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Pathways to Offending: Domestic Sex Trafficking

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Pathways to Offending: Domestic Sex Trafficking

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

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This is to certify that the Clinical Research Project of

Julie Williams

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Abstract

Multidisciplinary professionals across criminal justice, public policy, education, and health and human services have all attempted to understand the complex phenomenon of sex trafficking to assist victims, correct offenders, and prevent future abuse. However, current research has struggled to agree on terms, definitions of terms, best measures of prevalence, and recommendations to address sex trafficking in the United States. This review of current literature aims to offer a synthesized framework to conceptualize domestic sex trafficking perpetrator behaviors (what they do), their uses of force, fraud, and coercion (how they do it), and their motivations and justifications/rationalizations for those behaviors (why they do it). The resulting conceptual framework can serve as a roadmap to guide the development of tailored assessment instruments and evidence-based treatments as well as improve community prevention and education efforts.

Keywords: coercion, commercial sex act (CSA), commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC), domestic sex trafficking (DST), force, fraud, grooming, pimp, prostitution, recruitment, sex offender

PATHWAYS TO OFFENDING: DOMESTIC SEX TRAFFICKING

NOTICE TO THE READER

The following manuscript includes some explicit content that may evoke strong emotional reactions, especially for individuals with personal experience with physical, emotional, or sexual abuse.

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CHAPTER I: PATHWAYS TO OFFENDING- DOMESTIC SEX TRAFFICKING

Humanitarian entities such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and legislative partners including the United Nations (UN) have begun to refer to modern-day slavery as *human trafficking* (Miers, 2003; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2018b). Human trafficking involves exploitative labor and commercial sex that restricts victims from accessing their fundamental human rights (UNODC, 2018b). Exploitation through commercial sex by force, fraud, or coercion is known as *sex trafficking* (ST; U.S. Congress, 2000b). Victims may be recruited, harbored, transported, provided, or obtained across international borders (i.e., international sex trafficking) or within the United States (i.e., domestic sex trafficking; U.S. Congress, 2000b).

The clandestine nature of sex trafficking complicates the ability to gather accurate prevalence estimates (Fedina et al., 2016; Franchino-Olsen et al., 2022; Jordan et al., 2013). The Polaris Project (2021) reported a total of 51,667 substantive contacts made to the National Human Trafficking Hotline during the 2020 calendar year that resulted in 10,583 unique trafficking cases, of which 72.3% ($n = 7,648$) involved sex trafficking and 3.2% ($n = 334$) involved both sex and labor trafficking. Of the reported victims, 57.8% ($n = 4418$) were adults and 28.0% ($n = 2145$) were minors, with 84.7% ($n = 6480$) female, 8.1% ($n = 623$) male, 0.5% ($n = 42$) transgender female, and 0.2% ($n = 13$) transgender male gender identities reported (Polaris Project, 2021). In the same year, the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) formally opened only 619 sex trafficking investigations (U.S. Department of State, 2022).

The criminal justice field continues to seek ways to improve the early and accurate identification and apprehension of domestic sex trafficking perpetrators (DSTPs; Farrell et al., 2010). However, current efforts to combat domestic sex trafficking (DST) rely predominantly on

victims to report and respond to their own exploitation (Bauer et al., 2019; Children's Bureau, 2018; Cole et al., 2016; Helfferich et al., 2011; Kloess et al., 2017; Wilson & O'Brien, 2016). Sex trafficking, like most illegal activities that use fear to silence victims, is underreported to law enforcement or social services organizations, making identification difficult (Farrell & de Vries, 2019; Simich et al., 2014; Weiner & Hala, 2008; Wilson & Dalton, 2008). The nature of tactics used by DSTPs can interfere with the ability of victims to access help (Helfferich et al., 2011; Lamb et al., 2018). For example, sex trafficking perpetrators often curate a trauma bond with victims through force, fraud, and coercion that may inhibit a victim from full cooperation with law enforcement or child protective services (Clawson & Goldblatt, 2007). The transitory nature of DST allows victims to often get mistaken for runaways, juvenile delinquents, drug abusers, voluntary prostitutes, or undocumented individuals (Fernandez, 2013; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2020). As such, generalized statistics to quantify sex trafficking should be considered cautiously (Farrell & de Vries, 2019; Franchino-Olsen et al., 2022).

To better understand human trafficking, anti-trafficking research began in the mid-1990s focused on international HT (e.g., Shelley, 1999) and domestic research began to emerge around 2010 (e.g., Mehlman-Orozco, 2020). Most research continues to focus on the needs of victims (e.g., Busch-Armendariz et al., 2009; Children's Bureau, 2018; Clawson & Dutch, 2008; Cole et al., 2016; Dando et al., 2019; Finn et al., 2015; Gibbs et al., 2015; Hammond & McGlone, 2014; Hickle & Roe-Sepowitz, 2016; Kotrla, 2010; Love et al., 2018; Mones, 2011), while little to no research exists pertaining to the assessment and treatment needs for perpetrators. This review of current literature aims to identify the critical factors involved in DST perpetration to shift identification and response to DST from solely a victim-focused approach to include a perpetrator-focused approach as well.

An Overview of Domestic Sex Trafficking

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA; U.S. Congress, 2000b) defines sex trafficking as:

> The recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, obtaining, patronizing, or soliciting
> of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act, in which the commercial sex act is
> induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act
> has not attained 18 years of age (Section 103[8][A]).

Recruitment tactics reflect the type of relationship that perpetrators attempt to foster with victims (Carpenter and Gates, 2015). Of 100 female pimp-controlled prostitutes aged 16 to 25, 64 indicated that their pimp was an intimate partner, 8 as a friend, and 2 as a family member (Raphael et al., 2010). Although 25% of the women indicated they were recruited into prostitution by another woman, only 6% had a female pimp or manager at the time of the interview (Raphael et al., 2010). In a review of 79 cases, relationships between perpetrators and female minor victims indicated 28% stranger, 28% boyfriend, 10% girlfriend, 29% relative, 3% drug dealer, and 2% employer (Reid, 2016b). One study of CSEC with youth in New York City identified that male victims ($n = 1$ of 111; >1%) were less likely to be directly approached by a perpetrator than their female peers ($n = 19$ of 119; 16%), usually in favor of recruitment strategies through other victims (47% of the total sample; Curtis et al., 2008).

The most commonly reported recruitment tactics include intimate partner relationships or marriage propositions, familial job offers or advertisements, posing as a benefactor, and false promises or fraud (Polaris Project, 2020). Of 79 cases with female minor victims of domestic sex trafficking, 43 indicated entrapment tactics used by non-relative traffickers (e.g., flatter/romance, becoming an ally to build trust, normalizing sex, isolating the victim, and preying on individuals

with intellectual disabilities; Reid, 2016b). At least 10 of the 79 cases involved enmeshment schemes (e.g., shame/blackmail, obligation, complicity in a crime, pregnancy/isolation from children, and financial control; Reid, 2016b). In addition to grooming techniques identified by Brayley and colleagues (2011) in a sample of child sex traffickers in the United Kingdom, Reid (2016a) also noted the tendency of traffickers to align themselves with victims against authority figures, use threats and intimidation regarding pregnancy/children, and to implicate the youth as a co-conspirator in the criminal enterprise.

Recruitment settings vary for a number of reasons. Older pimps were reported to solicit customers in physical environments more than younger pimps who used more Internet-based marketing (Anderson et al., 2014), which is typically considered more accessible and less risky for commercial sex (Mitchell et al., 2011; U.S. Congress, 2007). In a survey of 73 pimps, 42.5% said they recruited prostitutes from their social circles, 38.4% from the home neighborhood, 30.15% from clubs or bars, 26.0% from other neighborhoods, 21.9% from the internet, 21.9% on the stroll, 11.0% at schools, 4.1% at the mall, and 2.7% at transit stations (National Institute of Justice, 2016). Yet most minor victims recalled initial recruitment contact through social media (Curtis et al., 2008; Cockbain et al., 2011; Gezinski & Gonzalez-Pons, 2022; Reid, 2018). Websites and apps for internet-connected mobile phones and tablets provide a platform for buyers and sellers of commercial sex to advertise and connect with victims, buyers, and other exploiters (Holt et al., 2010; Mitchell et al., 2005). Craigslist, for example, designated an adult services section, which was removed in 2010 (Gezinski & Gonzalez-Pons, 2022; Miller, 2010). Users migrated to other websites, such as Backpage.com (Dalton, 2013), which was shut down in 2018 following a 93-count indictment for facilitating prostitution, money laundering, and conspiracy against seven owners and executives by the U.S. Department of Justice (Porter,

2018). The most popular electronic platforms for recruitment include: Facebook ($n = 250$), the generic category of dating site ($n = 120$), Instagram ($n = 78$), and other Internet sources ($n = 489$; Polaris Project, 2018).

Force

Adolescent perpetrators have been found to be more likely to use violence and threats to manage victims than adult perpetrators, who tend to use more emotionally manipulation tactics (Anderson et al., 2014). Victims of all ages and genders have described trafficker characteristics as excessively physically and sexually abusive (NHTRC, 2015; Polaris Project, 2015a; Shelley, 2010). More than 85% of victims reported physical abuse by their trafficker (Raymond et al., 2001; Sterk & Elifson, 1990), with half endorsing daily abuse (Raymond et al., 2001). Among responses from 71 female prostitutes who were recruited into prostitution, 21% ($n = 15$) indicated they experienced violence by their recruiters: 24% slapped, 24% forced sex, and 8% hit or kicked (Raphael et al., 2010). Of the 100 female prostitutes interviewed, 75 said they experienced violence by their pimp: 76% slapping, 52% forced sex, and 51% punching (Raphael et al., 2010). Half of the women interviewed for a study on violence in prostitution reported traumatic brain injury due to "violent assaults with baseball bats, crowbars, or from having their heads slammed against the wall or car dashboards" (Farley et al., 2003, p. 59). In some cases, group rape was used to initiate new victims into the commercial sex industry (Raymond et al., 2001; Sukach et al., 2018). Unfortunately, rape, physical assault, verbal abuse, and other types of victimizations (e.g., robbery) against those exploited in sex trafficking typically are regarded as "part of the job description" and may be minimized or disregarded when reported to authorities (Farley, 2009).

Often force gets referred to as "discipline," implying that the victim earned their abuse by violating rules or expectations: "I wished that he would have stopped hitting her, but she had violated the rules of the game; at the time, we had brainwashed ourselves into believing that this was right" (King, 2019, p. 71). Interviews with 73 pimps revealed that 27.4% said they have rules about drug and alcohol use, 20.5% have rules about the clientele, 19.2% have rules about communicating with other pimps, and 17.8% have required quotas (National Institute of Justice, 2016). Some perpetrators saw force as a necessary means to maintain control in the relationship: "Oftentimes, a man must exhibit his strength in front of her to continue his hold on his prostitute" (King, 2019, p. 124). Whether a victim attempts to resist and the methods they may employ to protect themselves also can influence the behavior of their perpetrator such as escalating the violence in response (Guerette & Santana, 2010). In a survey of 249 youth exploited for DST, 87% endorsed a desire to exit DST but identified barriers, including threats of violence by their facilitator and customers, need for money, and lack of education or housing that would support a different lifestyle (Curtis et al., 2008).

Fraud

By its very definition, fraud involves an offer or promise without the capacity or intent to fulfill it (Reid, 2016b). By misrepresenting their intentions, DSTPs entrap victims by exploiting vulnerabilities during recruitment, transportation, harboring, and exploitation of sex trafficking victims. Perpetrators lure victims to socially acceptable types of work (e.g., modeling) and, once they are in the grips of the perpetrator, will require sex work (i.e., "bait and switch;" Reid, 2016b). Victims that lack awareness of risk may have their naivete taken advantage of through the introduction of drugs or convincing arguments to normalize commercial sex in friendships or intimate partner relationships (Brayley et al., 2011; Reid, 2016b). Money, gifts, drugs, alcohol,

and pornography were used by sex traffickers to entice victims and demanded prostitution in exchange (Reid, 2016b). A recent example involves Naval officer Jesse Gabriel Marks of Jacksonville, Florida, who was sentenced to 360 months in prison and $249,700 in restitution to multiple victims of whom he drugged (e.g., heroin and methamphetamine) without their knowledge, physically and emotionally abused, and video-taped sexually assaulting them for nearly two decades (*USA v. Jesse Marks* No. 7:19-CR-127-D).

Coercion

Stark's (2007, 2010) concept of *coercive control* focuses on the perpetrator's motivation (see also Myhill, 2015). The Serious Crime Act (UK) defined coercive behavior as:

> A range of acts designed to make a person subordinate and dependent by isolating them from sources of support, exploiting their resources and capacities for personal gain, depriving them of the means needed for independence, resistance, and escape and regulating their everyday behavior, (Home Office, 2015, s. 76).

Sex trafficking victims consistently report feeling tremendously afraid, trapped, and imprisoned (Adepoju, 2005; Bales,1999; Bales & Lize, 2005; Bales & Trodd, 2008; Zimmerman et al., 2006). To maintain victim access and compliance, perpetrators employ coercive control tactics such as constricting movement, isolation, starvation, torture, controlling money and generating debt, substance dependency, threats and verbal manipulation, and physical and sexual violence (Lederer & Wetzel, 2014; Myhill, 2015; NHTRC, 2010; Raphael et al., 2010; Sukach et al., 2018). Although 87% of respondents in one study identified that they would like to discontinue their involvement with commercial sex, they "were doing what they had to do to survive," referencing fear of violence, including rape and murder (Curtis et al., 2008, p. 120). Victims relayed internalization of the stigmatization of involvement with commercial sex that

they attempt to hide from family and friends, which negatively influences their self-esteem and sense of agency to exit their situation (Curtis et al., 2008). The strong emotional and psychological abuse through minimizing, denying, and blaming tactics cannot be discounted, as reflected in one trafficker's statement, "I brainwashed her for you" (Morselli & Savoie-Gargiso, 2014, p. 257).

Statement of the Problem

DSTPs fall through the current gaps in research, assessment, and treatment protocols because they exhibit a unique intersection of behaviors, thought patterns, and attitudes that are common among perpetrators of intimate partner violence (IPV), organized crime (OC), and sexual offenses (SO). Whenever DSTPs are identified and prosecuted, they typically are mandated to follow protocols for sexual offenders (e.g., risk assessment, sexual offender treatment; Horning et al., 2022; Shared Hope International, 2019), but which fail to incorporate the unique intersections of offense risks and treatment needs present for DSTPs. Currently, 45 states require individuals convicted of sex trafficking or related offenses (i.e., pimping, pandering) to register as sex offenders per the Sex Offender Registration and Notification Act (SORNA) and complete sexual offender treatment (California Sex Offender Management Board, 2020; Horning et al., 2022; Shared Hope International, 2019). However, currently available sexual offender risk assessment instruments and treatment approaches fail to reflect the unique treatment needs that perpetuate the exploitative nature of sex trafficking perpetration. An accurate understanding of DSTP offense pathways can inform the development of specific assessment instruments and evidence-based therapeutic interventions for DSTPs.

The Association for the Treatment and Prevention of Sexual Abuse (ATSA) publishes the *Practice Guidelines for the Assessment, Treatment, and Management of Sexual Abusers*, which

lacks specific considerations for perpetrators of DST (ATSA, 2014). Currently available sexual and violence risk assessment instruments apply to individuals who personally engage in sexually inappropriate behaviors with victims (see Table 6 and Table 7) rather than specific assessment of those who generally facilitate abuse, such as DSTPs, rendering currently available risk assessment measures inappropriate and ineffective for assessing recidivism risk for DSTPs (Desmaris, 2022; Doren, 2022, 2004a, 2004b). Likewise, the ATSA guidelines recommend treatment interventions that address general self-regulation, sexual self-regulation, attitudes that support sexual abuse, intimate relationships, and social and community support. While these dynamic risk factors for sexual offending can be positive treatment aims for any individual, they overlook major risk factors for the perpetration of sex trafficking, specifically their unique exploitative attitudes and criminogenic needs. Current sexual offender treatment models such as the Risk-Needs-Responsivity Model (RNR; Bonta & Andrews, 2007, 2017) and the Good Lives Model (GLM; Ward et al., 2007; Ward & Stewart, 2003; Willis et al., 2014) prove to be highly effective for some sexual offender types (Hanson et al., 2009a, 2009b; Hart & Logan, 2011; Koehler et al., 2013; Seewald et al., 2017; Smith et al., 2009b), but would benefit from the development of an empirically-supported treatment for this unique population.

Intersecting Offenses

As the research about domestic sex trafficking is still developing, a survey of well-researched adjacent perpetrator typologies can aid the development of a better understanding of DST perpetration. Sex trafficking perpetrators incorporate tactics and attitudes that reflect the intersection of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), organized crime (OC), and sexual offenses (SO).

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV). "Human trafficking functions as a commercialized or profit-driven extension of IPV" (Reid et al., 2020, p. 2). Sex trafficking and intimate partner

violence (IPV) are commonly referred to as "sister oppressions" (Reid et al., 2020; Verhoven et al., 2015) because they both rely on power and control tactics used by perpetrators and have similar health, psychological, and social consequences for survivors (Kennedy et al., 2007; Stark & Hodgson, 2004). IPV refers to the use of power and control tactics against a current or former romantic, sexual, or residential partner (Center for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2015; Johnson, 2008). Power and control tactics in IPV typically include intimidation, emotional abuse, isolation, minimizing, denying, and blaming, using children, economic abuse, exploitative gender roles, coercion, and threats, which tend to be enforced by physical violence (e.g., kicking, choking, use of weapons) or sexual violence (i.e., any nonconsensual sexual contact), as depicted in Figure 2 (Domestic Abuse Intervention Project, n.d.; see Kleck & McElrath, 1991; Wells & Horney, 2002). Sex trafficking perpetrators use force, fraud, or coercion to exploit victim risk factors for personal gain. The use of power and control tactics similar to those used in IPV prompted the adaptation of the popular *Power and Control Wheel* (Domestic Abuse Intervention Project, n.d.) for human trafficking (see Figure 3). Specific tactics identified include intimidation, emotional abuse, isolation, sexual abuse, physical abuse, using privilege, economic abuse, coercion and threats, and denying, blaming, and minimizing (Polaris Project, 2010). Most commonly reported include induction or exploitation of substance abuse issues, physical abuse, sexual abuse, intimidation (e.g., threats or display of a weapon), and emotional abuse primarily related to intimacy (Polaris Project, 2020).

Reid and colleagues (2020) propose six overlapping methods used by IPV and trafficking perpetrators: (1) coercion; (2) physical and sexual violence; (3) isolation; (4) psychological and verbal abuse; (5) financial control; and (6) intermittency of abuse. Perpetrators of both IPV and DST justify the use of violence against victims as permissible or even necessary (Williamson &

Prior, 2009; Wood, 2004). For this reason, treatment providers have already adapted interventions for survivors of IPV to assist with treating survivors of HT (Walsh, 2016).

Organized Crime (OC) and Psychopathy. Domestic sex trafficking also involves antisocial attitudes that support exploitative rule-breaking behavior found in *Organized Crime* (OC), which is defined as a "continuing criminal enterprise that rationally works to profit from illicit activities that are often in great public demand" (UNODC, 2018a). A pattern of rule-breaking behavior that violates the rights of others provides key diagnostic criteria for conduct disorder in childhood or adolescence and antisocial personality disorder in adulthood (American Psychological Association [APA], 2022). Human traffickers have been described as psychopathic offenders who employ manipulative strategies to increase their likelihood of entrapping the most vulnerable persons for personal gain (Herman, 1992, 1997; Spidel et al., 2007). The concept of psychopathy dates back to the works of Cleckley (1941) and remains a burgeoning area of research (e.g., Cooke & Michie, 2001; Hare, 2003; Hatchett, 2015; Hill et al., 2004; Lilienfeld et al., 2018).

Sexual Offending (SO). DST also incorporates components of sexual offending (SO), which involve any illegal behavior that is sexual in nature, which can vary depending on jurisdictional statutes or codes (ATSA, 2014). The Association for the Treatment and Prevention of Sexual Abuse (ATSA; 2014) defines *sexual abuse* as "sexual or sexually motivated behavior that involves others and may cause harm to them" (p. 1). Sexual abuse, therefore, does not have to be illegal to be harmful to someone. Sexual offenses prohibited by law generally include in-person or virtual contact, either verbal or physical, that is nonconsensual or causes harm (e.g., bodily injury, fear, post-traumatic reactions; ATSA, 2014).

Current Case Conceptualization Models

Case conceptualization models attempt to describe how offenders progress from non-offending toward engaging in offense-supportive thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. Conceptual models have been called *offense cycles*, *pathways*, or *scripts*. Some models also incorporate re-offense patterns or methods deployed by perpetrators to minimize detection and victim reporting. As no such model yet exists for DSTPs, a review of current models developed for IPV, OC, and SO provide context for the development of a proposed offense pathway model for DST perpetration.

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV). The evolution of intimate partner abuse reflects diverse trajectories depending on intersecting characteristics of the perpetrator and victim. One hypothesis proposed by Dutton (2000) involved childhood exposure to parental aggression that breeds an "abusive personality" that could emerge in an intimate partner relationship. Brem and colleagues (2018) posited that poor self-regulation, antisocial traits, and substance abuse contribute to IPV perpetration. Others argue that batterers lack the necessary skills to engage in healthy relationships and resort to power and control tactics out of desperation (e.g., Smith, 2011). Ultimately, one pattern does not fit all.

Psychopathy. Neuropsychological explanations of psychopathy extend from alterations in brain structure to neurological functioning (Muller, 2010). Frontal lobe dysfunction (e.g., Neumann et al., 2013; Price et al., 2013), paralimbic dysfunction (e.g., Kiehl, 2006; Kiehl et al., 2001) attention-based accounts (Lorenz & Newman, 2002; Newman et al., 1997), and emotion-based accounts (e.g., Olver et al., 2013) attempt to describe the development of psychopathic traits.

Studies of hypofunctioning limbic neural regions (Kiehl, 2006; Veit et al., 2002), specifically the communication between the amygdala and vmPFC, appear to most significantly impact judgment and emotional regulation (Blair, 2005, 2010; Craig et al., 2009; Sommer et al., 2006). A study of 147 criminal offenders' diffusion tensor imaging (DTI) labs found that reduced fractional anisotropy (AF; i.e., connectivity) in the right uncinate fasciculus (UF) correlates with glib, superficial charm, grandiose sense of self-worth, pathological lying, and manipulativeness (Wolf et al., 2015).

Blair (2005) proposed that dysfunctional connections between the amygdala and the ventral medial prefrontal cortex (vmPFC) impair emotional modulation and cognitive reasoning/judgment. This impaired neural circuit distorts punishment/reward reinforcement-based learning and decision-making (Mitchell et al., 2002) and the ability to appropriately effectively respond to emotional cues (Dolan & Fullam, 2009; Glass & Newman, 2009), contributing to maladaptive interpersonal behavior (Blair, 2005).

Another proposed etiology that may or may not coincide with neuropsychological deformities can include a history of significant childhood abuse, neglect, or exploitation (Loeber et al., 1998). Individuals with untreated trauma often develop maladaptive identity and interpersonal styles that meet criteria for one or more personality disorder (e.g., Lynam & Gudonis, 2005; Lynam & Widiger, 2007). For example, a study of 1354 adolescent offenders (85.7% male, 14.3% female) identified warmer parenting styles correlated with lower psychopathic features among juvenile offenders (Backman et al., 2021). Similarly, Farrell and Vaillancourt (2021) identified the prevention of childhood bullying correlated with lower rates of antisocial profiles in young adulthood. Adolescents who begin to display psychopathic traits typically continue into adulthood (Lynam et al., 2007).

The behavioral approach to describing psychopathy dates back to the seminal works of

Cleckley (1941), in which 16 personality features were identified:

> (1) superficial charm, intelligence, and adjustment; (2) absence of psychosis; (3) low
>
> levels of neuroticism; (4) irresponsibility and undependability; (5) deceit; (6) lack of
>
> remorse and shame; (7) recurrent immoral and criminal behavior; (8) poor judgment and
>
> difficulty learning from experience; (9) egocentricity and incapacity for love; (10)
>
> poverty of affect; (11) poor insight; (12) lack of reciprocity in interpersonal relationships;
>
> (13) impulsivity and disinhibition, often heightened by substance use; (14) relative
>
> immunity from suicide; (15) superficial and impulsive sexual encounters; and, (16) an
>
> aimless or shiftless existence (Hatchett, 2015, p. 17).

Robert Hare and colleagues have built on Cleckley's foundation (see Hare, 1970, 1998;

Lilienfeld et al., 2018) to distinguish two main factors of psychopathy: (1) emotional detachment

- "a selfish, callous, remorseless use of others;" and, (2) antisocial behavior - "a chronically

unstable, antisocial, and socially deviant lifestyle" (Hare, 2003, p. 79). Cooke and Michie (2001)

proposed a three-factor model to include an "arrogant, deceitful interpersonal style," "deficient

affective experience," and an "impulsive, irresponsible behavior style" (p. 176). Other

researchers have added antisocial behavior to create a four-factor model (Hill et al., 2004;

Vittaco et al., 2005).

Sexual Offending. Much of the research regarding offense patterns began with sexual

offenses perpetrated by male adult offenders against predominantly female child victims,

commonly referred to as child molestation. However, due to the vast heterogeneity of sexual

crimes depending on the demographics and motivations of the perpetrator, as well as the

circumstances of the offense (e.g., opportunistic versus pre-meditated), the characteristics of the

victim (e.g., age, gender, perceived relationship to the perpetrator), and the nature of the offense, the offense pathway can vary drastically. Some theories ascribe the underlying etiology of sexual offending to biological factors (e.g., neurobiological malfunction, hormone dysregulation, genetic and chromosomal makeup, and deficits in intellectual functioning). Still, most data suggest the influence of non-biological factors (e.g., personality, social learning, cognitive distortions, mood dysregulation, behavioral dysregulation, sociocultural norms, and antisocial attitudes/beliefs). Emotional closeness among family members can serve as a protective factor for sexually abusive youth (Miccio-Fonseca, 2018).

The Four Preconditions Model. First discussed in 1984, the Four Preconditions Model is one of the first comprehensive taxonomies for conceptualizing the motivations of adult male sexual offending against child victims (Finkelhor, 1984; Finkelhor et al., 2016). Motivations for sexual offending often reflect some unmet need (e.g., intimacy, gratification, power) that the individual attempts to meet in maladaptive ways. The motivation(s) influence conscious and unconscious efforts to override internal inhibitors (e.g., morals, values, beliefs) to create opportunities in which they can overcome external inhibitors (e.g., laws, safeguards) toward engaging in harmful sexual behavior. Finally, perpetrators engage in activities to overcome victim resistance (e.g., denial, deceit, coercion) and to avoid detection that enables the possibility of future re-abuse. For example, an individual who engages in inappropriate sexual behavior with a minor may experience low self-esteem (motivation). They may espouse a core belief that an age-appropriate partner would not be attracted to them and excuse away any evidence to the contrary (overcoming internal obstacles). They begin interacting with minors online through a benign chat conversation, which creates trust (overcoming external barriers, also known as "grooming" behaviors). They escalate the conversations to a more sexual nature and threaten to

expose sensitive content in the public sphere if the victim refuses to engage in sexual activity or reports it (overcoming victim resistance; (Finkelhor, 1984; Finkelhor et al., 2016).

Marshall & Barbaree's Integrated Theory. Marshall and Barbaree (1990) aimed to explain sexual offending beyond rape or child molestation, taking a primarily developmental stance. They posited that sexual offenders experience a combination of maladaptive social and cultural values, biological predispositions and psychological vulnerabilities, and childhood experiences that foster a sense of low self-worth and belief that they are unworthy of being loved. The offender then develops insecure attachments as a child that impair their learning capacity from parents, increase risk-taking behaviors, poor problem-solving, and lack trust in others. The insecure juvenile has an increased likelihood of deviant sexual thoughts, interests, and behaviors that continue into adulthood without intervention. Sex can be used as a coping strategy to experience an aspect of intimacy when emotional intimacy feels unattainable or unworthy of attaining. Although the Integrated Theory model incorporates a broader population of sexual offenders and considers the early precursors to offending from a multifaceted perspective (see Smallbone & Dadds, 2000), this theory does not apply to offenders whose first occurrence is late in life or offenders with high self-esteem.

Quadripartite Theory of Sexual Aggression. Originally developed as a theory of rape and later applied to child sexual abuse, Hall and Hirschman's (1991) Quadripartite Theory of Sexual Aggression grouped sexual offending factors into four already-existing categories: sexual arousal (i.e., sexual attraction to children or nonconsenting partners), cognitive distortions (i.e., justifications used to legitimize the initial and continued abuse), affective dyscontrol (e.g., negative mood states or feeling out of control of their mood), and personality factors (i.e., sociocultural influences, the impact of childhood trauma). This theory was developed based on

empirical research about sexual offender traits rather than previous conceptual approaches but may oversimplify the intersectional dynamics often incorporated into sexual offense trajectories.

The Pathways Model. Ward and Siegert (2002) posited that individuals who offend sexually against children follow one of five causal pathways: (1) *Intimacy deficits* – difficulties with developing secure attachments, intimacy, self-esteem, or express severe loneliness; (2) *Deviant sexual scripts* – offenders endorse distorted thought processes that guide sexual and intimate behaviors, often informed by sociocultural childhood experiences; (3) *Emotional deregulation* – inability to regulate emotional states reliably, often as a learned behavior modeled by caregivers in childhood; (4) *Antisocial cognition* – exhibit a sense of entitlement and criminal attitudes that support offending with little remorse or guilt; and, (5) *Multiple dysfunctional mechanisms* – any combination of the other four pathways. During this process, offenders may deploy intimacy and social skill deficits, deviant sexual scripts, emotional dysregulation, and cognitive distortions. Although a more comprehensive description of factors involved in sexual offending, research using the Pathways Model revealed individuals in all five pathways share many of the same traits reducing their discrete value (Osbourne & Christensen, 2020; Simon, 1997a, 1997b, 2002).

Confluence Model. Malamuth (1998) suggested a two-factor model in which sexual promiscuity and hostile masculinity were the starting points for sexually aggressive behavior. This model is grounded in the assertion that women withhold sex from men due to evolutionary reproductive instincts, resulting in a male evolutionary instinct to resort to sexual aggression. This model largely ignores the situational factors or cognitive rationalizations used during sexual offending that conflict with the base premise of this model (Stinson et al., 2008).

Integrated Theory of Sexual Offending (ITSO). Ward and Beech (2006) attempted to create a comprehensive model that incorporated biological factors (e.g., genetics), ecological factors (e.g., cultural and social circumstances, influence of trauma, criminal history, stressors), and neuropsychological factors (e.g., neurological vulnerabilities, cognitive biases, the impact of motivation on perception and memory, mood). The ITSO model incorporates and organizes the key aspects of the aforementioned models toward a comprehensive approach (Thakker & Ward, 2012).

Multimodal Self-Regulation Model. Stinson and colleagues (2008) integrate various psychological perspectives and implicate self-regulatory deficits as a critical variable in developing sexually inappropriate interests and behaviors. This model posits that self-regulation deficits evolve due to adverse childhood experiences (e.g., CDC, n.d.) that, combined with specific biological and temperamental vulnerabilities, can predispose someone to poor self-management, including sexual misconduct. Individuals who engage in uncorrected sexually deviant thoughts or behaviors can develop needs for gratification that reinforces the practice and weakens their resolve to desist (Stinson et al., 2008).

A-M-P Model. In the way that sexual offense pathways explain the offense trajectory best when limited to a specific victim type or offender type, perpetrators of sex trafficking could be considered a new category of offender type within the sexual offender umbrella. The TVPA (U.S. Congress, 2000b) specifies sex traffickers engage in an action (e.g., induce, recruit, harbor, provide, obtain) with means (i.e., force, fraud, coercion) and purpose (i.e., commercial sex), which has been referred to as the A-M-P Model (National Human Trafficking Resource Center [NHTRC], 2016). While the A-M-P Model describes what and how sex trafficking occurs, an

offender pathway describes the intrinsic and extrinsic forces that influence why the offender engages in offense-supportive behaviors.

Brayley and colleagues (2011) applied Crime Scripting to the study of sex trafficking and identified abuse that occurred in three phases that align with the A-M-P model. First, offenders identify and select their victim(s). Five starting points include: (1) *Cruise* – the offender seeks a new victim to abuse, often by roaming the community either on foot or by vehicle; (2) *Convert* – the offender targets a known person to begin to victimize, often through social contact; (3) *Recruit via girl* – the offender convinces a known girl, typically a significant other or family member, to target new victims; (4) *Re-abuse* – the offender targets previously abused victims; and, (5) *Pimp* – the offender exchanges victimization for profit or other commodities. The second phase involves grooming in which the offender cultivates contact and trust with the victim (Brayley et al., 2011). Grooming behaviors can include flattery, normalizing sexual activity, isolation, disorientation (e.g., substance use, involuntarily drugging the victim, alternating between nice and nasty behavior, speaking in languages the victim does not understand), and intimidation (e.g., threats to hurt the victim or their family, physical harm, psychological abuse; Brayley et al., 2011; Graham & Wish, 1994). The last phase results in abuse through exploitation. The offender then determines whether the victim is "ripe" for abuse; if yes, the offender has the decision to act or desist; if not, they decide whether to return to prior activity to improve her eligibility or to abandon the victim. Former sex trafficker Armand King (2019) explained:

> You would be able to see if there were any weaknesses that could make them susceptible… When a pimp is trying to figure out who to recruit, he is thinking about if this girl would be an easy turn out, or if more work would have to be applied (p. 103).

Victim traits can influence the methods used by the perpetrator to "ripen" their eligibility for abuse. For example, males who exhibit fearless temperament and boredom susceptibility as measured on the Psychopathy Checklist-Youth Version (PCL-YV; Forth et al., 2003) are at an increased risk of exploitation (Reid et al., 2021). Once a victim is abused, the perpetrator determines whether or not to return to that victim for re-abuse. Longitudinal research on DST found that 75% of minor victims reported repeated occurrences (Reid & Piquero, 2016). Different offenders navigated these stages differently depending on their intended victim, the victim's responsiveness, and desired outcome (e.g., eligibility for re-abuse; Reid et al., 2021).

The Current Paper

Although an essential component of the sex trafficking response, victim-focused anti-trafficking efforts may proliferate the message that victims are responsible for preventing or stopping abuse rather than holding the abuser accountable (Reid, 2012). Perpetrator-focused anti-trafficking work empowers victims without blame, shifts the burden of prosecution away from victim testimony to the criminal activity itself, challenges the cultural normalization of prostitution and pimping, and improves the assessment and treatment of perpetrators to reduce overall recidivism risk (Reid, 2012).

As the criminal legal system relies on psychological and risk assessment to inform sentencing and supervision decisions, offenders need valid and reliable instruments to accurately assess their risk and treatment needs. Current perpetrator assessment and treatment severely lack specificity (Davidtz et al., 2022), relying on clinicians to adapt measures and interventions for prereferral issues and different normative populations without standardization within the field. As a result, treatment providers may perceive perpetrators as lower risk and supply insufficient treatment, inadvertently giving false assurances in sentencing considerations or community

supervision recommendations. The alternate outcome is just as possible where treatment providers may conceptualize perpetrators as excessively higher risk and suggest more extensive treatment or sentencing conditions than necessary, which may violate the human rights of the perpetrator by causing undue restrictions and financial burden (Davidtz et al., 2022). The development of more accurate assessment measures and evidence-based treatments faces challenges with identification of perpetrators for resarch resulting in few existing studies of confirmed perpetrators with small sample sizes (e.g., Dank et al., 2014; Levitt & Venkatesh, 2007; Raphael & Meyers-Powell, 2010) but an abundance of studies with large samples of victims (e.g., Haney et al., 2020).

This paper aims to apply the current literature and specific case examples to the Four Preconditions Model (Finkelhor et al., 2016) to conceptualize common offense pathways for DSTPs. By examining the motivations of DSTPs, treatment providers can more accurately assess recidivism risk and develop relapse prevention plans. Identification of how DSTPs override internal obstacles can enhance the treatment planning to include tailored interventions and techniques that target the specific attitudes and beliefs involved. How a perpetrator overcomes external obstacles can assist courts when making supervision recommendations and relapse prevention plans. Finally, the methods used by perpetrators to overcome victim resistance also inform treatment planning. These adaptations to the Four Preconditions Model were used as the foundation for phrasing the following research questions:

Research Question 1: What motivates individuals to perpetrate Domestic Sex Trafficking? DST perpetration may occur as a maladaptive attempt to meet unmet needs (e.g., power, money, safety).

Research Question 2: How do individuals justify and rationalize the perpetration of Domestic Sex Trafficking? Offense-supportive thoughts and attitudes that influence individuals to overcome internal barriers, external barriers, and victim resistance will likely be present.

Research Question 3: What treatment needs do perpetrators of Domestic Sex Trafficking possess? It is hypothesized that this population may require consideration of integrated theoretical approaches, intervention techniques, and case management strategies to comprehensively address the underlying unmet needs and the offense-supportive attitudes and cognitions that influence recidivism.

Method

In preparation for this paper, the following databases were searched: Academic Search Complete, APA PsycArticles, APA PsycInfo, EBSCOhost, and ERIC. Additional searches of the following journals were chosen for saliency to the research topic through the SAGE Journals online database: *Sexual Abuse; Trauma, Abuse, & Violence; International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology; Criminal Justice and Behavior; Assessment; and, Journal of Interpersonal Violence.* Only journal articles from peer-reviewed sources between the years 2010 to 2021 that were written in English were considered for this paper. However, some concepts required the use of primary sources published before 2010. An exhaustive list of search terms is as follows: abuser, batterer, coercion, commercial sex act, complex trauma, domestic abuse, domestic sex trafficking, domestic violence, force, fraud, gang, gangster, good lives model, human trafficking, intimate partner, intimate partner violence, "john," john school, offender, organized crime, pathways to offending, perpetrator, pimp, pimping, post-traumatic stress disorder, prostitute, prostitution, recidivism, recidivism risk, risk assessment, risk-needs-

responsivity, sentencing, sexual abuse, sexual exploitation, sexual offender, sexual offender treatment, sex trafficking, trafficking, traffickers, and trauma.

Google was used for internet searches to identify relevant federal and state legislation, public information, and government-funded reports regarding human trafficking in the United States. Permission to reprint the *Human Trafficking Power and Control Wheel* (Polaris Project, 2010) was obtained from Polaris Project by email on December 23, 2020. Due to the limited scope of this paper, an adequate sample could not be obtained to conduct an empirical analysis of the motivations and offense-supportive rationalizations used by perpetrators of domestic sex trafficking. Therefore, select autobiographical books were used as case examples: *The Pimp Bible: The Sweet Science of Sin* by former pimp Bilbo Gholson (2001) and *Raised in Pimp City: The Uncut Truth about Domestic Human Sex Trafficking* by Armand King (2019).

Literature regarding human trafficking expands beyond the scope of this paper. To narrow the focus specifically to domestic sex trafficking in the United States, priority was given to examining the various typologies of individuals who perpetrate DST through pimping, familial exploitation, intimate partner abuse, and by those unknown to the victim. Perpetrators comprise a heterogenous group across all genders, age groups, race and ethnicity descriptors, socioeconomic status, geographic region, and criminal history. Any reference to illegal activity requires a discussion about the difference between alleged and convicted criminal acts; individuals are considered criminally innocent unless proven guilty in a court of law.

Although referenced throughout, relevant peripheral topics beyond this paper's scope include self-prostitution, self-trafficking, and survival sex (e.g., Bigelsen & Vuott, 2013). Strong arguments exist for and against decriminalizing prostitution and sex work (e.g., Showden & Majic, 2014), but this paper reflects the stance of the TVPA (U.S. Congress, 2000b) that

indicates all commercial sex by force, fraud, or coercion meets criteria for DST. The focus on domestic sex trafficking excludes the discussion of problematic migrant smuggling across international borders for exploitation through sex or labor. The discussion of child pornography in this study is restricted to how it pertains specifically to DST, but encompasses a much more significant issue worthy of more extensive attention and further research.

Conclusion

Domestic sex trafficking perpetrators (DSTPs) typically are required to submit to risk assessment and sexual offender treatment without the existance of psychometric measures or evidence-based treatments designed specifically for this unique population. Most anti-trafficking efforts focus on victims, and little research exists pertaining to the perpetrator. Current studies that examine pathways to offending for sexual offenders provided a conceptual framework for understanding the motivations and justifications for DST perpetration. Intersecting offenses include the power and control tactics present in intimate partner violence (IPV), antisocial and exploitative attitudes exhibited in organized crime (OC) and psychopathy, and the transactional view of sex common among sexual offenses (SO). Using the Four Preconditions Model (Finkelhor et al., 2016) as a foundation, this comprehensive review of current research attempts to identify the typical motivations, justifications, and treatment needs of DSTPs to inform the future development of specific recidivism risk assessment tools and evidence-based therapeutic interventions for this unique population.

CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON DOMESTIC SEX TRAFFICKING

Research pertaining to DSTP extends beyond psychology into adjacent disciplines, including criminology, sociology, anthropology, law, and international relations. Due to the intersection of criminal justice and healthcare literature, a discussion about human trafficking is fraught with acronyms that can vary depending on discipline. A broad overview of the relevant terms involved in discussing DST, settings in which DST occurs, and stakeholders affected by DST provide the foundation for exploring the current literature surrounding DST perpetration.

Defining Essential Terms

Human trafficking (HT) encompasses a broad range of activities that involve facilitating forced or coerced human service (e.g., sex, labor) in exchange for profit or other gain (UNODC, 2016). As a means to track the flow of these services, human trafficking is often discussed in geographical terms of either occurring internationally (i.e., the exchange occurs across national borders) or domestically (i.e., the exchange occurs within national borders). While all forms of human trafficking cause significant harm to the individuals, families, and communities involved, this paper focuses on *Domestic Sex Trafficking* (DST) that involves "the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purposes of a commercial sex act in which the commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion or in which the person induced is under 18" (U.S. Congress, 2000b) which originates and remains within the borders of the United States (UNODC, 2016). The dynamics of DST can be organized using the Action, Means, Purpose (A-M-P) Model as outlined by the TVPA (U.S. Congress, 2000b) to describe what happens, how it happens, and why it happens.

Action: What Happens

The *recruitment* process typically involves exploiting a felt need by a victim that the perpetrator can leverage to entice the victim to remain with them and do any task whenever they demand (Polaris Project, 2022). Recruitment can involve *grooming,* described as the manipulative process in which the perpetrator establishes a bond with the victim, typically by identifying the victim's vulnerabilities, fraudulently offering a "solution," and exploiting the victim's trust in the perpetrator (Polaris Project, 2022). For example, if a victim lacks a stable home life, the perpetrator may portray a paternal role and be called "daddy," but with strings attached. The grooming process insidiously convinces the victim that they are a complicit participant in their victimization (Webster, et al., 2012).

Once a victim has been identified, perpetrators take measures to *obtain* victims through forcibly removing them from their environment or may *harbor* them through isolation, confinement, or monitoring their movements (Polaris Project, 2022). For example, a perpetrator may establish a benign relationship with a victim and then relocate together far from the victim's social and familial support system to a new city where exploitation begins. *Transporting* victims involves unwanted movement or travel of another person, such as telling a victim they are going somewhere for a leisure activity but taking them somewhere else for commercial sex (Polaris Project, 2022). DSTPs *provide* victims, offering them as a commodity to buyers who *solicit* sex, that is to offer something of value (e.g., money, drugs, housing, food, clothing, travel) in exchange for sex (Polaris Project, 2022).

Perpetrators of DST have commonly been referred to as a *pimp*, *madam*, or *sex market facilitator* (Polaris Project, 2022). The legal conflation of pimping and sex trafficking began when the U.S. Congress initially passed the Trafficking in Victims Protection Act (TVPA) in

2000 (U.S. Congress, 2000b), and many sex work-involved people and pimps fell under the legal definition of a sex trafficker (Doezema, 2010; Weitzer, 2009). Former sex trafficker Armand King (2019) argues, "the difference between pimping and trafficking comes down to one major factor: the use of force" (p. 17). Although pimping (i.e., pandering) and sex trafficking may differ slightly in the legal realm, the TVPA allows for significant crossover by including psychological manipulation, false love, economic control, and drug dependence as methods of coercion (Graham & Wish, 1994; Horning & Stalans, 2022). The contested term *pimp* has been racialized and exalted in popular music and media (Barner et al., 2018; Horning et al., 2019; Staiger, 2005). In an effort to neutralize some of the racialized and negative stigma associated with role, some researchers prefer the term *sex market facilitator* (Horning et al., 2022), but in many ways this alternative term neutralizes the exploitative nature of sex trafficking perpetration. Women who manage prostitution operations alone or with other traffickers are commonly referred to as *madams* (Shared Hope International, 2022). A male pimp may enlist a female prostitute, known as a *bottom*, to assist with managing other prostitutes to act on the pimp's authority without any authority of their own (Shared Hope International, 2022). During the gold rush in the 1800s on the western coast of the United States, *mack-men* served as the headhunter for saloon and cathouse prostitutes, rotating them when they became too commonplace and promoting them to madam when they became too old to prostitute (Gholson, 2001, p. 40-41). The *procurer* works to connect *tricks* and *johns* with prostitutes for a tip but does not have loyalty to any particular prostitute in the ways that other DSTPs do (Gholson, 2001, p. 44). The individuals who receive, solicit, or patronize sex through DST have been referred to by various terms, including *customer*, *buyer*, *trick*, and *john* (Polaris Project, 2022).

Minors involved in commercial sex and adults against whom force, fraud, or coercion is used during the course of commercial sex are considered victims of sex trafficking (U.S. Congress, 2000b). Most research on this topic supports the use of the term *victim* when referring to an individual undergoing exploitation, whereas the term *survivor* describes individuals once they are away from the exploitative situation or control of the trafficker (Marburger & Pickover, 2020). Such terms can become complicated due to the grooming tactics used to entice, coerce, or deceive individuals into believing that they are complicit participants in their own exploitation, and who may not voluntarily identify as victims or survivors (Webster et al., 2012; Whittle et al., 2013; Whittle et al., 2014).

> The thing people fail to realize is the reason a lot of people can't grasp the concept of "force, fraud and coercion" is because we often seem we are enjoying the life we are living and the truth is, often times we do. At least in that moment, in that mind frame — or at least we convince ourselves we do. (Lived experience expert Jaimee Johnson in King, 2019, p. 218).

Means: How DST Happens

Force involves using physical or sexual violence, monitoring, or confining someone as a means of control (Administration for Children & Families, 2017). For example, King (2019) recalls witnessing a pimp physically beat a prostitute who broke one of his rules, "I wished that he would have stopped hitting her, but she had violated the rules of the game" (p. 71). *Fraud* occurs when false promises are made (e.g., employment, wages, marriage) to recruit or control victims (Administration for Children & Families, 2017). For example, in 2010 five individuals were indicted for operating a sex trafficking ring from 2005 to 2010 by luring women with fraudulent job advertisements in Chinese-language newspapers in Boston, New York, and Los

Angeles, but the respondents were then placed in brothels and advertised to offer the "ultimate massage" on Craigslist and local newspapers across the Boston area (Kelly, 2010). *Coercion* describes the power and control process that keeps victims in their abuse (Polaris Project, 2022). Power and control tactics may include shame or threats of physical or sexual harm, restraint, or exposure/reports (Administration for Children & Families, 2017). Typically, coercion involves the fear of losing what benefits a victim may believe they receive from their trafficker so much that they tolerate the abuse because they see no other way of obtaining that benefit or meeting that need (e.g., love, drugs, shelter; Polaris, 2022). Once the victim is engaged in illicit activity, sexual or otherwise, the perpetrator can also leverage sensitive knowledge about the victim (e.g., their criminal activity, immigration status, HIV/AIDS status, children) as a means of coercion (Sterk, 2000). One example of this is *debt bondage*, which occurs when a perpetrator provides gifts, food, shelter, or resources to a victim and then holds them responsible for the cost, usually at a premium, which they then are indebted to repay through sex work (Polaris Project, 2011). Coercion can teach victims that leaving will feel worse than staying.

Purpose: Why DST Happens

The complex intersection among the professional fields has yielded a variety of labels used to describe similar phenomena ranging from *prostitution* or *sex work* to *commercial sex* or *forced prostitution* (Musto, 2009; Reid, 2018, p. 10). *Commercial sex act* (CSA) describes any sexual contact in exchange for anything of value (e.g., money, drugs, firearms; Administration for Children & Families, 2017). *Sex Tourism* refers to commercial sex between a tourist and a local resident (Orndorf, 2010; Reid et al., 2017).

People

Although the term *prostitution* typically describes the activity of exchanging sexual acts

for money or something of value (e.g., drugs, food, shelter), other terms may also be more

appropriate such as *sex work* or *commercial sex* (Polaris Project, 2022). The CDC (2016) defines

full-service sex work as consensual or nonconsensual sexual services provided by escorts;

individuals who work in massage parlors, brothels, and the adult film industry; exotic dancers;

state-regulated prostitutes (e.g., Nevada); or individuals who engage in survival sex (i.e., trading

sex to meet basic needs of daily life). Among those who engage in commercial sex work, there

appears to be a status hierarchy among the terms used. Former pimp Bilbo Gholson (2001)

describes a *prostitute* as "secretive and typically gets her money with a taste of class," and a

whore as "lewd, cunning, sneaky, and gets her money any way she can" (p. 57). He also

identified several types of prostitutes: *paper-hangers* who engage in forgery and bad check

passing, *confidence games* who run cons on their marks, *pickpockets* who steal from buyers,

boosters who steal from stores, and *mother pimps* who would coach women how to prostitute for

her (Gholson, 2001). Prostitutes who attempt to engage in commercial sex work without

facilitation by a pimp are referred to as *renegades* and typically are deplored and targeted by

pimps (King, 2019). Gholson (2001) described these women as "outlaws" and "selfish," stating

these were the reasons why they would get killed (p. 133).

All prostitution of persons under 18 is considered sex trafficking, whether or not force,

fraud, or coercion is involved (U.S. Congress, 2000b). There are no legal distinctions for a child

prostitute (Polaris Project, 2022), although the scientific, medical, and social communities debate

a possible difference (Weiner & Hala, 2008). Terms such as *child prostitute* or a *child sex worker*

are generally dismissed as they inappropriately assign consent to child victims, minimize the

harm of their sexual exploitation, and implicate them in criminal activity (Reid, 2018; U.S. Department of State, 2022). The preferred term, *commercial sexual exploitation of children* (CSEC), describes the victimization of children and adolescents through commercial sexual acts, underage mail-order brides, early forced marriages, minors participating in strip clubs, and the production of pornography (Mitchell et al., 2011).

Any time the trafficker is unavailable (e.g., incarcerated), the expectation for victims to continue to work and reserve their earnings for the perpetrator when they return is called *automatic* (Shared Hope International, 2022). *Out-of-pocket* refers to when a prostitute works on their own in an area controlled by a pimp, leaving the prostitute vulnerable to threats, harassment, and violence (Shared Hope International, 2022). A pimp often will recruit multiple prostitutes to work for them, which pimps may refer to as their *stable,* and prostitutes may discuss one another as *folks* or *family*, with the pimp as *daddy* (Shared Hope International, 2022). When a new prostitute joins a pimp, there may be an initiation process, sometimes referred to as *seasoning,* that can include psychological manipulation, intimidation, group rape, sodomy, beatings, deprivation of food or sleep, isolation from family or friends and other sources of support, and threatening or holding hostage of a victim's children (Shared Hope International, 2022). Groups of victims under the influence of a perpetrator may be forced or encouraged to encircle and verbally and physically abuse a victim for violating a pimp's rules in a *pimp circle* (Shared Hope International, 2022).

Places

An area known for prostitution may be called a *track*, *stroll*, or *blade*, including strip clubs, pornography stores, or a span of a street (Shared Hope International, 2022). Some traffickers establish a regular location for facilitating commercial sex, referred to as a *brothel*,

cathouse, or *whorehouse* (Shared Hope International, 2022), which may be a hotel/motel, club, apartment, house, trailer, or other facilities. This arrangement allows traffickers to restrict access, reducing the risk of robberies and law enforcement detection while increasing victim isolation (Shared Hope International, 2022).

The Human Trafficking Hotline identified 25 categories of human trafficking settings, including some legal/organized business establishments (i.e., pornography, strip clubs, hotels and hospitality, healthcare, restaurants), fraudulent business settings (e.g., illicit massage parlors, escort services), and blatantly illegal settings (e.g., prostitution, drug sales; Polaris Project, 2022). Beyond organized trafficking efforts, DST occurs opportunistically (e.g., landlords extorting sex from tenants, parents trade sex with children in exchange for drugs, disabled individuals forced into sexual favors by caregivers or other authority figures; Polaris Project, 2022). DSTPs may position victims in strip clubs exclusively to recruit new victims or buyers (King, 2019). Former sex trafficker Armand King (2019) explained that whether a pimp operates *inside* (e.g., escort services, the internet, and other in-call services), *outside* (e.g., the traditional track or blade), or at the *carpet* (e.g., casinos, bars, nightclubs, strip clubs) depends on their preference, where the money is best for them, the level of their education, the look and race of the exploited victim, or what city that they are in at the time. The most common venue or industry involving sex trafficking was pornography (12.3%, $n = 939$), followed by illicit massage/spa business (8.1%, $n = 616$), hotel/motel-based (6.8%, $n = 520$), residence-based commercial sex (6.1%, $n = 465$), online ad with unknown venue (5.8%, $n = 447$), and other venues (11.5%, $n = 857$; Polaris Project, 2021).

Pornography describes sexual photo or video images of children or adults in seductive positions, wearing sexually provocative clothing, or engaging in sexual activity alone, with

peers, objects, animals, or adults/children (Orndorf, 2010; Reid et al., 2017). All child pornography is considered criminal due to the inability of a minor to consent (Gallagher, 2010; U.S. Congress, 2000b). The evolution of child pornography from sharing duplicated photos from magazines and medical reference books to live web streaming has allowed consumers to purchase specific fetish-driven content, which has been referred to as "molestation-on-demand" (Gonzales, 2006; Quayle & Jones, 2011; Reid et al., 2017). Farley (2007) indicated that "pornography is integral to prostitution" (p. 2). Interviews with 854 prostituted women from nine countries revealed that about half of them indicated "pornography was made of them while they were in prostitution" (Farley, 2007, p. 2). Some consider viewing of pornography as a victimless crime, often without knowledge or consideration of whether a victim was exploited on the other side of the camera (Farley, 2006, 2007). Pornography also can serve as advertising for specific CSA expected when sex is purchased (Farley, 2006; Smith & Coloma, 2011).

Massage parlors may extend illicit sexual services (e.g., to customers, such as the estimated 4,000 listed by consumers on www.eroticmp.com; Polaris Project, 2011). Some telltale signs that a business may involve illicit sexual services include extensive security (e.g., security cameras, locked entrances, use of buzzers for entry), obscured views (e.g., window coverings, bars on windows, dark curtains), and workers arrive by arranged transportation for every shift (Polaris Project, 2011). They typically advertise in traditional as well as sexually-oriented ways (e.g., Eroticmp.com, eros.com, USAsexguide.info). Customers may be asked to pay a cash *house fee* for the sexual favor owed to the DSTP in addition to a cash tip for the worker, which often is the only source of the victim's income (Polaris Project, 2011). Often, victims forced to work at massage parlors also reside on the premises or get rotated between the massage business and brothels to enhance the trafficker's control over them (Polaris Project, 2011).

Escort services encompass a person going on a date with another individual in exchange for money or something of value (King, 2019). Although paid companionship can occur legally, this arrangement often serves as a front for commercial sex work (Smith & Coloma, 2011). Owners of escort services tend to be White women or women who operate independent services (King, 2019).

Truck stops remain a popular setting for sex trafficking, with 150 reports of potential sex trafficking made by truck drivers to the National Human Trafficking Hotline in 2020 (Polaris Project, 2021). Victims are advertised over CB radio, by knocking on parked semi-truck cab doors, walking around the parking lot, directly approaching possible buyers, or posting advertisements for fake businesses (Polaris Project, 2012). Due to the nature of this setting, victims frequently are transported to different locations to avoid law enforcement detection and to maximize profits, often rotating within a sex trafficking network (Polaris Project, 2012).

Ten of seventeen counties in Nevada permit legal, commercial sex at licensed brothels that comply with statutory regulations, currently estimated to include 21 operating licensed brothels (Nevada Revised Statute 201, n.d.; Kennedy & Pucci, 2007). Former sex trafficker Armand King (2019) discussed Las Vegas as a "higher level" where "pimps only brought their best girls" (p. 120). After release from jail on bail, King (2019) said he knew Vegas was a quick way to recoup lost wages while in jail as it was the "guaranteed come up spot" (p. 121). An 8-year exploratory study of 833 sex trafficking cases from 2011 to 2019 examined the dynamics of child sex trafficking in Las Vegas, NV in which 107 of the 833 cases (49.8%) victims were transported across state lines: 98 (91.6%) by car, 11 (10.3%) by bus, 2 (1.9%) by airplane, and 1 (0.9%) by train (Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2020).

The laws of supply and demand dictate many trends in the transportation and facilitation of sex trafficking (Hughes, 2005). Large-scale events allow traffickers to reserve multiple hotel rooms and transport large groups of people without suspicion, such as mass sporting events. In 2021, 75 individuals were arrested for seeking to buy or sell sex during a sting operation the week of Super Bowl LV in Tampa, FL, in which undercover officers targeted massage parlors, hotels, motels, and online chatrooms suspected of illicit activity (Trujillo, 2021). During the 2019 NCAA Men's Tournament Final Four in Minneapolis, MN, 58 individuals were arrested during another sex trafficking sting operation where undercover officers chatted with potential buyers over social media (Minnesota Department of Public Safety, 2019). In July of 2019, the MLB All-Star Game in Cleveland, OH, culminated in two Human Trafficking Task Force operations resulting in 49 arrests (Shaffer, 2019). In April 2014, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) arrested five people concerning sex trafficking in conjunction with the PGA Masters Tournament in Augusta, GA (Weinreich, 2014). In May 2019, four men were arrested for a sex trafficking sting during the Kentucky Derby in Louisville, KY (Glowicki, 2019). Aware of the correlation between DST and major sporting events, the It's a Penalty campaign has operated human trafficking awareness campaigns surrounding 13 national and international events, including the Olympic and Paralympic Games, NFL Super Bowls, Hong Kong Rugby 7's, and the Commonwealth Games, reaching a potential 1.6 billion people since 2014 (It's a Penalty, 2022). The Institute for Sport and Social Justice (ISSJ) began the ShutOut Trafficking program in 2014 in partnership with the U.S. Fund for UNICEF to provide education and advocacy about human trafficking on college and university campuses in the United States (United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF] USA, 2014). Many other human trafficking

awareness and victim support organizations targeted at professional sports industries grow yearly (Lapchick, 2020).

Other areas with high concentrations of potential buyers also include military bases. Enlisted military service members who live apart from spouses or other families may experience loneliness that can place them at risk for purchasing commercial sex, continuing the supply and demand cycle near U.S. military bases (U.S. Department of Defense [DOD], 2022). In 2021, the DOD (2022) reported 108 human trafficking cases, of which 77 involved sex trafficking incidents. Although international U.S. military bases have drawn most of the DOD's attention regarding sex trafficking, domestic bases and surrounding areas have also been implicated in DST activity. For example, on May 7, 2021, Jesse Gabriel Marks (age 38) was sentenced to 30 years in prison for drugging and sexually exploiting an estimated 300 women over the last 20 years in Onslow County, North Carolina, home of Camp Lejeune, one of the largest Marine Corps bases in the U.S. (South, 2021).

Common places for opportunistic sexual exploitation include inpatient facilities (e.g., hospitals) and correctional institutions where a legitimate system has power and control over individuals in custody. For example, in *Johnson v Johnson* (385 F.3d 503, 527 [5th Circuit 2004]), the United States Court of Appeals ruled partially in favor of a former Texas prisoner who sued 15 prison officials for violating the Eighth Amendment and the Equal Protection Clause. Despite notifying the Texas Prison officials at Allred that he was previously housed in *safekeeping* (i.e., a housing status used to separate individuals at risk for victimization) based on his sexual orientation, Johnson was placed in the general population where he was group-raped and sold as a sex slave to staff and other inmates for over 18 months while incarcerated beginning in 2000. Although prison officials were not held responsible for anticipating the risk

of victimization, they failed to protect Johnson once they were aware of the risk through

Johnson's repeated letters and life-endangerment forms (*Johnson v Johnson*, 2004).

The Impact of Sex Trafficking

The toll of DST causes significant short-term and long-term harm to the victims,

exploiters, families, and their communities. The true physical, emotional, mental, financial, legal,

and other reaches of DST are unique to each person and trafficking situation. However, a general

understanding of the consequences of DST for each impacted group provides context for the

tactics used by perpetrators discussed later.

Victims

Although DST can occur anywhere and to anyone, victims tend to reflect marginalized

identities (Polaris Project, 2022). DST does not happen in a vacuum and reflects the persistent

current and historical inequities in U.S. society that predispose specific populations to

vulnerabilities for traffickers to exploit (Polaris Project, 2022). American victims may be

perceived differently than individuals in third-world countries due to more expansive rights and

perceptions of agency to choose sex work (Desyllas, 2007; Shah, 2004). The effectiveness of

force, fraud, and coercion tactics often result in many victims legitimately believing that they

fully consented to commercial sex work:

> Unfortunately, some women have been brainwashed to believe they are worthless and
>
> can never be or do anything else with their lives. They are told by the pimp and
>
> sometimes by their own family that they can never be normal again. If they leave, they
>
> carry the shame and stigma attached to being a prostitute. Until something eventually
>
> frees a woman's mind of this feeling of worthlessness, she will remain trapped. (King,
>
> 2019, p. 160).

Polyvictimization across co-existing types of abuse, neglect, and exploitation can negatively impact psychosocial development for minors (Hopper, 2017). Victims of all ages and gender identities experience a multitude of adverse health outcomes from DST and associated activities (e.g., drug use and violence) such as disruptions in psychological and emotional development, physical health risks, psychological harm, social stigmatization, and criminal justice involvement (Cohen et al., 2011; Greenbaum, 2014; Hughes, 1999; Le et al., 2018; Miller-Perrin & Wurtele, 2017; Oram et al., 2012; Oram et al., 2016; Rafferty, 2008; Raymond et al., 2001; Reid et al., 2017; Sanchez & Stark, 2014; Williamson & Prior, 2009).

Physical effects of DST can include vague somatic complaints, physical injuries (e.g., bruises, fractures, dental problems) that may be permanent, pain (e.g., headache, back pain, dental pain), malnutrition or dehydration, neurological problems (e.g., memory loss), or weight loss (Miller-Perrin & Wurtele, 2017; Ottisova et al., 2016). Sprang and Cole (2018) found that child survivors of familial sex trafficking reported physical injuries from trafficking events, including bruises, bone fractures, or cuts (25.7%, $n = 8$), and one reported an involuntary tattoo or physical mark. Adult female DST survivors reported headaches, fainting, and memory problems (Oram et al., 2016). Traumatic brain injuries (TBIs) occure frequently in victims of IPV and have yet to be fully researched regarding survivors of DST (see Jackson et al., 2002). To avoid detection by social services agencies, victims with physical injuries often do not receive adequate medical care, which can lead to conditions with lifelong consequences (Dando et al., 2019).

DSTPs also may use addictive substances to control victims, sometimes injecting drugs against the victim's will, forcing substance dependency (Polaris Project, 2015b). For example, convicted sex trafficker Andrew Blane Fields was alleged to have recruited vulnerable women

by promising housing, while intentionally escalating their drug use to debilitating addiction, and then coerced the victims to sell sex for his profit by threatening to withhold drugs (*United States v Fields*, 2013). Substance abuse was identified for 57% of female juveniles arrested for prostitution (Brawn & Roe-Sepowitz, 2008) and for 88% of pediatric patients hospitalized due to DST (Goldberg et al., 2017).

During exploitation, victims are at high risk for contracting sexually transmitted infections (STIs), genital injury, pregnancy, and related reproductive health problems (e.g., unsafe abortions; Edinburgh et al., 2015; Goldberg et al., 2017; Miller-Perrin & Wurtele, 2017; Ottisova et al., 2016; Sterk, 2000; Yates et al., 1991). Approximately 25% ($n = 8$) of child victims of familial DST reported sexually transmitted diseases (Sprang & Cole, 2018). Minor and adult victims who become pregnant often face precarious circumstances (Bick et al., 2017; Gerassi, 2015; Hom & Woods, 2013; Oram et al., 2016; Sanchez & Stark, 2014). In some cases, the trafficker may intentionally personally impregnate a victim or commission their impregnation as a method of control, but may refuse opportunities for prenatal care where the victim may be alone with a healthcare professional to ask for help (Bick et al., 2017; Bauer et al., 2019). DSTPs may require or induce an abortion because pregnancy would interfere with the ability to continue trafficking the person (Bauer et al., 2019). Pregnant victims may become more motivated to make desperate efforts to leave the trafficker, which can increase the threat of danger and death (Cecchet & Thorburn, 2014).

Mental health outcomes vary following the stress diathesis model (Zuckerman, 1999), in which individuals may experience genetic or environmental predispositions for certain mental disorders that become exacerbated or activated through stressful experiences, such as sexual exploitation. Commonly reported outcomes for both adult and child victims of sex trafficking

include post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, and anxiety (Hossain et al., 2010; Marburger & Pickover, 2020; Ottisova et al., 2016). In a sample of 93 female minor victims, 100% of foster victims and 93% of non-foster victims endorsed at least one mental disorder, and 62% were diagnosed with more than one mental health disorder (Hogan & Roe-Sepowitz, 2020). The most common conditions included PSTD, conduct disorder (CD), attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), and major depressive disorder (MDD; Hogan & Roe-Sepowitz, 2020). One study of 31 minor-aged survivors of familial sex trafficking found that approximately 80% of the sample ($n = 25$) were diagnosed with PTSD, 35% ($n = 11$) had psychiatric hospitalizations, and 48.4% ($n = 15$) attempted suicide during their lifetime (Sprang & Cole, 2018). Self-harm is highly prevalent among victims of human trafficking (Borschmann et al., 2017).

How a victim of sex trafficking begins to internalize the objectification of their body by exploiters and buyers can lead to compartmentalization or disconnectedness (Farley, 2006). Torture victims describe similar experiences in which they developed a fragmented sense of self apart from their bodies (Farley, 2006). Buyers also compartmentalize and objectify victims such as a "kind of human toilet" or "renting an organ for ten minutes" (Farley, 2007, p. 9). According to Herman (1997), "Fragmentation becomes the central principle of personality organization… fragmentation in consciousness prevents the ordinary integration of knowledge, memory, emotional states, and bodily experience" (p. 107). Identity disorganization is the hallmark of most personality and dissociative psychopathology (see APA, 2022).

Victims may experience extensive legal problems related to DST. During arrests for prostitution or other related offenses, victims are treated as criminals (Adams, 2011; Dank et al., 2017; Matthews, 2015; Mehlman-Orozco, 2015; White et al., 2017). They may experience verbal

abuse and intimidation, sexual overtures by officers, interactions with an officer who has abused them previously, or ridicule or disbelief when seeking help (Dank et al., 2017; International Women's Human Rights Clinic [IWHRC], 2014; White et al., 2017). Terrorized individuals may portray the illusion of consent to their abuse or confess to being partners in their exploitation and involvement in criminal activities rather than overtly appearing forced or coerced (Herman, 1992, 1997). Law enforcement tends to view cooperative individuals as victims under Safe Harbor laws and uncooperative individuals as co-perpetrators (Adams et al., 2010; Farrell et al., 2015; Mitchell et al., 2010; Reid, 2018; U.S. Department of State [DOS], 2010).

A national research project found that youth victims of sex trafficking were more likely than their traffickers to be arrested and prosecuted (Smith et al., 2009a). Victims of sex trafficking may undergo pressure to plead guilty or receive convictions for sexual offenses that can result in lifetime sexual offender registration, which restricts access to housing, employment, and technology (Dank et al., 2017; Human Rights Watch, 2007; IWHRC, 2014; Kelly, 2011; Reid, 2018; Sethi, 2014; Women with a Vision, 2011). A criminal record makes it more difficult for victims to obtain legitimate employment and stable housing that can aid their escape from exploitation (IWHRC, 2014; White et al., 2017). Traffickers may control their access to family and friends, education, and other opportunities, limiting their ability to envision a lifestyle other than the current circumstances. Their support systems dwindle over time, leaving the victim with a potentially lonely and frightening experience (Brayley et al., 2011; Reid, 2016; 2018).

Some victims develop intense bonds with their traffickers that reflect the emotionally abusive narrative that their relationship is healthy, normal, or loving (De Chesnay, 2013; Hodge, 2014; Hom & Woods, 2013; Litam, 2017). Trauma bonds can interfere with their ability to establish healthy relationships after leaving the abusive situation (De Young & Lowry, 1992).

Mental health problems resulting from victimization, such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), emotional dysregulation, or survival coping, have been postulated as influences on later delinquency as well (Bender, 2010; Heide & Solomon, 2006; Hossain et al., 2010; Kearney et al., 2010).

Families

Affected family members of victims of DST often experience complex feelings. Some may blame the victim for falling for fraud tactics, yielding to coercion and force tactics, or not taking other action to prevent or stop the abuse (U.S. Department of State, 2021). Others may personalize the abuse and blame themselves for not anticipating the exploitation and adequately protecting their loved ones (U.S. Department of State, 2021). Extended family members may be solicited for caregiver placement for minor victims of familial DST and put into situations where they must advocate for the victim against their related perpetrator (U.S. Department of State, 2021). Loved ones who assist survivors with medical, psychological, and legal needs may experience vicarious trauma if exposed to graphically detailed descriptions of abuse incidents (Castaner et al., 2021).

Families of the CSA users (e.g., johns, tricks, buyers) may likely represent varied experiences depending on their views of paying for sex and what consequences their use has caused. For example, a survey of over 1200 adult men and women in Australia, 23.4% indicated they paid for sex at least once in their lifetime primarily to satisfy their sexual needs (43.8%) because paying for sex was considered either less trouble than securing a sexual partner another way (36.4%) or found it entertaining (35.5%; Pitts et al., 2004). In other cases, using CSA may manifest similarly to substance misuse when the user or their family experience negative consequences due to their use, such as neglect of familial financial obligations. The opportunity

to buy sexual experiences may allow individuals to act on deviant desires that may have otherwise been extinguished (e.g., sexual attraction to children or other non-consenting parties; Bouton, 2014; Skinner, 1966). The transactional nature of commercial sex facilitates the evolution of an unhealthy understanding of sex and intimacy, which can damage existing intimate partner relationships (Dines, 2010). Participating in commercial sex increases the risk of contracting sexually transmitted infections (STIs), which may inadvertently spread to other sexual partners (Sterk, 2000). Some buyers may become vulnerable to exploitation by the victim and trafficker to extort more money after the fact, with threats or displays of violence (King, 2019).

Perpetrators have families as well. Often, sex trafficking cases are high profile receiving extensive media attention with blatant attacks on the perpetrator's character (Raphael, 2019). Known loved ones may experience shaming and discrimination within the community for their connection to the perpetrator (Raphael, 2019). Parents and partners may blame themselves for not predicting and preventing the offense (Raphael, 2019). Again, there may be some truth to these feelings when loved ones choose to overlook warning signs or attempt to handle situations privately without involving the proper authorities. In many cases, intimate partners are co-defendants or victims, further complicating their responses to their family member's actions (Brayley et al., 2011; Raphael et al., 2010).

Communities

A common myth about sex trafficking is that it occurs only in third-world countries and not in the United States (Gonzalez-Pons et al., 2020; Polaris Project, n.d.). Highly publicized U.S. sex trafficking offenses shatter the façade of exception many Americans may espouse, which can elicit shock, confusion, fear, and anger (Polaris Project, n.d.). In communities where

supposedly legal businesses are found to have engaged in DST, the company may have a negative economic impact on the community from closing and ending employment for legitimate workers. Accusations of DST against trusted community leaders (e.g., teachers, coaches, politicians, ministers) can diminish the public faith in those professions, and the uninvolved coworkers, employees, or organizations may suffer. Often sex trafficking does not occur in a vacuum and can invite increases in the prevalence of drug problems, gang and other violence, and other criminal activity in a community (Lugo, 2019; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2020).

Perpetrators

Popular media tends to only depict sex traffickers as child kidnappers or portray pimps as violent, hypermasculine black men (Baker, 2013; 2014). Yet, most DST perpetrators reflect many ethnicities, know their victims, and their victims have grown to intimately know or even love their trafficker (Polaris Project, 2022). A review of 93 case records of juvenile female victims of sex trafficking revealed victim-perpetrator relationships including family (31%, $n = 19$), intimate partner (30%, $n = 19$), stranger (29%, $n = 18$), or unspecified relationship (4%, $n = 3$; Hogan & Roe-Sepowitz, 2020). First, familial perpetrators can include biological relatives, non-biological relatives (e.g., in-laws), foster care, and trusted non-related caregivers (e.g., babysitters and daycare workers). Second, an intimate partner relationship can include someone who makes promises of marriage, portrays themselves as romantic partners, or participates in any romantic or sexual relationship with the victim (Polaris Project, 2022). Third, pimps vary in the methods they deploy to recruit and retain victims ranging from superficially gentle or supposedly collaborative arrangements to extreme violence. Some pimping occurs as part of gang activity (Lugo, 2019). The fourth type of relationship includes strangers to the victim.

Familial or caregiver perpetrators may exploit their siblings, cousins, nieces/nephews, children, foster children, and grandchildren (Kennedy et al., 2007). Although all perpetrators tend to be heterogeneous groups, international research shows that 72% of familial perpetrators are female (CDC, 2016). In a study of 31 cases of familial sex trafficking in the U.S., 64.5% ($n = 20$) identified their mother as the primary trafficker (Sprang & Cole, 2018, p. 187). In another study of 93 case records of juvenile female victims of sex trafficking, perpetrators identified as 67% ($n = 42$) male and 33% ($n = 22$) female, with 31% ($n = 19$) described as a family member (Hogan & Roe-Sepowitz, 2020, p. 9). Group home placement for adolescent girls can involve peer recruitment, as seen in a "trafficking ring used foster girl as a recruiter of numerous girls in group homes" (Hogan & Roe-Sepowitz, 2020, p. 12). Due to the perpetrator's feigned befriending of a victim to exploit their loneliness to groom them toward commercial sex work, some researchers have used the term *mate crime* (Grundy, 2011; Landman, 2014).

Intimate partners who evolve into a perpetrator-victim relationship can vary in how the dynamic changes between the partners allow for exploitation to occur. In some cases, the perpetrator seeks a partner with the intent to exploit them and uses fraudulent and manipulative promises of love, marriage, or children to recruit the victim, commonly known as boyfriend/Romeo pimp tactics (Brayley et al., 2011; Raphael et al., 2010). Sometimes the partners have an established natural relationship, and they experience a shift in circumstances that may motivate the perpetrating partner to exert force, fraud, and coercive tactics against the victim partner to exploit them (King, 2019; Raymond et al., 2001). Typical examples in the literature included the need to pay off gambling debts, an out-of-control drug habit, or job loss (King, 2019; Mehlman-Orozco, 2020; Raymond et al., 2001). One example involves intimate partners Gary Gates and Tamisha Heyward who were named as codefendants in a federal

indictment for running an illegal sex trafficking operation that involved the prostitution of more than 30 women, including girls as young as 14 years old (*U.S. v Gates & Heyward*, 2004). The indictment alleged that the couple split the duties with Heyward responsible for "day-to-day affairs of the business" including exerting control "psychological and otherwises over the prostitutes" while Gates "would concentrate on recruitment, retention, and enforcement" that sometimes required "viciously beating young women who disobeyed or disappointeted him," engaging in sexual acts with many of the women, and providing drugs to support their addictions (*U.S. v Gates & Heyward*, 2004, p. 83).

Pimps may be portrayed as manipulative, abusive, and psychopathic (DeLisi, 2016; Karandikar & Prospero, 2010). However, tactics used to recruit and facilitate the exploitation of victims appear to vary across perpetrators, from the ultra-violent *gorilla pimp* to the suave *finesse pimp* (Mehlman-Orozco, 2020; see Table 1). According to former pimp Bilbo Gholson (2001), there are 52 different versions of pimps ranging in their temperament and characteristics depending on their relationship with the victim (see Table 1). Carpenter and Gates (2015) identified that 85% of the pimps/sex traffickers' facilitators interviewed were gang involved. However, former trafficker Armand King described pimping as an alternative to gang life:

> Urban pimps began to reemerge in the late nineties, led primarily by youth from the inner cities who had felt the horror of drugs and gang life and knew that this was not a prosperous lifestyle for them. Gangs and drugs meant death or jail. (King, 2019, p. 21).

A trend seen by law enforcement is the rise of female sex traffickers (adults and juveniles; Kiensat, 2014). In some cases, a victim may become too old or infirm to procure sufficient profit for the trafficker and may be required to serve as an accomplice (i.e., *bottom*; Broad, 2015; Kiensat et al., 2014). They may work to recruit and train new victims, further

complicating the mental and emotional impact of their involvement with the trafficker (Kienast et al., 2015).

Juvenile sex traffickers are an anomaly among sexually abusive youth and are less likely than their adult counterparts to be arrested or receive severe legal consequences (Miccio-Fonseca, 2017). In a study of 102 youth arrested for trading sex, 15% ($n = 16$) were criminally charged for offenses that reflected the exploitation of others rather than victimization (Naramore et al., 2015). Typically, the juvenile trafficker operates at a low level within a large, sophisticated criminal organization and is, therefore, less valued by their higher-ranking superiors (Miccio-Fonseca, 2017).

Individuals alleged or convicted of DST offenses may have encountered violence and witnessed intensely distressing situations during their criminal dealings. When individuals become known in the illegal sector as successful, their competitors may attempt to usurp their business through harassment, violence, or reporting rivals to law enforcement (i.e., *snitching*; King, 2019). As a result, exploiters may become paranoid, hypervigilant, and disproportionately respond to simple situations with force (King, 2019). In highly organized DST situations, law enforcement may deploy specialized units to react with authorizations to use deadly force, increasing the risk of traumatic experiences during an arrest. During incarceration, inmates known to have abused women, especially children, typically experience violence or threats of violence by other inmates and correctional staff (Ricciardelli & Moir, 2013).

Prosecuting Sex Trafficking

Discussions about domestic human trafficking in the United States must mention American slavery. Gholson (2001) identified that enslavers had sex with Black women at their ready disposal. Still, after their emancipation, the demand for Black prostitutes flourished, as did

the need for protection against white male aggressors (Carter & Giobbe, 1999). The pimp role developed as Black men sought to protect their Black female peers and to profit in a White man's world as barriers to legitimate advances in higher education and employment still place many Black Americans in economically disadvantaged situations (Carter & Giobbe, 1999).

Legislation and Criminal Justice Responses (see Table 2)

Federal legislation to address sex trafficking first began with the White Slave Traffic Act, later came to be known as the Mann Act of 1910. The Mann Act of 1910 amended the U.S. Constitution to make it a federal offense to "knowingly persuade, induce, entice, or coerce" White woman or girls across state lines to engage in "prostitution or debauchery, or any other immoral practice" (*The Mann Act*, 1910; see Coneant, 1996; Doezema, 2000; Kittling, 2006; Weiner, 2008).

The *Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act* (RICO) of 1970 sought to combat organized crime (U.S. Treasury, 1970). The foundations of the RICO Act lie in proving conspiracy among seemingly unrelated crimes with a common objective into a prosecutable pattern known as racketeering (U.S. Treasury, 1970). Violators of the RICO Act can be prosecuted for individual crimes and the overarching organization of criminal activity with significant penalties (U.S. Treasury, 1970). Prosecutors may pursue RICO violation charges instead of human trafficking charges in cases where force, fraud, or coercion may be challenging to prove, but in which the multitude of criminal activity (e.g., kidnapping, assault and battery, manufacturing child pornography, contributing to the delinquency of a minor, soliciting prostitution, pandering) may produce a viable pattern for the prosecution to prove racketeering.

The World Health Organization (WHO) adopted the United Nations *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons* in November of 2000 as part of the United Nations

Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, which is the first legally-binding instrument that internationally defined human trafficking (World Health Organization, 2012a). The *Victims of Trafficking and Violence Prevention Act* (TVPA; U.S. Congress, 2000b), first passed in 2000 (reauthorized in 2003, 2005, 2008, 2013, and 2017), specifically outlaws trafficking in persons and defines the legal parameters for human trafficking (U.S. Congress, 2000b, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2017). The TVPA and resulting reauthorizations also created more significant provisions for victims, granted more authority to the Trafficking in Persons Office, and increased resources to prosecute offenders. With each reauthorization, more federal funds have been allocated, and new programs are developed for prevention, assistance for victims, and prosecution of offenders and their accomplices.

Before 2018, online platforms were protected under Section 230 of the *Communications Decency Act* (CDA), separating responsibility between those who use/post content, the site, and those who host/distribute content. The *Allow States and Victims to Fight Online Sex Traffickers Act* (FOSTA, 2017) and *Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act* (SESTA, 2018) aim to hold web platforms accountable for their role in profiting from hosting and distributing illicit commercial sexual content. FOSTA (2017) targeted any digital advertisement for sex for sale and prostitution, whereas SESTA (2018) sought to hold websites accountable that facilitate sex trafficking. The signing of FOSTA-SESTA (Public Law 115-164) into law on April 11, 2018 induced the abrupt end to many websites and apps (e.g., Backpage.com), while censoring content on other sites (e.g., Tumblr, Instagram; Born, 2019).

The United States Department of Homeland Security (DHS) developed a *Strategy to Combat Human Trafficking, the Importation of Goods Produced with Forced Labor, and Child Sexual Exploitation* with five key goals: (1) Prevention through providing education to

vulnerable populations; (2) Protection of victims; (3) Prosecution of perpetrators; (4) Partnership

with entities to enforce this vision; and, (5) Enabling DHS to efficiently and effectively address

threats of human trafficking (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2020). Although noble

aims, the DHS's goals fail to address prevention or methods of rehabilitation for DSTPs.

The Human Trafficking Prosecution Unit (HTPU) is a branch of the U.S. Department of

Justice (DOJ) to enforce the TVPA by coordinating inter-agency counter-trafficking efforts

between the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI), Immigration and Customs

Enforcement/Homeland Security Investigations (ICE/HIS) of the Department of Homeland

Security (DHS), U.S. Attorney's Offices (USAOs), and the Executive Office for U.S. Attorneys

(EOUSA; U.S. Department of Justice, 2017). Convictions for human trafficking require the

prosecution to prove beyond reasonable doubt that the perpetrator used force, fraud, or coercion

to recruit, harbor, transport, provide, obtain, patronize, or solicit a person for commercial sex

(U.S. Congress, 2000b, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2013, 2017). The prosecution often has difficulty

proving that the alleged perpetrators of sex trafficking meet all necessary criteria for a criminal

conviction of this serious charge (Brown, 2011; Farrell et al., 2012). Therefore, identifying

alleged and convicted perpetrators of sex trafficking becomes a complicated task, resulting in

unreliable statistics and research.

Despite expanded legislative definitions of domestic sex trafficking and law enforcement

efforts to identify and prosecute human trafficking, nearly half (46.4%) of human trafficking

charges in the U.S. were cleared or dropped in 2019 due to insufficient evidence (U.S.

Department of Justice, 2020). Of the 3,001 sex trafficking cases investigated by the FBI in the

U.S. in 2014, only 104 (3.5%) resulted in a conviction (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015). For

comparison, crime conviction rates range from 11.9% for motor vehicle theft to 62.5% for

Murder (FBI, 2013). Meeting evidentiary thresholds for proving force, fraud, and coercion for human trafficking offenses becomes more complicated when victims refuse to cooperate with investigating authorities (Herman, 1992, 1997; Reid, 2010; Reid, 2013).

Jury members typically cannot grasp why a victim may feel an inability to leave an abusive situation or to comply with law enforcement investigations when they endorse significant fear and harm by their abuser (Farrell et al., 2012). The average person tends to have a limited or absent understanding of the myriad of psychological effects that exposure to prolonged trauma and interpersonal violence can have on a victim's sense of autonomy and agency (Farrell et al., 2012). Trauma bonding between victims and traffickers can facilitate reluctance to cooperate with perpetrator prosecution (Reid, 2010, 2013; Smith et al., 2009a). Victims tend to return to their exploiters after leaving (Clawson and Goldblatt, 2007; Geist, 2012; Reid, 2014a), which can interfere with prosecution efforts (Nichols and Heil, 2014). A qualitative study of 53 female German survivors of sex trafficking noted high offender pressure as the main deterrent to reporting victimization or willingness to testify against the trafficker in court (Hellferich et al., 2011). Survivors said traffickers would threaten or use "massive physical violence, abduction of children and the threat of a long jail sentence for tax evasion or because of working without a work permit" (Hellferich et al., 2011, p. 140).

Under the TVPA, the maximum penalty for sex trafficking adults and minors aged 14 to 17 is 20 years in prison, but the penalty for trafficking victims younger than 14 carries a maximum life sentence (U.S. Congress, 2000b, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2017). In addition, most state laws also have increased penalties if the victim is a minor versus an adult (Bouché et al., 2016). Federal prosecutors tend to prioritize cases involving younger victims because because force, fraud, and coercion do not have to be proven, which eases the prosecutorial evidentiary burden

(Farrell et al., 2012). DSTPs are aware of this risk, which consequently may influence victim selection (Dank et al., 2014).

Perpetrators commonly react to allegations of sex trafficking with indignation and may assert they are the actual victims (Farrell et al., 2012). They may report feeling targeted unfairly by law enforcement, retaliation by scorned women, or victimization by a prejudicial justice system – "everyone involved was a willing participant until the Feds got a hold of them and poisoned their minds*"* (Mehlman-Orozco, 2020, p. 104). Former sex trafficker Armand King (2019) asserts, "Like many of the recent recipients I know of this RICO law, it seems as if it is a thinly-veiled attempt to incarcerate a large amount of people at once" (p. 98).

Conclusion

The landscape of DST encompasses legal and healthcare disciplines, requiring consensus on terms and definitions for a common language for research and intervention. The impact of DST extends beyond the physical, psychological, and legal implications for victims and survivors, to include a dynamic sequela for the loved ones and communities of victims, buyers, and perpetrators. The extensive and individualized consequences of DST victimization can profoundly impact efforts to adequately identify, intervene, and prosecute DST. A more thorough understanding of the factors that influence perpetration can help to inform perpetrator-focused anti-trafficking efforts.

CHAPTER 3: MOTIVATIONS OF DOMESTIC SEX TRAFFICKING PERPETRATORS

Most research about traffickers has centered around the force, fraud, and coercion tactics used to recruit, retain, and exploit victims, which varies across offender types and their relationships with the victims (Farrell et al., 2012). Following the Four Preconditions Model (Finkelhor, 1984; Finkelhor et al., 2016), the motivations developed by the offender to address an unmet need can determine the course of their offense pathway, including the tactics used and targets for risk assessment and treatment. An examination of current literature regarding DST revealed three general motivational themes: Money, power and control, and safety. Each theme incorporates avoidance and approach characteristics, risk factors, and barriers and has unique implications for the offender pathway.

Money

Sex trafficking relies on supply and demand principles that involve four entities: buyers, exploiters, systems of oppression, and cultural support of sexual exploitation (Hughes, 2008). The U.S. functions as a capitalist society built through centuries of systemic racism with significant barriers to financial advancement for minority groups (Hoover et al., 2015; Roediger, 1991). Crime affords a readily accessible means for considerable wealth that does not discriminate across race, ethnicity, ability level, cognitive or academic attainment, religion, sex, or language (Kang, 2016). "With the end of crack cocaine as a means to make money, a new generation of young men from the inner city was in search of another way to make money" (King, 2019, p. 38). The industrialization of sexual exploitation through DST has estimated annual profits earned that range from $9.8 billion (Polaris Project, 2020) to $150 billion (Polaris Project, 2022). To attempt to conceal illegal exploitation, sex trafficking commonly occurs under the guise of legal activities (e.g., massage parlors, exotic dancing or strip clubs, and modeling)

alongside blatantly illegal activities (e.g., prostitution, producing or distributing illicit pornography; Bouché et al., 2016).

Compared to other types of financially-profitable crimes (e.g., drug dealing, firearm selling, theft, fraud), DST provides offenders with a commodity that can be resold countless times with minimal effort and has a high demand (Perry & Angyal, 2011). A study of 100 female prostitutes estimated a range of daily customers from 2 to 20 ($M = 6.8$) at recruitment, with increases to a mean of 10 customers per day and a range as high as 40 per day at the time of the interview (Raphael et al., 2010). Creating or disseminating sexually explicit images or videos can be done from almost anywhere using web-enabled services and instant delivery via live-stream video access or subscriptions, allowing abusers to profit from virtually unlimited buyers (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2020). Consumers of child pornography were found to generally view "many thousands of unique abuse sessions" (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2020, p. 4). High reoccurrence rates of sexual exploitation range from 9% to 83% during the first five occurrences of exploitation, with the reoccurrence rate leveling off at 90% after nine occurrences (Reid, 2012). Female youth were more likely to report five or more occurrences of sexual exploitation than male youth, and they also presented with a reoccurrence rate of 90% from the first occurrence (Reid, 2012).

Toward Wealth, Away from Poverty

Former sex trafficker Armand King (2019) stated, "ultimately, the biggest motivator for people to move into the world of pimping and prostitution is poverty" (p. 108). As a young Black boy, King (2019) recalled believing his future options were restricted to dealing drugs, gangs, or pimping. He reflected thinking his female counterparts also had only the opportunities to be a single mother on welfare, find a man to take care of her, or work a low-paying job unless she

was "edgier" and could then deal drugs, strip, prostitute, or escort (King, 2019, p. 155). The

quintessential question identified by King (2019) was, "how can we get the things we want

without hurting anybody?" (p. 155). Poverty rates in 2020 increased to 11.4 from 10.5 in 2019

(U.S. Census Bureau, 2021). Of the 37.2 million people in poverty, Black individuals had the

highest representation (19.5%), followed by Hispanic (17.0%), Non-Hispanic White (8.2%), and

Asian (8.1%) people (U.S. Census Bureau, 2021).

In her groundbreaking work, *A Framework for Understanding Poverty*, Ruby Payne

(2005) introduced four leading causes of poverty and simultaneous reasons poverty is sustained:

(1) *behaviors of the individual* (e.g., crime, single parenthood, intergenerational character traits)

that contribute to an orientation toward achievement, spending, substances, planning, and the

future; (2) *human and social capital in the community* (e.g., availability of well-paying jobs,

adequate skill acquisition, childcare accessibility) influence neighborhood dynamics, social

morality, and urbanization; (3) *exploitation* (e.g., drug trade, cash-advance lenders, gambling)

primes communities for sex work, sweatshops, temporary work, and internet scams; and, (4)

political/economic structures (e.g., de-industrialization, job loss, declining middle class,

sociopolitical changes) influence taxation patterns, immigration patterns, and economic disparity.

When money holds the key to the most basic needs in life, not having enough can distort

how individuals perceive and interact with the world. For example, Payne (2005) lists "hidden

rules" of poverty, including how people may be perceived as possessions, money is meant to be

spent, only the present time holds significance (i.e., no regard for the future or past), and survival

drives the individual (p. 51). Many impoverished individuals often cannot afford everything they

need and may opt for something they want instead. "I've known many people throughout the

years who owned brand new, luxury automobiles but didn't have money for the gas tank and couldn't put food on the table" (King, 2019, p. 83).

Individuals growing up with limited options who observe the apparent abundant wealth and the associated power and respect that comes with pimping begin to fantasize as a child about doing whatever it takes to have what that man has. Former pimp Bilbo Gholson (2001) stated,

> The majority of humanity has had an idol at one time or another – a father, a big brother image, someone to look up to. But the child whose roots are in the ghetto does not have much of a choice, the most they see are thieves, stick-up men, dope-pushers, cut-throats, prostitutes, bandits and pimps; only the infamous, the ones who ride around in their fine new BMWs, Lincolns, Mercedes, and Cadillacs, dripping in diamonds, gold chains and other finery who never worked a day in their lives for any of that. (p. 205).
>
> Money is the power to somebody that has been powerless. Money is respect in your community and your family and a way to have some self-respect. Money is an impoverished person's way out of an undesirable existence that seems to have no end. To many, having money simply means the end of being hungry, homeless, and hopeless. (King, 2019, p. 82).

Barriers to Wealth and Resulting Criminal Thinking

The DSTP in this circumstance facilitates commercial sex primarily for financial prosperity (King, 2019). Perpetrators may discontinue trafficking in favor of a legitimate job only to return to DST perpetration as they find their effort does not yield the same financial return as illegal activity can. Former trafficker Armand King (2019) described a time when he had a well-paying job, a car, and a home, and "the game was still calling me" (p. 150). Meanwhile, other traffickers desist to invest the money they earned illegally into legitimate

business ventures, preferring to struggle financially than to constantly look over their shoulder for the law or an enemy (King, 2019).

A qualitative analysis of interviews with 49 active DSTPs in the U.S. revealed varying perceptions of their engagement with legitimate employment (Stalans & Finn, 2019). The 49 men ranged in age from 18 to 65 ($M = 40.4$), 42 managed sex workers, and 7 provided protection and transportation for sex workers, ranging in experience from 1 to 40 years. Their educational history included less than high school diploma ($n = 5$), high school diploma or equivalent ($n = 17$), some college education ($n = 10$), and college degree ($n = 17$). The sample included 24 Caucasian, 18 African-American, 2 Asian, 3 Latino, and 2 mixed-race individuals. The participants reported obtaining 20% to 100% of their victim's earnings, with half taking 50% or more, estimating their annual income from trafficking efforts alone ranging from $1,500 to $780,000 ($m = \$70,100$). Most participants spontaneously self-identified their criminal identity as either pimps ($n = 13$), gang members ($n = 8$), or drug dealers ($n = 1$). Those who did not self-identify referred to themselves as business persons, taxi drivers, brokers, or managers when asked about their perceived role. Of the 49 subjects, 13 indicated significant efforts coded as "preparatory desisting" to transition out of illicit sex work toward legitimate education or employment (p. 655). Four persisters indicated that although they believe commercial sex is morally wrong, they overlook its morality for financial gain (Stalans & Finn, 2019).

The immediate profit of DST may mitigate debts, procure drugs, or profer something of value (e.g., housing, food, clothing, travel) in exchange for sex (Polaris Project, 2022). For example, "Anny" disclosed how she was sold for sex to pay off her father's gambling debts from the ages of 9 to 15 (Raphael, 2019). Most DSTPs operate primarily in cash (66.7%), but others

also accept credit/debit cards (9.7%), drugs (4.2%), merchandise (2.8%), or some combination (31.9%; National Institute of Justice, 2016).

Summary

Perpetrators primarily motivated by financial gain tend to seek profit, which may be perceived as a means to provide comfort, power, or access. They strive to avoid discomfort, oppression, and poverty. Barriers they may have had to overcome that may surface as risk factors include limited education, lack of positive role models, and overt or insidious exposure to systemic oppression/racism. For individuals disenfranchised by sociocultural prejudice and discrimination, legitimate options for economic advancement may appear unattainable or invisible due to a lack of modeling, support, or access (Payne, 2005). Readily modeled, glamorized, and respected are the superficially affluent (and therefore influential) people in their community who engage in criminal activity such as sex trafficking (King, 2019; Staiger, 2005).

Power and Control

Some DSTPs seek power and control (Raphael and Myers-Powell, 2010) and may employ many of the same coercive control tactics as perpetrators of IPV (e.g., micro-regulation, surveillance, threats, intimidation, humiliation, and isolation; Myhill, 2015; Raghavan & Doychak, 2015) to "break the spirit" of victims to elicit compliance, submission, and dependence (Herrington & McEachern, 2018, p. 600). Maslow (1943) theorized that individuals must have their basic needs met (e.g., food, water, shelter) before higher needs can sufficiently be addressed (e.g., introspection, eduction). Pimp R. J. Martin (n.d.) authored an essay entitled *How to be a Pimp: Using Maslow's Hierarchy of Human Needs to Make the Most Money*, which explicitly outlines how to exploit and manipulate a victim's most basic needs as a means of control. By restricting or overcontrolling the victim's access to their basic needs the DSTP creates a

powerful psychological dependence that confuses the victim and paradoxically may make it even harder for them to want to leave (Sher, 2011; Smith & Coloma, 2011). In the words of Machiavelli (1981), "Men, when they receive good from whence they expect evil, feel the more indebted to their benefactor" (p. 63).

Seeking Superiority to Avoid Insignificance

DSPTs who desire respect may use power and control tactics to exert superiority over vulnerable individuals. The innate drive for significance serves as the foundation for all of existentialist phenomenology and has risen in sociocultural awareness through recent movements such as Black Lives Matter (Day, 2015; Hoffman et al., 2016; May, 1961; Rickford, 2015). Individuals raised in environments and cultures where they are taught implicitly or explicitly that they are insignificant either foster learned helplessness or can instigate the pursuit to matter by whatever means necessary, even the exploitation and abuse of others (e.g., O, 2018).

Barriers to Power and Control, and Resulting Power and Control Over Others

Even the jargon used to refer to victims (e.g., stable, bottom) dehumanizes them (Farley, 2007). "In concentration camps, the captive's name is replaced with a nonhuman designation, a number" (Herman, 1997, p. 93). Increasingly, traffickers are also tattooing their victims with bar codes or the name of the pimp to communicate that they are commodities owned by another to be sold (U.S. Department of State, 2012). Herrington and McEachern (2018) applied Carol Adams' (2010) model of violence against women to the commercial sexual exploitation of women and children through sex trafficking and pornography: "Objectification permits an oppressor to view another being as an object" (p. 73).

Preying Upon Victim Vulnerabilities

An aspect of power and control involves identifying victims with vulnerabilities that can easily be exploited and abused. This systematic review of sex trafficking research revealed common risk factors across most minority statuses (e.g., age, gender, sexuality, race, ability).

Individuals perceived as female are at greater risk for DST (Reid, 2012; Reid & Richards, 2015; Reid et al., 2019), although it must be noted that most studies of sex trafficking have utilized samples comprised only of girls and women, with few to no samples of boys or men, and far fewer who identify non-binary, gender-queer, or transgender (Cockbain et al., 2015; Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Dennis, 2009; Jones, 2010; Reid, 2018). One study identified 15,222 female victims as compared to 3,003 male, 135 gender minority, and 3,966 undeclared gender victims in 2019 reports (Polaris Project, 2020). However, one study using Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) of youth who reported involvement with CSEC in New York City included 45% ($n = 111$; $N = 249$) who identified as male (Curtis et al., 2008).

Approximately half of all sex trafficking cases investigated by law enforcement involve minors (Clayton et al., 2013; Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Farrell et al., 2014; Polaris Project, 2020). The average age of entry into prostitution in the United States is between 12 and 14 (Sager, 2012; Smith et al., 2009a). Previously this finding has been interpreted to reflect the demand as high for extremely young girls; however, it also represents the high risk of vulnerability for this age group and the ease of exploitation by perpetrators. A study of 47 women engaged in prostitution before the age 18 found that 19% reported force, coercion, or intimidation tactics by pimps or abusive intimate partners (Nixon et al., 2002). Homelessness is a main risk factor for sex trafficking among youth (Murphy, 2017; Murphy et al., 2015b) as the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children reported that 1 out of 6 runaways were

likely victims of child sex trafficking (NCMEC; 2016). Carpenter and Gates (2015) found

homeless youth (55%) and youth in the foster care system (28%) were susceptible to falling

victim to sex trafficking. Children exploited before foster care placement were more likely to be

exploited after placement (60% vs. 14%) by authority figures or other individuals they met

during runaway episodes (Hogan & Roe-Sepowitz, 2020, p. 12). Naramore and colleagues

(2015) found the 102 minor victims of sex trafficking had a higher number and more severe

adverse childhood experiences (ACEs; CDC, n.d.) as compared to a group of 64,227 youth who

were arrested for other reasons, most notably histories of sexual abuse and physical neglect.

Caregiver adversity (e.g., domestic violence, mental health problems, substance abuse), which

resulted in child maltreatment, child risk-taking behaviors (e.g., running away, substance abuse)

and negative emotionality (e.g., shame, social alienation) ultimately elevated child vulnerability

to sexual exploitation and trafficking of both girls and boys (Reid, 2011). For the 913 juvenile

justice-involved youth in Florida identified through the Florida child abuse hotline for human

trafficking abuse reports between 2009 and 2015, sex trafficking victimization was 2.52 times

more likely for female victims with sexual abuse histories and 8.21 times more likely for male

victims with histories of sexual abuse (Reid et al., 2017). For youth exploited online, additional

risk factors that increase vulnerability for sexual exploitation include being an older adolescent

(14–17 years), being part of the LGBTQ+ community, having family and school problems (e.g.,

poor relationship with parents and peers), and having psychological problems (e.g., loneliness,

depression, physical/sexual abuse experiences, substance use; Mishna et al., 2009; Mitchell et al.,

2001; Wolak et al., 2004; Wolak et al., 2003; Franchino-Olsen, 2019). Even when risk factors

are present, the lack of protective factors increases vulnerability (Whittle et al., 2014).

Youth with disabilities have an intensified vulnerability for abuse as compared to their able-bodied peers (Administration for Children, Youth and Families, 2013; Harrell & Rand, 2010; Haydon et al., 2011; Hershkowitz et al., 2007; Hibbard & Desch, 2007; Horner-Johnson & Drum, 2006; Kahn et al., 2019; Putnam, 2003; Schenkel et al., 2014; Sedlak et al., 2010; Sobsey et al., 1997; Sullivan & Knutson, 2000). Individuals with intellectual disabilities experience even more risk for various types of sexual victimization (McCormack et al., 2005; Skarbek et al., 2009; Wells & Mitchell, 2014; Wissink et al., 2015), specifically sex trafficking (Clawson et al., 2009; Estes & Weiner, 2005; U.S. Department of State [DOS], 2012). National prevalence rates for youth with intellectual disabilities are 1.45% for ages 8-12 years and 1.40% for youth aged 13-17 years (CDC, 2017). Yet, one study of 54 female youth victims of sex trafficking in Florida included 15 (28%) who met criteria for an intellectual disability (Reid, 2018), and a different study documented approximately 30% of 93 female minor victims had an intellectual disability (ID; Hogan & Roe-Sepowitz, 2020). The most commonly reported endangering behavior for trafficked girls with ID was running away (14 out of 15, 93%), and "boyfriends" were the most frequently reported type of trafficker for girls with ID (6 out of 15, 53%; Reid, 2018). Intellectual and psychological or emotional disabilities can impair judgment, decision-making, critical thinking, and social skills necessary to detect exploitative and manipulative tactics that may expose the youth to dangerous situations like sex trafficking (Hershkowitz et al., 2007; Reid, 2016b; Turner et al., 2011; Wissink et al., 2015). Possible vulnerabilities revealed functional limitations (e.g., unfamiliarity with sexual behavior and relationships, confusion over which behaviors are legal and illegal, failure to realize their right to say no) and known sex trafficker entrapment schemes (e.g., romancing/boyfriend schemes, financial incentives, recruitment from peers, abducting/transporting the girl to another place; Anderson et al., 2014;

Reid, 2016b). Individuals with disabilities also often rely on others for basic needs and may experience a reduced ability to access help, increasing their vulnerability to DST and other forms of abuse (Franchino-Olsen et al., 2022; Reid, 2018). Despite their elevated risk of sexual abuse and exploitation, persons with intellectual disabilities often receive little or no information about sexual health and safety, often due to an assumption that they are not sexually active (DOS, 2012; Groce, 2004; Gust et al., 2003; Wissink et al., 2015).

Individuals who may be perceived by others as members of oppressed or marginalized groups (e.g., low socioeconomic status, racial or ethnic minorities, low education attainment), especially those with undisclosed minority statuses (e.g., undocumented immigrants, sexual identity minorities, gender minorities), experience higher rates of victimization and cited anticipated discrimination by institutional authorities and threats of exposure that increase their risk for DST victimization (Administration for Children, Youth and Families, 2013; Tomasiewicz, 2018; UNODC, 2018b). For example, the National Human Trafficking Hotline received 11,500 reports of trafficking situations (8,248 for sex trafficking; 1,236 for labor trafficking) in 2019 that involved 22,326 total victims (14,597 for sex trafficking; 4,934 for labor trafficking), of which 1,388 identified as U.S. Citizens or lawful permanent residents, 4,601 identified as foreign nationals, and 16,337 indicated their nationality as unknown (Polaris Project, 2020).

Environmental risk factors that impact adult victims include high poverty rates, limited academic achievement opportunities, the presence of organized crime (e.g., gangs), poor training for law enforcement regarding DST (Farrell et al, 2015; Lugo, 2019), and cultural devaluation of women and children (Clawson et al., 2009; Reid, 2012). Other significant risk factors for victimization included a history of childhood abuse/neglect, substance abuse, familial history of

involvement with the commercial sex trade, poor school performance, history of involvement with foster care, homelessness or housing instability, recent migration or relocation, and mental illness (Chisolm-Straker et al., 2017; Clawson et al., 2009; Fong & Cardoso, 2010; Greeson et al., 2019; Middleton et al., 2016; Nadon et al., 1998; Polaris Project, 2020; Reid, 2012). The U.S. Department of Homeland Security (n.d.) launched the Blue Campaign to combat human trafficking and compiled a list of indicators of human trafficking (see Figure 1), which can vary depending on the method of exploitation, the relationship between the victim and perpetrator, and the tactics used to exert force, fraud, and coercion.

Grooming Behaviors

Grooming occurs as a perpetrator develops the perception of a close relationship with a victim to gain more and more intimate access wherein the perpetrator can introduce power and control tactics to dictate the terms of the relationship with the victim. Brayley et al. (2011) identified grooming behaviors common to DST including: (1) flattery (e.g., compliments, flirting, explicitly treat minor as an adult, profess love); (2) building trust (e.g., position self as a friend or boyfriend figure, offer help to resolve a problem the victim may have, give the victim food or cigarettes, protect the victim from advances from other men in the group); (3) normalizing sexual activity (e.g., make sexually explicit jokes, ask victim about sexual experience and preferences, repeatedly discuss sexual topics, introduce pornographic material); (4) isolating victim (e.g., insult or undermine their support networks, take them to unfamiliar places, separate them from their friends, lock the doors or block their exit); (5) disorienting the victim (e.g., give alcohol or other drugs, unknowingly drug the victim, abruptly alternate between nice and nasty treatment, speak in a language they cannot understand); and, (6) intimidating the victim (e.g., make threats to hurt them, threaten to harm the victim's family,

hit/slap/punch them, humiliate or insult them). For example, in order to acclimate victims to having pornography made of them and to train them about expectations of sex buyers, victims may be forced to watch pornography during the grooming process (Farley, 2007; Smith & Coloma, 2011). Former sex trafficker Armand King (2019) stated:

> When a pimp is in the process of grooming a girl into prostitution, he is fully aware of what he is doing. To create the ideal prostitute, he must groom her correctly, or the results will be a girl with a very limited time span in the game. While the majority of pimps know that the actions of pimping and prostitution are wrong, they have become so deeply involved that they have ultimately lost the understanding of right and wrong. The longer that a pimp has been in the game, the more and more he convinces himself that his actions are justified and that there may even be a special God that will bless him if his "pimping is correct." (King, 2019, p. 109).

> Outside of verbal training and mental grooming, there may be a need for physical grooming that takes place for a new prostitute. These things may include, but are not limited to, buying clothes for work, hair styling, getting nails done, and the purchase of makeup. Other physical tools that may be used for safety are pocket knives and pepper spray. (King, 2019, p. 109).

Online chat transcripts obtained by three U.K. police forces were used to examine victim responses to internet-based grooming behaviors (Kloess et al., 2017). The study investigated 5 cases with police reports and 22 transcripts that included sexual grooming. The five offenders were all male and ranged in age between 27 and 52 years ($M = 33.6$, $SD = 5.6$). Offenders contacted an average of 4.6 victims ($SD = 4.5$, range = 1 to 12) for a total of 23 victims between the ages of 11 and 15 ($M = 13.00$, $SD = 1.2$) years, 17 of which were identified as female and six

as male. Thematic analysis of the transcripts revealed five themes: (1) *Getting to know each other*; (2) *Seeking assurance regarding relationship status*; (3) *Levels of engagement*; (4) *Secrecy of contact*; and (5) *Victim vulnerabilities* (Kloess et al., 2017). In two cases, offenders used an indirect approach characterized by nonsexual conversations about school, hobbies, leisure activities, and family and relationships. In one case, the victim asked the offender explicitly how they felt about the victim and sought exclusivity. Four of the cases involved explicit sexual conversations that were sometimes challenged by victims when the offender refused to appear on video for various reasons (i.e., being in a public place, not having a working webcam, being in someone's company, and not looking good). In cases 4 and 5, 13 victims did not comply with the offender's requests to engage in online sexual activity by either not responding, saying they were not in the mood, saying "no," reminding the offender that they are in a relationship, expressed disinterest, or challenged the offender to the extent that they ended the conversation. Three transcripts reflected eventual compliance by victims following the offender's use of manipulative tactics (e.g., compliments, persistence/persuasion, threats to discontinue contact). Five total victims are documented to have interacted via webcam with offenders but refused to expose body parts as requested by the offender. Three victims said they would expose their genitals on a webcam but reconsidered. One interaction was portrayed as a model shoot, while the rest were blatantly informed of the intent of sexual activity by the offender. Four of the interactions between Cases 1 and 2 involved keeping their contact a secret. Victim vulnerabilities include age (i.e., all victims were under 16) and history of psychological problems and abuse.

Summary

Using power and control tactics to dominate a more vulnerable person or group is dangerously effective. When done right, perpetrators can manipulate victims even when they are not around through systematic abuse that mentally and emotionally manipulates victims to the desires of their perpetrator (e.g., Brayley et al., 2011; Chisolm et al., 2022; Franchino-Olson et al., 2019; Franchino-Olsen et al., 2022; Lachal et al., 2017; Reid, 2016a). Perpetrators may rely on power and control tactics to seek fame, self-worth, autonomy, and significance to avoid insignificance. They may experience risk factors and barriers including depression, low self-esteem, negative self-view, previous trauma or victimization, and systemic oppression. As a result, they exert power and control over others. As perpetrators receive their desired results from using these exploitative methods, the abusive tactics are reinforced and become even harder to extinguish (Bouton, 2014; Skinner, 1966).

Safety

The final motivational theme surrounds the drive for safety. Some perpetrators seek the security of "management" to flee prior roles as victims within the illicit sex trade, activating survivalist pathways out of victimization and into perpetration. Victims may perceive exploitation as their only viable pathway out of victimization, or develop abusive traits as a means to protect themselves (Lawson, 2001). Some literature refers to this group as *victim traffickers* or *victim offenders* (e.g., Kiensat et al., 2015).

Seeking Dominance to Avoid Exploitation

Traffickers driven by survival needs may resort to using power and control tactics to ensure that they always have people below them on the "food chain" (Raphael & Myers-Powell, 2010). Populations that may feel misrepresented or unfairly treated by the various systems with

which they interact (e.g., education, healthcare, legal) may perceive the world as a dangerous place that will not treat them fairly if they become prey and therefore feel their only option for survival is to become a predator (Raphael & Myers-Powell, 2010).

A subset of traffickers includes individuals whose families or significant peer relationships either modeled exploitation as necessary or pressured the individual to offend. This trend has often been cited for juvenile offenders who endorsed DST as a "family business" with a history and culture supporting pimping (King, 2019; Polaris Project, 2021). The MEGA♪ cross-validation study assessed 1056 sexually abusive youth ages 4 to 19 years old, including youth with low intellectual functioning, of which 57% endorsed a family criminal history, 46% reported exposure to domestic violence, and 15% indicated they had family members with involvement in sexually related crimes (Miccio-Fonseca, 2017).

> A very important uncle in my life, and the older brother of my father, was a true pimp during the 70s… My Aunt was one of his girls but acted more as a manager than as a prostitute… you could tell that he was proud that we were in the game. (King, 2019, p. 61).

Friends who see DST as a lucrative enterprise may strongly encourage peers to start believing it is in their best interest (King, 2019). "If an older brother, friend, or somebody that you looked up to encouraged you to pimp out your girlfriend, rather than love her, you would be more inclined to listen" (King, 2019, p. 152). Furthermore:

> Once a person is in the pimp lifestyle, his peers will continue to expect them to keep up a certain persona. If your peers are in the lifestyle, you would be looked down upon if you're not in the game with them. Once a person digs into this lifestyle, he works hard at creating an image of himself. Deviating from that image leaves an individual vulnerable

to being ostracized from his friends and others involved in the lifestyle. (King, 2019, p.

84).

Barriers to Safety and Resulting Exploitation

The popular idiom "it's a dog-eat-dog world" encapsulates the mindset of this perpetrator

orientation as victim traffickers have first-hand knowledge to support this survivalist orientation.

Traffickers may use victims as the "face" of the criminal enterprise to secure credit cards for

financial transactions (e.g., hotel rooms, renting houses, purchasing advertisements) to shelter the

trafficker from illegal activity (Kiensat et al., 2015; King, 2019). Depending on the severity of

the abuse they endured, they may be willing to do whatever it takes to avoid returning to the

victim role (Kienast et al., 2015). Some estimates suggest that 25% and 40% of sex traffickers

are female (Kienast et al., 2015; Raphael & Myers-Powell, 2010). Broad (2015) found that

female traffickers tended to play subordinate roles with a more dominant male trafficker, most

often an intimate partner. Female pimping or trafficking comes with added risk because male

pimps or traffickers typically do not respect them (King, 2019). "To a male pimp, this should be

a woman and man arrangement… Men feel threatened that they'll lose power… They don't want

to be equal" (King, 2019, p. 73).

Victims may be coerced by their trafficker to recruit, train, or exploit other victims

(Kienast et al., 2015; King, 2019). The bottom female trafficker typically would be appointed by

the pimp to supervise the other victims, communicate quota demands and implement

consequences for underperformance or rule violations (Miccio-Fonseca, 2017). Victim

traffickers may position themselves to flee victimization by exploiting others (Kienast et al.,

2015). Fomer trafficker Armand King (2019) explained, "If a girl is hanging out with other girls

that are engaged in or accepting of prostitution, then it is much easier to accept it herself" (p. 65).

A study of 47 women engaged in prostitution before the age of 18 found that the majority of them said their friends introduced them to prostitution (Nixon et al., 2022). Youth of all gender identities reported their friends seemed to act as surrogate recruiters for pimps and were responsible for their entry into DST (girls = 46%, boys = 44%, and transgender = 68%; Curtis et al., 2008). During the recruitment process, some targeted victims would supply alternative contact information for friends to deflect attention away from themselves (Brayley et al., 2011).

For example, Melanie Williams (age 23) was convicted and sentenced to 15 years in federal prison for using the Internet to solicit minors for commercial sexual exploitation (Mrozek, 2019). A former prostitute, Williams posted social media videos that depict her physically and verbally abusing young women, and threatening them with firearms. She also admitted to acts such as ordering victims to strip off their clothes, throwing bleach on them, beating them with broomsticks, ordering them to have her name tattooed on their face, and confiscating their belongings and identity documents (Mrozek, 2019).

Summary

Sexual exploitation by a trafficker eventually becomes unbearable, and victims desperately seek a pathway out, even if it requires participating in the exploitation of others (Brayley et al., 2011; Cortoni et al., 2009; Kiensat et al., 2015; Miccio-Fonseca, 2017). Coerced co-offenders can develop a "better them than me" orientation. Due to the dual role of victim and offender, this group of perpetrators experience complex consequences as their desistance also requires healing from the emotional and mental shackles from their own victimization and first-person knowledge of the harm they perpetrated against others.

Conclusion

Understanding the motivations that drive individuals to exploit others sexually for profit through force, fraud, and coercion can assist clinicians in developing appropriate assessment and treatment protocols. The current research literature suggests primary motivations for sex trafficking perpetration include the need for money (e.g., Horning et al., 2019; Raphael, 2019; Stalans & Finn, 2019), significance and dominance (e.g., Brayley et al., 2011; Chisolm et al., 2022; Franchino-Olson et al., 2019; Franchino-Olsen et al., 2022; Lachal et al., 2017; Reid, 2016a), and safety (e.g., Brayley et al., 2011; Cortoni et al., 2009; Kiensat et al., 2015; Miccio-Fonseca, 2017). DST perpetrators may experience risk factors (e.g., poverty, low self-esteem, oppression, discrimination, or previous abuse) with minimal protective factors, resulting in the development of offense-supportive attitudes and behaviors that permit DST perpetration.

CHAPTER 4: JUSTIFICATIONS AND RATIONALIZATIONS USED BY DST

PERPETRATORS

Following the Four Preconditions Model (Finkelhor, 1984; Finkelhor et al., 2016), once DST perpetrators are motivated to meet an unmet need, they then progress toward overcoming internal barriers by activating justifications and rationalizations that influence offense-supportive thought patterns and mitigate negative emotional responses to potential offending. *Internal barriers* describe the complex minefield of conflicting subcultural norms and mainstream orientations that cause cognitive dissonance that the offender consciously or subconsciously attempts to neutralize to maintain a particular self-image leading up to (Sykes and Matza, 2002) and throughout their offense trajectory (Colvin & Pisoiu, 2018; Gneezy et al., 2015; Sykes & Matza, 2002; Wright & Shneider, 1999). Internal barriers may include a lifetime of internalized morality, conscience, empathy, social mores, legality, or religious beliefs. Justification and rationalization efforts occur as offenders attempt to reconcile their values and beliefs with their potentially conflicting behaviors (Brayley, et al., 2011). Exploring the distorted thought patterns and cognitive processes that support DST perpetration can further elucidate the specific risk areas for accurate assessment and treatment.

Neutralizing Cognitive Dissonance through Maladaptive Cognition

The debate about the extent to which offenders engage in conscious justification or rationalization of exploitative behavior and antisocial attitudes has endured for almost a century beginning with the seminal works of Cleckley (1941). Studies of psychopathy, antisocial personality disorder traits and related psychopathology, and criminality has yet to find consensus. This literature review found tactics deployed to neutralize cognitive dissonance fall

into three general categories: criminal thinking errors, motivating self-deception, and moral disengagement.

Criminal Thinking Errors

Preeminent cognitive psychologist Aaron Beck introduced the concept of cognitive distortions as a foundational problem behind mood dysregulation and maladaptive behaviors (Beck, 1963). *Cognitive distortions* (a.k.a. *unhelpful thinking styles*, *cognitive errors*, or *thinking errors*) alter the individual's perception of reality through *mental abstraction* (a.k.a. *mental filter*) to interpret situations in problematic ways (Beck, 1963). Some researchers argue that the concept of cognitive distortions places normative value judgments without explicitly defining the boundaries of healthy thought processes (Ward & Casey, 2010), while others can identify sets of cognitive distortions along crime-specific patterns (Ó Ciardha & Ward, 2013). Cognitive Integration (Menary, 2007) acknowledges the goal-directed intention of cognitive activities (i.e., making inferences, problem-solving, explaining, justifying, and planning) done within the immediate situational context (e.g., making the best decision you can with the information you have at the time). Specifically, how someone thinks is determined by the cognitive norms that guide that practice (Menary, 2007, p. 137).

Abel and his colleagues (Abel et al., 1984; Abel et al., 1989) proposed another view of cognitive distortions specific to sexual offending that focused on the rationalizations and justifications for deviant sexual preferences and behaviors. This view posits that offenders have no motivation or influence on their offense-supportive cognitions other than to assuage their guilt/shame over violating social norms associated with their sexual misconduct (Abel et al., 1989; Gannon & Polaschek, 2006).

Ward's (2000) Implicit Theory Model offered a deeper view, using schemas to explain the underlying beliefs that unconsciously influence how an offender may interpret the self, other people, and the world (e.g., Marziano et al., 2006). Specific implicit theories identified for individuals who sexually offend against children include: children as sexual beings (i.e., children enjoy and understand sex more than society wants to admit), nature of harm (i.e., sex of any kind does not cause harm), entitlement (i.e., perpetrators only take what they deserve), dangerous world (i.e., victims may be perceived as threats that sexual exploitation can subdue), and controllability (i.e., sex is a reasonable means to control others; Ward & Keenan, 1999).

The Implicit Theory Model (Ward, 2000) and Abel and his colleagues (Abel et al., 1984; Abel et al., 1989) offered frameworks to begin to understand how perpetrators rationalize their harmful behaviors. However, some limitations of both models: (1) fail to explain the influence of environment and social learning on cognition; (2) rely primarily on internal processes that remain static once established; and, (3) activate upon sensory input before behavioral output (Ward & Casey, 2010). Ward and Casey (2010) applied the Extended Mind Theory of cognition (EMT; Clark & Chalmers, 1998) to describe cognitive distortions for sexual offenders as cognitive processes that are dynamic, context-dependent, and involve both internal and external components. The external features of cognition require consideration of the offender's broader social and cultural context, including their physical functioning (Ward & Casey, 2010). Criminology studies identified 36 specific criminal thinking errors (see Table 3) employed by offenders to justify and rationalize their behavior (Yochelson & Samenow, 1976).

Motivated Self-Deception

Offenders selectively constrain their attention to information that supports their behaviors and minimize or ignore information that would challenge their offense goals through a process

known as *motivated self-deception* (Gneezy et al., 2015; Sengupta et al., 2020; Wright & Schneider, 1999). Former sex trafficker Armand King (2019) stated, "To dwell in this world and have your mind involved in this sick culture, you must manipulate yourself into believing that what you're doing is alright" (p. 156). He also discussed how pimps convince themselves that the game is the only way for them, unable to acknowledge the lack of planning for retirement (King, 2019). Not all of the consequences accompanying this lifestyle are outwardly visible or within the offender's awareness due to how the offender protects themselves from the painful truth.

Robust self-deception requires: (1) the strategic pursuit of a goal; (2) in a way that is flexible to the nuances of possibly changing situations; and (3) involves some retention of the truth (or at least a non-trivial doubt; Funkhouser & Barrett, 2016; Mele, 2001). Strategically avoiding evidence in some settings but not in others to better self-deceive can reveal unconscious knowledge of that evidence (Funkhouser & Barrett, 2016). By consciously using tactics to strategically and flexibly avoid situations challenging self-deception, the conscious gradually becomes unconscious (Funkhouser & Barrett, 2016). Situations that the person suspects may present unfavorable evidence to challenge their self-deceptive beliefs are consciously avoided, strengthening the self-deception (Mele, 2001). Further, individuals can appreciate opportunities to manipulate situations that service their self-deception consciously. For example, dieters ate fewer chocolates when they had to leave their wrappers on the table than when they could throw them away in the trash (Polivy et al., 1986).

In addition to capitalizing on ready opportunities to manipulate situations, individuals also can produce misleading evidence (Funkhouser & Barrett, 2016). Interpersonal Deception Theory (IDT; Buller & Burgeon, 2006), a type of motivated self-deception, involves how a

person adjusts how they interact with others to support a particular self-perception. Through nonverbal and verbal information, individuals can skew their presentation to others to support their self-deception. For example, people tend to alter the pitch of their voice when speaking with someone they find attractive, which can portray different hormone levels representing reproductive viability (Fraccaro et al., 2011; Hughes et al., 2014; Leongomez et al., 2014). By selectively directing the attention of self or others to the information that supports self-deception, the individual induces an attentional bias (Funkhouser & Barrett, 2016). Unconscious goal activation has perceptual effects that distort perception to bias the completion of relevant unconscious goals (Aarts et al., 2008). In a study where participants were subliminally presented with goal-related words or visibly presented with positive or neutral words, then asked to judge the height of a crossword puzzle or puzzle book, those with the positively valanced terms amplified the pursuit of the primed goal (Aarts et al., 2008). Perception can mislead people by prioritizing certain information and neglecting others, drastically skewing final judgment toward a given goal unconsciously (Funkhouser & Barrett, 2016).

DSTPs possess conscious and unconscious rationalizations to support self-deception that can strategically and flexibly navigate through situations that may challenge self-deception (Funkhouser & Barrett, 2016). Memory bias allows individuals to selectively recall specific events in such a way that facilitates self-deception, ignoring other details or memories (Funkhouser & Barrett, 2016). Unconscious imitation is the process through which an individual may imitate the behavior and mannerisms of a person or group of people unknowingly, also called the *chameleon effect* (Chartrand & Bargh, 1999; Funkhouser & Barrett, 2016). By both consciously and unconsciously directing attention to stimuli to support the self-deception,

presenting behavior congruent with the self-deception, and avoiding contrary information or feedback, the DSTP can remain fully convinced of a finely-tuned narrative.

Moral Disengagement

Developed as a framework of social learning theory (Bandura, 1986), moral disengagement involves self-serving cognitive distortions (e.g., Barriga and Gibbs, 1996; Gibbs et al., 1995) and neutralization techniques (Sykes & Matza, 2002). This theory combines cognitive thinking errors and motivated self-deception from a social learning perspective. Examples include the ways in which violence has become so normalized that less severe forms of physical assault do not even register as violence for the perpetrator or victim: "Being slapped is not typically viewed as violence" (King, 2019, p. 126). Former pimp Bilbo Gholson minimized the use of force by another pimp by stating, "[he] only had to slap her back to reality once in the entire eight years" (Gholson, 2001, p. 181).

For instance, Horning and colleagues (2022) applied the Ecological Model (Bronfenbrenner; 1979; 2000) to understand how sex trafficking perpetrators justify or excuse their criminal behavior in the context of a desire to be accepted by society. A qualitative analysis of 85 interviews with pimps from Harlem examined the use of neutralizing language in their self-presentation narrative (Horning et al., 2022). The sample included 63 (74.1%) African-Americans, 13 (25.3%) Latinos, and 9 (0.6%) Other racially identified males. On average, the men identified six victims (range = 1-63), with an average time spent pimping of 6 years (ranging = 1-30 years). Participants reported beginning pimp activities on average at age 17 years (range = 9-37), and their average age at the interview was 27 years (range = 18-67, median = 23). Using a non-metric, Multidimensional Scaling (MDS) technique, the researchers evaluated how neutralization and oppression discourse occurred in the interviews. Their neutralizations and

expressions of guilt regarding self-presentation in their interviews were also assessed across 13 variables based on prior studies (Sandberg, 2009; Scully & Marolla, 1984; Sykes & Matza, 2002; Topalli, 2005). The dichotomy of externalizing and internalizing blame fell across three central themes: "good me," "bad me," and "badass me." The "good me" externalizes blame to outside forces (e.g., oppression, appeal to higher loyalties, nice guy) with a positive self-perception. The "bad me" externalizes blame to outside forces (e.g., denial of responsibility, denial of the victim, denial of injury, condemnation of the condemners, badass others, neutralizing good to be bad) with a negative self-perception. The "badass me" internalizes perceived benefits (e.g., high status, money-making, credibility, power due to women) while also expressing guilt, possibly due to impression management. The most commonly voiced self-perception was the "badass" discourse (61.2%, $n = 52$) to represent pimping as a "fundamentally oppositional act" (p. 8), but that felt "good" as it provided mastery of money and business, street credibility (e.g., power, respect), power over women, or some other benefit. The "nice guy" orientation described by Scully and Marolla (1984) explains how offenders may perceive themselves as "nice guys" (41.2%; $n = 35$) because they described treating their victims well (e.g., healthcare, flexible schedules, generous profit split, protection for friends, emotional support, positive view of women, generosity, friendship; Horning et al., 2022). Subjects engaged in denying the existence of a "victim" (34.1%; $n = 29$) in which the offender justifies their treatment of the victim as deserved for some undeniable reason, such as their abusive background, homelessness, or promiscuous reputation/history. Oppression discourse (30.6%; $n = 26$) refers to narratives that justify commercial sex due to a lack of options because of unemployment or racism (Sandberg, 2009). One participant stated, "I know it's grimy, but I gotta live too. I gotta eat, you know what

I mean. I do what I gotta do." (Horning et al., 2022, p. 11). This group also revealed themes

related to familial and generational crime and sex trade involvement as one respondent reported:

> When I was younger, yeah, I used to, and basically my mom's, his sister, she used to
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> prostitute herself. Her man was a pimp; you know what I'm saying, so he's the one that
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> got her selling her stuff, my mom. So, and at that time, so my uncles, being that they
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> grew up in all that, see no problem with their sister doing that, ya know, cause that's like,
>
> all right, you a female, that's what you do, that's what you gotta do. (Horning et al., 2022,
>
> p. 11).

Feelings of guilt and shame emerged in 25.9% ($n = 22$) of interviews, with some

participants identifying the birth of a daughter as a significant factor in their decision to leave the

game so that she would not have to grow up around that and know what he was doing to other

women (Horning et al., 2022). Some individuals described themselves as "that fucked up of a

person" and said their involvement deterred their life goals from different aims, such as going

into the military and not wishing this lifestyle on anyone (p. 12). However, the most common

narrative within the "badass me" self-perception was power over women (29.4%; $n = 25$),

seeking confirmations of their masculinity, having women surrounding them who aim to serve

them in whatever ways they can. One participant stated, "I feel like a celebrity" (p. 13).

Participants tended to use neutralizing techniques of either denying responsibility or appealing to

a higher loyalty. Individuals who blamed external forces (e.g., family, partnership, peer

influence, age, or the age of first sexual experience) for their involvement denied responsibility

(29.4%; $n = 25$). For example, one respondent remarked, "It wasn't my suggestion… I come

from a family of pimps" (p. 13). Those who appeal to a higher loyalty say they were acting in

someone's best interest, and therefore the end justifies the means (22.4%, $n = 19$). Similar in

popularity was the "street credibility" discourse (23.5%, *n* = 20), in which participants described the enjoyment they received from being admired by other players in the game, the women they worked with, and their community. For individuals who endorsed the "badass" persona, money was less of motivation (16.5%; *n* = 14). Others engaged in denial of injury rhetoric in which they allege their behavior resulted in negligible, if any, harm (8.2%, *n* = 7), often "condemning the condemners" (8.2%, *n* = 7; p. 15). Even in response to direct questions about physical violence, respondents minimized their actions with statements such as "a couple of smacks, but never a punch" and rationalizations that women were "down with" … "gangbanging" (Horning et al., 2022, p. 15).

Summary

Overcoming internal barriers along the pathway of DST perpetration involves critical thinking errors that reflect conscious and unconscious attempts to attune to confirmatory information and ignore contradictory information. DSTPs develop complex configurations of cognitive and emotional justifications and rationalizations for their antisocial attitudes and exploitative behaviors. Acknowledging the presence of maladaptive thinking patterns that override internal barriers to offending then begs the question of how they develop.

How Offense-Supportive Thinking Processes Develop

Both external factors and internal motivations influence the methods by which perpetrators justify and rationalize their antisocial attitudes and behaviors. As each offender has unique intersectional identities, backgrounds, and experiences, DSTPs tend to reflect common trends that likely influenced their perception of self, others, the future, and the world. "You will find people bragging about the lifestyle and glorifying it as if they love what they do, but the truth is they are psychologically justifying behavior they know is wrong to make themselves feel

better about the behavior" (King, 2019, p. 195). Pimps may reference a "Pimp God," an entity

created as a replacement moral compass to help them reconcile engaging in a lifestyle and

behavior that they know is wrong (King, 2019).

Culturally Conditioned Anticonventional Attitudes and Behaviors

Cultural and environmental factors can influence antisocial attitudes and normalize illicit

activities (Horning et al., 2022). For example, one study found that individuals who were

unconsciously primed for achievement (i.e., exposed to words such as 'complete,' 'succeed,' and

'master') acquired a primed unconscious goal (Hassin et al., 2009). The inverse may also occur

as individuals experience implicitly and explicitly primed messaging that can influence their

underlying beliefs (schemas) that develop thoughts and behaviors. (Hassin et al., 2009). In more

impoverished and marginalized environments, mainstream values can seem so unachieavable

that individuals reject them through subversion or inversion that normalizes anticonventional

attitudes (Horning et al., 2022). Former sex trafficker Armand King (2019) explained, "Once a

person has been engulfed in the underworld of sex trafficking; it begins to be all that they believe

they can do" (p. 160).

One common narrative among the African-American or Black community about DST

involves the claim that selling women for sex is a direct result of formerly enslaved people

taking advantage of the former enslavers' lust for black women (King, 2019). *William Lynch*

Syndrome was inspired by an unconfirmed speech made in 1712 by an enslaver named William

Lynch about how to control enslaved people, including pitting the enslaved people against each

other based on the shade of their skin (Willie Lynch's Speech on Slave Control, 1999). Black

pimps, buyers, and victims may feel the brunt of Willie Lynch Syndrome as they interact with

other Black individuals within the illicit sex industry, influenced strongly by racialized half-truths and stereotypes.

Attitudes about DST develop among racial and ethnic cultural groups, as well as within families (Carpenter & Gates, 2015; Kiensat et al., 2014; National Human Trafficking Resource Center [NHTRC], 2016; United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking, 2008). Miccio-Fonseca (2013) reported that 15% of the MEGA♪ risk assessment tool cross-validation international sample of heterogeneous sexually abusive youth (adjudicated and non-adjudicated; $N = 1056$) reported family involvement with sexually related crimes or adjacent abuse (e.g., sexual abuse, physical abuse, and emotional abuse). For those who lack family connections, friendships serve as the main source to guide attitudes and behaviors. Peer pressure can occur when someone the individual looks up to engages in DST perpetration and may suggest it as a beneficial route: "the friend that's pimping may honestly believe the way they are living is great and could be beneficial to his friends" (King, 2019, p. 84).

As one group of DSTPs includes victim-offenders, exposure to DST early in life can reflect and shape the attitudes of the environment to increase the risk for DST perpetration (e.g., Ford et al., 2010; Hay & Evans, 2006; Hollist et al., 2009; Hossain et al., 2010; Kazemian et al., 2011; Kort-Butler, 2010; Lin et al., 2011; Manasse & Ganem, 2009; Ousey et al., 2011). A pathway beginning with victimization is a disruption in healthy psychological development, impairing victims physically, psychologically, and socially, thereby elevating the likelihood of dysfunctional behavior such as delinquency (Dukes et al., 2010; MacMillan, 2001). Although this association has been identified in different stages of the life course (Lauritsen & Laub, 2007), juveniles offend at greater rates, rank among the most victimized populations, and appear to exhibit the most robust association between victimization and offending (Baum, 2005;

Jennings et al., 2010; Mrug & Windle, 2010; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). Proposed mechanisms of such change are the desire to escape abusive situations (i.e., which prompt maltreated youth to run away or disengage from school and family relationships), increased affiliation with deviant peers, or the use of drugs or alcohol to numb the effects of victimization (Agnew et al., 2002; Bender, 2010). Others have found that offending generates a greater risk of victimization (e.g., Chen, 2009; DeLisi et al., 2009; Dobrin, 2001; Higgins et al., 2009; Katz et al., 2011; Nofziger, 2009; Taylor, 2008). Risk factors for juvenile victimization and offending often overlap (i.e., low self-control, risk-taking behaviors, and inadequate parental supervision; Reid & Sullivan, 2012), while other risk factors are more common for offenders such as living in disadvantaged neighborhoods and delinquent peer associations (Jennings et al., 2010; Smith & Ecob, 2007).

Dehumanization of Women. Although individuals of all gender identities can become victims of DST, the following discussion focuses on female-identified victims due to the overrepresentation of women and girls as victims of DST. It should be acknowledged that individuals with marginalized gender identities, including two-spirit, transgender, non-binary, gender non-conforming, and gender fluid, are overrepresented in the commercial sex industry and are more likely to experience DST victimization than their cisgender peers but are underrepresented in most research regarding sex trafficking (Tomasciewicz, 2018). As a result, the following discussion uses the term "women" inclusively with the caveat that most research referenced implies a cisgender female identity.

Like other minorities in the U.S. who have experienced a long history of inequality, women experience systemic misogyny and patriarchy (Johnson, 1995; Ortner, 2014; Walby et al., 2014). Women were granted the right to vote in 1920, the ability to serve in the U.S. military in 1944, protections for equal pay in 1963, and autonomy over their reproductive rights in 1973

that were federally overturned in 2022. The systemic devaluation of women present in IPV becomes more overt in DST, where women get referred to as "prey" (Gholson, 2001) and treated as a "product" to be managed and sold (Clawson et al., 2009; Reid, 2012; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002). Gholson (2001) discusses the relationship between pimps and prostitutes as "higher classed pimps wouldn't dare let his women become equal with him" (p. 27).

Pimp Mickey Royal (1998) refers to his book, *The Pimp Game: An Instructional Manual*, as a "modern-day guide [sic] parallel to *The Prince* by Machiavelli" (p. 97), and summarizes the bottom line of the game: "After you have broken her spirit, she has no sense of self-value. Now pimp, put a price tag on the item you have manufactured" (p. 65). The objectification of women surpasses their use as sexual objects to complete dehumanization as a product to be sold and resold. In response to reporting rape to their pimp, a prostitute once was told, "That wasn't rape. You were going to have sex with him anyway, right? He didn't rape you; he just robbed us. He got to have sex with you for free and didn't pay" (King, 2019, p. 134). Former sex trafficker Armand King (2019) discussed his stance on knowing that prostitutes in the game for more than a year experienced at least one rape: "I knew this before I would persuade a girl to sell her body, and I didn't really care... I was blinded by my own greed" (p. 135).

Intersections of Sex and Race. Where a woman's gender or sex may have granted her access and rights, her race may not have. Despite the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 and the 13th Amendment in the U.S. Constitution that outlawed enslavement, most southern states adopted "Jim Crow" laws to segregate Black and White individuals across all domains of life (e.g., work, restrooms, restaurants, stores, healthcare, sports, and parks) until the landmark Supreme Court ruling on *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 to end racial segregation in public schools. Civil rights leaders continued to fight for equality as the Supreme Court provided

federal protections for interracial marriages through *Loving v. Virginia* in 1958. *The Civil Rights Act of 1964* established equal employment opportunities for minorities in the workplace, enhanced by the introduction of Affirmative Action in 1978 to protect the representation of minorities in the workplace. *The Voting Rights Act* in 1965 finally gave African American women the right to vote alongside their White peers. The *Fair Housing Act* in 1968 sought to end housing discrimination based on race, commonly referred to as *red-lining*, in which mortgage insurers would refuse to insure homes to Black people or homes located too close to areas where Black people lived (Little, 2021). Although the U.S. elected the first biracial president, Barak Obama, in 2008 and reelected him in 2012, the nation still shows signs of systemic racism (Banaji et al., 2021). Public outrage over the shootings of unarmed Black men has increased over the past ten years following the murder of Trayvon Martin by George Zimmerman in 2012, igniting the #BlackLivesMatter movement (Day, 2015; Rickford, 2015). Since the fatal police shooting of unarmed Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, in 2014, the *Washington Post* began to track fatal police shootings and found Black and Latinx victims disproportionately represented from 2015 to date: 1,694 Black (41 per million) and 1,135 Latinx (29 per million) as compared to 3,201 White (16 per million) and 250 Other (5 per million) victims (Tate et al., 2022).

From the times when enslavers would rape or breed Black women (King, 2019) until now, Black women have experienced more severe discrimination than women of other races. Black women experience higher rates of intimate partner violence (40% compared to 31.5% for different races), 53.8% experience psychological abuse, 41.2% experience physical abuse, and they are 2.5 times more likely to be murdered by men than White females (National Center for Victims of Crime [NCVC], 2017). In comparison to the nicknames that are given to other races (e.g., "bunny," "snowflake"; King, 2019, p. 128), Black women are nicknamed with derogatory

names (e.g., "mud duck" or "duck"; King, 2019, p. 129). Black prostitutes tend to stay in the game the longest, possibly due to lower self-esteem and limited options, as many enter the game as a way out of generational poverty (King, 2019).

In the pimp and prostitute lifestyle, "race plus ethnicity equals value," meaning women with lighter skin are deemed more valuable and desirable than those with darker skin (King, 2019, p. 127). "There is not a trick or John out there that would not bite at the chance to be with a Barbie doll" (King, 2019, p. 127). According to former sex trafficker, Armand King (2019), the race and ethnicity of the women in a pimp's stable also reflected the status of the pimp; the more White or lighter skinned women, the more successful he is. Pimps may use techniques to detract from the darkness of a prostitute's skin or augment their lighter skin by purchasing wigs, instructing her to dye her hair lighter, or using lighter makeup (King, 2019). Often traffickers post ads of lighter-skinned women and claim they are White to charge a higher rate for their services (King, 2019). White or white-passing women also can evade detection by law enforcement easier than other races due to systemic racism and prejudice that draws unnecessary attention to minoritized races (King, 2019). For this reason, a White prostitute, commonly referred to as "snow bunny" or "snow" for short, may assist the pimp by renting hotel rooms, conducting banking transactions, buying property, and making other business arrangements (King, 2019, p. 128).

Women with Asian ancestry may be referred to as "chop," "China doll," or "Asian persuasion" (King, 2019, p. 128). They are valued second highest to White women because of their race's fetishization, reinforced by media representation as prostitutes or mail-order brides (Estocapio, 2020; King, 2019; Nemoto, 2006; Shimizu, 2007; Yakushko & Rajan, 2017; Zheng,

2016). The treatment received by Latinx women depends on how well they can pass for White, and some pimps may discriminate due to a stereotype for being hard to control (King, 2019).

The Influence of Music. Armand King, a former sex trafficker, states,

I would say that the first initial thoughts of women being lower than men come from public media… As a young black male growing up in the inner city, my friends and I were brainwashed to not respect women and to look at them as objects instead of fellow humans. From the music that we listened to, to how the older men in our community treated women, we were trained to not truly value women. (King, 2019, p. 152).

Some musical artists based their whole careers in the 1980s and 1990s on degrading women in their lyrics. Music like Dr. Dre and Snoop Dogg's *Bitches Ain't Shit* (1992) proclaims "bitches ain't shit but hoes and tricks":

We flip-flop and serve hoes like flap jacks

(But we don't love them hoes) Bitch, and it's like that

This is what you look for in a ho who got cash flow

You run up in them hoes and grab the cash

And get your dash on.

(Dr. Dre, 1992).

Songs like *Pimp The Ho* (Too $hort, 1988), *Somebody Gotta Do It (Pimpin' Ain't Easy!!!*; Ice-T, 1987) in the 1980s, to *Pimp Juice* (Nelly, 2002) and *P.I.M.P.* (50 Cent, 2003), and Kendrick Lamar's 2015 album *To Pimp a Butterfly* broadcast the glamours of pimping into the minds of youth that may not have had any exposure to it otherwise (King, 2019). N.W.A.'s 1991 anthem *One Less Bitch* states:

Thinkin' about money and lookin' at a prostitute

The bitch was cute, so now I had to execute

And shoot game like a real nigga

With a still trigga

Convince her to move up to somethin' bigga

I think I had a flashback though

'Cause I said, "fuck it."

Loped and Choked and Smoked to the ho' like this:

"Bitch, it's all about Dre

The money, money, money, and this all I gotta say"

Of course, she came with me

And remained with me

'Till the bitch felt lamed and ashamed to be

Workin' that trick shit

'Cause niggas knew that she was someone

(D.O.C. & Dr. Dre, 1991).

The emergence of *pimp rap* began with the decline of *gangster rap* as lyrics shifted from bragging about murder and drugs to bragging about money, cars, and clothes (King, 2019). The rapper Too $hort branded his entire image off of being a pimp beginning in the mid-1980s (King, 2019). Snoop Dogg, one of the world's most famous rappers, transitioned his music and his image from gangster to pimp; he began to dress like a pimp, talk like a pimp, and make appearances with women who appeared to be prostitutes (King, 2019). Further, *It's Hard Out Here for a Pimp* (DJay, 2005), won an Academy Award for Best Original Song in the feature

film *Hustle and Flow* (Oscars, 2005). For the masses, this music may have glamorized the life of the pimp, and for those engaging in DST perpetration, the music provided the soundtrack validating their behavior (King, 2019). Lyrics like "pimpin ain't easy and hoeing ain't hard" (Big Daddy Kane, 1989) are "echoed among pimps and from pimps to prostitutes" (King, 2019, p. 132).

Some may argue that the rappers and artists failed to realize the power of their lyrics to encourage illegal activity by their fans, even referencing that many do not engage in the behaviors they write or perform (King, 2019). Others argue that influencers have great personal responsibility for how their art impacts their audience, even for allegations of music labels colluding with criminal justice entities to produce music that promotes illegal activity to bolster mass incarceration (Madden & Carmichael, 2020; Younger, 2019). Still yet to be unequivocally proven or disproven, the topic sheds light on the correlation between an increase in mysic lyrics that highlight illegal activity and alarming rates of mass incarceration in the U.S., specifically of Black adult men. African Americans are five times more likely to be incarcerated than their White counterparts (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP], 2022). In 2014, African Americans accounted for 2.3 million (34%) of the total 6.8 million correctional population (NAACP, 2022).

Rap culture and pimp culture intersected as some rappers became pimps, and some pimps became rappers in the 2000s (King, 2019). Gaining notoriety as a rapper could increae quantity and quality of girls for exploitation (King, 2019). Celebrity rap artists Jay-Z and Ice-T have famously acknowledged their histories of pimping. Music written about illegal activity has been used as evidence against rappers and artists in legal issues, parental custody battles, and indictments, even when they claim they never engaged in those activities (King, 2019). The New

York State Senate recently passed a law permitting song lyrics to be used as evidence in court, prompting California to introduce its own law prohibiting this use of lyrics as evidence and the introduction of the *RAP Act* to the U.S. Congress (Langmaid, 2022). Former sex trafficker Armand King (2019) recalled, "In 2014, my childhood friend Brandon' Tiny Doo' Duncan was indicted under California Penal code 182.5 facing a life sentence with the only evidence being the lyrics in his album" (p. 91).

The Glamorization of the Pimp Identity

Pimping is regarded among many as high-status with the myriad of templates offered in media to suggest that this is a status-enhancing lifestyle. Pimps published instruction manuals such as *The Pimp Bible: The Sweet Science of Sin* (Gholson, 2001) and *The Pimp Game: An Instructional Manual* (Sharif, 1998), as well as braggadocious memoirs including *Pimpology: The 48 Laws of the Game* (Ivy & Hunter, 2007) and Iceberg Slim's (1987) *Pimp: The Story of My Life*. Without clear laws that target the exploiters to quell prostitution, pimps became known as the financially successful and admired members of communities:

> As a pimp, you've likely acquired a network of support, from the toughest thug in town to the luxury car dealership owner. The tough thug will give you street credit and protection, and the car dealer will give you a new car with no money down, job, or credit. These are the perks of a good reputation as a pimp. These reputations and perks will keep a pimp motivated to continue in the game. (King, 2019, p. 161).

Comedic genius Kat Williams built his career around his pimp persona, as depicted in his HBO special *Pimp Chronicles Pt. 1* (Binkow, 2006). The celebrity rapper Nelly's song *Pimp Juice* (2003) even inspired a mass-market energy drink by the same name that elicited boycotts

from organizations such as Project Islamic Hope, the National Alliance for Positive Action, and

the National Black Anti-Defamation League (D'Angelo, 2003).

Beginning in 1974, the Players Ball annually gathers pimps to celebrate pimp culture, as

documented in *Pimps Up, Ho's Down,* and *American Pimp*. The 47th Annual Players Ball took

place in San Diego, CA, hosted by Archbishop Don "Magic" Juan and featured a live

performance by Philthy Rich. Pimps contend for "Pimp of the Year" by showcasing their finest

attire and parading their "stable" for judging. Attendance at the Ball was cited in indictments

against convicted sex traffickers Charles Pipkins (the *United States of America. v. Gemayel*

Pipkins, 2021). Protesters of the Ball include the Coalition to End Child Prostitution and local

task forces regarding violence against women and at-risk youth with representatives such as

Brenda, a former prostitute, quoted as saying, "It's not glamorous. It's not cute. Enough is

enough. Stop glamorizing the abuse of women." (Briggs, 2005).

The Influence of Media. Pimps were generally represented as prosperous, happy,

intelligent, desired by women, and well-respected by their peers. Blaxploitation films like *The*

Mack (Campus, 1973), *Willie Dynamite* (Moses, 1973), and *Dolemite* (Martin, 1975) epitomized

the 70s pimp style and initially assigned the pimp role to Black men in the public conscience.

However, White female madams received representation in the award-winning *Gone with the*

Wind (Fleming, 1940) and notable *The Best Little Whorehouse in Texas* (Higgins, 1982), with

White male pimps depicted in films such as *Taxi Driver* (Scorsese, 1976) and *Risky Business*

(Brickman, 1983). Feature films continue to positively portray the pimp lifestyle with such

recent releases as *PIMP* (Crokos, 2018). A wide array of fictional television shows depict pimps

including A Pimp Named Slickback on the animated sitcom *The Boondocks* (Hudlin et al., 2005-

2014) voiced by Katt Williams.

The only movies with Black men portraying successful and respected leading roles throughout the 1970s were pimps. In *Trading Places* (Landis, 1983)*,* Eddie Murphy portrays a con artist who takes the bet of a billionaire to trade places. Although the films *Men in Black* (Sonnefield & Gray) and *Blade* (Norrington et al., 1998) offered audiences Black superheroes, neither were set in real-world settings as Will Smith battled aliens and Wesley Snipes slayed vampires. More unrealistic main characters played by Black actors include films such as *I, Robot* (Proyas, 2004) that involves stopping a robot insurrection, and *Hancock* (Berg, 2008) in which a demigod drunkenly and recklessly squanders his deity. No feature films portray a wealthy and well-respected Black man in realistic present-day society. Despite his widespread success, actor Idris Elba disclosed his frustration with rejection for the role of James Bond due to his race:

> You just get disheartened when you get people from a generational point of view going, 'It can't be.' And it turns out to be the color of my skin. And then if I get it and it didn't work, or it did work, would it be because of the color of my skin? That's difficult to put me into when I don't need to. (Collins, 2019).

It is no wonder that former sex trafficker Armand King (2019) recalls revering Goldie from *The Mack* (Campus, 1973) as a superhero for being a young, black man who came from poverty and became successful through learning the pimp game, loved his family, and provided for his mother. Media depicting real-life pimps began with the 1998 television documentary *Pimps Up, Ho's Down* (Owens & Gertten, 1999) which followed Ice-T and Don "Magic" Juan pimping in New York, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Las Vegas. Since then, other pimp-centered documentaries have been released, including *American Pimp* (Hughes & Hughes, 1999) and *Iceberg Slim: Portrait of a Pimp* (Hinojosa, 2013), as pimps seek next-level fame. Following the release of *Pimps Up, Ho's Down* (Owens & Gertten, 1999), King (2019) recalled young men

from his community beginning to experiment with the pimp lifestyle, watching his teenage friend's girlfriend make his first dollar from a trick.

Pimp Names. A parallel to the larger-than-life superhero quality of the pimp lifestyle, pimps also acquire nicknames they prefer to their legal names. Aliases allow criminals to attempt to evade detection by law enforcement and become second nature in some cultures, such as Black urban street culture, where nicknames are almost a requirement (King, 2019). Nicknames may incorporate a physical or personality attribute, situation, mode of conduct, or abbreviated version of an aspect of someone's name (King, 2019). Within some circles, the nickname is more prominent than a person's legal name, "I have close friends I've known for over ten years and have no clue what their real name is" (King, 2019, p. 76).

Adopting a nickname also affords individuals the autonomy to define their identity apart from one thrust on them by society, family, or other factors. Within the Black community, enslavers assigned names to enslaved persons (López, 2015), as depicted in the iconic scene with Kunta Kinte in *Roots: The Saga of an American Family* (Wolper, 1977) Part III. Black men in America who feel the impact of systemic racism may be drawn to a subversive culture in which they can claim their own unique identity without pressures to conform to unrealistic, non-inclusive standards. Some nicknames defy phonics using numbers or symbols instead of letters (e.g., Too $hort). This phenomenon has inspired comical reiterations and led to the development of a website to generate pimp names (https://pimp.name/pimp-name-generator/; see Figure 4).

Influence of Social Media. Pimp enterprises were historically considered covert activities, but as music and media offered legitimacy and glamor, pimps strutted into the daylight by publicly posting information, photos, videos, and transactions that caught everyone's attention, including law enforcement (King, 2019). The emergence of social media with personal

blogging sites like MySpace, Photobucket, and Flickr in the 2000s provided pimps with a platform to publicly broadcast their success. Pimps could post photos with cars they rented as if they owned them and flaunt bundles of cash with a large bill on the outside to suggest all of the bills were also that large to portray the illusion of success before they attained their desired accomplishments (King, 2019).

Appropriation of the Pimp Identity. Colloquially, the verb *pimp* was gradually appropriated by popular culture to refer to lifestyles characterized by extravagance. Television shows such as MTV's *Pimp My Ride* (Beresford-Redman & Hurvitz, 2004-2007), hosted by rapper Xzibit, depicted average individuals whose vehicles received an outrageous makeover to receive customized upgrades. Services aimed toward improvement or flashy customization have adopted the "pimp my…" verebiage. For example, pimpmytype.com advertises services to improve digital typography skills, pimpmydiabetes.com offers stylized medical devices, and pimpmyportfolio.us markets graphic design services for job seekers in the advertising field.

The appropriated term made its way into published journalism and court opinions. In 2001, Evel Knievel was referred to as a pimp in a photo caption by ESPN: "you're never too old to be a pimp" (*Knievel v. ESPN*, 393 F.3d 1068, 9th Cir. 2005). He sued ESPN for libel, but the ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a federal judge's dismissal of the suit in 2005. Judge Tashima was quoted to say the caption "was most likely intended as a compliment," indicated that pimp was a slang term for "cool," and suggested that any reasonable reader would consider the caption at minimum as "an attempt at humor" (*Knievel v. ESPN*, 393 F.3d 1068, 9th Cir. 2005).

Distorted Perceptions of the Exploitation of Victim(s)

Despite some of the apparant attractions to the pimp lifestyle, how DSTPs can justify and rationalize the day-to-day exploitation of real-life victims is less obvious. Gholson (2001) likened the role of the pimp to Al Capone in the way that he used people "but didn't misuse them" (p. 17). Many of the lies that pimps tell prostitutes during recruitment and exploitation, they also tell themselves (e.g., Verhoeven et al., 2015), such as the following examples from pimp Bilbo Gholson (2001):

- "Pimping was not my choice… You must realize it was God's choice. Someone had to pimp so that the whores and the prostitutes could have companionship, love, and happiness" (p. 1).

- "If she has sex to give away, she should give it to her pimp, manager, husband, and the surplus should be for sale" (p. 29).

- "Behind every good man is a good woman, so you see, there is a good side to pimping" (p. 181).

Exploitation Helps the Victim. Because of the common victim selection tactic to exploit a victim's vulnerability, perpetrators may convince themselves that sex trafficking solves the identified problem(s) for the victim. For example, DSTPs may offer shelter, clothing, and income for victims seeking to leave poverty despite entering enslavement. When victims experience loneliness, a pimp may provide companionship, albeit with strings attached (Gholson, 2001). When a DSTP espouses a negative and hopeless view of the victim, they can more easily conceive that victimization saves victims from an even worse existance: "The pimp brings out the best in the worst of women" (Gholson, 2001, p. 29).

A pimp grooming a prostitute knows that he's manipulating the girl and prides himself on how good of a manipulator he is. When you're in the mindset of preparing a girl for prostitution, you don't feel bad. You actually feel as if you are doing the right thing in most situations. You convince yourself you are saving her and yourself from a life of poverty. This lifestyle is the answer that will bring your American dream into reality. Yes, you are manipulating the girl into selling her body, but you don't feel as though you're lying to her. You just want to get her ready to get in the game so that she can see for herself that the vision that you have and the words that you are telling her are true. (King, 2019, p. 110).

Limited Options. For perpetrators who perceive few options in life other than crime, DST provides an alternative that focuses on sex and women, which may seem more appealing than other criminal avenues that incorporate drugs or violence. The 1980s and 1990s saw widespread drug problems that may have deterred some individuals from participating in the illicit drug industry. "Witnessing the effects of the drug firsthand from when I was only six years old deterred me from using or selling it" (King, 2019, p. 29). Without clear legislation to prosecute DST until 2000, pimping increased following the passage of four major anti-drug bills: the *Comprehensive Crime Control Act* (1984), the *Anti-Drug Abuse Act* (1986), the *Anti-Drug Abuse Amendment Act* (1988), and the *Crime Control Act* (1990). "Why worry about your life being taken away by a bullet or jail cell when you could party and have sex instead?" (King, 2019, p. 38).

Tactics used to entice victims to mirror the justifications enacted by the perpetrator, such as, "It doesn't make sense to keep giving away something good enough to sell" (Gholson, 2001, p. 29). Also, "A pimp will say things like, 'If you're already having all this sex for free, you

might as well get paid for it,' or, 'Smart girls use what they got to get what they want… Dumb girls just lay on their backs and get used'" (King, 2019, p. 65). Gholson (2001) explains that "a king pimp is the manager, producer and the director and the prostitute is the STAR… the tricks are her fans and they must pay admission fees before she performs" (p. 98). Some more financially motivated perpetrators viewed their role as business owners with employees and maintained boundaries, which typically enhanced their perception of their rank as high status (Stalans & Finn, 2019). By becoming known as good pimps, these perpetrators believed that they would attract higher quality workers (Horning et al., 2022).

Distorted Comparisons. To minimize the harm associated with sex trafficking, offenders compare their behavior with legal activities (e.g., "The average marriage is only a form of prostitution"; Gholson, 2001, p. 59) or other crimes they consider as more egregious, for example:

A real pimp will not be involved in anything other than the pandering of women... A pimp will not sell drugs on the side, rob a bank, car jack, fraudulently cash checks, or engage in any other crime for profit—other than pimping and pandering (King, 2019, p. 49).

Drug dealing is probably the most shunned illegal activity of the underworld to the pimp culture where I'm from" (King, 2019, p. 49).

Gholson (2001) dedicated a whole chapter in his book to "crimes that pimps do not commit" which focused on mostly murders perpetrated by individuals in well-regarded professions (e.g., medical professionals, religious officials, politicians). To say "pimping is not as bad as murder" or that exploiting adult women is better than prostituting children are common

tactics used to minimize the harm done by perpetrators of all types of crime (Brayley, et al., 2011).

Some offenders may acknowledge the nefarious nature of their activity but obfuscate their responsibility through intragroup comparisons. Of the 52 types of pimps Gholson (2001) identified (see Table 1), he singled out five types as the "worst", referencing the success of their pimp enterprising rather than the potential damage done to the victims. The pimp community hold certain expectations for one other: "To a real pimp or a traditional pimp that follows the unwritten rules of the game, prostituting minors is not acceptable or condoned" (King, 2019, p. 137). However, with the rise of technology, women's empowerment, and lack of "real pimp" mentors, adult female victims have become scarce, and pimps resort to coercing and manipulating minors (King, 2019, p. 139). Willful ignorance permits adults to refrain from checking identification to confirm someone's age; "pimps will ask for a girl's ID in a heartbeat" (King, 2019, p. 141). Some perpetrators are juveniles and may not be arrested until they become adults, which enhances their criminal charges (King, 2019).

Necessary Evil that Should be Decriminalized. Often referred to as the "oldest profession in the world," prostitution and commercial sex have existed for centuries, dating back to around 1800 B.C. (Ringdal, 2004). Modern-day advocates for the decriminalization of commercial sex sometimes rely on the same cognitive reasoning that the crime will always exist, so we may as well embrace it, similar to the rationale behind reversing alcohol prohibition and increasing the decriminalization of cannabis (Conant, 1996; Gholson, 2001). "Pimps and prostitutes are just two loving people trying desperately to make each other happy in this confusing world of selfishness" (Gholson, 2001, p. 96). Convicted sex traffickers discuss how the commercial sex industry is commonplace, even essential, but demonized by mainstream

society: "It takes an open-minded person to be able to fathom the life of a ho and pimp…The media has made the game look bad, just as they do with everything" (Mehlman-Orozco, 2020, p. 109). Some advocates argue that the decriminalization of commercial sex can free up law enforcement to focus on "more serious crimes" (Gholson, 2001, p. 191) and even prevent divorce, rape, and murder of prostitutes (Gholson, 2001). Former pimp Bilbo Gholson emphasizes the carnal nature of men with insatiable sexual appetites stating, "To take away sex from a man is like leaving a dog in a meat house and advising him not to eat the meat" (p. 197).

Summary

Offense-supportive cognitions that inform distorted views of the victim-perpetrator relationship develop from culturally conditioned anticonventional attitudes and behaviors, the glamorization of the pimp identity and lifestyle, and distorted perceptions of the victim(s). DSTP conceptualization that considers the ecological contextual factors provides a more robust interpretation of the espoused rationalizations and justifications. The thinking errors enacted to neutralize cognitive dissonance in light of the influences of culture and media, DSTPs develop skewed perceptions of their relationships to their victims.

The Victim-Perpetrator Relationship

Modern propaganda about sex trafficking portrays victims as beaten and shackled while perpetrators mostly use nonviolent coercion, fraud, and deception tactics to recruit and exploit victims (Geist, 2012; Reid, 2010, 2013, 2014; U.S. Congress, 2000b, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2008). A survey of convicted traffickers revealed that part of a sex trafficker's business strategy is to "convince or manipulate" others (Dank et al., 2014). Victim perceptions of their relationship with perpetrators range from overtly abusive (Karandikar & Prospero, 2010; Raphael et al., 2010) to illusions of consent (Marcus et al., 2014; Morselli & Savoie-Gargiso, 2014).

Victim responses to perpetrator tactics can inadvertently reinforce offense-supportive maladaptive cognitions. Based on offender interviews, the European Online Grooming Project (Webster et al., 2012) identified three types of responses by minor victims to offender overtures: (a) resilient, (b) risk-taking, and (c) vulnerable. Examples of risk-taking behaviors include (a) giving/sending out personal information; (b) using the internet and chat rooms frequently; (c) using the internet with a mobile phone; (d) communicating with individuals met online; (e) having a close online relationship; and, (f) engaging in sexual talk/behavior online (Bryce, 2010; Livingston & Haddon, 2009; Mitchell et al., 2007; Whittle et al., 2013).

Serie and colleagues (2017) used a grounded theory method to analyze interviews with 12 male adult subjects either convicted ($n = 10$) or awaiting trial ($n = 2$) for sex trafficking offenses. Perceptions of the victim-perpetrator relationship fell into four categories: a "helping relationship," an "emotional bond," an "agreement relationship," and a "controlling relationship" (Serie, 2017, p. 5). Although a small sample outside of the U.S. was utilized, this study provides some insight into the perceptions of victim-perpetrator relationships that may occur.

The Helping Relationship

Perpetrators may perceive their actions as helpful when they provide something that they believe the victim needs (e.g., deliverance from poverty, shelter, protection, and connections; Serie et al., 2017). Interviewed sex trafficking perpetrators identified themselves as skilled manipulators and heroes who rescued their victims from destitution and loved them (Mehlman-Orozco, 2020). They may recruit women already working in peripheral domains of the commercial sex industry (e.g., strip clubs, adult pornography) and attempt to persuade them why working for them instead would benefit them more (King, 2019).

When a Pimp is courting a girl, he will explain how he will be there to protect her. It is a

necessity that she must know how to operate correctly… Protection does not necessarily

have to be physical. Protection can include feelings; protection from outsiders' disrespect

or ridicule of a prostitute's chosen lifestyle. (King, 2019, p. 124).

For example, 27-year-old Carlos J. Curtis was sentenced to life in prison after being

found guilty of Sex Trafficking of Children, Transportation of Minors for Prostitution,

Transportation of a Person for Prostitution, and Possession of Child Pornography. Curtis and an

accomplice enticed a multiple homeless individuals as young as 12 years old into prostitution in

exchange for providing their basic needs including food, clothing, and shelter (*U.S. v Carlos

Curtis*, 2004).

Female perpetrators with histories of victimization can fall into the helper category as

they may extend advice to victims about how to be more successful (Brayley et al., 2011; Broad,

2015; Kiensat et al., 2014; Miccio-Fonseca, 2017). "If a girl is telling you how good she has it, it

is going to seem ten times more believable than coming from the pimp" (King, 2019, p. 106).

Former sex trafficker Armand King (2019) described a time when someone who worked at the

homeless shelter as a former prostitute would contact him when they "came across girls that had

potential of being turned out" (p. 104).

The Emotional Bond Relationship

Perpetrator may foster real, feigned, or one-sided relationships (e.g., friendship, intimate

or romantic relationship) with victims to leverage companionship or affection (Serie et al., 2017).

Interviews with 21 female and five male adolescents ages 14 to 18 explored peer adolescent

sexual exploitation (Anderson et al., 2014). Participants reported knowledge of both male and

female pimps, but mostly females approached by other female peers under the guise of

friendship (Anderson et al., 2014). Playing on the emotions of the victim affords DSTPs a socially-acceptable route for transferring blame and disregarding issues of consent (Mehlman-Orozco, 2020): "'Love' is a tool often used by the pimp to manipulate a woman into prostitution and to maintain her compliance" (King, 2019, p. 63).

> There is one reason that drives women to become prostitutes that does not usually drive men to become pimps: love… Oftentimes you will see a person remain a prostitute because she feels loved by her pimp. The desire to be loved is both the pathway into the lifestyle and the motivation to continue. (King, 2019, p. 63).

Intimate Partners

Intimate partner or dating relationships are frequently cited in the literature regarding perpetrator-victim relationships (Raphael et al., 2010; Reid, 2016a). The victim may already be infatuated, or in love with the perpetrator, and out of fear of losing him, she agrees to prostitution (King, 2019). Veteran female prostitutes have been known to sometimes pressure a romantic partner into prostitution (King, 2019).

The Counter-Trafficking Data Collaborative (CTDC, 2018) collected over 90,000 reports of adult sex trafficking worldwide, of which 17% were perpetrated by intimate partners. "I spent a lot of time with [Victim 2], took her on vacations, took her shopping...I had an ongoing relationship with her for over two years" (Mehlman-Orozco, 2017, p. 13). False proclamations of love were the most prominent strategy used by traffickers to recruit female victims by male perpetrators, as reported by 34.1% of the pimps and traffickers interviewed (Stalans & Finn, 2019). The perpetrator may flatter, flirt, or romance the victim, initially presenting themselves as empathetic and passionate romantic partners but switch to degradation and violence (Reid,

2016a; Reid et al., 2020). One perpetrator cited reading *The Art of Love* to better develop his skills to "control their mind" (Stalans & Finn, 2019, p. 4510).

Interviewed female adolescent victims did not necessarily identify their relationship as unhealthy with male perpetrators due to the perception of entering into a consensual relationship, unaware of the coercion and deception involved (Anderson et al., 2014). They cited potential benefits of pimping relationships, including receiving material possessions or "getting a lot of sex," but acknowledged possible consequences such as the potential for violence and difficulty leaving these relationships (Anderson et al., 2014, p. 116). Participants also indicated that the victim might have some say in whether or not to use condoms, with the knowledge that services rendered without a condom earn more (Anderson et al., 2014).

Family Relationships

DSTPs often seek out victims who are vulnerable due to a limited social support network (Clawson et al., 2009; Greene et al., 1999; Hammer et al., 2002; Kim, 2007; National Institute of Justice, 2007; Reid, 2014a, 2014b; Roe-Sepowitz, 2012; Smith et al., 2006; Tyler et al., 2004). For victims of parental abuse, abuse as discipline has already been normalized and can be further exploited by DST perpetrators (King, 2019). DSTPs then season or groom the victims in such a way that builds loyalty and trust (Smith, 2013), making victims feel as though they are part of a family, often referring to the sex trafficker as *Daddy* (Roe-Sepowitz, 2012; Shaw & Butler, 1998). When exploiters take on the role of Daddy, the innate power differential also makes accepting discipline easier (King, 2019).

> I love everything about a woman… she needs a pimp to guide her, love her, protect her… the pimp is the father she never had or the brother she misses, a hoe was put on earth to be pimped by a pimp, without him there's no her. (Mehlman-Orozco, 2017, p. 15).

Trauma Bond

A *trauma bond* develops through emotional dependence between two persons of unequal power within a relationship characterized by feelings of intense attachment, cognitive distortions, and behavioral strategies of both individuals intermingled with periodic abuse (Casassa et al., 2022; DeYoung & Lowry, 1992; Dutton & Painter, 1993a, 1993b) that paradoxically strengthens and maintains the bond (DeYoung & Lowry, 1992). *Stockholm Syndrome* is a specific trauma bond that occurs when the victim develops an affinity, affection, or love for their abuser and may attempt to protect the offender long after the abuse has ended (Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006; Jülich, 2005; Smith, 2013). Trauma expert Judith Herman (1997) defined the dynamics between an aggressor and a victim as "terror, intermittent reward, isolation, and enforced dependency may succeed in creating a submissive and compliant prisoner" (p. 83). Once the victim has been sufficiently trained into submission, they will continue to comply with the rules of their exploiter even once they leave their surveillance or control; the psychological and emotional shackles remain intact.

The presence of a trauma bond of any kind can reinforce the maladaptive perception of minimized harm or even the illusion of consent (Clawson & Goldblatt, 2007; Geist, 2012; Hardy et al., 2013; Hom & Woods, 2013; Reid, 2010, 2013; Smith et al., 2009a). Perpetrators intentionally manipulate situations to elicit a trauma bond with victims by exploiting vulnerabilities such as the need for love, protection, and family (Casassa et al., 2022; Contreras et al., 2017; Hardy et al., 2013; Parker & Skrmetti, 2012). Victim susceptibility to developing a trauma bond appears to correlate with prior experiences of abuse, neglect, or exploitation, predisposing them to a distorted view of love (Casassa et al., 2022). They prey on these women's vulnerabilities and attachment issues, pretending to offer love, safety, attention, and a better life,

and are skilled at making each woman feel special and unique (Raghavan & Doychak, 2015; Reid, 2016a):

> I [was] actually training, shaping, and molding their worldview and opinion...a cunning person is very capable of making the other person believe that she is in control, concealing their intentions until they lead the person to the edge of the cliff. (Mehlman-Orozco, 2017, p. 11).

DSTPs intentionally foster an emotional bond that they can threaten to take away as a means of manipulation (Casassa et al., 2021; Cecchet & Thoburn, 2014; Raghavan & Doychak, 2015; Reid, 2016a). DSTPs also tend to alternate episodes of affection and violence (Smith and Coloma, 2011), producing uncertainty and an intermittent schedule of reinforcement similar to what occurs in IPV, a pattern that has been considered the most challenging reinforcement pattern to extinguish (Dutton & Painter, 1993a; Myers & Dewall, 2016). By regularly adjusting how victims are treated, offenders foster apprehension and uncertainty that fosters dependence upon the DSTP (Dutton & Painter, 1993a, 1993b; Reid, 2010).

The Agreement Relationship

The agreement relationship describes an arrangement in which the perpetrator establishes a managerial role over the victim but the relationship is described as a partnership in which two equal parties are interested in financial profit (Serie et al., 2017). Former sex trafficker Armand King (2019) explained the dynamic shift among pimps and prostitutes: "Many are known to take percentages of the profit these days rather than the whole pie as before… Girls are more likely to leave a pimp who is too tough, so many pimps play nice to keep their money flowing" (p. 115). Gholson (2001) explains that a prostitute brings her pimp money "with joy" and "it could be very simple for her to take another route if that was her choice" (p. 26).

The Controlling Relationship

The controlling relationship describes the dynamic in which a victim is used as a commodity managed for supply upon demand (Serie et al., 2017). The perpetrator pairs emotional manipulation (e.g., promises of desirable actions/privileges/possessions, threats of undesirable action, or removal of privileges/possessions) with physical manipulation (e.g., physical affection, physical violence; Serie et al., 2017). Popular avenues for control include the exploitation of a victim's loyalty to their spiritual or religious beliefs or their desire for fame or fortune.

Spiritual or Religious Influence

The use of spiritual or religious beliefs to exert supernatural control over victims for immediate and eternal consequences tends to reflect eight themes (Chisolm, et al., 2022): (1) vulnerability factors (e.g., pre-existing cultural beliefs, other known vulnerability factors for sexual exploitation); (2) trafficker exploitation intention (i.e., misuses of oaths/rituals, attributing rituals to sexual exploitation, using established networks for recruiting, transporting, harboring, and abusing victims); (3) consent issues (i.e., power differential, use of deception, promised positive outcomes for now or after life); (4) powerful or frightening rituals (i.e., use of spiritual power as the impetus for sexually abusive and/or humiliating behavior); (5) use of control through ritual (i.e., swearing oaths, compliance is reinforced by spiritual network and family, victim may feel remotely controlled by an all-knowing ever-present deity); (6) victim impact (i.e., powerlessness, identity change, health consequences); (7) barriers to exit for victims (i.e., difficult to explain to helpers, feeling conflicted about leaving their spiritual community in order to escape exploitation); and, (8) successful escape from exploitation (i.e., finding alternative explanations for exploitative events, building trust in helpers outside of their spiritual

community). For victims who endorse specific religious beliefs, rituals may be perceived as a binding contract with violations having immediate consequences (e.g., death, bodily injury, physical illness, psychiatric illness, personal misfortune, harm to their family, being haunted) or eternal consequences for their soul and their descendants (Chisolm et al., 2022). In some cases, perpetrators used deceptive language to prevent victims from giving accurate informed consent before participating in exploitative rituals or felt pressured by familial religious zealousness to participate (Chisolm et al., 2022). Religious rituals transfer the power and control from the trafficker to the spiritual entity, which can be perceived as all-powerful, ever-present, and unlimited, all reinforced by the trafficker (Chisolm et al., 2022). Their religious community and family can apply additional pressure to comply with or without a complete understanding of the extent of the exploitation (Chisolm et al., 2022). Depending on the victim-perceived pervasiveness of the religious beliefs, the victim may not be aware of anyone who does not share this belief that would support or assist them in leaving the exploitative situation (Chisolm et al., 2022). Introducing spiritual beliefs into the discussion of exploitation can bias helpers in ways that may prevent the identification of exploitative practices or dissuade individuals from involvement due to discomfort, lack of understanding, or conflicting personal beliefs (Chisolm et al., 2022). Relevant examples include the following:

- Tony Alamo led a commune in Santa Clarita, CA where he preached polygamy and that consent and puberty were synonymous. He was convicted on ten federal counts of transporting minors that he considered as wives across state lines for sex in 2009, and was sentenced to 150 years in federal prison (Associated Press, 2017).

- Keith Raniere is the founder of NXIVM, a multi-level marketing company and cult based near Albany, New York. Raniere was convicted of racketeering on the charges

of sex trafficking, sexual exploitation of a child, attempted sex trafficking, identity theft, forced labor, conspiracy to alter records, conspiracy of sex trafficking, forced labor, racketeering, and wire fraud. Raniere was sentenced to 120 years in federal prison starting in January 2021 (No Author, 2019; No Author, 2020).

- Warren Jeffs, the former president of the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, a polygamist Mormon sect, was convicted of child sex charges and is currently serving a sentence of life plus 20 years, which awaiting trial for related other state and federal charges (BBC News, 2007; NPR, 2011).

Fame and Fortune

Celebrities may use their fame and fortune to recruit and exploit victims. Musical artists such as R. Kelly have been known to promise victims roles as backup singers and dancers, makeup artists, or public relations work (King, 2019). Victims may then be lured into situations where they were confined to hotel rooms, recording studios, tour buses, or other isolated areas with restricted access to technology, food, or restrooms, forced to follow specific rules (e.g., calling the perpetrator "Daddy"), and performing sex acts for them and their various guests on command (Cardona et al., 2022). Access to politically and financially powerful individuals was allegedly used by Jeffrey Epstein, who pled guilty to one count of procuring a minor for prostitution and was criminally indicted for sex trafficking conspiracy in 2008 but died by suicide while awaiting trial (Gajanan, 2019; Prokupecz et al., 2019; *United States of America v. Jeffrey Epstein*, 2008). However, his female co-defendant, Ghislain Maxwell, was convicted of sex trafficking and sentenced to 20 years in prison (Jackson, 2022).

Summary

The perceptions of the victim-perpetrator relationship can reinforce the DSTP's offense-supportive cognitions. By interpreting their exploitation as a means of helping, emotionally bonding, financially supporting, or leveraging the relationship, the perpetrator can neutralize any negative feelings about the harm they cause along the way. Carefully curating a dependency on the perpetrator, DSTPs can manufacture the illusion of consent and pass blame to the victim for remaining in an abusive situation.

Conclusion

The ways in which DSTPs permit themselves to engage in DST reflect complex mental gymnastics influenced by exposure to offense-supportive environments, media, and reinforcing experiences (e.g., Carpenter & Gates, 2015; Horning et al., 2022; Kiensat et al., 2014; Miccio-Fonseca, 2013). Faulty logic, judgment, and conscious and unconscious selective attention foster offense-supportive cognition and attitudes (e.g., Abel et al., 1989; Funkhouser & Barrett, 2016; Gneezy et al., 2015; Horning et al., 2022; Ó Ciardha & Ward, 2013; Sandberg, 2009; Scully & Marolla, 1984; Sengupta et al., 2020; Sykes & Matza, 2002; Topalli, 2005; Ward & Casey, 2010; Ward & Keenan, 1999; Wright & Schneider, 1999; Yochelson & Samenow, 1976). The systemic dehumanization of women, glamorization of the pimp identity, and biased self-comparisons develop and sustain distorted perceptions of the victim-perpetrator relationship (e.g., Dank et al., 2014; Geist, 2012; Karandikar & Prospero, 2010; Marcus et al., 2014; Morselli & Savoie-Gargiso, 2014; Raphael et al., 2010; Reid, 2010, 2013, 2014; Serie et al., 2017).

CHAPTER 5: TREATMENT PLANNING FOR DST PERPETRATORS

Because of the widespread impact of DST on victims, families, communities, and perpetrators, effective anti-trafficking efforts require multidisciplinary action (e.g., Administration for Children, Youth, and Families, 2013; Walker, 2013). Clinicians who work with this population need specialized education to understand the complexities that can complicate the clinical picture (e.g., substance use, trauma history, personality disorder traits, distrust of organized systems). Treatment planning for any client relies on the clinician having a firm grasp of the client's diagnosis and presenting concerns, sensitivity to diversity and contextual factors, stage of change, and applicable evidence-based treatments (APA, 2002; Gaudiano & Miller, 2013; Norcross et al., 2011; Norcross, & Wampold, 2011; Smith et al., 2011). Treating DST perpetrators requires identifying the motivations and use of offense-supportive rationalizations and justifications that influence DST perpetration. However, no empirically validated evidence-based treatments have yet been developed for DSTPs. By understanding typical dynamics involved in DST perpetration and common pathways to offending, clinicians can more accurately adapt current treatments until evidence-based treatments are developed. Depending on the unique conceptualization of the client, applicable treatments may derive from the sexual offender, batterers intervention, and substance abuse areas of research. Offender treatment tends to rely on multidisciplinary intervention due to the overlap between mental health, physical health, and public safety.

Multidisciplinary Interventions

Early intervention can prevent or mitigate some types of harm. Law enforcement, healthcare, education, and community members must work together to effectively prevent, education, and identify DST. Brayley and colleagues (2011) suggest interventions to increase

effort, increase risk, reduce benefit, remove provocations, and remove excuses for perpetrators

based on the three stages of the offense cycle: find, groom, and abuse (see Table 5).

Prevention

Current prevention efforts for DST are ineffective (Josenhans et al., 2019; Lanctôt et al.,

2019). Anti-trafficking prevention through awareness and education alone does not have

significant empirical support (Van der Laan et al., 2011). Most prevention efforts have attempted

to reduce the risk of victimization within vulnerable populations (e.g., Orme & Ross-Sheriff,

2015; Rafferty, 2013). Only recently have campaigns emerged to address buyer-focused issues,

but they still focus on trafficking myths rather than realistic representations of trafficking

(Gonzalez-Pons et al., 2020; Wolak et al., 2008). Perpetrator-focused prevention is lacking and

needs to identify and address the conditions that develop unmet needs and provide prosocial

adaptive responses through social services and programming. Former pimp Bilbo Gholson

advises, "If I had the opportunity to do it all over again, I would train my brain in a more

constructive direction… Please don't follow my path because it is a vile path to follow"

(Gholson, 2001, p. 206).

Learning the typical warning signs for exploitative attitudes and behaviors (e.g.,

grooming and other recruitment strategies, power and control tactics) can assist educators,

coaches, parents, and law enforcement in intervening early for youth (DHS, 2020; King, 2019).

Providing education directly to children and adolescents about the dangers of human sex

trafficking can also improve peer monitoring of risk behaviors (DHS; 2020). Identifying

problematic home situations, low self-worth, poverty, and abuse can assist with early

intervention for potential perpetrators (King, 2019). Increasing the visibility of legal pathways

out of poverty toward wealth, from vulnerability to empowerment, and from exploitation/abuse

to safety, young people have more options to follow than only the criminal pathways they see represented in their families, friend groups, and communities. "Young people must see examples of people that look like them, that come from similar backgrounds create revenue-generating businesses or becoming successful professionals" (King, 2019, p. 196).

Education

Perpetrators, community members, law enforcement, healthcare professionals, and society lack the necessary education about what constitutes domestic sex trafficking, how to identify it, and how it harms involved individuals, families, and communities. Without adequate education, myths and misinformation have the freedom to grow. "Trafficking myths appear to denigrate the victim, excuse the perpetrator, and obfuscate human trafficking" (Cunningham & Cromer, 2014, p. 237). The imagery depicted in the news about trafficking often promotes a narrow narrative of victimization that marginalizes non-conforming experiences (Uy, 2011). Representation, once again, matters. Utilizing survivor stories can help paint a more accurate picture of the complicated dynamics involved for both perpetrators and victims and elicit empathy and understanding for stakeholders (e.g., Love et al., 2018). Best said by the 18th-century slavery abolitionist William Wilberforce, "You may choose to look the other way, but you can never say again that you did not know" (Metaxas, 2007).

Local, state, and federal law enforcement and prosecutory bodies receive little to no specialized training regarding DST (e.g., victim interviewing, corroborating evidence, expert testimony, educating judges and juries about DST; Clawson & Dutch, 2008; Farrell et al., 2014). Mandated reporting statutes exist in all 50 states, the District of Columbia, American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2012), but less than 10% of mandated reporters received specific training

in Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking (DMST; Hartinger-Saunders et al., 2017). Almost 25% of the surveyed 577 mandated reporters in this study did not believe DMST occurred in their immediate communities, and 1 in 10 thought that sexual exploitation applies to young children but not adolescents (Hartinger-Saunders et al., 2017). Only a small minority of law enforcement personnel (4%) believed human trafficking was prevalent in their communities nearly a decade after the passage of TVPA (Farrell, 2009). Professionals who work with at-risk youth and crime victims (n = 289) in metropolitan (54.7%) and rural (46.3%) areas reported more experience with a suspected or confirmed victim of DST than professionals in micropolitan communities (29.8%; Cole & Sprang, 2015). Organizations such as End Child Prostitution and Trafficking International (ECPAT, 2006) have produced training literature to assist with educational efforts.

Accurate education can provoke empathy and action. Numerous studies have examined self-reported situational empathy, finding strong support for its positive association with prosocial behavior (e.g., Batson et al., 2007; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987; Honeyman et al., 2016). People who predominantly feel personal distress, an aversive feeling, in reaction to seeing a person in need may become more motivated to engage in social action to alleviate their distress (Batson, 1991). Piliavin and colleagues (1969) suggested that the decision to help or not help depends on three factors: arousal, perceived costs, and perceived rewards. Help is more likely to be given when a person decides that intervention involves low costs of helping and high costs of not helping (Piliavin et al., 1981). Greater perceptions of outcome efficacy are also associated with a higher willingness to engage in social action (Honeyman et al., 2016).

Identification

Accuracy and sensitivity of DST identification can improve in response to advances in education and training among community stakeholders to assist with the ability to contextualize

typical warning signs (Gonzalez-Pons et al., 2020; Polaris Project, 2022). For instance, medical professionals who received human trafficking training were significantly more likely to report sex trafficking as a significant local problem, encounter a sex trafficking victim in their medical practice, and report greater self-efficacy in identifying sex trafficking victims (Beck et al., 2015). Misidentification or attempts to intervene before a victim is ready to leave can backfire by strengthening the bond between the trafficker and the victim because most victims do not identify what is happening as trafficking, abuse, or harm (Polaris Project, 2022). Proximity and context allow for the most accurate identification and intervention, such as observations by individiduals in specific professional roles (e.g., teacher, truck drivers, and healthcare professionals; Varma et al., 2015).

Challenges to human trafficking victim identification exist across service sectors due in part to individual beliefs related to human trafficking (Cunningham & Cromer, 2014), complex legislation (Farrell & Pfeffer, 2014), media portrayals of human trafficking (Rodríguez-López, 2018; Uy, 2011), and lack of victim disclosures (Busch-Armendariz et al., 2016; Reid, 2010). Even the name is misleading, as "trafficking" suggests movement, but successful prosecution depends on proof of restriction of a person's autonomy (Farrell & Pfeffer, 2014). Victims rarely disclose their exploitation to law enforcement due to past criminalization (Farrell & Pfeffer, 2014) or reluctance to view themselves as victims (Busch-Armendariz et al., 2016; Reid, 2010). Common indicators of victimization included: (1) signs the person is being controlled; (2) signs the person does not have the freedom to leave a job or move; and (3) signs of physical abuse (Macy & Graham, 2012). However, emerging research suggests that these former best practices for identification may not be sufficient (Gerassi et al., 2021). One study found successful

identification most often occurred when agency leaders believed human trafficking existed in their communities and devoted resources to addressing the crime (Farrell, 2009).

The *Adult Human Trafficking Screening Tool* (AHTST; National Human Trafficking Training and Technical Assistance Center [NHTTAC], 2018) was developed for use in behavioral health, healthcare, social service, and public health settings. Yet to receive psychometric validation, the AHTST purports a survivor-centered, trauma-informed, and culturally appropriate approach founded on evidence-based practices using eight screening questions. The AHTST also includes a companion toolkit with guidance for training, administration, and response. Educating and training professionals across healthcare, education, and criminal justice fields to use appropriate screening instruments and reporting procedures can improve identification accuracy and effectiveness (Polaris Project, 2022).

Criminal Justice Response

Once identified, the criminal justice system initiates the legal investigation and potential prosecution for DSTPs, which may incorporate court-mandated psychological assessment and treatment (ATSA, 2014). Individuals exposed to the lifestyle and risks associated with sex trafficking often involve violence that may include posttraumatic stress reactions, which the criminal justice system can further exacerbate (Center for Court Innovation, 2015). Judges, jury members, and even the attorneys involved in sex trafficking cases often are unfamiliar with the psychological effects of exposure to prolonged trauma and interpersonal violence and can misconstrue a victim's submission to an abuser as consent or collaboration without perceiving the coercive and fraud tactics used to elicit victim compliance (Farrell et al., 2012; Reid, 2018). Due to the nuances of DST offenses for both offenders and victims, specialty courts or dockets, similar to those used for drug court and mental health court, can ensure the legal professionals

involved and practices implement best reflect the needs of the given situation (Center for Court Innovation, 2015; Crank, 2014; Liles et al., 2016; Marlowe et al., 2016; The National Child Traumatic Stress Newtork [NCTS], 2013; Office for Victims of Crime: Training and Technical Assistance Center [OVC], n.d.).

Trauma-informed courts can provide an environment and tone to best support individuals through particularly sensitive cases (OVC, n.d.). Jurisdictions interested in implementing trauma-informed courts can approach an individual courtroom or chief judicial officer of the jurisdiction and encourage stakeholders (e.g., attorneys, guardians, ad litem) to attend relevant cases (OVC, n.d.). Other environmental alterations can include foregoing the use of the judge's robe to reduce the visually noticeable power difference and to enhance the perception of humanity, having the judge step down to the same visual level as the victim to reduce the power differential, adjusting the light in the courtroom, encouraging staff to avoid use of personal fragrances, instructing janitorial staff to use fragrance-free cleaning products whenever possible, and provision of conveniences (e.g., facial tissues, water; OVC, n.d.).

Specialized courts to address specific problems have become more common over the past decade. The Conference of Chief Justices (CCJ) and the Conference of State Court Administrators (COSCA) identified problem-solving courts as a top priority in 2014 (Farley, 2014). Problem-solving courts were developed to ensure that the courts adhere to a model based on research and evidence-based best practices (National Center for State Courts, 2015). Each state sets its own requirements for involved stakeholders (e.g., judges, prosecutors, defense counsel, law enforcement officers, probation and parole officers, Child Protection Services or Department of Human Services staff members, treatment providers, and case managers), what types of qualifications they need, and which cases are referred. In smaller jurisdictions, courts

may implement a specialized docket rather than an entire specialized court (OVC, n.d.). Adult drug courts exist in 44 states, DUI/DWI courts in 16 states, and mental health courts in 20 states (Johnson, 2018). Resources developed by the National Center for State Courts (NCSC) and the Center for Court Innovation can assist state and regional courts to implement problem-solving courts effectively (Casey, 2007).

Human Trafficking Courts

The Office for Victims of Crime (n.d.) recommends Sex Trafficking specialty courts dictate the following: (1) specify who will be responsible for the identification and assessment of potential victims; (2) use trauma-informed courtroom protocols; (3) establish referrals to community-based services (e.g., counseling, housing, legal, substance use); (4) monitor judicial compliance to ensure regular updates; (5) collaborate with local task forces and service providers; and (6) evaluate the court, create performance monitoring indicators, and assess goal achievement of the court. Human trafficking courts are currently used to intervene with victim-defendant cases for sex trafficking (OVC, n.d.). Cases typically are identified by case type or arrest charge (e.g., prostitution-related charges, truancy, drug-related charges, shoplifting; Swaner et al., 2021). Bail hearings allow judges, prosecutors, and defense counsel to assess the person's connections to the community, living conditions, and financial situation, which may also indicate warning signs for DST victimization. Once a potentially eligible case is identified, research-based and gender-responsive screening instruments are used with victims to assess needs and program eligibility (OVC, n.d.).

Court procedures follow trauma-informed protocols to improve the subjective sense of safety for victim-defendants, especially for juveniles (e.g., Anderson et al., 2017). An essential part of human trafficking courts, as well as other problem-solving courts, is the incorporation of

mandated community-based services (e.g., counseling, housing, legal services, drug treatment) and compliance monitoring by the court (OVC, n.d.). Often community collaboration occurs in the form of a task force that facilitates communication and partnership with appropriate stakeholders. The court is tasked with establishing clear goals and realistic performance measures to monitor progress effectively, but these interventions are not nationally standardized.

For example, New York launched Human Trafficking Intervention Courts in September of 2013, which include 11 specialized courts across the state that aim to identify sex trafficking victims arrested for prostitution-related offenses and divert them as victims to court-mandated interventions (OVC, n.d.). They refer all misdemeanor prostitution or related charge cases to the Human Trafficking Intervention Court for evaluation by onsite staff for coordination of care for victims, including counseling and case management services (e.g., shelter, healthcare, immigration assistance, drug treatment, and psychotherapy; OVC, n.d.). The victim-defendant's charges then may be dismissed or reduced contingent on compliance with these court-mandated services and programs (OVC, n.d.).

Kulig and Butler (2019) identified 34 current trafficking-related courts across ten states that allowed victim-defendants who successfully complete court requirements to have their charges dismissed or expunged (e.g., Alvarez et al., n.d.; Luminais & Lovell, 2018; Superior Court of California, 2018) and court fines reduced or forgiven (e.g., Fishman, 2018). Not completing court requirements may result in probation (Read, 2016), a return to traditional court (e.g., Luminais & Lovell, 2018), or a plea deal for reduced charges (Hosseini, 2015).

Sex Trafficking Registry

Similar to the existing Dru Sjodin National Sex Offender Public Website (NSOPW; U.S. DOJ, n.d.), Brown (2011) suggested the development of a national registry of convicted sex

traffickers. The NSOPW (https://www.nsopw.gov) was established in 2005 and later renamed in

2006 in honor of Dru Sjodin, a 22-year-old college student in Grand Forks, North Dakota, who

was kidnapped and murdered by a sex offender registered in Minnesota (U.S. DOJ, n.d.). The

NSOPW links public state, and territorial and tribal sex offender registries in one database so

concerned community members can look up information about where sex offenders live, work,

and attend school (U.S. DOJ, n.d.). The companion free mobile application, available on the

Apple App Store and Google Play Store, allows users to search a geographic radius based on

their device location (U.S. DOJ, n.d.). The Office of Sex Offender Sentencing, Monitoring,

Apprehending, Registering, and Tracking (S.M.A.R.T.) manages sex offender supervision

(S.M.A.R.T., n.d.) whereas the FBI's National Sex Offender Registry is a law-enforcement-only

database maintained by the FBI's Criminal Justice Information Services Division (U.S. DOJ,

n.d.).

Behavioral Health Response

Effective intervention and rehabilitation efforts require an accurate assessment of the

problem and the development of evidence-based treatment practices. Currently, no risk

assessment or outcome-based measures have been validated for the DSTP population, and no

evidence-based treatment practices have yet been developed, likely due to the paucity of research

in the current literature that addresses the unique risk factors and treatment needs for DSTPs.

This paper offers an overview of how existing assessment and treatment approaches for

intersecting offenses (i.e., intimate partner violence, psychopathy, sexual offending) can inform

recommendations for future research.

Current Assessment Approaches

Psychological evaluations play different roles in forensic and correctional psychology depending on the stage of the legal process at the time of referral (e.g., pre-sentencing evaluations to assist with defense, risk assessments to inform sentencing, release, and community supervision decisions, and mandates regarding access to the internet, children, and change in protection orders once released; ATSA, 2014). Accuracy of the assessment findings can have lifetime consequences for the subject (see Desmaris et al., 2022). Evaluations can include measures that evaluate the risk of recidivism, the presence or severity of psychopathic traits, offense-supportive attitudes, and personality characteristics (see Doren, 2002). Robust batteries, regardless of offender type, typically include self-report qualitative and objective instruments, trained professional-rated measures, review of relevant records, detailed clinical interviews, collateral information, and clinical judgment (See Glancy et al., 2015; Rogers, 1995). Depending on the organization, state and federal laws that apply to the incident in question, and discipline with which the assessor is affiliated, there may be additional requirements. For example, the American Academy of Psychiatry and Law (AAPL) released practice guidelines for forensic assessment that outline entities from whom it may be helpful to obtain collateral information for criminal and civil evaluations (Glancy et al., 2015). Ultimately, each assessment instrument selected for a forensic battery must withstand a Daubert challenge (*Daubert v. Merrell Dow Pharmaceuticals*, 1993) in court, meaning that the scientific techniques used are reliable and generally accepted (Goodman-Delahunty, 1997). Please note additional considerations may apply for working with individuals with developmental disabilities, disabilities related to accessibility, or who may require a translator.

The general purpose of risk assessment is to estimate the degree to which it is likely for the offender to re-offend after discharge from supervision, inaceration, or treatment (e.g., Robins & Howarth, 2012). Risk assessment tools tend to include either unstructured clinical judgment (UCJ), actuarial risk assessment instruments (ARAI), or a combination of UCJ and ARAI, known as structured professional judgment (SPG; Boer, & Hart, 2009; Craig et al., 2008; Doren, 2004a, 2004b; Hanson, 2009; Hart & Boer, 2009). ARAI and SPG produce generally accurate risk approximations for sexual recidivism (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2009; Hanson & Thornton, 2000a). Currently available risk assessment measures may evaluate dynamic, static, or both types of risk factors. *Static risk factors* describe the non-changeable life factors (e.g., number of past offenses, number of past sexual partners, gender, and childhood experiences) that relate to the risk for recidivism. *Dynamic risk factors* involve changeable characteristics about the offender, which may be either: *stable*, referring to factors that are well-engrained and would require significant intervention to change (e.g., personality characteristics, skill deficits, learned behaviors); or *acute*, referring to risk factors that will naturally change with time or can be quickly altered through changes made to their environmental or intrapersonal circumstances.

As in any psychological evaluation, findings must be interpreted through the context of the subject's culture and the circumstances of the referral. Therefore, paying close attention to the validation and reliability of normative population demographics is particularly salient for forensic assessments (Glancy et al., 2015). Given the offender's motivations for completing the evaluation, forensic evaluations run a high risk of malingering, in which the subject intentionally produces false or exaggerated symptoms to obtain secondary gains (American Psychiatric Association, 2022). Some forensic assessors may differentiate between pure malingering (i.e., feigning a nonexistent disorder), partial malingering (i.e., genuine symptoms with conscious

gross exaggerations), or false imputation (i.e., genuine symptoms consciously attributed to unrelated causes; Rogers & Granacher, 2011). Available malingering measures (e.g., Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, 2nd Edition [MMPI-2; Butcher et al., 2001], Structured Interview of Reported Symptoms, 2nd Edition [SIRS-2; Rogers, 1992], Miller Forensic Assessment of Symptoms Test [M-FAST; Miller, 2001], Personality Assessment Invnetory [PAI; Morey, 1991], Test of Memory Malingering [TOMM; Tombaugh, 1996]) can assist with clinical judgment when attempting to determine the genuineness of symptoms when secondary gains may be possible (Glancy et al., 2015). Malingering assessment nuances and instrument selection exceed the scope of this paper, but extensive analysis of current measures and their uses with different populations can be found within the existing literature (e.g., DeRight & Carone, 2015; Detullio et al., 2019; Green & Rosenfeld, 2011; Gudmundsson et al., 2021; Hawes & Boccaccini, 2009; Jasinski et al., 2011; Nijdam-Jones & Rosenfeld, 2017).

Sexual Offender Assessment. Current sexual offender risk assessment incorporates sexual questionnaires to evaluate for deviant sexual interests and behaviors (Coric et al., 2005; Lanyon, 2001) and static and dynamic risk factors (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2009). Deviant sexual preferences and antisocial orientation are considered significant predictors of sexual recidivism (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2009). The Association for the Treatment and Prevention of Sexual Abuse (ATSA) published *Adult Practice Guidelines* (2014) which outlined the static and dynamic areas of risk necessary to include in a comprehensive sexual risk assessment: (1) Criminal history (e.g., prior arrests, convictions); (2) Victim–related variables (e.g., stranger, related); (3) Sexual deviance (e.g., sexual preoccupation); (4) Antisocial orientation (e.g., criminal attitudes); (5) Intimacy/relationship difficulties (e.g., unstable relationships, conflictual intimate relationships, deficits in social support, restricted social

interaction and involvement); and, (6) Self–regulation difficulties (e.g., hostility, substance abuse, impulsivity, access to victims).

Sexual recidivism risk substantially increases with the interaction of psychopathy and sexual deviance more than either factor alone, with moderate to large effect sizes (Hare, 2003; Harris et al., 2003; Hildebrand et al., 2004; Olver & Wong, 2006; Serin et al., 2001; Seto et al., 2004; Witt & Conroy, 2008). A survey of clinicians who conduct sexual risk assessments revealed that 80% consider the combination of the PCL-R score and sexual deviance in their conclusions about offender risk (Boccaccini et al., 2015). One study found that offenders with highly-rated psychopathy and sexual deviance scores were three times more likely to re-offend than other sexual offenders (Hawes et al., 2013). However, Harris and colleagues (2017) argued that original research on this phenomenon used instruments not commonly used in the field (e.g., plethysmography, visual reaction time; Harris et al., 2003; Looman et al., 2013; Rice & Harris, 1997) and replicated the study with the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL; Hare, 2003) in a sample of offenders ($N = 687$) following release from civil commitment assessment (M follow-up = 10.5 years; Harris et al., 2017). Post-release arrest data from the Texas Department of Public Safety (DPS) indicated a 7.0% ($n = 48$) sexual recidivism and 19.9% ($n = 137$) combined violent and sexual recidivism for release time ranging from 5.08 to 16.54 years ($M = 10.47$, $SD = 3.05$; Harris et al., 2017). "The odds of an offender with a prison sexual misconduct violation recidivating were 2.12 times greater than the odds of an offender without a prison sexual misconduct violation recidivating" ($p = .05$; Harris et al., 2017, p. 644).

One study surveyed 119 professional researchers, administrators, and community supervisors from the United States (88.2%), Canada (7.6%), and elsewhere (4.2%) who ranged in experience with a risk assessment from 6 months to 40 years ($M = 13.2$, $m = 12$, $SD = 9.3$ years;

Kelley et al., 2020). Participants predominantly worked in public-sector positions (31.9%) or in private practice (35.3%), mostly serving court-involved clientele (67.2%; probation or parole = 40.2%; prison setting = 31.1%; outpatient = 21.8%). When selecting risk assessment instruments, 51.3% respondents reported that they independently choose measures that change depending on the case, and 25.2% independently choose measures that do not change from case to case. Another 14.3% of participants indicated that their employer chooses the instruments but these may be negotiable depending on the case, whereas 3.4% said their employer's choice was not negotiable. Other participants responded that they choose the instruments but require approval from their employer and may change these from case to case (4.2%) or do not change depending on the case (1.7%). In the past year, 80.7% of respondents used the Static-99R (Hanson & Thornton, 2000b; Harris et al., 2003), 30.3% used the Static-2002R (Hanson et al., 2003), and 26.9% used the SVR-20 (Boer et al., 1997; Kanters et al., 2017; Rettenberger et al., 2011), with all other measures indicated below 20% of use in the last year. In assessing criminogenic needs in the past year, 50.4% indicated using the STABLE-2007 (Hanson et al., 2007a), 22.7% used the SVR-20 (Boer et al., 1997; Kanters et al., 2017; Rettenberger et al., 2011), and 21.0% said they did not use any measure of criminogenic needs. Practitioners appear adept at incorporating updated static risk assessment measures; almost three-quarters of the sample relayed implementing criminogenic needs measures, with more than half choosing an actuarial measure (Kelley et al., 2020).

A psychosexual evaluation, often completed in preparation for beginning treatment, is used to determine the following: (1) Level of risk for sexual and non–sexual recidivism; (2) Recommended interventions and level of care; (3) Specific dynamic risk factors or criminogenic needs to be targeted through interventions; (4) Amenability to interventions; (5) Responsivity

factors that may impact engagement in and response to interventions; and, (6) Strengths and protective factors (ATSA, 2014). Psychosexual evaluations cannot determine a person's guilt or innocence or whether or not they should be deemed legally as a sexual offender or sexual predator (ATSA, 2014). Psychosexual evaluations typically include a clinical interview, both general and sex-offense-specific assessments, and a review of the individual's offense-related factors (e.g., frequency, chronicity, and range of sexually abusive behaviors; the targets of the sex offenses; their account of the offense; the victim's account of the offense; potential motivators and disinhibitors; any previously undetected sexually abusive behaviors; ATSA, 2014).

Although prevalence of female and juvenile sexual offending is much lower in comparison to sexual offending by adult males, studies have shown that current measures for adult male sexual offenders can misinterpret female and juvenile offense recidivism risk (Cortoni, et al., 2009; Miccio-Fonseca & Rasmussen, 2015). The MEGA♪ is validated for both male and female juvenile sexual offenders (Miccio-Fonseca, 2009, 2010, 2016, 2017; Miccio-Fonseca & Rasmussen, 2015). Currently, no validated sexual recidivism risk measures for adult female sexual offenders were identified among the available literature.

IPV Perpetrator Assessment. Current instruments used to evaluate suspected or convicted perpetrators of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) include specialized risk assessment measures as well as those used to assess more broad psychological issues and substance abuse (see Table 6 and Table 7). A meta-analysis of 50 studies that investigated the predictive validity of risk assessment tools used for IPV yielded a significant medium effect (AUC = 0.647) for predictive accuracy (van der Put et al., 2019). Actuarial tools (AUC = 0.657) were found to have better discriminative accuracy than structured clinical tools (AUC = 0.580), which agrees with

previous research by Hanson and colleagues (2007a) that found lower predictive accuracy for structured clinical tools than actuarial tools. Additionally, tools designed explicitly for predicting domestic violence (AUC = 0.647) did not perform significantly better than risk assessments based on victim ratings (AUC = 0.637), tools designed for general/violent criminal recidivism (AUC = 0.638), and tools developed for screening psychopathology (AUC = 0.684; Hanson et al., 2007a).

Assessment of Psychopathy. The construct of psychopathy describes the attitudes and behaviors of an individual whose symptoms meet diagnostic criteria for antisocial personality disorder (ASPD) according to the latest edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Disorders (DSM)*, currently the *DSM-5-TR* (American Psychological Association [APA], 2022). A diagnosis of ASPD (APA, 2022) requires an individual to exhibit:

> A pervasive pattern of disregard for and violation of the rights of others since the age of 15 as demonstrated by at least three of the following: (1) repeated non-conforming to social norms regarding lawful behaviors that may lead to criminal arrest; (2) deceitfulness (e.g., lying, use of aliases, conning others); (3) impulsivity or poor future planning; (4) Irritability and aggressiveness demonstrated through recurrent physical altercations; (5) reckless disregard for personal safety and the safety of others; (6) consistent irresponsibility (e.g., frequent unemployment or inability to sustain obligations); and, (7) lack of remorse (e.g., demonstrating indifference or rationalization of the harm they caused another person; p. 748).

Current assessment practices use instruments that evaluate both static and dynamic traits (see Table 6 and Table 7). The PCL-R is, by far, the most commonly used measure of

psychopathic traits, especially in sex offender risk assessment cases (Boccaccini et al., 2017; Jackson & Hess, 2007; Neal & Grisso, 2014).

Assessment of Sex Trafficking Perpetrators. The only assessment instrument with valid and reliable normative data about sex traffickers is the MEGA♪ for juvenile sex traffickers (Miccio-Fonseca, 2009, 2013, 2016, 2017). No validated measures for adult perpetrators of sex trafficking have yet to appear in the literature. Despite this, convicted sex traffickers undergo risk assessment, psychosexual evaluations, and comprehensive psychological evaluations as part of statutory requirements as a registered sexual offender in 45 states (California Sex Offender Management Board, 2020; Horning et al., 2022; Shared Hope International, 2019). This means clinicians adapt other measures to fit this nuanced population without clear guidelines rooted in research.

Without tailored instruments, the application of peripherally related measures reduces the likelihood of accurate results, which can have implications for the offender's sentencing, supervision, and mandated treatment, in addition to the impact mismanagement of an offender can have on public safety. Specific instruments are needed to acknowledge the unique dynamics of DST perpetration as a conglomeration of power and control tactics, as seen in IPV, antisocial attitudes of psychopathy, and maladaptive views of sexuality. Effective instruments will likely incorporate static and dynamic risk factors and assess underlying motivational needs. They would benefit from the context of information collected through an extensive biopsychosocial clinical interview and collateral sources (e.g., criminal records, police reports, victim/witness statements).

Until valid and reliable risk assessment and outcome-based measures are developed for DSTPs, clinicians should exercise caution adapting existing measures to answer referral

questions pertaining to risk assessment and treatment needs or outcomes for DSTPs. Clinicians who receive such referrals have an ethical obligation to educate the referral source about and explicitly communicate in the report the limits of the findings due to the lack of access to appropriate psychometric instruments.

Current Treatment Approaches

Different treatment interventions have been proven to work for diverse populations, settings, and presenting symptoms (APA, 2002; Gaudiano & Miller, 2013; Norcross & Wampold, 2011). Selecting an unsuitable intervention can have adverse effects on the client and, in forensic situations, may increase community threats. Therefore much study has been dedicated to the efficacy of intervention selection and application regarding the client's stage of change (e.g., Norcross et al., 2011), resistance/reactance level (e.g., Beutler et al., 2011b), preferences (e.g., Swift et al., 2011), culture (e.g., Smith et al., 2009), coping style (e.g., Beutler et al., 2011a), expectations (e.g., Constantino et al., 2011), attachment style (e.g., Levy et al., 2011), and religion and spirituality (e.g., Worthington, et al., 2011).

Transtheoretical Model (TTM). Prochaska and DiClemente (1983) introduced a stage model to conceptualize how people change maladaptive behaviors: For any individual engaging in harmful behavior, they must transition from a place of denial (Pre-Contemplation) toward acknowledging the harm of their behaviors (Contemplation), identify options to change (Pre-Contemplation), take action (Action), and continue the behaviors that work for them (Maintenance). As long as the subjective benefits of DST outweigh the harm, perpetrators will persist. For DST perpetration, methods to assist individuals in moving through the Stages of Change (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1983; Prochaska & Norcross, 2001) include identification, education, and multidisciplinary response.

Pre-Contemplation. DSTPs may engage in denial and minimization of the negative consequences of their behaviors, made easier because of their more "managerial" role that somewhat removes them from the negative consequences of their actions (e.g., Kiensat et al., 2015; Lawson, 2001). "Pimp 'till you die," we used to say. At the time, I didn't realize how true that statement would be." (King, 2019, p. 119).

> Because the pimp doesn't face the same trauma that a prostitute might face, he has a greater chance of staying in the lifestyle. The longer he is in, the more the lifestyle takes over his character. All of the repeated, self-convincing mantras that he's repeated for years keep him going. (King, 2019, p. 160).

> Individuals who progress past the pre-contemplative stage of change tend to experience a realization of the maladaptive nature of their behaviors, commonly in response to a negative consequence (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1983; Prochaska & Norcross, 2001). DSTPs may begin to engage in change talk at low points (e.g., court involvement, incarceration, recent loss of a loved one, violent assault) or high points (e.g., the birth of a child; King, 2019). However, continuous loss and legal problems become normalized for individuals engaging in the commercial sex industry, often perceived as a badge of honor to increase credibility among peers or competitors (King, 2019). Often, individuals may experience a negative consequence for non-trafficking offenses, as Armand King recalls about a pimp he knew well: "Of the twenty times he was put in jail, none of those stints were for anything related to the game" (King, 2019, p. 185). Perpetrators also may go out of their way to deny or minimize negative consequences, especially in situations where they perceive their behavior as a method of survival without any other viable options (King, 2019).

Contemplation. Once someone acknowledges their behavior causes harm, they transition to the contemplative stage of change (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1983; Prochaska & Norcross, 2001). Acknowledging that the behavior may cause problems is not the same as committing to changing it. The task now involves identifying motives for change. Stalans and Finn (2019) noted that the emotional and moral content of participant self-narratives were integral to the reasoning for preparatory desisters to exit the illicit sex trade, fleeing the fast-paced lifestyle to seek stability and respect in conventional relationships (Buckert, 2018, p. 665). The maladaptive behaviors sought to meet an unmet need that may still exist, but in some cases the solution may feel worse than the initial problem (e.g., exchanging the fame and fast money of DST for a minimum wage full-time entry-level job has low appeal). By focusing on how the maladaptive behaviors are problematic, the individual may become more open to considering alternatives other than their offense to meet their unmet needs (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1983; Prochaska & Norcross, 2001).

Preparation. Once open to the idea of change, DSTPs may explore their options (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1983; Prochaska & Norcross, 2001). Individuals seeking wealth to escape poverty may find their skills translate well into sales or the acquisition of a trade (e.g., electrician, welding; King, 2019). The individuals seeking power and control may engage in entrepreneurial endeavors or other positions of management. Ways to provide safety may involve moving out of the city or state where they perpetrated marriage and children or becoming a confidential informant (CI) to aid law enforcement with the promise of their protection.

> I could honestly reflect on the mentality, experiences, and traits that I used in the game
> and realized not only was I skilled, but I had been in an intense training course on

business. There is not one university standing that could equate. A few of the main skills and traits a person in this subculture can acquire are the art of negotiation, relentless drive, marketing, communication, supply and demand, networking, and more. (King, 2019, p. 183).

If you can set up a Green Dot, Netspend, or Bitcoin account, you can set up a bank account. If you can edit photos for an escort ad, you can edit and create graphics for social media networking. If you can create an ad on Backpage, you can create an advertisement for a business. If you can manage multiple tricks or prostitutes throughout the day, schedule dates, and negotiate prices, you can run a full business. It's all about recognizing, understanding, and learning how to transfer what you already know into what you want to do. You have so much power already through your experience in the game. Let's start using it for the things that make your soul light up. (Lived Experience Expert Jaime Johnson in King, 2019, p. 184).

Action. Once a plan has been identified, the person takes action (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1983; Prochaska & Norcross, 2001). The specific actions taken vary depending on the underlying motivated toward offending: "Legitimate work is connected to masculine ideologies that allow individuals to attribute meanings that might foster persistence in illicit activities" (Bruckert, 2018, p. 665; see also Stalans & Finn, 2018). Thus, legitimate work in and of itself does not guarantee desistance (Campbell & Hansen, 2012). Opportunities that foster prosocial values through contributions to the community may facilitate transformations from a deviant to a prosocial core self (Buckert, 2018).

Maintenance. Once a lifestyle transformation occurs and begins to meet the perpetrator's needs successfully, they must actively engage in efforts to maintain their progress (Prochaska &

DiClemente, 1983; Prochaska & Norcross, 2001). This stage requires individuals to withstand societal and social pressures and overcome setbacks without relapse. To resist relying on previously defaulted maladaptive behaviors becomes particularly challenging when the individual encounters new unmet needs or the core unmet need that initially motivated them to offend becomes re-activated.

Relapse. Setbacks occur in all aspects of life, but particularly during change efforts. Setbacks can be perceived by the perpetrator as evidence that either: (1) the behavior was not problematic, to begin with, resulting in a return to the pre-contemplative stage; (2) disillusionment about their ability to change the maladaptive behavior, reflecting a transition to the contemplative stage; (3) the change effort was unsuccessful to meet the unmet need(s), moving back to the preparation stage; (4) their ways of implementing change efforts require improvement, returning to the action stage; or, (5) their change efforts have dwindled and need refocused attention and vigilance in the maintenance stage. Some legitimate work environments may continue to foster illicit sex work rather than prohibit it due to the prevalence of drugs and misogynistic cultures (e.g., entertainment, truck driving, construction, and corporate finance; Buckert, 2018). "All it takes to re-motivate a person to remain in the pimp and prostitute lifestyle is a 'good run,'" in which the lifestyle proves to be lucrative or successful (King, 2019, p. 160). The more successful the perpetrator finds the run, the longer the person is likely to continue in the lifestyle (King, 2019), as it further distances the perpetrator from the harm their behavior causes.

By using the Transtheoretical Model (TTM; Prochaska & DiClemente, 1983; Prochaska & Norcross, 2001) to conceptualize the Stage of Change in which a DSTP presents in treatment, clinicians can pair interventions accordingly (Norcross & Wampold, 2011). Interventions already

proven effective for intersecting offenses (e.g., intimate partner violence, psychopathy, sexual offending) may serve as a foundation for the development of specialized interventions for DSTPs in the future.

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV). The first structured approach to treating perpetrators of IPV was the Duluth Model, developed in the 1980s by a community of providers in Duluth, Minnesota. The Duluth Model uses a feminist psychoeducational approach to assist perpetrators in identifying and correcting the use of power and control tactics in intimate partner interactions (Bohall et al., 2016). Cognitive-behavioral treatment programs (CBTPs) often use Duluth Model materials (e.g., Power and Control wheels) while incorporating Cognitive Behavioral Treatment (CBT) elements (e.g., cognitive distortions, thought logs) to assist perpetrators with not only to identify maladaptive behaviors but to challenge the irrational thought patterns that support and elicit these behavioral responses. Treatment often occurs in a mandated arrangement, either outpatient or while in custody. The length of treatment can vary depending on the circumstances of the mandatory requirement, often guided by legal statutes. For example, Florida requires batterers' intervention programs to last no fewer than 29 weeks and must use a cognitive behavioral or psychoeducational model (Florida Senate, 2022).

A meta-analysis of 30 studies of batterer intervention treatment programs examined the variable associated with attrition and found that the strongest predictors of treatment completion were employment, age, and referral source (Jewell & Wormith, 2010). Another meta-analysis of 25 studies of recidivism among batterer intervention treatment programs with a total sample of 20,860 intervened batterers (Arce et al., 2020) found a positive, significant, and medium magnitude effect size, although not generalizable. Recidivism rates were almost twice as high in couples reports compared to official reports (Arce et al., 2020). The Duluth Model (Bohall et al.,

2016) and cognitive-behavioral treatment programs (CBTPs) both showed positive and significant effects but a larger effect size for CBTPs. In contrast, the Duluth Model interventions may have a negative impact (Arce et al., 2020). The length of the intervention program was also found to have positive effects (q_S= .257, $p < .01$); with shorter programs (i.e., 16 weeks or less) resulting in adverse effects and increased recidivism rates by 39.5%, whereas longer programs (i.e., more than 16 weeks) reduced recidivism rates without adverse effects (Arce et al., 2020).

Psychopathy. Prevalence rates for antisocial personality disorder (ASPD) is estimated around 50% among the criminal justice population (Glenn et al., 2013; Moran, 1999; Wilson, 2014). However, little research exists about evidence-based treatments for ASPD. The symptoms of ASPD create natural treatment resistance and barriers to developing a therapeutic alliance that may disqualify individuals with ASPD from involvement in research studies or treatment in general (e.g., Hilsenroth et al., 1998; Larochelle et al., 2010). Some treatment providers suggest individuals with ASPD do not respond to psychosocial intervention (e.g., Harris & Rice, 2006). Frances and Ross (2001) opined:

> The only effective treatment for Antisocial Personality Disorder appears to be the passage of time. Those individuals who do not get killed or kill themselves and survive into their 40s tend to mellow out and become less impulsive and predatory (p. 294).

However, a study of male offenders receiving mandated treatment in an inpatient forensic setting compared treatment outcomes for patients with PCL-R (Forth et al., 2003; Hare et al., 1990; Hare, 1991, 2003; Hart et al., 1995; Hawes et al., 2013) scores 26 or above as compared to PCL-R scores below 26 (Chakhssi et al., 2010). The group with the higher PCL-R scores ($n = 27$) included a statistically significant amount of patients with antisocial personality disorder ($n = 22$, 81.5%, $p < 0.01$) and narcissistic personality disorder ($n = 7$, 25.9%, $p < 0.01$) as

compared to the group with the lower PCL-R scores using a two-tailed χ^2 test. Using the BEST-Index (Reed et al., 2000) total score, no difference between the scores of psychopaths and nonpsychopaths were evident in the data as both groups saw their overall scores improve with treatment (Chakhssi et al., 2010).

Further research has shown the possibilities of treatment progress under the right conditions (e.g., Davidson et al., 2009; McKendrick et al., 2006; Skeem et al., 2002; Skeem et al., 2011). Preconditions to support effective treatment include: (1) a shared framework of rules and agreements; (2) an established agreement concerning limit crossing behaviors (e.g., aggression, substance use); (3) fostering a non-punitive climate; (4) well-organized streamlined processes; (4) preference for least restrictive settings dependent on limit-crossing behaviors; (5) efforts to prevent team fragmentation; (6) incorporation of the patient's social system; (7) safety protocols; and, (8) opportunities for clinician consultation and team coaching (van den Bosch et al., 2018). Treatment staff tend to be most effective when they: (1) have high competency levels regarding treatment, diagnosis, and co-morbid disorders; (2) blend in the client's language and presumed motives; (3) exhibit unprejudiced attitudes; (4) demonstrate the ability to be self-reflective; (5) are willing to connect with the target group; (6) stay alert for re-enactment of attachment trauma; (7) remain flexible and adaptable; (8) commit to coaching and supervision; (9) refrain from reducing the patient to the role of an offender or victim; (10) suspend their ego; and, (11) can engage with sufficient boundaries (van den Bosch et al., 2018). The therapy itself seems most effective when clinicians: (1) do not focus on the behavior, but its function within attachment style; (2) screen for comorbidity (e.g., substance use, formerly-Axis I disorders); (3) develop proper treatment plans; (4) use proper diagnostic instruments; (5) incorporate motivational techniques; (6) intentionally establish a sound therapeutic alliance; (7) deploy

frequent evaluations (van den Bosch et al., 2018). Finally, treatment appears contraindicated for clients with high PCL-R scores or who experience active psychotic symptoms (van den Bosch et al., 2018).

Therapeutic approaches that appear useful include Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT; Davidson et al., 2009; Landenberger & Lipsey, 2005; Lipsey et al., 2007), Solution-Focused Therapy (SFT; Franklin et al., 2011; Gingerich & Eisengart, 2000; Gingerich & Peterson, 2013); Dialectical Behavioral Therapy (DBT; Linehan, 1987; Panos et al., 2014); Mentalization Based Treatment (MBT; McGauley et al., 2011); Psychodynamic (Perry et al., 1999; Steinert et al., 2017); Person-Centered (Krstic et al., 2018; Neumann et al., 2015); and, other client-centered therapies (Society of Clinical Psychology, 2016; van den Bosch et al., 2018). In Salekin's (2002) meta-analysis of 42 studies regarding treatment benefits for individuals with psychopathy, treatment success was also delineated by treatment type: 68% for interventions that combined CBT and insight-oriented treatment; 62% for CBT; 59% for psychoanalytic therapy; and, 25% for therapeutic communities. A combination of individual and group psychotherapy proved more effective than either one alone (Morgan & Flora, 2002). Psychotropic interventions can augment psychotherapy in cases where symptoms of irritability or executive functioning interfere with treatment compliance, but may not be necessary (e.g., Duggan et al., 2008; Lester et al., 2022). Substance misuse can confuse the clinical picture as psychopathology can present as behavioral problems and vice versa, which can benefit from thorough and competent evaluation to inform treatment planning for consideration of dual-diagnosis treatment programs (Morgan et al., 2014; Morgan et al., 2020).

Criminal thinking styles and pro-criminal attitudes are not exclusive and are both relevant targets for treatment; reductions in proactive and reactive may be necessary to meaningfully

change perceptions about violence and attitudes supportive of future engagement in antisocial

behaviors (Lester et al., 2022). Treatment programs specifically designed to reduce criminal

thinking errors include RNR (Bonta & Andrews, 2007) and the GLM (Ward & Gannon, 2006).

However, patients with co-occurring disorders or severe and persistent mental illness (SPMI)

may benefit from the bioadaptive (BA) model that simultaneously targets psychiatric and

criminogenic needs using a more cognitive-behavioral approach (Morgan et al., 2018, 2020). The

Changing Lives and Changing Outcomes (*CLCO*; Morgan et al., 2018) curriculum was

developed for forensic inpatient or outpatient mental health settings delivered primarily through

a group format. The *Stepping Up, Stepping Out* (*SUSO*; Batastini et al., 2019; Batastini et al.,

2021) curriculum was developed for incarcerated individuals and can be administered as a self-

study if necessary. A study of 162 dual-diagnosed probationers investigated the change in

criminal thinking and criminal attitudes after completing a CLCO program (approximately 77

group sessions lasting 90 to 120 minutes each across nine therapeutic modules for 150 hours;

Lester et al., 2022). Lester and colleagues (2022) found notable reductions in reactive criminal

thinking (RCT) at higher rates (79.01%) than proactive criminal thinking (PCT), possibly due to

the more engrained cognitive processing involved in PCT that makes it resistant to change over

the course of 150 hours of treatment or to the content of CLCO curriculum (Lester et al., 2022).

However, RCT has been found to better predict future offenses than PCT (Walters, 2007;

Walters, 2017), so reductions in RCT may improve compliance with probation and the likelihood

of desistance from criminal behavior.

      Sexual Offenders. Evidence-based treatment modalities for sexual offenders vary

drastically in their statistical significance based on offender type (deBaca, 2015; Przybylski,

2015). A meta-analysis of 69 studies confirmed that recidivism rates reduced from 17.5% for

untreated sex offenders to 11.1% for sex offenders who received treatment (Lösel & Schmucker, 2005). When specific modalities were applied, cognitive-behavioral/relapse prevention, behavioral therapy, and hormonal medication reduced recidivism rates from 31.8% to 10.9% (Hanson et al., 2009a). However, inaccurate treatment assignments can increase the risk of recidivism. Using the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) principle, low-risk sex offenders given intensive treatment were 21% more likely to re-offend than low-risk sex offenders who were not given intensive treatment (Lovins et al., 2009).

The risk-need-responsivity (RNR) principle (Bonta & Andrews, 2007, 2017) evaluates recidivism risk for sexual offenders based on the level of each individual's *risk*, their criminogenic *needs* that likely influenced their perpetration of the index offense(s), and their *responsiveness* to treatment. Bonta and Andrews (2017) suggest practitioners that use the RNR principle assess individuals for the *Central Eight* criminogenic needs: (1) criminal history; (2) pro-criminal attitudes; (3) pro-criminal associates; (4) antisocial personality pattern; (5) family/marital distress; (6) school or occupational distress; (7) substance abuse; and, (8) insufficient or inappropriate leisure or recreation. Emerging research has begun to apply this model to assessing and treating IPV perpetrators (Hilton & Radatz, 2021). The RNR model is considered the most influential for offender assessment and treatment (Bonta & Andrews, 2007).

The Good Lives Model (GLM; Ward et al., 2007; Ward & Stewart, 2003; Willis et al., 2014) was developed as a strengths-based approach to reducing recidivism risk for sexual offenders. In this model, the individual's personal values and goals are used as motivations for prosocial living. Treatment then equips the individual with the skills to obtain *primary goods* positively, thereby reducing the urge to re-offend. Direct goods have been described as "activities, experiences, and situations that are sought for their own sake and that benefit the

individuals and increase their sense of fulfillment and happiness" (Barnao et al., 2016).

Specifically, researchers recognize at least 11 primary goods: (1) life (e.g., healthy living); (2)

knowledge; (3) excellence in play; (4) excellence in work; (5) agency (i.e., autonomy and self-

directedness); (6) inner peace (i.e., freedom from emotional turmoil and stress); (7) interpersonal

closeness (e.g., friendships, romantic or intimate relationships, family); (8) community

connections; (9) spirituality; (10) happiness; and (11) creativity (Barnao et al., 2016; Purvis,

2010; Ward & Gannon, 2006).

DST Perpetrator Treatment. Mandated treatment for DST perpetrators must address

not only the maladaptive behaviors but also the underlying unmet needs and maladaptive

thinking patterns that support the offense. By assessing for core motivations, treatment providers

can improve their conceptualization of the individual's treatment needs. Individuals motivated to

escape poverty and seek wealth may benefit from practical interventions (e.g., housing, food,

clothing, job search activities) and psychological interventions to address the impact of poverty

on their sense of self. Individuals motivated to dominate to avoid domination may benefit from

empowerment and distress tolerance interventions. Individuals motivated to exploit others as a

means of preventing or escaping their own exploitation require trauma-informed and culturally-

responsive interventions to address the experienced or threatened abuse (Rollins et al., 2017).

Overarching treatment concerns include the psychological, social, and relational impact

of engaging in criminal behavior, involvement in environments that support that behavior, and

exposure to violence. Perpetrators may benefit from cognitive interventions to address criminal

thinking errors, motivating self-deception and demoralization that develop antisocial attitudes.

They may also require interpersonal interventions to establish healthy relationships and re-orient

their views of healthy sexuality.

Psychopathic offenders possess a unique set of interpersonal, affective, and lifestyle characteristics (e.g., superficial charm, shallow affect, lack of empathy, manipulativeness, and parasitic behaviors; Hare, 1991, 2003) that indicate they are especially well suited to engage in DST perpetration. A database of approximately 1200 adult males convicted of offenses related to financially profiting from the illicit sex trade across three Correctional Service of Canada prisons in British Columbia between 1960 and 1998 (Spidel et al., 2007). The researchers identified 22 participants with documented data (i.e., criminal records, risk assessments, court transcripts, parole reports, and witness impact statements) capable of scoring with the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R; Hare, 1991) to assess for correlated factors of interpersonal, affective, lifestyle, and antisocial dysfunction reflective of psychopathy. The research team used the Spearman-Brown intraclass correlation coefficient of reliability for a single rating, and the average of two independent ratings was 0.97 and 0.98, respectively. The sample was divided into High (H; $n = 8$), Medium (M; $n = 10$), and Low (L; $n = 4$) groups, using the recommended cut-score of 30 for the High group and 20 for the Low group (see Hare, 1991, 2003). The mean age at the initiation of pimping behaviors was 28.3 ($SD = 6.7$), with an average education of about 9th grade ($M = 9.3$, $SD = 2.5$), although most (50%) completed high school or their GED and 40.9% only completed elementary school. Of the 22 individuals, 21 (95.5%) endorsed a history of polysubstance use, and 40.9% reported previous psychiatric diagnoses, with 31.8% indicating a history of personality disorder diagnoses. More than one-third (40.9%) had previous violent offense convictions, mostly for victims identified as strangers (36.4%). Scores of the 22 pimps were substantially higher than the normative sample as described in the 2nd Edition of the PCL-R Manual (Hare, 2003), as 36% of the study sample (as compared to 20% in the normative sample)

exhibit psychopathic traits. Spidel et al. (2007) suggest the psychopathic tendencies of pimps should be a primary focus of assessment and treatment.

Female Perpetrators. Females comprise less than 10% of sexually abusive youth (Finkelhor et al., 2009; Miccio-Fonseca, 2017), and female adults account for approximately 5% of sexual offenses (Cortoni et al., 2009). Of 43,018 reported incidents with a female sexual offender, 61.9% (n = 26,630) operated alone, 32.5% (n = 13,986) had a male co-offender, and 5.6% (n = 2,402) involved female co-offenders (Williams & Brierie, 2015). Female perpetration reflects gender-specific pathways (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2013; Gannon et al., 2008; Gannon et al., 2013). Results from the PAI, TSI, and Static-99 for 90 convicted incarcerated female sexual offenders revealed offender subtypes were differentiated by psychopathology rather than offense history with three main areas: 25% experienced sexual abuse in adulthood, 69% reported past sexual abuse, and 33% (n = 30) with significant substance abuse issues (Turner et al., 2008). Compared to their male counterparts, female sexual offenders demonstrate less antisocial features and lifestyles (e.g., Wijkman et al., 2010; Wijkman & Kleemans, 2019). In a study of 60 adult female sexual offenders, 41.67% (n = 25) met criteria for a DSM-IV Axis I disorder: substance-related disorder (18%, n = 11), mood disorder (8%, n = 5), PTSD (8%, n = 5), and paraphilia (6%, n = 4); and 48% (n = 29) for a DSM-IV personality disorder: dependent personality (30%, n = 19), borderline personality (28%, n = 17), avoidant personality (12%, n = 7), and antisocial personality (8%, n = 5; Muskens et al., 2011). Therefore, female sexual offenders may benefit the most from addressing the underlying psychopathological underpinnings of their DST offenses.

Women convicted of contact sexual offenses reoffended at a rate of 1.58% (22 out of 1,387; Cortoni et al., 2009). In contrast, women convicted of promoting prostitution of a minor

have a 12.66% (10 out of 79) recidivism rate, all for new charges of promoting prostitution of a minor (Sandler & Freeman, 2009). Cortoni, Hanson, and Coache (2009) further investigated the differences between traditional female sexual offenders and female offenders convicted of promoting prostitution offenses. After an average follow-up period of 2.6 years (SD = 1.7), 18.1% (*n* = 17) reoffended, none of which were for sexual offenses (Cortoni et al., 2009). The women convicted for promoting prostitution of a minor group were rearrested for a nonsexual offense at a significantly higher rate than the group who had committed more traditional sexual offenses (50% vs. 16%, respectively; Cortoni et al., 2009). Thus, females whose sole sexual offense was promoting prostitution tend to recidivate more frequently than females convicted of more traditional sexual offenses.

In a study of 43 adult females incarcerated due to sexual offense convictions, 49% reported poor attachment to their primary caregiver, and 51% indicated parental rejection and neglect during childhood (Elliott & Vollm, 2018). Childhood emotional, physical, or sexual abuse was reported by 67% of the sample, and 42% indicated childhood sexual abuse history (Elliott & Vollm, 2018). Personal identity concerns included 86% of participants reporting social isolation, 81% with low self-esteem, 79% with low confidence, and 63% with low assertiveness (Elliott & Vollm, 2018). Interpersonal problems were reported by 74% of the sample having previous exploitative and abusive relationships and 49% with a history of unstable prior relationships; 74% reported relationship problems, and 74% also reported possessive and violent partners (Elliott & Vollm, 2018). Emotional regulation problems were reflected by 49% of participants who reported problems dealing with negative emotions and 42% having been prescribed an antidepressant at the time of their offense (Elliott & Vollm, 2018).

Juvenile Perpetrators. Juvenile DSTPs are likely predatory in ways that differ from juvenile sexual abusers that target convenient victims (e.g., siblings, relatives, friends; Miccio-Fonseca, 2017). The emerging clinical picture of the youthful sex trafficker, regardless of gender, are they likely present with a more antisocial history than other sexually abusive youth (Miccio-Fonseca, 2017). The MEGA♪ cross-validation study for youth ages 4 to 19 years (N= 1056) found that 68% of the sample had behavioral problems in school and 23% had two or more disciplinary actions in the last year (Miccio-Fonseca, 2013), as we well as more significant histories of antisocial behaviors than sexual misconduct (Miccio-Fonseca, 2017). Youth who are sexually violent and predatory often have a history of physically aggressive behaviors that progressively become more serious and injurious to others (Miccio-Fonseca & Rasmussen, 2009, 2015).

Until evidence-based treatment practices are developed, clinicians can adapt approaches found effective for intersecting offenses (i.e., intimate partner violence, psychopathy, sexual offending). As in all behavioral healthcare treatment, interventions should incorporate considerations for the intersectional identities of the patient, context of treatment, and the referral question.

Conclusion

Domestic sex trafficking is too large of a problem for any one discipline to address alone. Collaboration between criminal justice and behavioral health disciplines with prevention, education, and identification interventions can re-focus anti-trafficking efforts toward perpetrators and alleviate the burden placed on victims. The assessment and treatment of domestic sex trafficking perpetrators currently relies on adapting adjacent instruments and

interventions due to a lack of validated instruments and evidence-based practices designed

specifically for DSTPs. Former sex trafficker Armand King suggests:

> Rather than arrest, bring resources.
>
> Rather than indictments, bring opportunities.
>
> Rather than awareness, bring quality action.
>
> Rather than focusing on problems, let's focus on solutions.
>
> Rather than feeding prisons, invest in building better education systems.
>
> Do this, and in time you will see an end to human sex trafficking in the inner city!
>
> (King, 2019, p. 180).

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

Domestic sex trafficking involves using force, fraud, or coercion of adult victims for commercial sex (U.S. Congress, 2000b). Convicted perpetrators of sex trafficking are required in 45 U.S. states to register as sexual offenders (California Sex Offender Management Board, 2020; Horning et al., 2022; Shared Hope International, 2019). Currently, no validated risk assessment measures or evidence-based treatments exist for adult perpetrators of DST. Clinicians and courts rely on adaptations of assessments and treatments for offenders with sexual offenses or violence. However, the dynamics of DST reflect a convergence of the power and control tactics used in IPV, antisocial attitudes and behaviors common to psychopathy often seen in organized criminal offending, and maladaptive sexual behaviors found among sexual offenders.

This paper sought to examine the current literature from the framework of The Four Preconditions Model (Finkelhor, 1984; Finkelhor et al., 2016) regarding the following research questions: (1) What motivates individuals to perpetrate Domestic Sex Trafficking? (2) How do individuals justify and rationalize the perpetration of Domestic Sex Trafficking? (3) What needs to be included in treatment planning for perpetrators of Domestic Sex Trafficking? Identified underlying motivations, deployed justifications and rationalizations, and treatment needs identified in the current literature can serve as the foundation for the future development of risk assessment instruments and evidence-based treatments that genuinely reflect the experiences of unique DSTP experience.

Motivations for DST Perpetration

The initial stage of The Four Preconditions Model (Finkelhor, 1984; Finkelhor et al., 2016) for sexual offenders requires the identification of unmet needs that serve as the motivation for engaging in sexual misconduct or abuse. While every individual is different, perpetrators of

DST appear to generally express unmet needs across three categories: money, power and control, and safety.

Money provides for daily life's basic needs and garners respect among peers and communities (Horning et al., 2019; Raphael, 2019; Stalans & Finn, 2019). DSTPs seeking to escape poverty also may lack awareness of or access to prosocial avenues for economic success (Payne, 2005). Systemic racism and generational poverty can elicit the belief that legitimate employment will not suffice (King, 2019). The only subjectively assessed accessible path is by pursuing as much money as possible, increasing their risk for involvement in financially-motivated criminal endeavors. For individuals personally impacted by the detrimental effects of drugs and violence, DST offers a "nonviolent" alternative (King, 2019). The long history of minimal law enforcement attention to DST and the lack of formal legislation targeting DST perpetration enabled this type of crime with minimal consequences (Bouché et al., 2016; Farrell et al., 2012).

Individuals with marginalized identities learn from an early age that they have little or no control over their life and no power to change their circumstances (Wacquant, 2008). DST perpetration affords marginalized people opportunities to exert power and control over others to gain a sense of autonomy and significance (Chisolm et al., 2022). The innate desire for purpose and meaning gave birth to humanistic psychology (May, 1961) but becomes stunted through phenomena such as systemic racism, generational poverty, and learned helplessness. As the helplessness becomes intolerable, DSTPs identify vulnerabilities within victims that they can exploit to groom the victim for commercial sex.

Some perpetrators transitioned into the perpetrator role as a means of escape from their victimization or abuse (Cortoni et al., 2009; Cortoni et al., 2015; Raphael & Myers-Powell,

2010). Sex trafficking as a "family business" normalizes this behavior, introduces exploitation and detection-evasive tactics, and fosters connections within criminal networks for new generations (CTDC, 2016; Raphael, 2019; Sprang & Cole, 2018). Peer groups (e.g., friendships, gangs) may enforce expectations of DST perpetration with threats of violence or rejection (Grundy, 2011; Landman, 2014). As a result, juveniles may recruit peers as victims to distract attention away from themselves or to comply with expectations for perpetration (Brayley et al., 2011; Kiensat et al., 2015). Current victims may seek a promotion to the trafficker role through recruitment and facilitation of exploitation of others (e.g., bottom; Broad, 2015; Kiensat et al., 2014).

Core unmet needs identified in the current literature reflect systemic discrimination and oppression of certain groups (e.g., race and ethnicity, age, gender, socioeconomic status, and education). As communities plagued with crime continue to lack resources and education, unmet needs will continue to foster desperate and deviant attempts to satisfy basic needs of provision, purpose, and safety. Aware of this problem, non-profit organizations such as Paving Great Futures (n.d.) attempt to address health and resource disparities in underserved communities.

Justification and Rationalization for DST Perpetration

Once motivated by an unmet need, DSTPs progress through a process of overcoming internal obstacles (e.g., values, beliefs, morals; Finkelhor, 1984; Finkelhor et al., 2016) through engaging in justification and rationalization. Current research reflects three processes that describe this portion of the offense pathway: offenders may develop criminal thinking errors, engage in motivated self-deception, or cultivate moral disengagement. Depending on the unmet need that motivates the offense pathway, DSTPs may employ multiple cognitive and attitudinal

shifts to support offense behaviors as reflected in their perception of the victim-perpetrator relationship and determine the use of power and control tactics.

Perpetrators of DST develop cognitive thinking errors by interpreting situations through a lens of faulty or impaired logic. Research related to sexual offense pathways considers the influence of deviant interests (e.g., Abel et al., 1984; Abel et al., 1989), maladaptive schemas (e.g., Implicit Theory Model; Marziano et al., 2006; Ward, 2000), and environmental factors (e.g., Extended Mind Theory; Clark & Chalmers, 1998) that influence distorted perceptions to yield offense-supportive cognitions (see Table 3; Yochelson & Samenow, 1976). The longer the individual engages in cognitive thinking errors, the more entrenched they become.

In addition to illogical reasoning, DSTPs may consciously or unconsciously restrict their attention to stimuli that support their offense-supportive thoughts and attitudes through motivated self-deception (Baumeister, 1996; Gneezy et al., 2015; Wright & Schneider, 1999). This process may influence the DSTPs' participation in activities, settings, and populations that may provide offense-supportive stimuli and avoid situations in which their self-deception may be challenged. Their engagement in motivated self-deception may fluctuate depending on the setting and circumstances, including adopting perspectives espoused by their immediate influences (e.g., peers, family, culture). Attempts to discredit maladaptive logic would be ignored or rationalized to protect the offense-supportive cognitions.

Moral disengagement is founded in social learning theory (Bandura, 1986) and incorporates both self-serving cognitive distortions (e.g., Barriga and Gibbs, 1996; Gibbs et al., 1995) and neutralization techniques (Sykes & Matza, 2002). This combination explains how DSTPs can engage in both conscious and unconscious alterations in thinking patterns that then

influence how they perceive and engage with situations that may support or challenge their offense trajectory.

The cognitive thinking errors, motivating self-deception, and moral disengagement processes apply to how DTSPs perceive the victim-perpetrator relationship and their subsequent use of force, fraud, and coercion for commercial sex. Despite the exploitative nature of DST, DSTPs describe their relationships with the victim as either helping, an emotional bond, a mutual "agreement," or overt control. In the helping relationship, perpetrators espouse cognitions and attitudes that reflect their exploitation of victim vulnerabilities and selectively ignore the potential or felt consequences for the victim and perpetrator. Perpetrators carefully curate emotional bonds without regard for the potential damage done by having romantic, familial, or platonic attachments to the facilitator of their sexual abuse for profit. The "agreement" relationship distorts the perception of consent by victims when the perpetrator imposes a power differential. Perpetrators who overtly engage in control of their victim emphasize reasons why they believe the victim deserves control (e.g., incapable, violated rules).

The foundation of DST perpetration is using force, fraud, and coercion during the recruitment, harboring, transportation, and facilitation of sexual abuse for profitable gains (U.S. Congress, 2000b). DSTPs use power and control tactics similar to those used in intimate partner violence (IPV). Perpetrators tend to justify physical, emotional, and sexual abuse as necessary to discipline victims for violating rules or to keep victims from leaving, often normalized as expected for the perpetrator and the victim. Fraud tactics may involve proposing one type of interaction that evolves into exploitation either gradually (e.g., slowly convincing an intimate partner to sell sex to support the perpetrator) or abruptly (e.g., "bait and switch" through offering a modeling job and instead exploiting the victim sexually). DSTPs engage in coercion through

threats, intimidation, isolation, privilege, economic abuse, denying, minimizing, and blaming the victim. Many of the coercive tactics mirror the justifications and rationalizations perpetrators have developed. For example, DSTPs who perceive the victim-perpetrator relationship as a mutual "agreement" may argue that the victim owes them for the material provisions they supplied. DSTPs who perceive a helping relationship may rationalize that isolating the victim from their support network frees them from the perceived hostile environment from which they need to be saved. The development of an emotional bond facilitates the use of privilege to coerce an intimate partner into engaging in commercial sex to keep their relationship with the perpetrator. The controlling victim-perpetrator relationship involves significant denying, minimizing, and blaming of the victim to justify DST perpetration, such as normalizing commercial sex and ignoring the harm it causes.

Treatment Planning for DSTPs

Current multidisciplinary efforts to combat DST focus on identifying and assisting victims in prosecuting perpetrators. However, the complex relationship dynamics, including trauma bonds and Stockholm Syndrome, and the effects of coercive tactics to evoke dependence and submission from victims, makes victim compliance with law enforcement a challenge. Relying on victim accounting places an undue burden and furthers the exploitation of victims. To reorient anti-trafficking efforts to perpetrator-focused approaches, tailored risk assessment measures and evidence-based treatments need to be developed. Current assessment and treatment occur by adapting current instruments and interventions based on clinical judgment rather than research.

Current instruments that assess sexual and violent recidivism for sexual offenders, psychopathy, and IPV demonstrate significant overlap that may guide the development of

measures tailored to and validated for DST perpetrators. Risk assessment instrument

development should incorporate items regarding static and dynamic risk factors, underlying

motivational needs, and collateral information (e.g., criminal record, police reports,

victim/witness statements). The MEGA♪ is the only instrument available at this time with

validation for juvenile male and female DSTPs (Miccio-Fonseca, 2017). Additional instruments

to evaluate thinking styles that support maladaptive and abusive behaviors can also assist

providers with treatment planning (see Table 7).

Due to entrenched justifications and rationalizations for maladaptive behaviors, DSTPs

would likely benefit from a clinical approach to target maladaptive cognitive patterns such as

Schema Therapy (e.g., Bernstein et al., 2012) and Transtheoretical Model (Prochaska &

DiClemente, 1983; Prochaska & Norcross, 2001) to foster motivation for change. The Risk-

Needs-Responsivity (RNR; Bonta & Andrews, 2007, 2017) and the Good Lives Model (GLM;

Ward et al., 2007; Ward & Stewart, 2003; Willis et al., 2014) used for treating sexual offenders

may assist clinicians in targeting the underlying motivations that inform offense-supportive

cognitions and attitudes and building on strengths to meet those needs in more prosocial ways.

Limitations

Although the current study sought to comprehensively review the contemporary literature

regarding the perpetration of domestic sex trafficking, barriers included a lack of agreement on

terms and definitions of those terms, a paucity of empirical studies, and small sample sizes of the

few existing peer-reviewed studies. The challenges inherent to identifying DST for prosecution

apply to performing research with viable participants. Countries other than the United States

(e.g., Canada, Netherlands) have produced more research on this subject, which has limited

generalizability to U.S. practice. Performing research with individuals involved in the criminal justice system poses challenges for IRB approval and protecting research participant rights.

Recommendations for Future Research

This literature review aimed to inform future research toward developing valid and reliable risk assessment instruments and empirically-based treatments for use with DST perpetrators. Based on the literature that suggests motivations for DST perpetration and their coordinating justifications and rationalizations, clinicians can better adapt current assessment instruments and treatment interventions for DST perpetrators until tailored instruments and interventions can be developed. Assessment authors may consider extrapolating the existing juvenile instrument, the MEGA♪ (Miccio-Fonseca, 2009, 2010, 2016, 2017; Miccio-Fonseca & Rasmussen, 2015), for adult male and female DSTPs. Another alternative would be to draw upon the existing validated instruments used across the discussed intersecting offenses to develop norms for specific test batteries. Finally, the development of a unique instrument designed specifically for use with DSPTs may also greatly contribute to research in this area. Assessment instruments would benefit from consideration of both static and dynamic risk factors, using self-report, collateral information, and structured professional judgment in order to allow a comprehensive evaluation of this nuanced offense type. Furthermore, special consideration should be given to age and gender as juvenile and female perpetrators will differ from their male adult counterparts.

Treatment development may depend on resource availability, applicable legislation and supervision guidelines, and ever-increasing knowledge about DST perpetration. However, treatment protocols may benefit from meeting for no less than 16 weeks (see Arce et al., 2020). Given the higher probability of antisocial personality disorder and psychopathy within the DSTP

group, certain conditions may assist with treatment progress such as group rules and treatment staff dispositions (e.g., Davidson et al., 2009; McKendrick et al., 2006; Skeem et al., 2002; Skeem et al., 2011; van den Bosch et al., 2018). Therapeutic approaches that appeared most useful and may provide a foundation for treatment planning include Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT; see Davidson et al., 2009; Lipsey et al., 2007; Salekin, 2002), Dialectical Behavioral Therapy (DBT; Linehan, 1987), and Psychodynamic therapy (see Steinert et al., 2017). A combination of individual and group psychotherapy may be necessary (see Morgan & Flora, 2002) as well as consideration for a structured consultation group for treatment providers similar to DBT (see Linehan, 1987). Adapting an existing treatment model that already targets criminal thinking styles and pro-criminal attitudes such as RNR (Bonta & Andrews, 2007) and GLM (Ward & Gannon, 2006) may provide the essential components of an effective treatment model while incorporating the treatment targets unique to DSTPs.

Conclusion

Current approaches to prevention, education, identification, assessment, and treatment reflect the shortcomings of adapting methods used for adjacent offenses for the DST perpetrator. Despite limited research regarding the nuances of assessment and treatment for DST perpetrators, critical findings about the development of motivations and justifications/rationalizations for offending can begin developing tailored recidivism risk assessment measures and interventions. As identification and prosecution of DSTPs improve, researchers can more easily access this population for research purposes to validate measures and treatment approaches. Accurate risk assessment and treatment returns the onus of change on perpetrators instead of victims, increases the effectiveness of supervision and sentencing

recommendations, and offers perpetrators tangible and appropriate pathways to desistance and

rehabilitation.

Appendix A

Domestic and International Anti-Trafficking Resources

Report Human Trafficking:

- In case of an emergency, please call 911.

- Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI):

    1. Submit an FBI Tip online - https://tips.fbi.gov/

    2. Call your local FBI field office - https://www.fbi.gov/contact-us/field-offices/field-offices

- U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) Homeland Security Investigations (HSI): Call 1-866-347-2423 (toll free) or report online at https://www.ice.gov/webform/ice-tip-form

- National Human Trafficking Resource Center is a multilingual, toll-free, 24-hour anti-trafficking hotline available by phone at 1-888-373-7888, text "BeFree" to 233733, or live chat at https://humantraffickinghotline.org/

Help for Victims of Domestic Sex Trafficking:

- Search the Matrix of OVC-funded service providers for victim referrals at https://ovc.ojp.gov/program/human-trafficking/overview

- Referrals can also be made to the Polaris Project via text message to BeFree (233733).

- Shared Hope International is a non-profit organization dedicated to research and advocacy for sex trafficking victims, often providing funding for shelters - https://sharedhope.org/the-problem/what-is-sex-trafficking/

Figure 1. Trafficking Indicators. (U.S. Department of Homeland Security [DHS]; n.d.).

Trafficking vs. Smuggling

Human Trafficking is defined as:

- sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; *or*

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

BLUE CAMPAIGN
One Voice. One Mission. End Human Trafficking.™

Human Smuggling is defined as the importation of people into the United States involving deliberate evasion of immigration laws. This offense includes bringing non-citizens into the United States as well as the unlawful transportation and harboring of non-citizens already in the United States.

These are *not* interchangeable terms
- **Smuggling** is transportation-based
- **Trafficking** is exploitation-based

Report Suspicious Activity:
1-866-DHS-2-ICE (1-866-347-2423)
www.dhs.gov/bluecampaign

Trafficking Indicators

- ❑ Is the victim in possession of identification and travel documents; if not, who has control of the documents?
- ❑ Was the victim coached on what to say to law enforcement and immigration officials?
- ❑ Was the victim recruited for one purpose and forced to engage in some other job?
- ❑ Is the victim's salary being garnished to pay off a smuggling fee? (Paying off a smuggling fee alone is not considered trafficking.)
- ❑ Was the victim forced to perform sexual acts?
- ❑ Does the victim have freedom of movements?

- ❑ Has the victim or family been threatened with harm if the victim attempts to escape?
- ❑ Has the victim been threatened with deportation or law enforcement action?
- ❑ Has the victim been harmed or deprived of food, water, sleep, medical care, or other life necesities?
- ❑ Can the victim freely contact friends or family?
- ❑ Is the victim a juvenile engaged in commercial sex?
- ❑ Is the victim allowed to socialize or attend religious services?

Report Suspicious Activity: **1-866-DHS-2-ICE** (1-866-347-2423)
www.dhs.gov/bluecampaign   BC-IC1-xx 07/14

Figure 2. Power and Control Wheel (Domestic Abuse Intervention Project, n.d.).

POWER AND CONTROL WHEEL

Physical and sexual assaults, or threats to commit them, are the most apparent forms of domestic violence and are usually the actions that allow others to become aware of the problem. However, regular use of other abusive behaviors by the batterer, when reinforced by one or more acts of physical violence, make up a larger system of abuse. Although physical assaults may occur only once or occasionally, they instill threat of future violent attacks and allow the abuser to take control of the woman's life and circumstances.

The Power & Control diagram is a particularly helpful tool in understanding the overall pattern of abusive and violent behaviors, which are used by a batterer to establish and maintain control over his partner. Very often, one or more violent incidents are accompanied by an array of these other types of abuse. They are less easily identified, yet firmly establish a pattern of intimidation and control in the relationship.

VIOLENCE

physical — sexual

POWER AND CONTROL

COERCION AND THREATS: Making and/or carrying out threats to do something to hurt her. Threatening to leave her, commit suicide, or report her to welfare. Making her drop charges. Making her do illegal things.

INTIMIDATION: Making her afraid by using looks, actions, and gestures. Smashing things. Destroying her property. Abusing pets. Displaying weapons.

MALE PRIVILEGE: Treating her like a servant: making all the big decisions, acting like the "master of the castle," being the one to define men's and women's roles.

EMOTIONAL ABUSE: Putting her down. Making her feel bad about herself. Calling her names. Making her think she's crazy. Playing mind games. Humiliating her. Making her feel guilty.

ECONOMIC ABUSE: Preventing her from getting or keeping a job. Making her ask for money. Giving her an allowance. Taking her money. Not letting her know about or have access to family income.

ISOLATION: Controlling what she does, who she sees and talks to, what she reads, and where she goes. Limiting her outside involvement. Using jealousy to justify actions.

USING CHILDREN: Making her feel guilty about the children. Using the children to relay messages. Using visitation to harass her. Threatening to take the children away.

MINIMIZING, DENYING, AND BLAMING: Making light of the abuse and not taking her concerns about it seriously. Saying the abuse didn't happen. Shifting responsibility for abusive behavior. Saying she caused it.

physical — sexual

VIOLENCE

Developed by:
Domestic Abuse Intervention Project
202 East Superior Street
Duluth, MN 55802
218.722.4134

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NATIONAL CENTER
on Domestic and Sexual Violence
training • consulting • advocacy
4612 Shoal Creek Blvd. • Austin, Texas 78756
512.407.9020 (phone and fax) • www.ncdsv.org

Figure 3. Human Trafficking Power and Control Wheel (Polaris Project, 2010).

Sex Trafficking

street/online prostitution, residentinal/commercial-front brothels; truck stops

Labor Trafficking

businesses, farms, domestic work, begging/peddling, stripping

POWER & CONTROL

COERCION and THREATS
Threatens to harm victim or family ● Threatens to expose or shame victim ● Threatens to report to police or immigration

INTIMIDATION
Harms other victims, children or pets ● Displays or uses weapons ● Destroys property ● Lies about police involvement in trafficking situation

ECONOMIC ABUSE
Creates debt that can never be repaid ● Takes money earned ● Prohibits access to finances ● Limits resources to a small allowance

EMOTIONAL ABUSE
Humiliates in front of others ● Calls names ● Plays mind games ● Makes victim feel guilt/blame for situation ● Convinces victim they're the only one that cares about them

USING PRIVILEGE
Treats victim like a servant ● Uses gender, age or nationality to suggest superiority ● Uses certain victims to control others ● Hides or destroys important documents

ISOLATION
Keeps confined ● Accompanies to public places ● Creates distrust of police/others ● Moves victims to different locations ● Doesn't allow victim to learn English or to go to school ● Denies access to children, family and friends

PHYSICAL ABUSE
Shoves, slaps, hits, punches, kicks, strangles ● Burns, brands, tattoos ● Denies food/water ● Exposes to harmful chemicals ● Forces pregnancy termination ● Induces drug addiction as means of control

SEXUAL ABUSE
Uses sexual assault as punishment or means of control ● Forces victim to have sex multiple times a day with strangers ● Treats victim as an object for monetary gain ● Normalizes sexual violence and selling sex

DENYING, BLAMING, MINIMIZING,
Makes light of abuse or exploitation ● Denies that anything illegal or exploitative is occurring ● Places blame on the victim for the trafficking situation

This wheel was adapted from the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project's Duluth Model Power and Control Wheel, available at www.theduluthmodel.org
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Figure 4. What is your pimp name (Braincells4rent.com, n.d.).

Table 1. Analysis of Gholson's (2001) 52 Versions of Pimps (p. 105-132).

Pimp Version	Victims	Orientation to Victim	Temperament/ Characteristics	Tactics
1. King Pimp	Aims to have 7 women (one for each day of the week); "stable"	Boss of "one big happy family"; Views self as providing and helping victims	Gentle	Handle with ease and finesse, diplomacy
2. The Natural Pimp	Undetermined	None	Unmotivated	Resists pimp game out of respect for family, religion, etc.
3. The Gentleman Pimp	Unlimited	Views self as helping/celebrating victims; I'll make you look good if you make me look good	Poised, calm, in complete control at all times	Showers with presents (e.g., flowers, candy)
4. High-Class Pimp	Unlimited; usually first Black man allowed in White spaces	Trend-setter, creates opportunities for people	Intelligent, well-respected, classy	Charisma
5. Procurer	No affiliation with any particular prostitutes	Coordinates tricks/johns for prostitutes	Helpful, resourceful (often a cab driver, doorman, bartender, waiter)	Hustle ("all he wants is his cut")
6. The Six-Girl Pimp	6 Prostitutes	Same as king pimp	Gentle towards victims; up-and-coming; may have to challenge king pimp for "title"	Same as king pimp
7. The Mother Pimp	Whatever children she has	Helping her children get the most out of life	Coaching/mentoring	Don't give away what is good enough to sell; "get all you can and take it home to mummy"
8. The Whorehouse Pimp	Rotating; Whomever works at the whorehouse	Landlord/boss, "connections and protection"	Transactional, nickel-and-dime	Take 40-60%, plus charge for rent/towels/cooking privileges, require free entertainment for VIPs and LEO

9. Dope Fiend Pimp	Varies	Means to an end to fund drug habit	Depends on level of addiction and intoxication; typically desperate for next drug fix	Will do whatever it takes
10. The Police Pimp	Varies	Protector	Protective, cautious	Because of their position will meet the "best ones" early on and are sought after for their position
11. The Blackmailing Pimp	Varies	Exploitative	Charismatic at first to earn trust then brutal once they have the victim on the hook	Trap the person in a compromising position and hold as blackmail to perform sexual favors for money
12. The Flat-Back Pimp	Usually 1	Survival to support housing and food costs	Lazy	Convinces partner/child that if they love them that they will do this to help fund their life
13. The Preacher Pimp	Unlimited	Pursuit of righteousness or goodness	Con/hustle	Tell people that "good" people will give them money or do things for them
14. The Whore's Pimp	Only works with "whores" and not "high class prostitutes" who do "fee for service" work – "the whore can work any place at any time and practices a bit of the con game… [she] doesn't have a set price" (p. 114).	Co-conspirator and enforcer	"too foxy" (devious)	The whore will charge a price for certain acts and know that once they begin, the trick/john will want more and she can upcharge or charge for more after; the pimp can enforce it
15. The Gypsy Pimp	Varies	Similar to King Pimp just for "the world of the gypsies"	Similar to King Pimp just for "the world of the gypsies"	Similar to King Pimp just for "the world of the gypsies"

16. The White Girl Pimp	White prostitutes only because they are "easy prey," "have a "wider area in which to play" and "serves as window dressing" (p. 115)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
17. The Black Girl Pimp	Only works with prostitutes that want to work with him	Facilitator	Willing to take "all that the others don't want" (p. 115). Well respected within the game, "stays clean and keeps a pocket full of money" (p. 116).	The prostitute would approach him.
18. The Property-Owning Pimp	Only accepts prostitutes who "walk the chalk line" (p. 116).	Provides shelter	Well-off	Uses shelter or properties as a method of coercion; Promises of future shareholder position (never realized)
19. The Gorilla Pimp	Varies	Hierarchical; must do what he says to avoid violence	Big guy "with a sinister look on his face" (p. 116)	Fear, violence
20. The Business Pimp	Varies	Transactional; boss-employee	Rare; Uses pimping as a stepping stone toward legitimate business dealings	Mutually beneficial business opportunity
21. The Working Pimp	Limited; "whores"	Hobby interest	Pimping is his secondary hustle, but usually has a primary legitimate job ("layman")	"He takes the money the whore gives him, pockets it, spends a night with her, gets up and leaves while the whore is still sleeping and gets home in time to be back on that job on time" (p. 118).

22. The Husband Pimp	Only his wife; she is only sexually satisfied by her husband and all others are just "sex"	"When a man marries a whore he is blessed" (p. 118).	"Safe and at home safely tucked away and all he has to do is keep looking on the dresser" (p. 118).	Essentially his wife wants to sell her sex and he just profits.
23. The Sissy Pimp	Only "wolves" (i.e., gay men)	Adoration of the pimp; the prostitutes serve and support him	"Young, handsome, fresh guy" (p. 119). Generally in the company of other men	Jealousy
24. The Henpecked Pimp	Only his significant other	"Love"	Rare; "Mild-mannered, doesn't talk too much but thinks deeply" (p. 119).	Mutually controlling; she may control who he spends time with and how much, preferring to go with him everywhere
25. The Renegade Pimp	Unlimited, rotating; he will snatch girls off of the streets and keep for an undetermined period of time before releasing them and snatching new girls	Predator/Prey	Violent, uncaring, blatantly exploitative	Kidnap and remain in the city; Threatens with violence
26. The Saturday Night Pimp	Only occurs once per week	Leisure/hobby	Dressed well; works a typical job during the week	Deceit – "he will have his pimp uniform on and his hat cocked ace-duce and it's hard to tell him from the real McCoy… he is just out to fool some old crazy lonely whore for whatever he can get from her, including sex" (p. 120).
27. The Weak Pimp	Varies	The prostitutes protect the pimp instead of the other way around	"Real pretty boy" (p. 120).	"He reminds them of the dolls that they never had as children and they would kill a brick for him" (p. 120-121).

28. The Gangster Pimp	Varies	Fearmonger	Pretends to be associated with the mafia/mob	Deceit and threats of violence
29. The Minor Pimp	Underage girls only	Friend/boyfriend	Usually "short, thin, looks good, and dresses young" (p. 121).	Grooming
30. The Occasional Pimp	Limited	Unknown	Already has a good income	Begging/guilt-trip
31. The Loving Pimp	1 Partner	Lovers	Unknown	Communicated as a survival technique
32. The Entertaining Pimp	Varies	Paying dues for fame/fortune	Talented	Promises or the illusion of promises to ride the pimp's coat-tails to fame and fortune
33. Student Pimp	1 Partner	Lovers	"Academic-minded young man" (p. 123)	Promises that the prostitution is temporary to help fund his education so they can better their lives together
34. The Athlete Pimp	Limited	Potential partner/lover	Athletic and muscular	Promises or the illusion of promises to follow him into a future of fame and fortune
35. The Transporting Pimp	Unlimited, rotating; he will snatch girls off of the streets and gets away from family/friends (usually out of state and cuts off communication)	Predator/Prey	Violent, uncaring, blatantly exploitative; most likely of the 52 types to go to prison	Kidnap and crosses state lines (tracked by FBI); Threatens with violence
36. The Dumb Pimp	Varies	Owner/property	Believes other's lies easily; often other pimps "steal his women"	Violence

37. The Common Snake Pimp	Limited	Helper/Reformer	Pretends that he is not a pimp, but still financially benefits from a female's work	He may attempt to help/reform prostitutes by putting them to work for him in non-sexual work where he still benefits.
38. The Sidewalk Pimp	Unlimited	Protection and Connections	Poor upbringing but refuses to get involved with drugs or other forms of crime	Unknown
39. The Gigolo Pimp	Self	Escort to elderly wealthy women	White boy, handsome	Charisma preying on loneliness
40. The Mixologist Pimp	Unlimited	Drug dealer in addition to pimp	Best car and clothes	Exploitation of substance abuse
41. The Producer Pimp	Limited	Connections; Locates tricks/johns and connects them with one of his prostitutes or others	Bellboy, cabdriver, doorman, waiter, etc.	Hustle and sexual favors from his prostitutes
42. The Lesbian Pimp	1 Female	Connection, protection, sometimes romantic and/or business partner	Lesbian "dominating" woman	"Like the blind leading the blind" (p. 126) but can "they are getting paid handsomely for what they do at home for kicks" (p. 127). Tactics are unknown.
43. The Impersonating Pimp	None	Pretend	Someone who spends time around "real pimps" and mimicking their lifestyle without actual pimp game.	N/A
44. The Drug-Peddling Pimp	Varies	Co-conspirators	Strong, brave, desperate; would rather be called a gangster	Promises of fortune from illicit dealings but will sell her out in a heartbeat
45. The Mack-Man Pimp	Unlimited	Supplier/Product	White boy; better financial position; strictly businessman	Transports prostitutes from state to state depending on supply/demand

46. The Common Pimp	1 Female Partner; Does not sell their bodies "her brain is her weapon, not her body" (p. 129).	Lovers	Unemployed and is financially supported by his female partner	"The one with the masterpiece lie… he teaches it to his woman" (p. 129).
47. The Bully Pimp	1 Female Partner; does not sell her body	Bully/Victim or Superior/Inferior	Mostly small/short in stature	Threats of violence
48. The Welfare Pimp	Varied number of female partners with several children each who receive welfare and give the father a portion	King/Peasants	Unemployed but lives comfortably in the ghetto; "constantly on the prowl, trying to increase his stable" (p. 130).	Varies
49. The Pimp with a Mission	Varies; typically engages in other forms of criminal activity and not necessarily prostitution	Investor/Investment	Intends to open a legitimate business (e.g., barber shop, tattoo parlor, barbeque joint, cleaners)	Business tactics
50. The Blind Pimp	N/A	N/A	A man who begs for money as a blind person on the street but can be found spending that money engaging in activities for seeing people	Deceit
51. The Hypocrite Pimp	Varies	Exploitator	Someone who criticizes pimps or someone who profits from a woman, but will willingly borrow money from her	May get her fired from her legitimate job or separated from a healthy relationship and reliant on him to provide opportunities for prostitution

52. The Prejudice Pimp	White "whores"	Punisher/Guilty Person	Someone who is angry at the White race may take it out on the "white whore"	Threats of violence

Table 2. Timeline of Federal Legislation and Mandates Pertaining to Domestic Sex

Trafficking.

Year	Title	
1910	18 U.S.C. §§ 2421 - 2428.	Mann Act of 1910
1970	18 U.S.C. §§ 1961 - 1968.	The Rackateer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO)
1984	Pub. L. No. 117-27	Victims of Crime Act of 1984 (Amended March 15, 2022)
1997		Victims' Rights Clarification Act of 1997
1999	Executive Order No. 13126	Prohibition of Acquisition of Products Produced by Forced Labor or Indentured Child Labor
2000	Pub. L. No. 106-386	Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA)
2003	Pub. L. No. 108-193	Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2003 (TVPA)
2003	Pub. L. No. 108-21, created 18 U.S.C. § 2423(c)	The PROTECT Act
2004		Crime Victims' Rights Act of 2004
2005	Pub. L. No. 109-164	Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2005 (TVPA)
2008	Pub. L. No. 110-457	William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008
2011	Executive Order No. 13581	Blocking Property of Transnational Criminal Organizations
2012	Executive Order No. 13627	Strengthening Protections Against Trafficking of Persons in Federal Contracts
2013	Pub. L. No. 113-4	Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2013
2015	Pub. L. No. 114-22	Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act of 2015
2016	Pub. L. No. 114-119	International Megan's Law (IML)
2016	Pub. L. No. 114-125	The Trade Facilitation and Trade Enforcement Act of 2015
2016		Victims of Crime Act (VOCA)
2017	Pub. L. No. 115-164	Allows States and Victims to Fight Online Sex Trafficking Act
2017	Executive Order No. 13773	Enforcing Federal Law with Respect to Transnational Criminal Organizations and Preventing International Trafficking
2017	Executive Order No. 13818	Blocking the Property of Persons Involved in Serious Human Rights Abuse or Corruption
2018	Pub. L. No. 115-393	Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2017 (TVPA
2018	Pub. L. No. 115-392	Abolish Human Trafficking Act of 2017
2019	Pub. L. No. 115-427	Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2017
2019	Pub. L. No. 115-425	Frederick Douglas Trafficking Prevention and Protection Reauthorization Act of 2018
	18 U.S.C. § 1589	Forced Labor

	18 U.S.C. § 1590	Trafficking with respect to peonage, slavery, involuntary servitude, or forced labor
	18 U.S.C. § 1591	Sex trafficking of children or by force, fraud, or coercion
	18 U.S.C. § 1761	Transportation or importation of prison-made goods
	18 U.S.C. § 1956	Laundering of monetary instruments
	18 U.S.C. § 1963	RICO Criminal penalties
	18 U.S.C. § 2251	Sexual exploitation of children
	18 U.S.C. § 2252	Certain activities relating to material involving the sexual exploitation of minors
	18 U.S.C. § 2252A	Certain activities relating to material involving the sexual exploitation of minors
	18 U.S.C. § 2260	Production of sexually explicit depictions of minors for importation into the United States
	18 U.S.C. § 2422	Coercion and enticement of minor
	18 U.S.C. § 2423	Transportation of minors
	19 U.S.C. § 1307	Section 307 of the Smoot-Hawley Tarriff Act of 1930
2017	Pub. L. No. 115-44	Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA)
	8 CFR § 214.11	Alien victims of severe forms of trafficking in persons
	8 CFR § 214.14	Alien victims of certain qualifying criminal activity
	55.222.-18, -19, and -50	Combating Trafficking in Persons (https://www.acquisition.gov/far/52.222-50)
	18 U.S.C. § 2056	Powers, authorities, and duties of United States Secret Service
	22 U.S.C. § 7108	Actions Against Significant Traffickers in Persons
	31 U.S.C. § 5311-5332	Records and Reports on Monetary Instruments Transactions
2017	Pub. L. No. 1115-164, 132 Stat. 1253	Fight Online Sex Trafficking Act (FOSTA)
2018	H.R. 1865	Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act (SESTA)

Table 3. Criminal Thinking Errors (Adapted from Yochelson & Samenow, 1976).

Thinking Error	Description
1. Energy	The criminal behavior results from an excess of mental or physical energy.
2. Fear	Fears (e.g., getting caught, injury or death, humiliation) make certain behaviors necessary.
3. Zero State	A sense of worthlessness, hopelessness, or futility allows certain behaviors.
4. Anger	The offender engages in behaviors to mitigate/eradicate the cause of their anger, no matter how irrational or extreme.
5. Pride	An inflated self-evaluation and sense of entitlement permits or necessitates certain criminal behaviors.
6. The Power Thrust	The desire for power and control over others may involve forbidden behaviors as the ultimate expression of power.
7. Sentimentality	An excessive sentimentality for certain individuals/groups (e.g., their mothers, the elderly, animals, infants, loved ones) may elicit illegal means to protect or provide for them.
8. Religion	Often a literal and concrete belief system, the offender's religious devoutness can be used to mitigate the harm they may cause through illegal activity.
9. Concrete Thinking	Thinking in terms of objects rather than abstract concepts like relationships.
10. Fragmentation	Radical fluctuations in the offender's mental state within a relatively short period of time.
11. Uniqueness	When someone perceives themselves to be special or one of a kind (e.g., above the law, exception to the rule). They may say comments like, "that won't happen to me."
12. Perfectionism	Ascribing to extreme standards of perfectionism that then are applied sporadically and inconsistently.
13. Suggestibility	Offenders are highly suggestible to agree with behaviors they want and very resistant to suggestions that conflict with their behaviors.
14. The Loner	The offender may feel apart from the world and keep aspects of their inner self private even if outwardly social and gregarious. They may say things like, "no one understands me" or "I'm not like anyone else."
15. Sexuality	Sexual satisfaction may be measured in quantity rather than quality, viewing experiences as conquests with little competence or interest in sensual gratification. They may regard their sexual partner(s) as a possession(s).
16. Lying	Altering the truth may become automatic, redefining reality in a way that supports their behavior.
17. The Closed Channel	A closed mind that prevents self-disclosure, receptivity, and self-criticism. The offender may engage in secretive, self-righteous, or other resistant strategies to remain closed off from influence by others.

18. "I Can't"	Surrendering accountability by denying any capability to be responsible for behaviors or change.
19. The Victim Stance	Offenders focus on the ways in which accountability for their actions harms them and ignores the harm they have caused others.
20. Lack of Time Perspective	An urgent demand for results immediately that can drive impulsive and risky decisions and behaviors.
21. Failure to Put Oneself in Another's Position	An overly self-focused view prevents offenders from considering how others may think, feel, need, want, or expect.
22. Failure to Consider Injury to Others	Methods of excusing away or ignoring the harm they have caused others.
23. Failure to Assume Obligation	Evasion of obligations that may allow others to impose demands on their time, resources, or behavior.
24. Failure to Assume Responsible Initiatives	Declining to engage in prosocial responsible activities due to either lack of excitement, loss of respect/power, insecurity about knowledge/skills, or fear of failure.
25. Ownership	The belief that everything in the world is available for the taking, and "ownership" depends possession.
26. Fear of Fear	View of fear as a weakness that requires denial of any degree of fear in themselves (e.g., doubt, concern, worry) and exploitation of fear in others.
27. Lack of Trust	They lack the ability to be vulnerable with anyone but demand trust from others; momentary expressions of trust often are fleeting and may be a manipulation tactic.
28. Refusal to Be Dependent	Failure to acknowledge any dependence on anyone or anything to avoid even the smallest hint of vulnerability.
29. Lack of Interest in Responsible Performance	Responsibility may be perceived as boring and ungratifying.
30. Pretentiousness	Despite limited achievement, offenders may endorse inflated self-view and grandiosity. They may say things like, "I'm the best" rather than they will do their best.
31. Failure to Make an Effort to Endure Adversity	Criminals may expend tremendous energy to accomplish their goals, but little effort that would require persistence through adversity.
32. Poor Decision Making for Responsible Living	Personal living decisions may be made without adequate information because the offender may avoid asking questions about things they do not understand.
33. Corrosion and Cutoff	Corrosion is a mental process in which the deterrents (INTERNAL BARRIERS) are slowly eliminated until the desire to commit a criminal act outweighs the deterrent factors. Cutoff occurs when the offender outright mentally eliminates deterrents to make way for their intended criminal behavior, often leading to fragmentation.

34. Building Up the Opinion of Oneself as a Good Person	The unshakeable belief that the offender is a good person which permits them the freedom to engage in crime and postpones the onset of zero state.
35. Deferment	Offenders may put off plans for the "big score," to "go legit," or complete minor routine responsibilities (e.g., paying a bill, writing a letter, filing a tax return)
36. Super Optimism	Overconfidence in their abilities and in the vague promises of others as firm commitments

Table 4. National Human Trafficking Hotline Calls (National Human Trafficking Hotline, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c).

	Backpage.com (2012-2016)	Hotels/Motels (2012-2016)	Taxi/Transportation (2011-2017)
Victim Age			
Adults	58.60%	67.63%	40.68%
	($n = 1,152$)	($n = 1,475$)	($n = 48$)
Minors	41.20%	39.52%	29.66%
	($n = 810$)	($n = 862$)	($n = 35$)
Victim Gender			
Female	93.95%	95.83%	59.32%
	($n = 1847$)	($n = 2,090$)	($n = 70$)
Male	3.26%	4.68%	3.39%
	($n = 64$)	($n = 102$)	($n = 4$)
Transgender Female	0.71%	0.83%	N/A
	($n = 14$)	($n = 18$)	($n = < 3$)
Transgender Male	0.20%	0.14%	N/A
	($n = 4$)	($n = 3$)	($n = < 3$)
Gender Non-Conforming	N/A	N/A	N/A
	($n = < 3$)	($n = < 3$)	($n = < 3$)
Victim Citizenship			
U.S. Citizen/Legal Permanent Resident	39.73%	52.27%	17.80%
	($n = 781$)	($n = 1,140$)	($n = 21$)
Foreign National	12.31%	7.47%	20.34%
	($n = 242$)	($n = 163$)	($n = 24$)

Table 5. Ideas for Interventions (Adapted from Brayley, 2011, p. 140).

Stage	1. Find	2. Groom	3. Abuse
Script Action	Identify New Victim	Groom Victim	Enter Abuse Location
Increase Effort	• Seize cars • Revoke driver's license • Restrict access to schools or other places where victims are commonly recruited	Respond to the sale of alcohol to adults accompanied by underage minors	• Encourage hotels to refuse entry to adults checking in with unrelated underage minors • Pursue hotels that do not comply
Increase Risk	• Provide obvious CCTV in hot spots • Deploy more surveilling law enforcement to hot spots • Train law enforcement and mandated reporters to recognize and report signs of DST	• Issue Sexual Offense Protection Orders (SOPOs) • Encourage parents to file missing persons reports in a timely manner	N/A
Reduce Benefit	N/A	Train school staff to recognize and report signs of DST	Install flood lights and night time sprinklers in outdoor hot spots
Remove Provocation	Shield queues for night clubs from street view	N/A	N/A
Remove Excuses	N/A	Improve awareness of grooming techniques among juveniles and responsible adults	Run warning campaigns educating facilitators about their liability to be prosecuted if abuse occurs on their property

Table 6. Instruments Used to Assess Recidivism Risk for Suspected and Convicted Perpetrators.

Risk Assessment Measures	Description	Demographics		Offender Types		
		Age	Gender	SO	IPV	Psycho-pathy (OC)
ACUTE-2007 (Updated version of the ACUTE-2000)	Recommended to be used alongside STABLE-2007 to assesses current risk behaviors through an interview and collection of collateral information (see Anderson & Hanson, 2009; Hanson et al., 2007b)	Adults	Male	Yes	No	No
Assessment of Risk and Manageability for Individuals with Developmental and Intellectual Limitations who Offend Sexually (ARMIDILO-S)	To assess sexual recidivism risk for adult male offenders with intellectual disabilities (ID) using a convergent approach across stable and dynamic risk factors (Boer et al., 2004)	Adults	Male	Yes	No	No
Child Pornography Offender Risk Tool (CPORT)	To assess risk for sexual recidivism for men convicted of child pornography offenses using 7 items, with the recommendation to be used in conjunction with the CASIC scale (Seto & Eke, 2017)	Adults	Male	Yes	No	No
Classification of Violence Risk (COVR)	Based on data obtained from MacArthur Risk Project (Monahan et al., 2001) and additional 2 sites (Monahan, 2010), an interactive computer software guides the rater through a chart review and interview items to assess violence risk after discharge to the community (Monahan, 2010).	Adults	All	Yes	Yes	Yes
Correctional Offender Management Profiling for Alternative Sanctions (COMPAS)	Designed to assess key risk and need factors for adult and juvenile incarcerated offenders to assist with treatment planning and case management across four types of risk: general recidivism, violent recidivism, non-compliance, and failure to appear (Northpointe, 2010: Brennan, Dieterich, & Ehret, 2017).	Adults	All	Yes	Yes	Yes

Correlates of Admission of Sexual Interest in Children (CASIC)	Tool to improve assessment of correlates of admission and denial pertaining to sexual interest in children (Seto & Eke, 2017)	Adults	Males	Yes	No	No
Correctional Assessment and Intervention System (CAIS)	The CAIS is comprised of the Wisconsin Risk/Needs Scales (WRN or DOC-502) and the Client Management Classification (CMC) responsivity and case management tool: The WRN is a 53-item interview-based assessment across 9 domains; the CMC is a 71-item interview-based case planning process used to classify offender needs into one of 4 categories (selective intervention, casework/control, environmental structure, and limit setting) to guide case planning (Baird et al., 1979; Baird & Neuenfeldt, 1990; Justice System Assessment & Training, 2010).	Adults; parallel Juvenile form	All	Yes	Yes	Yes
Domestic Violence Inventory (DVI)	Developed specifically for offenders of IPV, the 155 item self-report measure was validated for both men and women and takes approximately 30 minutes to complete. The DVI scores total across six scales: 1. Truthfulness, 2. Violence (Lethality), 3. Control, 4. Alcohol, 5. Drugs, and, 6. Stress Coping Abilities (Lindeman & Khandaker, 2011).	Adults	All	No	Yes	No
Domestic Violence Risk Appraisal Guide (DVRAG)	The DVRAG is a 14-item actuarial risk measure of the probability that a male adult will perpetrate IPV against a female partner (Hilton et al., 2020).	Adults	Males	No	Yes	Yes
Domestic Violence Screening Instrument (DVSI or DVSI-R)	The DVSI and DVSI-R assess the history of intimate partner violence, other criminal offenses, employment, relationships, and presence of children during the incident offense for male and female offenders (Williams & Grant, 2006; Williams & Houghton, 2004).	Adults	Males	No	Yes	No
Historical Criminal Risk-20, Version 3 (HCR-20V3)	The HCR-20V3 uses an SPJ approach to assess violent recidivism risk across 20 key risk factors to determine low, moderate, or high risk of re-offending	Adults	Males but possible	Yes	Yes	Yes

	in a violent manner (Douglas et al., 2013; see also Rossdale et al., 2019).		use for Females			
Idaho Risk Assessment of Dangerousness Tool (IRAD)	The IRAD assesses seven areas of risk: history of domestic violence, threat to kill victims and/or children or others (parents, friends), threats of suicide, recent separation, obsessive tendencies, coercive behaviors, controlling behaviors, prior police contact, alcohol or drug use and abuse (Growette Bostaph, 2009).	Adults	Males	No	Yes	No
Inventory of Offender Risk, Needs, and Strengths (IORNS)	The IORNS is a 130-item true/false self-report questionnaire used to evaluate static risk, dynamic risk/need, and protective strength factors across 4 indices, 8 scales, 14 subscales, and 2 validity scales (Psychological Assessment Resources [PAR], 2010).	Adults	All	Yes	Yes	Yes
Level of Service Inventory-Revised (LSI-R)/ Screening Version (LSI-R: SV)	The LSI-R is a 54-item instrument that evaluates 10 areas of violence recidivism risk (Andrews & Bonta, 1995; 1999, 2001).	Adults	All	Yes	Yes	Yes
Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI)	The LS/CMI was developed as a refined version of the LSI-R to include 8 factors over 43 items to assess overall recidivism risk (Andrews et al., 2004).	Adults	All	Yes	Yes	Yes
Level of Service/Risk, Need, Responsivity (LS/RNR)	The LS/RNR includes updated risk, need, responsivity scales as a companion instrument to the LS/CMI (Andrews et al., n.d.).	Adults	All	Yes	No	No
Minnesota Sex Offender Screening Tool-Revised (MnSOST-R)	A 16-item actuarial risk assessment developed for the Minnesota Department of Corrections to assess risk of sexual recidivism for male sex offenders (Epperson et al., 2000; Epperson et al., 2003).	Adults	Males	Yes	No	No
Minnesota Sex Offender Screening Tool-3rd Edition (MnSOST-3)	A 9-item screening tool to determine risk for sexual recidivism (Duwe & Freske, 2012).	Adults	Males	Yes	No	No
Offender Screening Tool (OST)	Administered during presentencing, the OST is a 44-item (14 static, 30 dynamic) structured interview	Adults	Males	Yes	Yes	Yes

	across 9 domains whose responses are automatically scored electronically to: (a) provide a broad, overall assessment of offender risk/needs, (b) incorporate static and dynamic risk factors most predictive of criminal behavior, (c) provide information that could be used to determine risk of recidivism and guide case planning/management decisions, and (d) be meaningful and valuable to staff (Lowenkamp et al., 2008).					
Ohio Risk Assessment System (ORAS)	The ORAS includes 9 individual tools that can be combined to assess offender risk, needs, and responsivity regarding recidivism risk (Latessa et al., 2009): Pretrial Assessment Tool (PAT); Community Supervision Screening Tool (CSST); Community Supervision Tool (CST); Misdemeanor Screening Tool (MST); Misdemeanor Assessment Tool (MAT); Prison Screening Tool (PST); Prison Intake Tool (PIT); Prison Reentry Tool (RT); and Supplemental Reentry Tool (SRT).	Adults	All	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ontario Domestic Assault and Risk Assessment (ODARA)	Raters assess 13 factors on the ODARA: threats to harm or kill; prevent victim from leaving; offender's substance abuse; prior police involvement for violence; prior police involvement for non-violent crimes; general violence with others; prior incarceration for more than 30 days; violation of probation, parole, or bail, or protection order; number of children in common, number of children for victim only; ever assaulted pregnant victim; concern from victim for future violence; and barriers to victim support (Hilton, 2021; Hilton et al., 2007).	Adults	Males	No	Yes	No
Positive Achievement Change Tool (PACT)	The PACT is a 126-item, multiple-choice semi-structured interview to assess a juvenile's recidivism					

	risk and protective factors across 12 domains (Baglivio, 2009; Baglivio & Jackowski, 2013).				
Rapid Risk Assessment for Sexual Recidivism Risk (RRASOR)	The RRASOR is an actuarial tool used to assess sexual recidivism for convicted sexual offenders by reviewing prior sex offenses, offender's current age, victim gender, and the offender's relationship to the victim with scores ranging from 0 to 6 (Hanson, 1997).	Adults	Males	Yes	No	No
Risk for Sexual Violence Protocol (RSVP)	Conceptualizes risk to include nature, severity, imminence, frequency, and likelihood (contrast with actuarial) using 22 items across 5 domains: sexual violence history, psychosocial adjustment, mental disorder, social adjustment, and manageability, analyzed through SPJ (see Hart & Boer, 2009)	Adults	Males	Yes	No	No
Risk Matrix-2000 Sex (RM2000-S)	The RM2000-S evaluates level of sexual recidivism risk from low to very high across 3 domains and 4 aggravating factors (Kingston et al., 2008)	Adults	Males	Yes	No	No
Risk Matrix-2000 Combined	The RM-2000 assesses both violent and sexual recidivism risk from low to very high across 9 domains (Thornton, 2007)	Adults	Males	Yes	Yes	Yes
Spousal Assault Risk Assessment Guide (SARA)	The SARA is a rater-completed 24-item checklist to assess risk of spousal assault by male adults against his spouse, children, another family member, or other persons involved using clinical records, criminal justice case files, and an interview (Kropp & Hart, 2000; Skilling, 2002).	Adults	Males	No	Yes	No
Sexual Offender Risk Appraisal Guide (SORAG)	Sexual violence recidivism assessed through a 14-item actuarial scale regarding hands-on sexual offenses (Quinsey et al., 2006; Rettenberger et al., 2017).	Adults	Males	Yes	No	Yes
Sexual Violence Risk-20 (SVR-20)	Sexual recidivism risk assessed through 20-item static and stable risk factors obtained through review of the subject's history regarding their psychosocial adjustment, sexual offending, and future plans (Boer	Adults	Males	Yes	No	Yes

	et al., 1997; Kanters et al., 2017; Rettenberger et al., 2011).				
STABLE-2007 (Updated version of the STABLE-2000)	Recommended to be used in conjunction with the ACUTE-2007 to assess stable risk factors (contrast with acute) for sexual offenders; from SO Needs Assessment Rating, can be combined with Static-99 or Static-2002 (Hanson et al., 2007a).	Adults	Males	Yes	No	No
Static-99/Static-99R	Assesses for sexual recidivism risk using 10 items across 4 risk levels that was created by merging the RRASOR and SACJ-Min (Hanson & Thornton, 2000b; Harris et al., 2003).	Adults	Males	Yes	No	No
Static-2002/Static-2002R	An update from the Static-99/R, the Static-2002 assesses for sexual recidivism risk using 14 items that review records pertaining to criminal history and offender demographics (Hanson et al., 2003)	Adults	Males	Yes	No	No
Static Risk and Offender Needs Guide (STRONG)	The STRONG incorporates two assessments: The Static Risk Assessment (26 items across 6 domains) and Offender Needs Assessment (55 items across 10 domains) to assess general recidivism risk as well as identified criminogenic needs and protective factors (Drake & Barnoski, 2009).	Adults	Males	Yes	Yes	Yes
Statistical Index of Recidivism (SIR)/Proxy Scale	A 15-item actuarial tool used to assess general and violent recidivism static risk factors (Nafekh & Motiuk, 2002).	Adults	Males; parallel Female form	Yes	Yes	Yes
Structured Assessment of Risk and Need (SARN)	Dynamic treatment factors are assessed with Structured Anchored Clinical Judgment (SACJ) using 16 items across 4 domains: sexual interest, distorted attitudes, social and emotional functioning, and self-management, the SARN is typically used in conjunction with the RM2000 which assesses more static risk factors (Webster et al., 2006).	Adults	Males	Yes	No	No

Structured Risk Assessment – Forensic Version (SRA-FV)	Assesses sexual recidivism risk by review of records across 3 domains: sexual interests, relational style, self-management (Thornton & Knight, 2015).	Adults	Males	Yes	No	Yes
Violent Risk Appraisal Guide (VRAG)	A 12-item measure to assess violence recidivism risk across historical and static risk factors and includes a PCL-R score (Olver, et al., 2018; Webster et al., 1994).	Adults	Males	Yes	Yes	Yes
Violence Risk Scale (VRS)	Actuarial risk measure based in Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) principles, the VRS assesses violence risk recidivism using 6 static and 20 dynamic items (Wong & Gordon, 2006).	Adults	Males	Yes	Yes	Yes
Violence Risk Scale – Sex Offense Version (VRS-SO)	With 7 static and 17 dynamic items, the VRS-SO was adapted from the VRS with good reliability (Beyko & Wong, 2005) and good predictive validity (see Olver & Wong, 2006, 2009).	Adults	Males	Yes	No	Yes

Table 7. Other Instruments Used to Assess Suspected and Convicted Perpetrators.

Other Assessment Measures	Description	Demographics		Offender Types		
		Age	Gender	SO	IPV	Psycho-pathy (OC)
Abel Assessment for Sexual Interest (AASI)	A treatment evaluation system to evaluate for sexual behavior problems (e.g., deviant sexual interests) relying on measurement of visual reaction time (Abel et al., 1994; Abel & Wiegel, 2009).	Adults; Parallel Juvenile Form	All	Yes	No	No
Antisocial Process Screening Device (APSD)	A 20-item self-report measure to evaluate three domains of antisocial behavior in children and adolescents: callous-unemotional traits, narcissism, and impulsivity rated by the individual, parent, and teacher (Frick & Hare, 2001; Munoz & Frick, 2007).	Juveniles	All	No	No	Yes
Buss-Perry Aggression Questionnaire (AGQ)	The AGQ is a 29-item self-report questionnaire across 4 domains of aggression: physical aggression, verbal aggression, anger, and hostility (Bryant & Smith, 2001; Buss & Perry, 1992).	Adults	All	No	Yes	Yes
Childhood Psychopathy Scale (CPS)	A self-report measure using both self-report and caregiver-report parallel forms of 50 items evaluate 12 scales related to traits of psychopathy for adolescents (Lynam, 1997).	Juveniles	All	No	No	Yes
Derogatis Sexual Functioning Inventory (DSFI)	A 26-tiem self-report measure to assess current sexual functioning across 10 substantive dimensions including the Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI; Derogatis, 1993) and the Derogatis Affects Balance Scale (ABS; Derogatis, 1975) that have been proven useful for assessing psychological distress regarding mood and affect (Derogatis, 1975; Deroagtis & Mellisaratos, 1979; Derogatis et al., 1988).	Adults	All	Yes	No	No

Electroencephalography (EEG)	Best used alongside PPG, EEGs assess for neurological activity in response to certain stimuli to assess for deviant sexual interests (Cote et al., 2021).	Adults	Males	Yes	No	No
Experiences in Close Relationships (ECR-R)	The ECR is a 36-item self-report measure of adult attachment across sub-scales regarding avoidance and anxiety (Fraley et al., 2000).	Adults	All	Yes	Yes	No
Global Appraisal of Individual Needs (GAIN-I/Q3) and Short Screener (GAIN-SS)	The GAIN assesses bio-psychosocial domains for diagnosis, treatment planning, and performance monitoring. The GAIN-I evaluates 9 domains, the GAIN-Q3 measures 8 domains, and the SS assesses 4 domains	Adult and Juvenile	All	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hare Psychopathy Checklist – Revised (PCL-R), Screening Version (PCL: SV), and Youth Version (PCL-YV)	The PCL-R is a 20-item clinician-rated instrument to assess for traits of psychopathy across interpersonal, affective, lifestyle, and antisocial factors (Forth et al., 2003; Hare et al., 1990; Hare, 1991, 2003; Hart et al., 1995; Hawes et al., 2013).	Adults; Parallel Juvenile Form	All	Yes	Yes	Yes
Measures of Criminal Attitudes and Associates (MCAA)	This two-part measure assesses criminal associates (part A) and pro-criminal attitudes (part B; Mills et al., 2002; Mills et al., 2004).	Adults	Male	Yes	Yes	Yes
Measure of Criminogenic Thinking Styles (MOCTS)	A 70-item self-report measure of thinking styles that foster criminal and adaptive behaviors across five scales: Inattentiveness, Control, Cognitive Immaturity, Ecogentrism, and Total Criminogenic Thinking (Mandracchia, 2017; Mandracchia & Morgan, 2011).	Adults	Male	Yes	Yes	Yes
Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory (MCMI-IV)	A self-report measure with 195 true/false items to assess 15 personality domains (Millon et al., 2015).	Adults; Parallel Juvenile Form	All	Yes	Yes	Yes
Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, Second Edition (MMPI-2),	A self-report instrument that assesses personality traits with 567 items and 120 scales on the Second Edition, and 338 items and 51 scales on the Restructured Form	Adults; Parallel Juvenile Form	All	Yes	Yes	Yes

Restructured Form (-2-RF), and Third Edition (-3)	(Butcher et al., 2004), and 335 items and 52 scales on the Third Edition (Ben-Porath & Tellegen, 2020).				
Multidimensional Inventory of Development, Sex, and Aggression (MIDSA)	A computerized self-report inventory across 5 domains to inform therapeutic interventions for juvenile and adult sexual offenders (Knight & Cerce, 1999).	Adult and Juvenile	Male	Yes	No	No
Multiphasic Sex Inventory (MSI-II)	The MSI-II is the expanded and updated version of the original MSI to measure sexual characteristics sex offenders across 20 scales and a brief social history regarding sexual, emotional, and behavioral functioning (Nichols & Molinder, 2000; Simkins et al., 1989).	Adult and Juvenile	All	Yes	No	No
Penile Plethysmography (PPG)	An objective measure of sexual arousal for men typically used to assess deviant sexual interests (Fedoroff et al., 2009; Hynie, 1934; Marshall & Fernandez, 2003; Murphy et al., 2015a).	Adults	Male	Yes	No	No
Personality Assessment Inventory, Second Edition (PAI-2)	An objective assessment of personality and psychopathological syndromes using 344 items across 22 discrete scales (Morey, 2007).	Adults; Parallel Juvenile Form	All	Yes	Yes	Yes
Personality Inventory for DSM-5 (PID-5), Brief Form (PID-5-BF)	The 25-item self-rating scale allows adult male and female offenders to assess symptoms across five personality trait domains: negative affect, detachment, antagonism, disinhibition, and psychoticism (Fossati et al., 2013; Thimm et al., 2016).	Adults	All	Yes	Yes	Yes
Patient Health Questionnaire, Ninth Edition (PHQ-9)	A brief self-report screening measure to assess for common mental disorders (Kroenke et al., 2001).	All	All	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polygraph	A measure of physiological responses to interview questions (Elliott & Vollm, 2018; Jung et al., 2020; Meijer & Verschuere, 2010).	Adults	All	Yes	Yes	Yes
Psychological Inventory of Criminal Thinking Styles	The PICTS-SF is an abbreviated 35-item measure of the original 80-item PICTS to assess both proactive	Adults	All	Yes	Yes	Yes

(PICTS) and – Short Form (-SF)	and reactive criminal thinking, as well as associated subscales (Walters & Geyer, 2005; Walters, 2006a, 2006b).					
Self-Deception and Mystification Inventory (IAM-40)	A 40-item measure of self-deception across five scales: Insicerity and Communicative opacity, manipulation, denial and relapse mechanisms, mystifications and distrust, and interested or distorted perception of reality (Moral Jimenez & Ruiz, 2014).	Adults	All	Yes	Yes	Yes
Self-Deception Questionnaire (SDQ-12)	A 12-item brief adaptation of the IAM-40 that focus on the scales of mystification and manipulation (Sirvent et al., 2019).	Adults	All	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sexual Offender Treatment Intervention and Progress Scale (SOTIPS)	A 16-item statistically-derived measure of risk, treatment and supervision needs, and progress for adult male sex offenders (McGrath, Lasher, & Cumming, 2012)	Adults	Males	Yes	No	No
STABLE-2007	Identifies dynamic intervention or treatment targets through an interview, collateral information and review of records (Brankley et al., 2021).	Adults	Males	Yes	No	No
Visual Reaction Time (VRT™) or Viewing Time (VT)	An objective measure of sexual interest, typically used in conjunction with PPG (Abel & Wiegel, 2009; Gray et al., 2013).	Adults	Males	Yes	No	No

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