language suggesting both or used language that was mixed. The theme of survivorship emerged through the use of phrases such as, “sex trafficking survivors are victims of violent crimes” (Dayton, 2015).

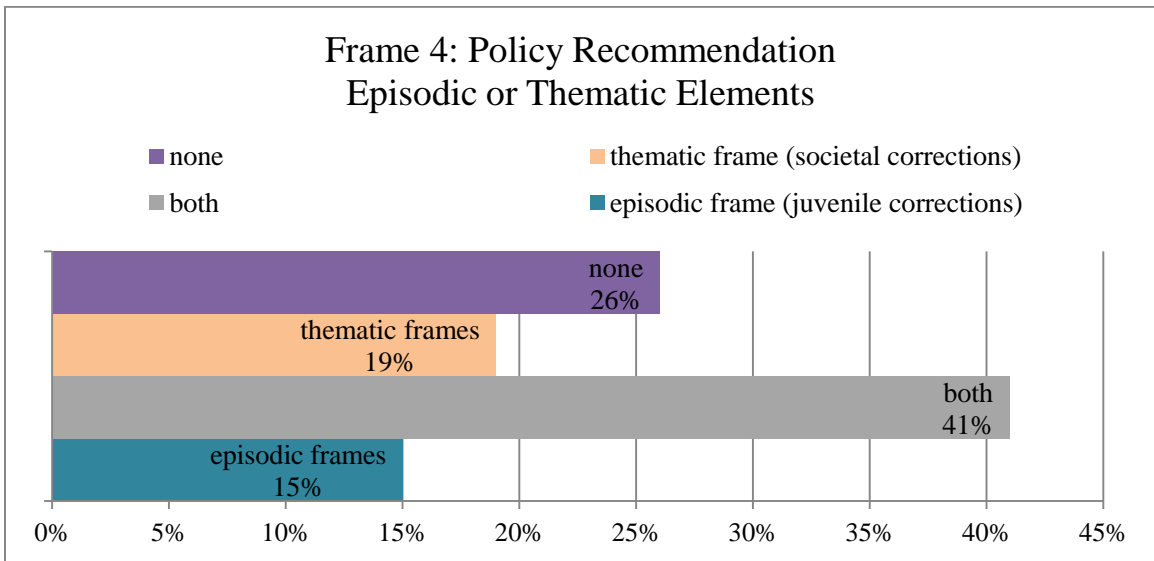
***Hawai‘i Newspaper Articles – Frame 4: Policy Recommendation***

To determine the presence of Frame 4: Policy Recommendation, the Policy Recommendation Frame was constructed as ‘strengthen protections for society against juvenile failure through juvenile correction or strengthen protections for juveniles against societal failures through societal corrections’. The results of the coding were: juvenile correction (11%), societal correction (26%), and both (48%). A Policy Recommendation Frame was absent in 15% of the articles. (See Figure 18)



**FIGURE 18: HAWAI‘I NEWSPAPER FRAME 4: POLICY RECOMMENDATION PERCENTAGES**

To determine the presence of episodic or thematic elements within Frame 4: Policy Recommendation, an episodic frame was defined as ‘individual juvenile corrections are discussed’ and a thematic frame was defined as ‘societal policy corrections are discussed’. The results of the coding were: episodic frames present (15%), thematic frames present (19%), and both (41%). Episodic and thematic elements associated with a Policy Recommendation were absent in 26% of the articles. (See Figure 19)



**FIGURE 19: HAWAI‘I NEWSPAPER FRAME 4 – PRESENCE OF EPISODIC OR THEMATIC ELEMENTS**

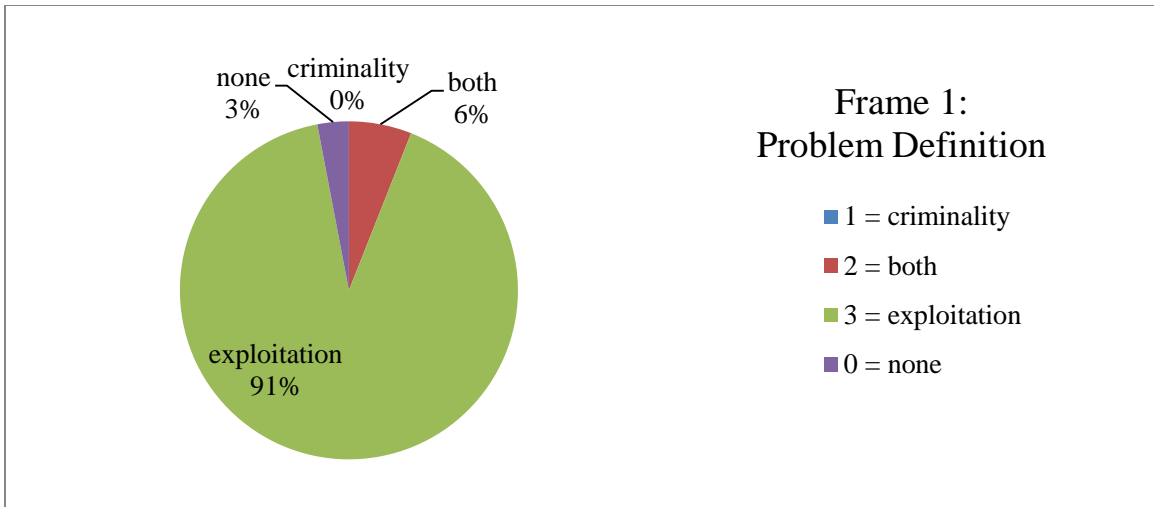
**TABLE 4: HAWAI‘I NEWSPAPER ARTICLE POLICY RECOMMENDATION FRAME LANGUAGE**

Newspaper Articles: Language used in Policy Recommendation Frames	
primarily juvenile correction	stepped up enforcement and stricter penalties for prostitutes (Donnelly, 2000a)
	talk to the children, children need to be made aware (Shapiro, 2000)
	educate youths about the dangers of the commercial sex trade, teach them how to avoid recruitment and to define the myths and realities (Arcayna, 2004)
both	get young girls... off the streets (Arcayna, 2003)
	can't continue to criminalize children in the sex trade... we need your help not your punishment (Gee, 2002)
	provide prostitution intervention through education and awareness (Daranciang, 2001)
primarily societal correction	help children who are often misidentified as 'delinquents' and 'runaways' get services and protection (Schaefer, 2013)
	ramp up penalties for sex traffickers (Zoellick, 2014)
	target adult sexual exploiters of children for punishment, not the children (Leone, 2001)

Themes and specific phrases used to identify a Policy Recommendation Frame are displayed within Table 4. Articles which offered a policy recommendation of ‘primarily strengthen protections for society through juvenile correction’ used language that focused on individual juvenile failure and correction. Articles which offered a policy recommendation of ‘primarily strengthen protections for juveniles through societal corrections’ used language that focused on societal failure and policy corrections. Articles which were coded as ‘both’ either used language discussing both juvenile and societal corrections or used language that was mixed.

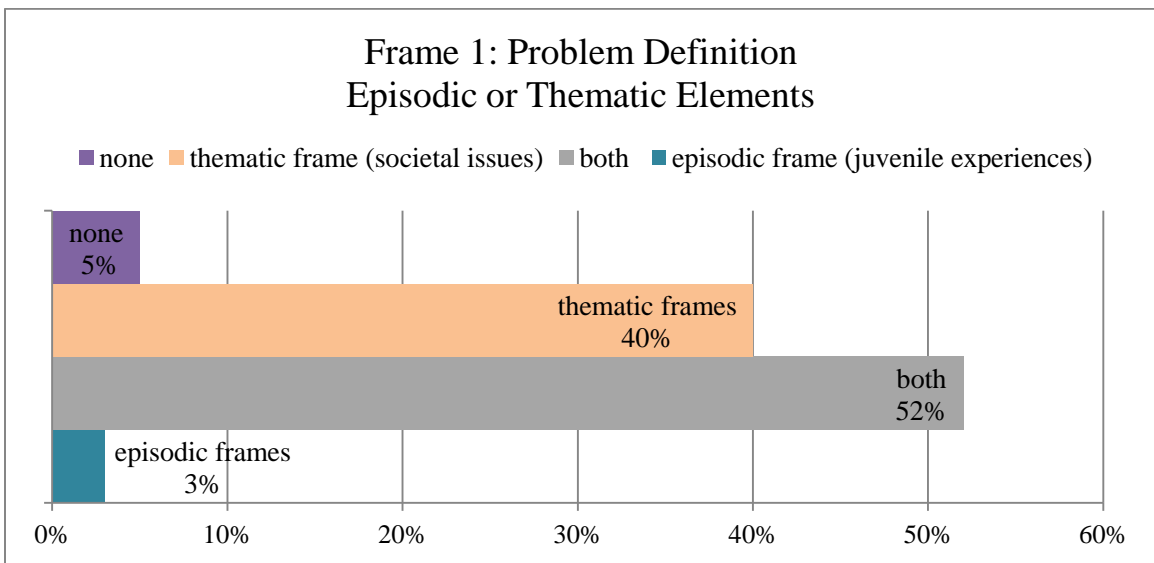
***State Legislative Testimony – Frame 1: Problem Definition***

To determine the presence of Frame 1: Problem Definition, the Problem Definition Frame was constructed as ‘juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity are criminals offending society or juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity are victims being exploited’. The results of the coding were: criminality (0%), exploitation (91%), and both (6%). A Problem Definition Frame was absent in 3% of the testimony. (See Figure 20)



**FIGURE 20: LEGISLATIVE TESTIMONY FRAME 1: PROBLEM DEFINITION PERCENTAGES**

To determine the presence of episodic or thematic elements within Frame 1: Problem Definition, an episodic frame was defined as ‘individual juvenile experiences are discussed’ and a thematic frame was defined as ‘societal issues are discussed’. The results of the coding were: episodic frames present (3%), thematic frames present (40%), and both (52%). Episodic and thematic elements associated with a Problem Definition were absent in 5% of the articles (See Figure 21)



**FIGURE 21: LEGISLATIVE TESTIMONY FRAME 1 – PRESENCE OF EPISODIC OR THEMATIC ELEMENTS**

Themes and specific phrases used to identify a Problem Definition Frame are displayed within Table 5. There were no testimony which defined the problem as ‘primarily criminality’ as there were either no testimony that used language depicting juveniles as being personally responsible for engaging in illegal behavior or a problem definition frame was absent in the

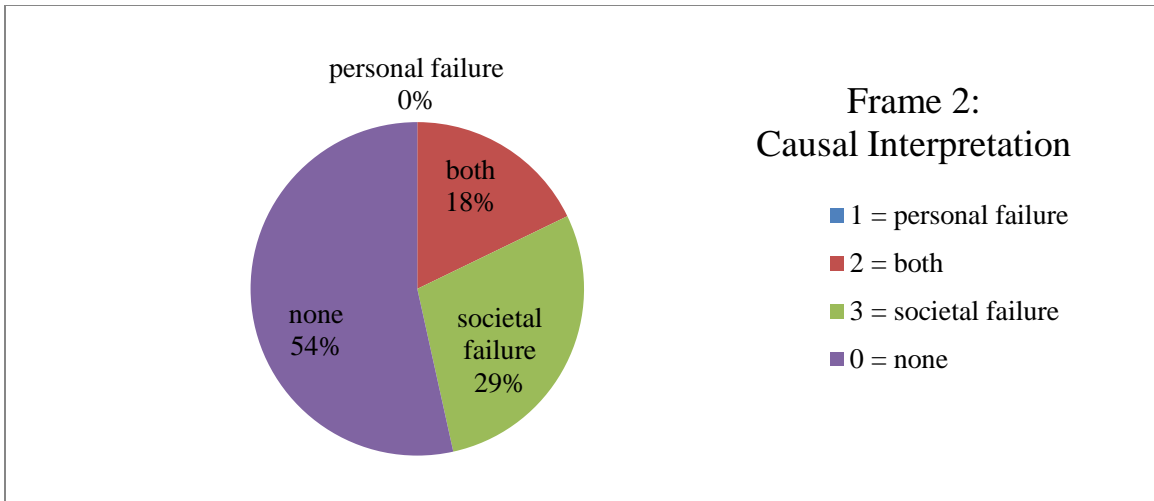
**TABLE 5: LEGISLATIVE TESTIMONY PROBLEM DEFINITION FRAME LANGUAGE**

Legislative Testimony: Language used in Problem Definition Frames	
primarily criminality	none
both	many child victims of human trafficking commonly seek to escape their personal struggles with the hope of finding opportunity and a brighter future; what they find instead is coercion, abuse, entrapment, and sexual exploitation (Hawai‘i Family Forum, 2015)
	juveniles are forced ...or they will suffer harm (Pacific Alliance to Stop Slavery, 2013)
	victims of commercial sexual exploitation, manipulated into prostitution (Shared Hope International, 2014)
primarily exploitation	they are children and they are victims (JC, 2013)
	the commercial sexual exploitation of a minor or the coercive sexual exploitation of any person remains a serious humanitarian and public health issue in Hawai‘i (Sex Abuse Treatment Center, 2016)
	victims, especially minor victims, are treated as willing participants in their own exploitation and then punished for it (Hawai‘i Women’s Coalition, 2016)

testimony. Testimony which defined the problem as ‘primarily exploitation’ used language that depicted juveniles as being exploited by forces outside of their control. Testimony which were coded ‘both’ either used language depicting juveniles as both or used language that was mixed.

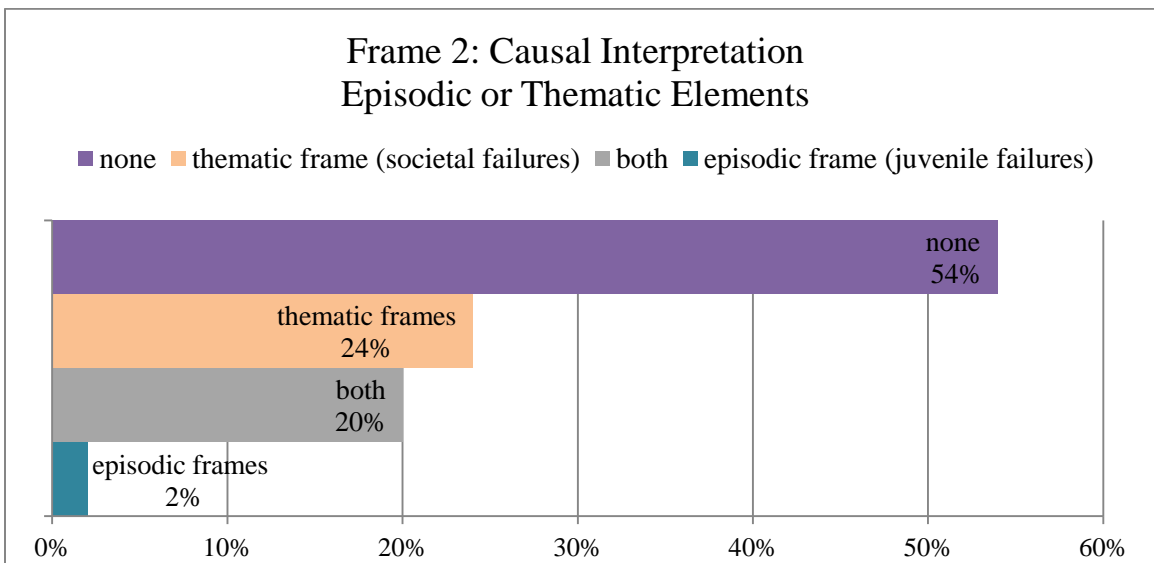
***State Legislative Testimony – Frame 2: Causal Interpretation***

To determine the presence of Frame 2: Causal Interpretation, the Causal Interpretation Frame was constructed as ‘juveniles are involved in commercial sexual activity due to personal failure or juveniles are involved in commercial sexual activity due to societal failure’. The results of the coding were: personal failure (0%), societal failure (29%), and both (18%). A Causal Interpretation Frame was absent in 54% of the testimony. (See Figure 22)



**FIGURE 22: LEGISLATIVE TESTIMONY FRAME 2: CAUSAL INTERPRETATION PERCENTAGES**

To determine the presence of episodic or thematic elements within Frame 2: Causal Interpretation, an episodic frame was defined as ‘individual juvenile failures are discussed’ and a thematic frame was defined as ‘societal failures are discussed’. The results of the coding were: episodic frames present (2%), thematic frames present (24%), and both (20%). Episodic and thematic elements associated with a Causal Interpretation were absent in 54% of the articles. (See Figure 23)



**FIGURE 23: LEGISLATIVE TESTIMONY FRAME 2 – PRESENCE OF EPISODIC OR THEMATIC ELEMENTS**

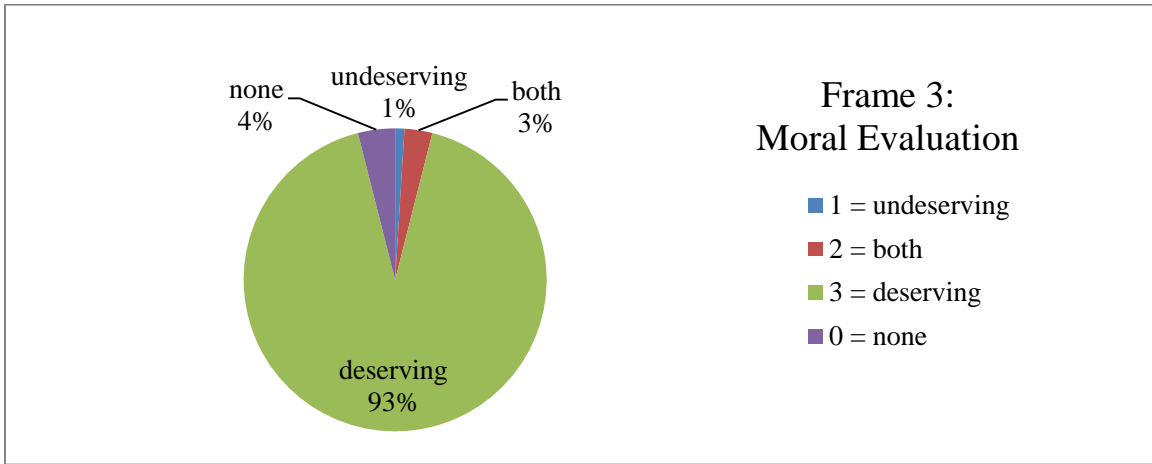
Themes and specific phrases used to identify a Causal Interpretation Frame are displayed within Table 6. There were no testimony which interpreted the cause as ‘primarily due to personal failure’ as there were either no testimony that used language discussing individual

**TABLE 6: LEGISLATIVE TESTIMONY CAUSAL INTERPRETATION FRAME LANGUAGE**

Legislative Testimony: Language used in Causal Interpretation Frames	
primarily personal failure	none
both	runaway, interfamilial sexual abuse (incest) (Pacific Alliance to Stop Slavery, 2013)
	predators who offer to pay minors for sexual contact (Imua Alliance, 2013)
	kept in captivity; girls...feel they have no other option than to meet the demands of their traffickers (EC, 2013)
primarily societal failure	<i>runaway... youth; survivors of sex ...trafficking (Hawai‘i Youth Services Network, 2013)</i>
	laws fail to protect them (Courage House Hawai‘i Project, 2013)
	purveyors of sex trafficking victims (ie the pimps and the johns) are the drivers of this global criminal enterprise (Office of the Kaua‘i Prosecuting Attorney, 2015)
	tourism fuels the demand for sex with minors (KC, 2013)
	<i>survivors fall through the cracks because there are no specific services tailored for sex trafficking survivors (Multiple Individuals, 2013)</i>

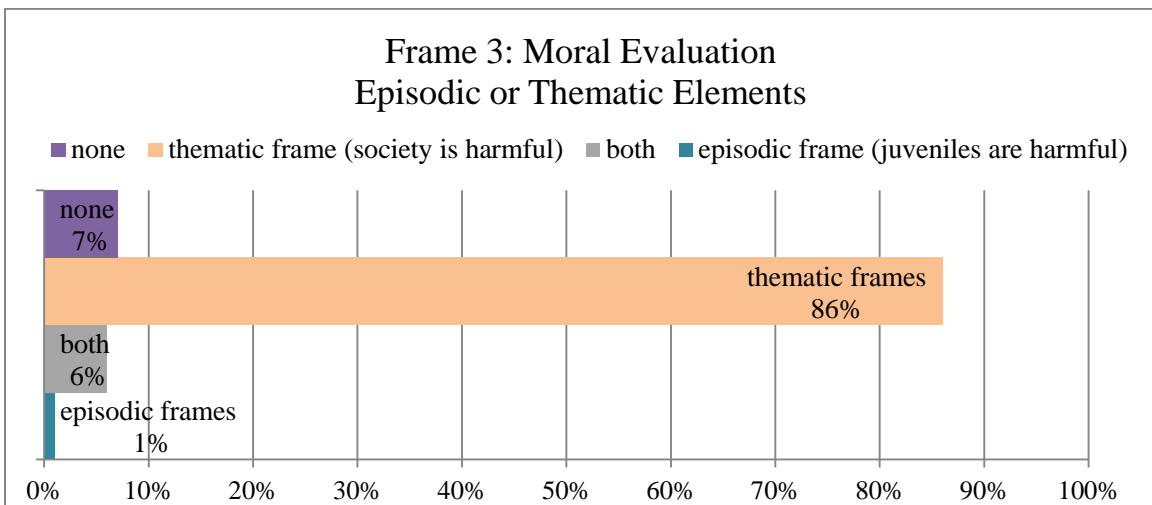
juvenile failures leading to involvement in commercial sexual activity or a causal interpretation frame was absent in the testimony. Testimony which interpreted the cause as ‘primarily due to societal failure’ used language discussing societal failures leading to commercial sexual involvement. Testimony which were coded as ‘both’ either used language discussing both juvenile and societal failures or used language that was mixed. The theme of survivorship emerged through the use of phrases such as, “runaway... youth; survivors of sex ...trafficking” (Hawai‘i Youth Services Network, 2013), and “survivors fall through the cracks because there are no specific services tailored for sex trafficking survivors” (Multiple Individuals, 2013).

**State Legislative Testimony – Frame 3: Moral Evaluation**



**FIGURE 24: LEGISLATIVE TESTIMONY FRAME 3: MORAL EVALUATION PERCENTAGES**

To determine the presence of Frame 3: Moral Evaluation, the Moral Evaluation Frame was constructed as ‘juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity have failed and are harming society, thus juveniles are undeserving of aid or society has failed juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity and society is harming juveniles, thus juveniles are deserving of aid’. The results of the coding were: juveniles are undeserving of aid (1%), juveniles are deserving of aid (92%), and both (3%). A Moral Evaluation Frame was absent in 4% of the testimony. (See Figure 24)



**FIGURE 25: LEGISLATIVE TESTIMONY FRAME 3 – PRESENCE OF EPISODIC OR THEMATIC ELEMENTS**



To determine the presence of episodic or thematic elements within Frame 3: Moral Evaluation, an episodic frame was defined as ‘individual juvenile failures are deemed harmful’ and a thematic frame was defined as ‘societal failures are deemed harmful’. The results of the coding were: episodic frames present (1%), thematic frames present (86%), and both (6%). Episodic and thematic elements associated with a Moral Evaluation were absent in 7% of the articles. (See Figure 25)

Themes and specific phrases used to identify a Moral Evaluation Frame are displayed within Table 7. Testimony which suggested a moral evaluation of ‘primarily juveniles are undeserving of aid’ used language that depicted juveniles as having failed in some way which led to social harm. Testimony which suggested a moral evaluation of ‘primarily juveniles are deserving of aid’ used language that depicted society as having failed in some way which led to

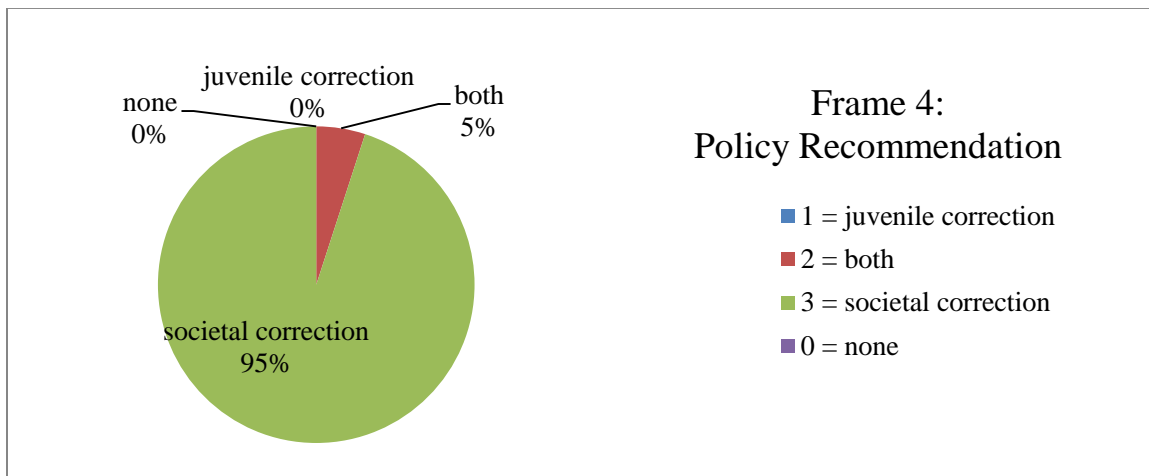
**TABLE 7: LEGISLATIVE TESTIMONY MORAL EVALUATION FRAME LANGUAGE**

Legislative Testimony: Language used in Moral Evaluation Frames	
primarily undeserving of aid	issues involving adults and minors are always problematic (Libertarian Party, 2013)
	why give minors a competitive advantage in prostitution (Libertarian Party, 2016)
both	youth ... (require) trusting relationships that lead to youth accepting help (Hawai‘i Youth Services Network, 2013)
	the control of 'love' turn(s) into the control of violence and intimidation (Shared Hope International, 2015)
	minors who are involved in prostitution - generally speaking - are in great need of treatment and counseling on a mandatory, extended, residential basis (Department of the Honolulu Prosecuting Attorney, 2016)
primarily deserving of aid	Hawai‘i law currently makes it very difficult for a victim to escape sex trafficking by likening victims to willing participants in a criminal act (Hawai‘i State Commission on the Status of Women, 2016)
	Sex trafficking is a horrific crime no child should have to endure (Hawai‘i State AFL-CIO, 2016)
	minors deserve the right to be protected, they deserve additional protection (Honolulu Police Department, 2013)
	<i>survivors are often re-victimized or criminalized (Pacific Alliance to Stop Slavery, 2013)</i>

juvenile harm. Testimony which were coded as ‘both’ either used language suggesting both or used language that was mixed. The theme of survivorship emerged through the use of phrases such as, “survivors are often re-victimized or criminalized” (Pacific Alliance to Stop Slavery, 2013).

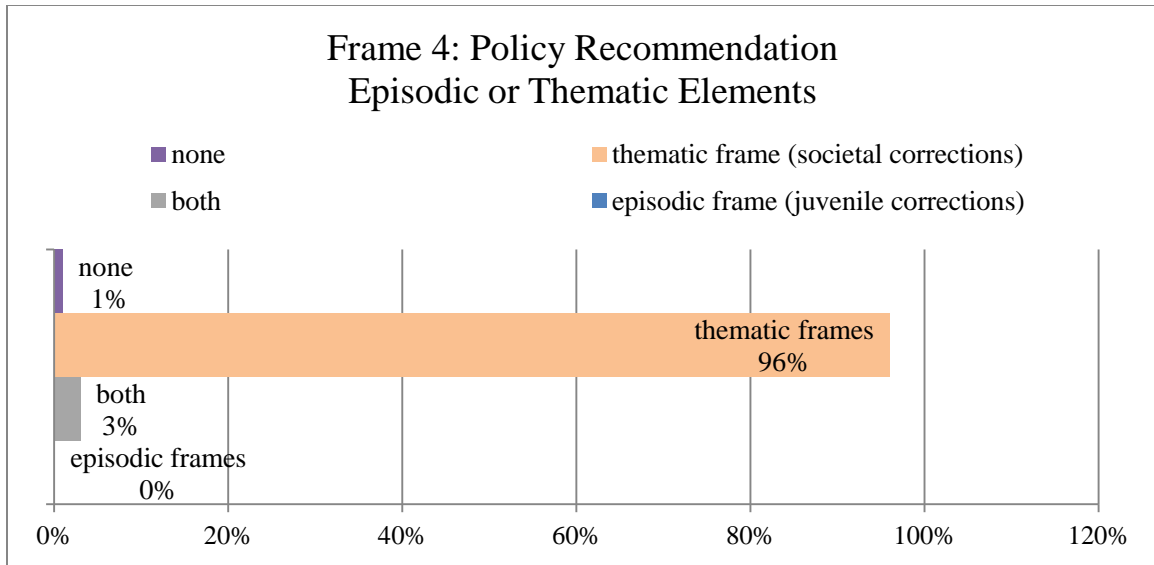
***State Legislative Testimony – Frame 4: Policy Recommendation***

To determine the presence of Frame 4: Policy Recommendation, the Policy Recommendation Frame was constructed as ‘strengthen protections for society against juvenile failure through juvenile correction or strengthen protections for juveniles against societal failures through societal corrections’. The results of the coding were: juvenile correction (0%), societal correction (95%), and both (5%). (See Figure 26)



**FIGURE 26: LEGISLATIVE TESTIMONY FRAME 4: POLICY RECOMMENDATION PERCENTAGES**

To determine the presence of episodic or thematic elements within Frame 4: Policy Recommendation, an episodic frame was defined as ‘individual juvenile corrections are discussed’ and a thematic frame was defined as ‘societal policy corrections are discussed’. The results of the coding were: episodic frames present (0%), thematic frames present (96%), and both (3%). Episodic and thematic elements associated with a Policy Recommendation were absent in 1% of the articles. (See Figure 27)



**FIGURE 27: LEGISLATIVE TESTIMONY FRAME 4 – PRESENCE OF EPISODIC OR THEMATIC ELEMENTS**

Themes and specific phrases used to identify a Policy Recommendation Frame are displayed within Table 8. There were no testimony which offered a policy recommendation of ‘primarily strengthen protections for society through juvenile correction’ as there was no testimony that focused on individual juvenile failure and correction. Testimony which offered a policy recommendation of ‘primarily strengthen protections for juveniles through societal

**TABLE 8: LEGISLATIVE TESTIMONY POLICY RECOMMENDATION FRAME LANGUAGE**

Legislative Testimony: Language used in Policy Recommendation Frames	
primarily juvenile correction	none
both	need for confidential services (Hawai‘i Youth Services Network, 2013)
	(via) probation - the mechanism by which the court requires a minor to comply with the court's orders - minors can be held and provided treatment as necessary (Department of the Honolulu Prosecuting Attorney, 2016)
primarily societal correction	focus should (not be on cutting off the demand for prostitution, but) be on its supply (Office of the Public Defender, 2013)
	aid victims with services and resources (Department of Human Services, 2013)
	prosecute those who create the demand, the purchaser of sex should be criminalized (Equality Now, 2013)

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amend our penal code such that victims of sex trafficking, especially child victims, would not be labeled and treated as criminals (Hawai'i State Commission on the Status of Women, 2016)

---

*address the handling of survivors (Multiple Individuals, 2013)*

---

corrections' used language that focused on societal failure and policy corrections. Testimony which were coded as 'both' either used language discussing both juvenile and societal corrections or used language that was mixed. The theme of survivorship emerged through the use of phrases such as, "address the handling of survivors" (Multiple Individuals, 2013).

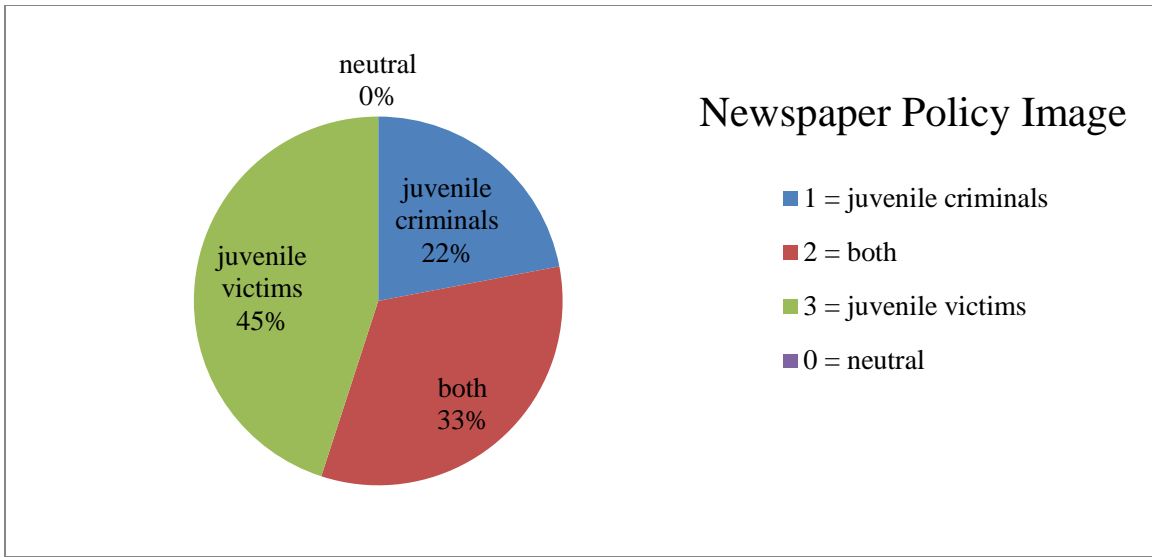
### **Overall Policy Image Change Results**

To answer RQ #2: 'Have these frames changed since the passage of the TVPA in 2000? If so, how?', data was sought for the fifteen years prior to the passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act and the fifteen years following, 1985-2015. Due to the fact that Hawai'i's State Legislature operates on a two-year session starting in odd years, the timeframe was extended to include the year 2016 for both data sets. Analysis was guided by an examination of the change over time that has occurred in the policy image presented of commercially sexually involved juveniles within the two data sets.

#### ***Hawai'i Newspaper Articles – Overall Policy Image and Changes Over Time***

The newspaper article data set consisted of 102 articles from the years 1999-2016. To determine the data set's policy image of commercially sexually involved juveniles, a Policy Image was constructed as either 'juveniles are criminals' or 'juveniles are victims'. The results of the coding were: juvenile criminals (22%), juvenile victims (45%), or juveniles as both (33%). (See Figure 28)

Themes and specific phrases used to identify a Policy Image are displayed within Table 9. Articles which presented an image of 'juvenile criminals' used language that depicted juveniles primarily as prostitutes engaged in criminal activity. Articles which presented an image



**FIGURE 28: HAWAI‘I NEWSPAPER ARTICLE POLICY IMAGE PERCENTAGES**

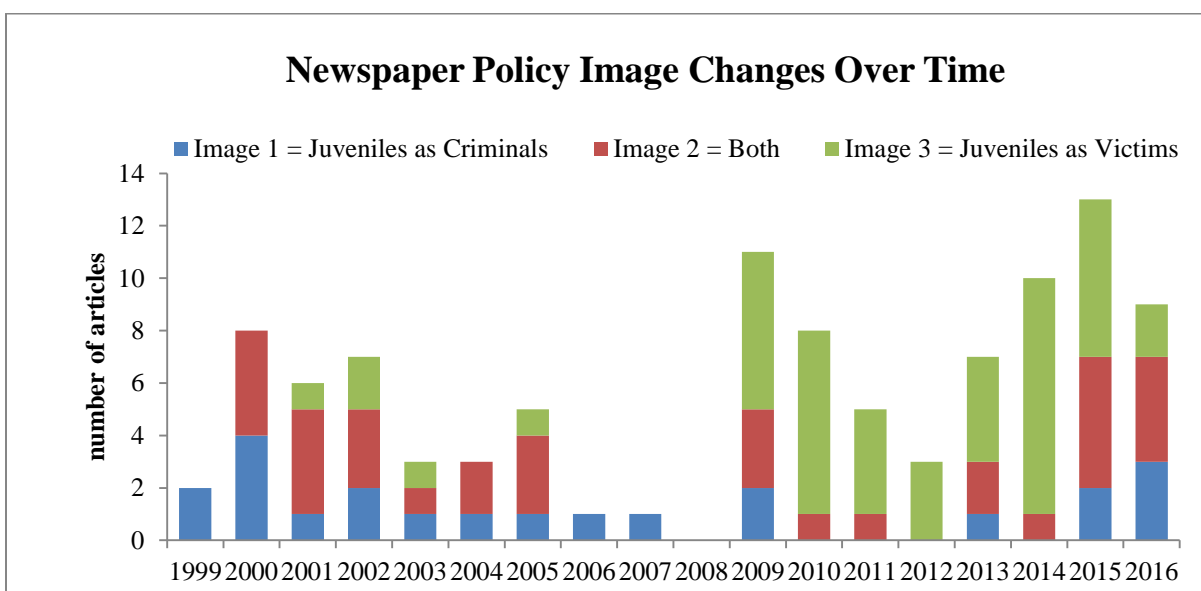
of ‘juvenile victims’ used language that depicted juveniles primarily as victims being sexually exploited and abused. Articles which were coded as ‘both’ either used language depicting juveniles as both or used language that was ambiguous. The image of ‘juveniles as survivors’ emerged through the use of phrases such as, “youth ...trading sex for money to survive on” (Lum, 2004), “children, many of whom turn to the sex trade to survive on the streets after running away” (Leone, 2001), and “prostitution survivors” (Schaefers, 2014).

**TABLE 9: HAWAI‘I NEWSPAPER ARTICLE POLICY IMAGE LANGUAGE**

Newspaper Articles: Language used for Policy Image	
Juveniles as criminals	underage sex workers (Dayton, 2015)
	the girl ...offered to engage in sex...for \$300 (Kreifels, 1999)
	pimps get young teenagers into the sex trade (Donnelly, 2000e)
	<i>youth ...trading sex for money to survive on (Lum, 2004)</i>
Both	girls stuck in the sex trade (Donnelly, 2000c)
	commercial sexual exploitation of minors working in strip bars and massage parlors (Asato, 2001b)
	youngsters may get clothes, drugs, food, a place to stay, video games or the approval of their pimp (Leone, 2001)
	<i>children, many of whom turn to the sex trade to survive on the streets after running away (Leone, 2001)</i>

	young girls...forced to work in the sex industry (Shapiro, 2002)
Juveniles as victims	demand for children as sexual commodities (Deese, & Hmurovich, 2015)
	students... being exploited by the sex industry (Harada, 2002)
	prostitution survivors (Schaefers, 2014)

To determine if these frames have changed since the passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act in 2000, the Policy Image presented in the newspaper article data set was examined over time to evaluate the changes that have occurred. (See Figure 29)



**FIGURE 29: HAWAI‘I NEWSPAPER POLICY IMAGE CHANGES OVER TIME**

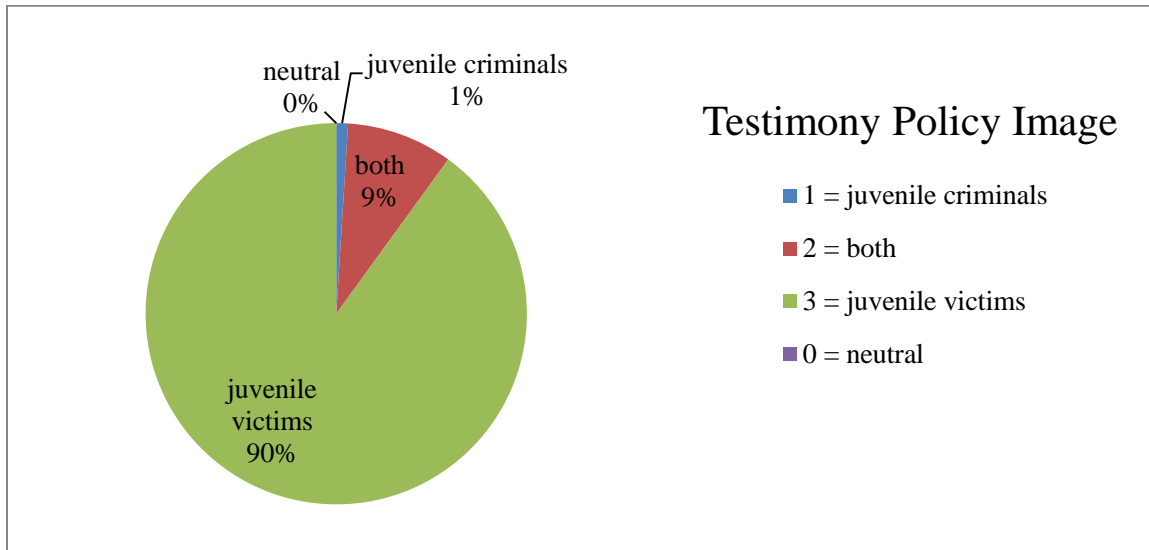
From the years 2000-2008, the years immediately following the passage of the TVPA, the image of juveniles as criminals or the image of juveniles as both criminals and victims defined the predominant frames presented in the newspaper article data set (> 65%). From the years 2009-2016, a shift occurred and the image of juveniles as victims or the image of juveniles as both victims and criminals became the predominant frames (> 65%).

***State Legislative Testimony – Overall Policy Image and Changes Over Time***

The legislative testimony data set consisted of 399 testimony from the years 2013-2016. To determine the data set’s policy image of commercially sexually involved juveniles, a Policy

Image was constructed as either ‘juveniles are criminals’ or ‘juveniles are victims’. The results of the coding were: juvenile criminals (1%), juvenile victims (90%), or juveniles as both (9%).

(See Figure 30)



**FIGURE 30: LEGISLATIVE TESTIMONY POLICY IMAGE PERCENTAGES**

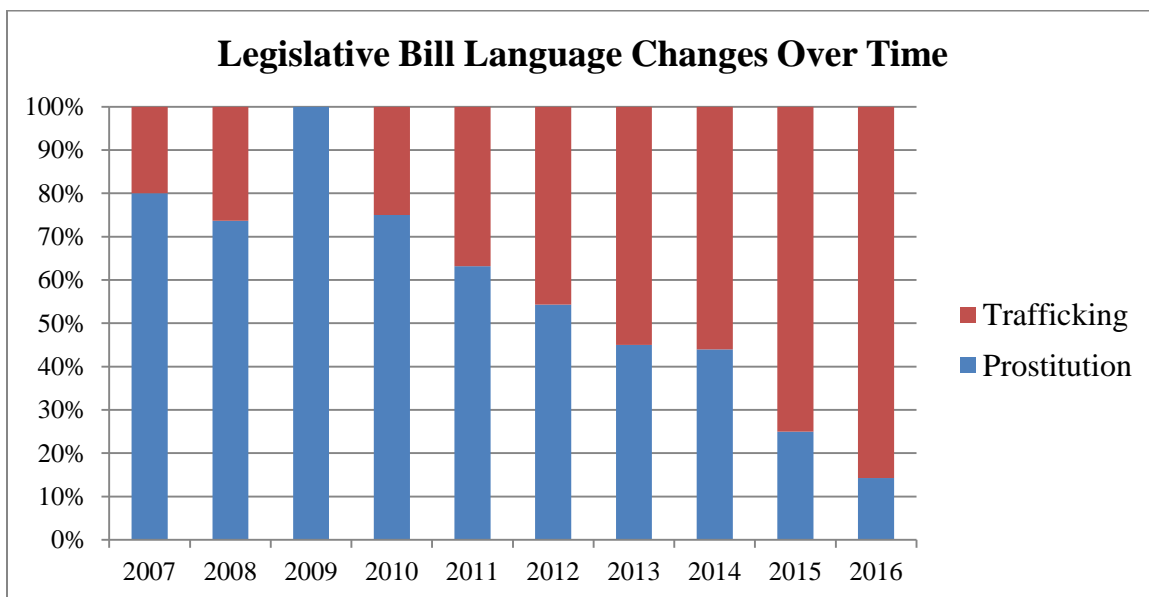
Themes and specific phrases used to identify a Policy Image are displayed within Table 10. Testimony which presented an image of ‘juvenile criminals’ used language that depicted juveniles primarily as prostitutes engaged in criminal activity. Testimony which presented an image of ‘juvenile victims’ used language that depicted juveniles primarily as victims being sexually exploited and abused. Testimony which were coded as ‘both’ either used language depicting juveniles as both or used language that was ambiguous. The image of ‘juveniles as survivors’ emerged through the use of phrases such as, “victims and survivors” (Hawai‘i Youth Services Network, 2013), and “survivors of child sex trafficking” (TH, 2013).

**TABLE 10: LEGISLATIVE TESTIMONY POLICY IMAGE LANGUAGE**

Legislative Testimony: Language used for Policy Image	
Juveniles as criminals	persons engaged in the sex industry (Department of Human Services, 2013)
	persons engaged in prostitution (Hawai‘i Youth Services Network, 2013)

Both	minors who are involved in prostitution (Department of the Honolulu Prosecuting Attorney, 2016)
	victims of commercial sexual exploitation, manipulated into prostitution (Shared Hope International, 2014)
	seventeen year old prostitute, a force(d) minor (Office of the Public Defender, 2013)
	victims and survivors (Hawai'i Youth Services Network, 2013)
Juveniles as victims	young children victims of human trafficking (Polaris Project, 2013)
	domestic minor sex trafficking victims (KC, 2013)
	young victims of sexual exploitation (Courage House Hawai'i Project, 2013)
	survivors of child sex trafficking (TH, 2013)

It was not possible to determine if the frames used in legislative testimony have changed since the passage of the TVPA in 2000 due to the lack of available legislative testimony over time (see **Limitations**). However, it was possible to examine the change over time in the language used within available archived legislative bills to identify juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity. From 2007-2011, bills which addressed juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity primarily identified the issue as one of prostitution (> 60%). From 2012-2016, bills increasingly identified the issue as one of trafficking (> 60%). (See Figure 31)



**FIGURE 31: LEGISLATIVE BILL LANGUAGE CHANGES OVER TIME**



## CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

### Summary

This dissertation sought to discover how the problem of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity was framed within Hawai‘i’s public communications. In particular information was sought concerning how the problem was defined, what potential causes were identified, what were the moral evaluations being offered, and what were the policy recommendations being suggested. Information was also sought concerning how these frames may have changed over time. Attention was given to the use of episodic or thematic framing within the data, as research has shown that defining a problem through the use of episodic, or ‘individualizing’, frames limits government action and places responsibility for addressing a problem upon the afflicted individuals, while thematic, or ‘systemic’, frames invite government action and places responsibility for addressing a problem upon the larger society (Barnett, 2006; Chenot, 2011; Gross, 2008; Hart, 2011; Iyengar, 1996). Data was drawn from Hawai‘i’s major newspapers and from Hawai‘i State legislative testimony.

A digital search of Hawai‘i’s major newspapers yielded a data set of 102 articles that specifically discussed juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity from 1999-2016. A digital search of Hawai‘i’s State legislative archives identified 88 bills which referenced prostitution and 79 bills which referenced trafficking from 2007-2016. A search of these bills yielded a data set of 399 testimony that specifically discussed juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity from 2013-2016.

A gradual shift in the image of commercially sexually involved juveniles is emerging within Hawai‘i’s public communications. Juveniles are increasingly being framed as victims of sexual exploitation rather than as criminals offending society. This gradual shift in image signals

a crucial state-wide shift in the communication frames used by Hawai‘i’s policy elite actors to address the issue of sex trafficked juveniles. Research indicates that a key conceptual change necessary for disrupting exploitation and addressing juvenile need is to view juveniles as victims deserving of social aid rather than as criminals undeserving of social aid (Reid & Jones, 2011; Menaker & Franklin, 2013). The trend that is emerging in Hawai‘i’s major newspapers and in State legislative records seems to indicate that this key conceptual change is occurring within the communication frames used by Hawai‘i’s policy elite actors.

A significant theme that continuously emerged in the data, but which was not initially included in the coding scheme, was the theme of survivorship and the image of ‘juveniles as survivors.’ Research indicates that ‘survivorship’ and the identification of ‘juveniles as survivors’ may be a key element in the characterization and self-identity of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity (Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016; Williams, 2009). While this frame was not incorporated within the coding scheme, it emerged frequently enough that preliminary qualitative data were collected.

### **Newspaper Article Data Set Findings**

Newspapers were chosen as a primary data source because they can be utilized for tracking how an issue is framed by and for policy elite actors (Lawrence, 2004). One important framing aspect that was incorporated into the coding of the data sets was an evaluation of the presence of either an episodic or thematic frame, as research indicates that these elements can strongly influence an audience’s perception concerning an issue. The newspaper article data set was characterized by framing that predominantly drew elements from both ends of the episodic and thematic framing continuum, presenting a variable perspective on the issue of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity.

### ***Problem Definition***

Concerning a problem definition, the newspaper article data set most often framed the problem of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity as both a problem of criminality and a problem of exploitation (52%), and most often used a combination of both episodic and thematic elements to illustrate the issue (48%). This indeterminate definition of the problem and combination of frames presented a depiction of the problem that did not clearly assign responsibility for the problem to either the juveniles themselves or to the larger society. This mixed perspective on the issue was communicated through the use of phrases portraying juveniles as both criminals and victims within the same story; for example, “it’s unbelievable how many people think the minors willingly participate in prostitution” and “it was their choice to come, so they got what they deserved” (Donnelly, 2000c).

### ***Causal Interpretation***

Concerning a causal interpretation, newspapers most often framed the cause for juveniles being involved in commercial sexual activity as due to both personal failures and societal failures (52%), and most often used a combination of both episodic and thematic elements to illustrate the issue (52%). This interpretation of potential causes for the problem reflected a perspective on the issue which is mirrored in the literature concerning this population, wherein scholars identify ‘multiple failing systems’ encountered by juveniles who are commercially sexually involved (Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016).

This multilayered perspective on the issue was communicated through the use of phrases depicting both juvenile and societal failures within the same story; for example, “young girls are easy to fool into believing that prostitution is safe, fun and glamorous ...and they become trapped” (Arcayna, 2004). However, the strength of using a clear episodic frame or a clear

thematic frame lies in the frame's ability to either invite government action or to limit government action on an issue. The absence of a clear causal interpretation results in an unclear public perspective on where the responsibility for the issue should rest and who should be responsible for addressing the issue.

### ***Moral Evaluation***

Concerning a moral evaluation, newspapers most often framed juveniles ambivalently as both deserving and undeserving of social aid (52%), although juveniles were slightly more likely to be depicted as deserving (22%) rather than undeserving (11%). Concerning the use of episodic or thematic elements, newspapers most often mixed frames, using both juvenile failures and social failures to illustrate a story. This perspective on the issue was communicated through the use of language that highlighted both personal juvenile failures and broader social failures within the same article. For example,

“Female leaders from the state’s visitor industry are urging businesses to play a greater role in stopping sex trafficking, which they say is victimizing children from Hawai‘i and elsewhere. ‘My daughter’s friend, who came from a very good family, was trafficked off the island’. The girl, who was just 13 at the time, also tried to recruit her daughter. ...BD’s case [another teenager] illustrates the intersection of Hawai‘i’s visitor and prostitution industries. She was recruited out of Mililani High School by a pimp she thought was her boyfriend. As a teenager, she didn’t have the courage or wisdom to leave the violent and drug-filled world of prostitution...it is vital that all visitor industry businesses take seriously the role that they can play in halting the spread of child sex trafficking” (Schaefer, 2015).

The article clearly stated that the larger society should ‘play a greater role in stopping sex trafficking’, indicating that there was a social failure in the past to ‘take seriously the role that they can play in halting the spread of child sex trafficking’, but the article framed the issue of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity as one of juvenile failure, ‘she was recruited’ and ‘she didn’t have the courage or wisdom to leave’. The use of mixed frames presented a perspective on the issue that did not clearly communicate whether juveniles were deserving or

undeserving of social aid, and it did not clearly communicate whether or not the larger society should assume responsibility for addressing the issue.

### ***Policy Recommendation***

Concerning policy recommendations, newspapers generally depicted a need to both strengthen protections for society through juvenile corrections and strengthen protections for juveniles through societal corrections (48%); however, solely societal corrections (26%) were more likely to be depicted than individual juvenile corrections (11%). Concerning the use of episodic or thematic elements, newspapers often presented the need for both individual juvenile corrections and social policy corrections within the same story (41%). Examples of the language used to communicate both individual juvenile corrections and social policy corrections within the same story included, "We can't continue to criminalize children in the sex trade. We need your help not your punishment," (Gee, 2002), and "help young women escape, fight for tougher laws against commercial sexual exploitation" (Donnelly, 2000f).

This use of mixed frames when offering policy recommendations within a newspaper article communicated an uncertain perspective on who should address the issue of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity and what direction those remedies should take. The framing of policy recommendations offered remedies which clearly depicted a need to strengthen protections for juveniles through societal corrections – 'don't continue to criminalize children', 'fight for tougher laws' – but the remedy was framed using personal juvenile corrections – 'help young women escape,' 'we need your help not your punishment'. Research indicates that audiences are more likely to believe society as a whole should address an issue when thematic elements are used, but audiences are more likely to believe that an individual was responsible for addressing a situation when episodic frames are used. The use of varied frames when offering a

policy recommendation communicated a mixed perspective regarding whether policy remedies should be focused on individual juvenile corrections or broader societal corrections.

### **Legislative Testimony Data Set Findings**

Legislative testimony were chosen as a primary data source because they present an official, public record of the views and opinions of policy stakeholders. One important framing aspect that was incorporated into the coding of the data sets was an evaluation of the presence of either an episodic or thematic frame, as research indicates that these elements can strongly influence an audience's perception concerning the issue. The legislative testimony data set was characterized by the strong presence of thematic elements, presenting a decided perspective on the issue of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity.

#### ***Problem Definition***

Concerning a problem definition, the legislative testimony data set most often framed the problem of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity as a problem of exploitation (91%). Concerning episodic and thematic elements, the legislative testimony most often used a combination of the two to illustrate the issue (52%), although social issues were much more likely to be discussed (40%) rather than individual juvenile experiences (3%). This depiction and combination of frames presented an image of the problem which clearly assigned responsibility for the problem to the larger society, and individual juvenile experiences were referenced in order to illustrate the personal effect the issue was having on individual juvenile lives. This perspective on the issue was communicated through the use of phrases which depicted juveniles as being abused by forces outside of their control; for example, "(juveniles are) highly vulnerable, (with) no power to protect themselves" (ML, 2013), and "victims, especially minor

victims, are treated as willing participants in their own exploitation and then punished for it” (Hawai‘i Women’s Coalition, 2016).

### ***Causal Interpretation***

Concerning a causal interpretation, testimony most often did not present a cause for juveniles being involved in commercial sexual activity (54%), but when a cause was depicted it was most often due to societal failures (29%). Episodic and thematic elements were absent in the majority of the testimony (54%), although when failures were discussed, social failures were much more likely to be mentioned (24%) rather than juvenile failures (2%). When an interpretation of the potential causes for the problem was present, it clearly assigned public responsibility to the problem and invited government action on the issue. This perspective on the issue was communicated through the use of phrases primarily depicting social failures, such as “laws fail to protect them” (Courage House Hawai‘i Project, 2013), and “purveyors of sex trafficking victims (i.e. the pimps and the johns) are the drivers of this global criminal enterprise (Office of the Kaua‘i Prosecuting Attorney, 2015).

It is notable that a causal interpretation is absent in the majority of the testimony. This absence reveals that the majority of the concerned citizens and stakeholders who submitted testimony chose to voice their support or opposition to a bill being proposed but chose not to offer or speculate on the cause of juvenile involvement in commercial sexual activity.

### ***Moral Evaluation***

Concerning a moral evaluation, testimony most often framed juveniles as deserving of social aid (93%), and most often used thematic frames depicting social failures (86%) to illustrate the issue. This evaluation of the issue was communicated through the use of language which highlighted the perspective that social failures were harming juveniles and that society

should assume the responsibility for addressing the issue. Phrases communicating this perspective included, “minor's victimization is indicative of child abuse or neglect” (Sex Abuse Treatment Center, 2013), “minors deserve the right to be protected, they deserve additional protection” (Honolulu Police Department, 2013), and “sex trafficking is a horrific crime no child should have to endure” (Hawai‘i State AFL-CIO, 2016).

### ***Policy Recommendation***

Concerning policy recommendations, legislative testimony clearly depicted a need to strengthen protections for juveniles through societal corrections (95%), and almost exclusively used thematic elements (96%) to illustrate the issue. This perspective on the issue was communicated through the use of language which unmistakably assigned responsibility for the problem to society and undeniably invited government action. Examples of the language used included, “aid victims with services and resources” (Department of Human Services, 2013), “prosecute those who create the demand, the purchaser of sex should be criminalized” (Equality Now, 2013), and “amend our penal code such that victims of sex trafficking, especially child victims, would not be labeled and treated as criminals” (Hawai‘i State Commission on the Status of Women, 2016).

### **Convergent Findings within the Two Data Sets**

#### ***Overall Policy Image***

Within the newspaper article data set, the overall policy image of juveniles involved with commercial sexual activity was a variable one. Most often an image of juveniles as victims of sexual exploitation (45%) was used, although in almost a quarter of the articles (22%) juveniles were clearly depicted as criminals, and in a third of the articles (33%) juveniles were depicted as both criminals and victims. Predominantly a combination of both episodic and thematic frames



were used to illustrate each of the four typologies, indicating an ambivalent perspective on how to define the issue, where the potential causes of the issue may lie, what is an appropriate moral evaluation of the issue, and what should be done about the issue.

Within the legislative testimony data set, the overall policy image of juveniles involved with commercial sexual activity was unmistakably an image of juveniles as victims of sexual exploitation (90%). When episodic or thematic elements were included in the data, predominantly thematic frames were used to illustrate the four typologies indicating a clear perspective on how to define the issue (exploitation), where the potential causes of the issue may lie (social failure), what is an appropriate moral evaluation of the issue (juveniles are deserving of social aid), and what should be done about the issue (strengthen protections for juveniles through societal corrections).

### *Changes Over Time*

When examined over time, the image of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity presented within the newspaper article data set has changed since the passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000. Juveniles are currently much more frequently depicted as victims of exploitation rather than depicted as criminals. From the years 2000-2008, the years immediately following the passage of the TVPA, the image of juveniles as criminals or the image of juveniles as both criminals and victims defined the predominant frames presented in the newspaper article data set (> 65%). From the years 2009-2016, a shift occurred and the image of juveniles as victims or the image of juveniles as both victims and criminals characterized the predominant frames (> 65%).

Due to the lack of digitally available legislative testimony, it was not possible to determine if the frames used within legislative testimony have changed since the passage of the

Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000. However, it was possible to examine the change in the language used by the Hawai‘i State legislature to identify juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity. A digital search of the Hawai‘i’s State legislative archives identified 88 bills which referenced prostitution and 79 bills which referenced trafficking from 2007-2016. In the years 2007-2011, bills which addressed juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity primarily identified the issue as one of prostitution (> 60%). In the years 2012-2016, bills increasingly identified the issue as one of trafficking (> 60%).

This gradual shift in the image presented by Hawai‘i’s major newspapers and the Hawai‘i State Legislature signals an important state-wide shift in the communication frames being used in Hawai‘i. Historically there has been a lack of protective legislation for juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity. Hawai‘i’s juvenile justice system has relied on punitive measures and carceral regimes to address the issue of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity (Chesney-Lind & Bilsky, 2011; Keahiolalo-Karasuda, 2008; Merry, 2000). Research indicates that a key conceptual change necessary for disrupting juvenile exploitation and addressing the trauma that has occurred is to view juveniles as victims of sexual exploitation rather than as criminals offending society. The trend that is emerging within the two data sets seems to indicate that this key conceptual change is occurring within the communication frames used among Hawai‘i’s policy elite actors.

### ***An Emergent Code***

A significant theme that continuously emerged from within the two data sets was one of survivorship and the image of ‘juveniles as survivors.’ Survivor language was not included in the original coding scheme, therefore survivor imagery was not coded, but survivor language emerged frequently enough that it warranted preliminary data collection. Language identifying

juveniles as survivors of extremely adverse circumstances and language referencing survival skills could be found within both data sets for many of the four categories coded. Research indicates that ‘survivorship’ and the identification of ‘juveniles as survivors’ may be a key element in the characterization and self-identity of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity. Future studies which incorporate this identification into a coding scheme may yield results that have the potential to better equip stakeholders focused on providing juveniles with the specialized services needed to disrupt their exploitation, address their trauma, and provide them with physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration.

### **Discussion**

By examining the communication frames used by policy elite actors in Hawai‘i, this dissertation sought to better evaluate perspectives and attitudes in Hawai‘i which potentially influence the policy response regarding the issue of commercially sexually involved juveniles. Given the shift in perspective that is occurring on both the national and international level, data was sought which examined the policy image for this population in Hawai‘i, particularly because of the historical lack of protective legislation which Hawai‘i has exhibited in the past toward juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity. While this research project focused exclusively on the policy image of juveniles involved with commercial sexual activity in Hawai‘i, the findings from this research project may have important implications for populations and social issues beyond this population and this policy concern.

### ***Implications for Vulnerable, Marginalized Populations***

Research has indicated that the way in which the public views a social issue determines the potential public policy solutions proposed (Baumgartner & Jones, 1991; Kingdon, 1984; Lawrence, 2004; Rose & Baumgartner, 2013; Schneider & Ingram, 1993). This ‘social

construction' understanding of the policy process suggests that populations and issues can be presented as either deserving or undeserving of policy aid, and this influences the direction of the public policies proposed. Examples in the literature can be seen in the framing of impoverished populations such as 'welfare queens' or 'juvenile superpredators' and the resultant shift in policies concerning rigid welfare aid and punitive juvenile justice policies. Research indicates that as frames shift, policies shift (Rose & Baumgartner, 2013).

Based upon this research project's data, as Hawai'i's communication frames concerning juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity have been gradually shifting, Hawai'i's policy response concerning this population has also shifted. As seen in the two data sets, the image of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity has gradually changed from an image of criminals undeserving of aid to an image of victims deserving of aid. This image has shifted so significantly that Hawai'i finally passed into law, for the first time, a statute which specifically classified sex trafficking as a violent crime and made sex trafficking of minors a Class A felony, the most serious class of felony, during the 2016 legislative session.

The trends over time in the two data sets reveal a key conceptual change that occurred which resulted in this population being regarded as one deserving of aid. This trend was especially prominent in the legislative testimony data set. When episodic or thematic elements were included in the legislative testimony data, predominantly thematic frames discussing social trends were used to illustrate the many facets of the issue. The use of thematic frames clearly held political institutions responsible for addressing the issue and invited government action in order to confront the problem. A similar, yet less prominent, trend could also be seen in the newspaper article data set. While the newspaper data set presented a more variable and mixed

perspective on the issue, there was still clearly an increased trend in the predominant frames used to depict juveniles as deserving of aid.

Literature associated with the past policy image of the juvenile superpredator echoes this trend. The episodic framing which characterized the media coverage of juvenile offending in the 1990's encouraged audiences to associate the conduct in question with the moral deficiency and the racial identity of the individual rather than underlying social conditions. Rather than place an individual incident in a broader statistical, political, or socioeconomic context, the news media frequently reported juvenile offenses as discrete events. This type of framing galvanized support for more punitive crime policies and was a staple of children's news stories in the 1990's (Iyengar, 1996; Moriearty, 2010). This approach to image construction made no connection between discrete events, such as crime, and broader themes, such as poverty.

The alternate and opposing use of thematic frames in the discussion of social issues may hold strong implications for stakeholders concerned with vulnerable, marginalized populations in need of social aid. The shifting image of commercially sexually involved juveniles into a population deserving of policy aid through the use of thematic framing may be able to serve as a policy image template for vulnerable and marginalized populations that do not yet have a strong policy image portraying the population as one deserving of social aid.

### ***Implications for Practice and Policy Construction***

The research on frames in communication is acknowledged as providing insight into cultural shifts, public understanding, and opinion formation (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Research demonstrates that framing is best conceptualized as a process that evolves over time, as the dimension of time allows for separating newly defined issues from previously debated traditional issues (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Although new issues are often variants of

traditional issues that have been presented in the past, they are distinguished by the absence of a contemporary general agreement about how to understand them.

This dissertation sought to examine the long-standing perception of commercially sexually involved juveniles as criminals and to evaluate the re-conceptualization of this population as victims of exploitation. Research has shown that the perception of juveniles as criminals is a view commonly held by society, and that it is a view often held by many of the juveniles themselves (Clawson & Goldblatt Grace, 2007; Menaker & Franklin, 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013). The data gathered from the newspaper article data set is consistent with these findings.

However, research among homeless, runaway, and sexually victimized juveniles suggests the need for an even more nuanced understanding of this population (Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016; Swaner et al, 2016; Williams, 2009; Williams & Fredrick, 2009). Research indicates that coping and survival are key themes for high-risk runaway and homeless juveniles, and from their own perspective these juveniles have negotiated life at a very young age to survive abuse, hunger, poverty, and violence (Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016; Swaner et al, 2016; Williams, 2009). The preliminary qualitative data gathered from the two data sets seem to indicate that this identification is beginning to emerge within the communication frames used by policy elite actors, as well. The nature of their survival skills may only marginally resemble ‘survival’ to others, but research indicates that the complexity of their lives challenge simple, one-dimensional portrayals of these juveniles as ‘victims’ or ‘offenders’ and some of the more simplistic constructions of ‘sex trafficked girls’ (Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016; Williams, 2009).

As the data from the State Legislature has demonstrated, the image of a ‘victim in need of aid’ is very effective in garnering the support of stakeholders such as community organizations

and concerned individuals. This image features prominently in testimony accompanying successfully passed sex trafficking legislation in 2016. However, research indicates that this victim image may ultimately do juveniles a grave disservice if the depiction of an innocent, weak, helpless victim is directly challenged by an encounter with a strong, willful juvenile survivor in the field by law enforcement or service providers (Williams, 2009).

A more fully-developed understanding of juveniles as survivors, rather than simply as victims or offenders, has important implications for practice and policy construction (Williams, 2009). Research indicates that simplistic depictions of these juveniles misdirects resources and effort away from genuine threats in their lives, and these depictions do not adequately address the problem of multiple failing systems encountered by juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity (Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016). Stakeholders concerned with juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity, especially service providers and policy makers, would benefit from a more nuanced understanding of this population as survivors, especially if the aim is to provide juveniles with the specialized services needed to disrupt their exploitation, address their trauma, and provide them with physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration.

The codebook created and utilized during this research project may be able to serve as a vital first step in pursuing the knowledge necessary for capturing this nuanced understanding. Despite the inherent limitations found within the current codebook, it may still serve as an effective, portable model for examining the policy image of juveniles as survivors, as well as serving as a model for examining the policy image of other vulnerable and marginalized groups.

### ***Implications for the Field of Social Work***

Social justice is at the core of the mission of the social work profession. As stated in the NASW Code of Ethics, social workers are to promote social justice and social change. One of

the primary goals of this research study was to gather data which could be used to advocate on behalf of exploited juveniles. As the NASW Code of Ethics asserts, “The primary mission of the social work profession is to enhance human well-being and help meet the basic human needs of all people, with particular attention to the needs and empowerment of people who are vulnerable, oppressed, and living in poverty. ...Fundamental to social work is attention to the environmental forces that create, contribute to, and address problems in living.”

The results of this research project have the potential to impact future public policy in Hawai‘i concerning juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity. It is intended for this study to contribute to the societal support for commercially sexually exploited juveniles and to improve efforts to identify and respond to those within society who are most at-risk for sexual exploitation. By studying portrayals of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity within Hawai‘i’s public communications, insight has been gained into the public knowledge and attitudes about this population. Insight has also been gained on cultural shifts in public understanding, the need for a re-conceptualization of the issue, and changes in public opinion and social agreement regarding this population. By continuing to study these representations over time, future insight could be gained into the contemporary public’s potentially new understanding of this population as survivors.

The results of this study are intended to equip Hawai‘i’s policy elite actors, child welfare professionals, social advocates, and members of the general public with information on the communication frames being used to characterize commercially sexually exploited juveniles, and to provide for the public a better understanding of the nature of this complex issue. As research has indicated, and as the results of this dissertation have demonstrated, there is a critical need to utilize communication frames which accurately depict and ‘tell the story’ of this exploited



population in such a way that communities are engaged and society is mobilized to support and aid this historically marginalized and vulnerable population. As was cautioned by the Committee on the Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Sex Trafficking of Minors in the United States, a nation unaware of these issues or disengaged from their solutions unwittingly contributes to the ongoing abuse of juveniles. It concludes by warning that inattention to the exploitation of juveniles ensures that the related issues and the victims themselves remain marginalized and misunderstood (Clayton et al, 2013).

### **Limitations**

The exploitation of juveniles through commercial sexual activity is not a new issue, although the identification of these juveniles as victims rather than as criminals is a fairly new occurrence. Because of this new understanding placed upon an old issue, one of the limitations confronting this study was a lack of research specifically focused on the issue of ‘juvenile sex trafficking.’ A challenge that was encountered was due to records and information dealing with this population using a wide range of labels including: underage sex workers, juvenile prostitutes, teenage hookers, youth engaged in survival sex, commercially sexually exploited children, child trafficking victims, and domestic minor sex trafficking victims. Historically there has been a lack of systematic, official records kept concerning this population, therefore this study needed to adapt extant record-keeping to meet the goals of the project rather than rely on records specifically concerned with juvenile sex trafficking. Also, the issue of juvenile sex trafficking is a very current, dynamic issue therefore this research project was only be able to capture the latest information as of 2016.

Another limitation encountered by this research project was a lack of available digital data for the timeframe specified. This research project sought data from the 15 years prior to the

passage of the TVPA in 2000 and the 15 years following in order to examine changes over time. Given this historical aspect, only print media news sources were considered, and not digital media sources, therefore online newspapers were not utilized in the data collection. Also, while Hawai‘i’s major print newspapers and the State Legislature had searchable, publically available indices for the data sets sought, the actual data sets themselves were limited in their digital availability. Thus, for the newspaper article data set, articles were only digitally available from 1996. For the legislative testimony data set, testimony was only available for bills during the 2013-2014 and 2015-2016 biennial legislative sessions.

There were also inherent limitations in utilizing only two media sources. Both media sources presented very politically correct and sanitized language regarding juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity. A greater depth and breadth of perspective could be found in a broader utilization of other digital media sources such as music, art, and community driven productions. A broader utilization of sources would afford a greater inclusion of stakeholder and policy elite voices, as well as the invaluable voice of the juveniles themselves. Not all of Hawai‘i’s policy elite actors may have been represented in the records that were utilized or the records that were available. An acknowledged limitation inherent within this research project’s design was the inability to capture the perspective of all Hawai‘i’s valuable and relevant policy elite actors and stakeholders, especially the juveniles.

Finally, all inferences that can be obtained from content analysis are inductive in nature, therefore, for this research project, an effort was made to increase validity by utilizing a constant interplay between inductive inference (based on observation in the data) and deductive inference (based on established theories in the literature). However, this study made use of a unique codebook constructed by this researcher for this research project, thus, as such, it was an untried

instrument with untested external validity and subject to unconscious researcher bias. These threats to internal and external validity contribute to the limitations inherent in this research project.

The coding scheme utilized within the project's codebook also had inherent limitations. The codebook created a coding scheme built upon the contrasting image of juveniles as criminals or juveniles as victims based upon the predominant language used within the literature (deductive inference) and the predominant language used within a pilot analysis of the data (inductive inference). During the course of coding, however, an additional frame emerged of 'juveniles as survivors' which did not conform with either of the dualistic images established in the coding scheme. This additional frame was incorporated within the qualitative data collection and coding, however the quantitative data collection and coding was limited in its ability to capture this emerging, nuanced understanding of juveniles and the implications this frame may have for the policy image of commercially sexually involved juveniles.

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

The issue of juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity is a complex, multi-faceted social concern. This research study sought to contribute to efforts focused on increasing juvenile protection and advocating for stronger juvenile social justice. However, there is still more that needs to be done to aid this vulnerable and marginalized population.

Research efforts are warranted which focus on strengthening the policy image of commercially sexually involved juveniles such that it will increase policy aid for this population. Research indicates that many within this population have encountered multiple failing social systems which were intended to provide them with safety and protection, thus social policy solutions focused on correcting those systems should be pursued. As this dissertation has

demonstrated, policy images can strongly influence the direction of public policy, thus strengthening the policy image of commercially sexually involved juveniles may have the likely effect of increasing policy aid for this population.

Research efforts are needed which explore the theme of ‘juveniles as survivors’ and the implications this framing may have on a more effective policy image. Research indicates that juveniles involved in commercial sexual exploitation may not accept the suggestion of judgment and powerlessness that can be associated with prostitute, offender, and victim designations, thus research is warranted which explores the implications of a ‘survivor’ identity. As this dissertation demonstrates, the theme of ‘juveniles as survivors of exploitation’ emerged frequently enough within the data that a more nuanced depiction of this population may be needed in order for more effective policy interventions to be introduced and considered by Hawai‘i’s policy elite actors.

Efforts are needed which create services specifically tailored for juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity. Research indicates that multiple levels of familiarity, comfort, and enthrallment contribute to juvenile involvement in commercial sexual exploitation, thus services are warranted which specifically address the trauma needs of sexually exploited juveniles, distinct from other types of trauma that this population may experience. As this dissertation affirms, there is a need in Hawai‘i for services that are trauma-informed and culturally-relevant in order to meet the specific needs of Hawai‘i’s juveniles.

Research is especially needed to explore and understand the voice of the juveniles themselves. Research indicates that the self-identity of juveniles involved with commercial sexual activity may diverge from the identity that community leaders and others place upon them, thus efforts are warranted which seek to accurately represent the voice and perspective of the juveniles themselves. As this dissertation affirms, there is a need to bring policy and practice

into alignment, not only with the reality of the lived experience of juveniles, but with the actual perspective and the 'story' of the juveniles themselves.

APPENDIX A:

2015 Hawai'i State Report Card

**PROTECTED INNOCENCE CHALLENGE**  
STATE ACTION . NATIONAL CHANGE.

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**HAWAII REPORT CARD 2015**

<p><i>Hawaii has not enacted a sex trafficking law. Buyers of sex with minors face fines, asset forfeiture and sex offender registration for CSEC violations, but penalties do not reflect the seriousness of the offense. Few protective provisions exist for domestic minor sex trafficking victims.</i></p>	<p>FINAL SCORE</p> <p style="font-size: 24pt;"><b>62.5</b></p> <p>FINAL GRADE</p> <p style="font-size: 24pt;"><b>D</b></p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;"></td> <td style="text-align: center;"></td> <td style="text-align: center;"></td> <td style="text-align: center;"></td> <td style="text-align: center;"></td> <td style="text-align: center;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center; border: 1px solid black;"><math>\frac{5}{10}</math></td> <td style="text-align: center; border: 1px solid black;"><math>\frac{15}{25}</math></td> <td style="text-align: center; border: 1px solid black;"><math>\frac{12}{15}</math></td> <td style="text-align: center; border: 1px solid black;"><math>\frac{7}{10}</math></td> <td style="text-align: center; border: 1px solid black;"><math>\frac{14}{27.5}</math></td> <td style="text-align: center; border: 1px solid black;"><math>\frac{9.5}{15}</math></td> </tr> </table>							$\frac{5}{10}$	$\frac{15}{25}$	$\frac{12}{15}$	$\frac{7}{10}$	$\frac{14}{27.5}$	$\frac{9.5}{15}$
$\frac{5}{10}$	$\frac{15}{25}$	$\frac{12}{15}$	$\frac{7}{10}$	$\frac{14}{27.5}$	$\frac{9.5}{15}$									

**CRIMINALIZATION OF DOMESTIC MINOR SEX TRAFFICKING**

Hawaii has not enacted a human trafficking law that includes the crime of sex trafficking. The state has several commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) laws, including promoting prostitution of a person under 18, kidnapping for purposes of prostitution or obscenity, promoting child abuse through pornography, and solicitation of a minor for prostitution. The absence of a sex trafficking law prevents proper identification of commercially sexually exploited minors as victims of sex trafficking. The state racketeering statute includes CSEC offenses in the definition of racketeering activity.

**CRIMINAL PROVISIONS ADDRESSING DEMAND**

The lack of a sex trafficking laws prevents buyers from being charged with sex trafficking. Solicitation of a minor for prostitution expressly addresses soliciting and buying sex with a minor and distinguishes between purchasing sex acts with an adult versus a minor. If there are verified losses, restitution for conviction of any crime a buyer might be convicted of, including general sex offenses and solicitation of a minor for prostitution, is mandatory upon a victim's request and includes medical expenses. Civil asset forfeiture is available for those convicted of solicitation of a minor for prostitution, promoting child abuse in the third degree by possessing child pornography and electronic enticement of a minor. A person convicted of solicitation of a minor for prostitution or possession of child pornography is required to register as a sex offender. Buyers can be prosecuted for electronic enticement of a child under 18 when they commit felony sexual abuse as a result and face a up to 10 years imprisonment and possible fine up to \$25,000, but buyers using the Internet for the purchase of sex with children are not expressly culpable under this law if they solicit a minor for prostitution.

**CRIMINAL PROVISIONS FOR TRAFFICKERS**

There is no sex trafficking law in Hawaii, leaving traffickers to be prosecuted under the CSEC statutes of promoting prostitution of a minor and creating child pornography. These offenses carry sentences of imprisonment up to 20 years "without the possibility of suspension of sentence or probation", a possible fine up to \$50,000, and an additional fine of \$5,000 to be deposited in the human trafficking victims services fund. A trafficker using the Internet to lure or recruit a minor under 18 for commercial sex acts could be prosecuted for electronic enticement of a child if the resulting case is seen as felony sexual abuse, instead of merely prostitution. Employing a minor in adult entertainment is a misdemeanor punishable by up to 1 year imprisonment and a possible fine up to \$2,000. Traffickers might be guilty of state racketeering law and money laundering laws for their criminal actions. Traffickers convicted of promoting prostitution of a minor or promoting child abuse by creating child pornography are required to register as sex offenders. While the law does not enumerate convictions for CSEC or sexual offenses as grounds for terminating parental rights, being required to register as a sex offender under the federal Adam Walsh Act is considered an aggravated circumstance for which parental rights may be terminated. Traffickers found to have violated organized crime laws, the electronic enticement of a child law, or certain CSEC and child pornography offenses are subject to asset forfeiture. Restitution to the victim for losses, including medical costs, is mandatory upon request by the victim.

**DEMAND | SELECTED COMMERCIAL SEX CRIMES**

Crime (name of law abridged)	Classification	Sentence	Fine	Asset Forfeiture (available)
Solicitation of a minor for prostitution (§ 712-1209.1)	Class C felony	Max. 5 years	Mandatory \$2,000- \$10,000	●
Promoting child abuse in the third degree by possessing child pornography (§ 707-752)	Class C felony	Max. 5 years	Max. \$10,000	●

All criminal penalties are statutory; many states also have sentencing guidelines that are not codified which affect sentencing.



### PROTECTIVE PROVISIONS FOR THE CHILD VICTIMS

Victims of sex trafficking are vulnerable due to gaps in Hawaii’s laws. There is no prohibition on a defendant raising consent of the minor to the commercial sex act as a defense to prosecution. Prostitution offenses are not limited in application to adults leaving minors vulnerable to prosecution. Prostitution laws apply to minors under 18 and juvenile sex trafficking victims face criminalization for commercial sex acts committed as a result of their victimization. Child abuse and neglect definitions include victimization of a child through prostitution or child pornography, however the definition of “harm” does not appear to require that a parent be at fault potentially allowing for child welfare intervention in non-familial child trafficking cases. Only victims of enumerated violent crimes are eligible for crime victim compensation; these do not include CSEC but do include sexual assault and kidnapping which might be charged in a CSEC case. Victim-friendly trial procedures may be limited for victims of CSEC crimes. A victim under 18 of a sexual offense may be permitted to testify via closed circuit television and the “rape shield” law reduces the trauma of cross-examination for testifying victims of sexual offenses, which are not defined expressly to include CSEC offenses. Minors may petition to have certain arrest records expunged. Civil remedies are available to CSEC victims for injuries arising from sex offenses and under the Prostitution Coercion Liability Act if the minor was coerced into prostitution. Restitution for losses including medical expenses is statutorily authorized. Neither criminal nor civil statutes of limitations are eliminated, presenting potential barriers to a sex trafficking victim with typically slow recovery from the unique trauma of CSEC. Civil statutes of limitations do not begin to run until the victim reaches 18, and the statute of limitations for civil actions arising from sexual offenses does not run until 8 years after the minor turns 18 or 3 years after discovery of the injury caused by sexual abuse.



### CRIMINAL JUSTICE TOOLS FOR INVESTIGATION AND PROSECUTION

Training or development of training materials for law enforcement on human trafficking is not mandated or authorized. Single party consent to audiotaping is permissible in Hawaii, but CSEC offenses are not included as crimes for which a wiretapping order may be issued, withholding a critical tool for law enforcement investigations and the gathering of evidence. Use of a decoy is statutorily authorized for solicitation of a minor for prostitution, and law enforcement may utilize the Internet to investigate buyers and sex traffickers in violation of the electronic enticement of a child statute. The state law mandates reporting of missing and recovered children.



### CRIMINAL PROVISIONS FOR FACILITATORS

A facilitator who knowingly advances or profits from prostitution of a minor under 18 faces imprisonment for 20 years, a possible fine up to \$50,000, and an additional fine of \$5,000 to be deposited in the human trafficking victim services fund. Disseminating or reproducing child pornography is a felony punishable by imprisonment up to 10 years and a possible fine up to \$25,000. Facilitators may also be subject to Hawaii’s racketeering and money laundering laws for their criminal actions. Laws which prohibit selling, advertising, and promoting travel for the purpose of prostitution make sex tourism a felony punishable by up to 5 years imprisonment, a possible fine up to \$10,000, and an additional fine of \$1,000. Facilitators may be subject to asset forfeiture for promoting prostitution and promoting child abuse by disseminating child pornography. Restitution is mandatory if a victim requests it and can prove losses and medical costs caused by an offense.

The Report Card is based on the Protected Innocence Legislative Framework, an analysis of state laws performed by the American Center for Law & Justice and Shared Hope International, and sets a national standard of protection against domestic minor sex trafficking. To access the Protected Innocence Legislative Framework Methodology, each completed Report Card, and foundational analysis and recommendations, please visit: [www.sharedhope.org](http://www.sharedhope.org).

## APPENDIX B

### List of Search Terms for Newspaper Article Data Set:

Exact("Honolulu Advertiser" OR "Honolulu Star - Bulletin" OR "Honolulu Star - Advertiser")

- AND “commercial sex” AND “juveniles”
- AND “commercial\* sex\* exploit\*”
- AND “commercial\* sex\* activ\*”
- AND “surviv\* sex\*”
- AND “victim\* sex\* sal\*”
- AND “victim\* sex\* traff\*”
- AND “sex\* slave\*”
- AND “domestic\* sex\* traff\*”
- AND “domestic\* sex\* trade\*”
- AND "prostitut\*" AND "juv\*"
- AND "prostitut\*" AND child
- AND "prostitut\*" AND minor
- AND "prostitut\*" AND “adolescenc\*”
- AND "prostitut\*" AND “teen\*”
- AND "prostitut\*" AND youth
- AND "prostitut\*" AND underage
- AND “juv\*” AND “sex\* industry”
- AND “juv\*” AND “sex\* trade”
- AND “child\*” AND “sex\* trade”
- AND “child\*” AND “sex\* industry”
- AND “minor” AND “sex\* trade”
- AND “minor” AND “sex\* industry”
- AND “adolescenc\*” AND “sex\* trade”
- AND “adolescenc\*” AND “sex\* industry”
- AND “teen\*” AND “sex\* trade”
- AND “teen\*” AND “sex\* industry”
- AND “youth” AND “sex\* trade”
- AND “youth” AND “sex\* industry”
- AND “underage” AND “sex\* trade”
- AND “underage” AND “sex\* industry”
- AND “runaway\*” AND “sex\*”



## APPENDIX C

### Code Books

#### Newspaper Article Code Book

1. ID#:
2. Year of article
3. Title of Article
4. Type of newspaper article:
  - a. (= 1) News story: Basic news reporting of event
  - b. (= 2) Feature story: Written to inform and
  - c. (= 3) Editorial, column or opinion
  - d. (= 4) Community Event
5. Image used to identify juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity:  
(Juveniles are criminals OR Juveniles are victims)
  - a. (= 0) Neutral
  - b. (= 1) Primarily criminals
  - c. (= 2) Both
  - d. (= 3) Primarily victims
6. Specific language used to identify juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity:
7. Frame 1 – Problem Definition present?  
(Juveniles are criminals offending society OR Juveniles are victims being exploited)
  - a. (= 0) None
  - b. (= 1) Yes, primarily criminality
  - c. (= 2) Yes, both criminality and exploitation
  - d. (= 3) Yes, primarily exploitation
8. Frame 1 – Problem Definition: Episodic or Thematic frame present?  
(Individual juvenile experiences are discussed OR Societal issues are discussed)
  - a. (= 0) None
  - b. (= 1) Episodic frame present
  - c. (= 2) Both episodic and thematic frames present
  - d. (= 3) Thematic frame present
9. Specific language used for Frame 1 – Problem Definition:
10. Frame 2 – Causal Interpretation present?  
(Juveniles are criminals due to personal failure OR Juveniles are being abused due to societal failure)
  - a. (= 0) None
  - b. (= 1) Yes, primarily personal failures
  - c. (= 2) Yes, both personal and societal failures
  - d. (= 3) Yes, primarily societal failures

11. Frame 2 – Causal Interpretation: Episodic or Thematic frame present?  
(Individual juvenile failures are discussed OR Societal failures are discussed)
- (= 0) None
  - (= 1) Episodic frame present
  - (= 2) Both episodic and thematic frames present
  - (= 3) Thematic frame present
12. Specific language used for Frame 2 – Causal Interpretation:
13. Frame 3 – Moral Evaluation present?  
(Juveniles have failed and are harming society, thus juveniles are undeserving of aid OR Society has failed and is harming juveniles, thus juveniles are deserving of aid)
- (= 0) None
  - (= 1) Yes, primarily juveniles are undeserving of aid
  - (= 2) Yes, juveniles are both undeserving and deserving of aid
  - (= 3) Yes, primarily juveniles are deserving of aid
14. Frame 3 – Moral Evaluation: Episodic or Thematic frame present?  
(Individual juvenile failures are deemed harmful OR Societal failures are deemed harmful)
- (= 0) None
  - (= 1) Episodic frame present
  - (= 2) Both episodic and thematic frames present
  - (= 3) Thematic frame present
15. Specific language used for Frame 3 – Moral Evaluation:
16. Frame 4 – Policy Recommendation present?  
(Strengthen protections for society against juvenile failure through juvenile correction OR Strengthen protections for juveniles against societal failures through societal corrections)
- (= 0) None
  - (= 1) Yes, primarily strengthen juvenile corrections
  - (= 2) Yes, strengthen both juvenile and societal corrections
  - (= 3) Yes, primarily strengthen societal corrections
17. Frame 4 – Policy Recommendation: Episodic or Thematic frame present?  
(Individual juvenile corrections are discussed OR Societal policy corrections are discussed)
- (= 0) None
  - (= 1) Episodic frame present
  - (= 2) Both episodic and thematic frames present
  - (= 3) Thematic frame present
18. Specific language used for Frame 4 – Policy Recommendation:

## Legislative Testimony Code Book

1. ID#:
2. Year of Session
3. Title of Bill
4. Type of Stakeholder:
  - a. (= 1) Government
  - b. (= 2) Community Organization / NGO
  - c. (= 3) Individual
  
5. Image used to identify juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity:  
(Juveniles are criminals OR Juveniles are victims)
  - a. (= 0) Neutral
  - b. (= 1) Primarily criminals
  - c. (= 2) Both
  - d. (= 3) Primarily victims
  
6. Specific language used to identify juveniles involved in commercial sexual activity:
  
7. Frame 1 – Problem Definition present?  
(Juveniles are criminals offending society OR Juveniles are victims being exploited)
  - a. (= 0) None
  - b. (= 1) Yes, primarily criminality
  - c. (= 2) Yes, both criminality and exploitation
  - d. (= 3) Yes, primarily exploitation
  
8. Frame 1 – Problem Definition: Episodic or Thematic frame present?  
(Individual juvenile experiences are discussed OR Societal issues are discussed)
  - a. (= 0) None
  - b. (= 1) Episodic frame present
  - c. (= 2) Both episodic and thematic frames present
  - d. (= 3) Thematic frame present
  
9. Specific language used for Frame 1 – Problem Definition:
  
10. Frame 2 – Causal Interpretation present?  
(Juveniles are criminals due to personal failure OR Juveniles are being abused due to societal failure)
  - a. (= 0) None
  - b. (= 1) Yes, primarily personal failures
  - c. (= 2) Yes, both personal and societal failures
  - d. (= 3) Yes, primarily societal failures

11. Frame 2 – Causal Interpretation: Episodic or Thematic frame present?  
(Individual juvenile failures are discussed OR Societal failures are discussed)
- (= 0) None
  - (= 1) Episodic frame present
  - (= 2) Both episodic and thematic frames present
  - (= 3) Thematic frame present
12. Specific language used for Frame 2 – Causal Interpretation:
13. Frame 3 – Moral Evaluation present?  
(Juveniles have failed and are harming society, thus juveniles are undeserving of aid OR Society has failed and is harming juveniles, thus juveniles are deserving of aid)
- (= 0) None
  - (= 1) Yes, primarily juveniles are undeserving of aid
  - (= 2) Yes, juveniles are both undeserving and deserving of aid
  - (= 3) Yes, primarily juveniles are deserving of aid
14. Frame 3 – Moral Evaluation: Episodic or Thematic frame present?  
(Individual juvenile failures are deemed harmful OR Societal failures are deemed harmful)
- (= 0) None
  - (= 1) Episodic frame present
  - (= 2) Both episodic and thematic frames present
  - (= 3) Thematic frame present
15. Specific language used for Frame 3 – Moral Evaluation:
16. Frame 4 – Policy Recommendation present?  
(Strengthen protections for society against juvenile failure through juvenile correction OR Strengthen protections for juveniles against societal failures through societal corrections)
- (= 0) None
  - (= 1) Yes, primarily strengthen juvenile corrections
  - (= 2) Yes, strengthen both juvenile and societal corrections
  - (= 3) Yes, primarily strengthen societal corrections
17. Frame 4 – Policy Recommendation: Episodic or Thematic frame present?  
(Individual juvenile corrections are discussed OR Societal policy corrections are discussed)
- (= 0) None
  - (= 1) Episodic frame present
  - (= 2) Both episodic and thematic frames present
  - (= 3) Thematic frame present
18. Specific language used for Frame 4 – Policy Recommendation:

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