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Missed Opportunities: The Effect of CPS Involvement on Trafficking Victims in the Delinquency System

Kelly Rae Stout

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MISSED OPPORTUNITIES: THE EFFECT OF CPS INVOLVEMENT ON TRAFFICKING
VICTIMS IN THE DELINQUENCY SYSTEM

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Abstract

Missed Opportunities: The Effect of CPS Involvement on Trafficking Victims in the Delinquency System

Children and youth involved in the child welfare system are an incredibly vulnerable population that could potentially have an increased risk for being sexually exploited. In 2014, Federal Public Law 113-183 mandated that all child protective service (CPS) agencies in the United States improve services of commercially sexually exploited children and youth (CSEC). This federal directive requires that states and counties train their staff in identifying and helping children who have been or are at risk for being trafficked. To explore this complex issue, quantitative methods were used. The data were analyzed for CPS engagement among the CSEC victims identified by Clark County Juvenile Justice in 2017. This research is the first project in the United States to look at how many youth were under the care of CPS while being pulled into the delinquency system for their sexual exploitation. Dispositions, arrests, violations of probation, and re-arrests are compared for CPS and non-CPS involved youth. Although this study did not have statistically significant findings, it was found that over half of the arrested youth studied were CPS involved. This finding supports the 2014 call to action from the federal government to implement policy change within child protective services.

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Dedication

To my parents,
Dave and Londa Stout

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Child welfare agencies were created to help ensure safe homes for children experiencing abuse or neglect (Bounds, Julion, & Delaney, 2015). The means of ensuring safe homes could either be through removing the child from the home (and placing in foster care) or by offering support to parents who may struggle with providing a safe home environment. Child protective services (CPS) are generally viewed as beneficial to children, but there are drawbacks to having children involved with CPS agencies. There are about 415,129 children in the foster care system nationally and about 3,000 children in the Clark County, Nevada foster system (Child Welfare Information Gateway [CWIG], 2016; Nevada Department of Child and Family Services [DCFS], 2018). With this many children in foster care, many CPS agencies struggle to meet the complex needs of these children.

Removing children from dangerous situations (e.g., dysfunctional households, abusive situations, and access to drugs) and putting them in safe placements such as foster homes, group homes, or therapy centers, is typically thought of as the best response to ensure a child's safety. However, there are often unintended consequences to removing children from problematic situations. In removing children from multiple homes, a feeling of instability is created (Ryan, Herz, Hernandez, & Marshall, 2007). For example, researchers found that maltreated children, in unstable living situations, were more likely to experience peer rejection (Chapple, Tyler, and Bersani, 2005). This rejection and instability can lead to violent victimization and possible acts of violence in adolescents (Chapple et al, 2005). Being disconnected from a stable home environment, with the added stress of rejection, can cause adolescents to seek out connections with delinquent peers. In

these cases, non-delinquent peers could be a protective factor for maltreated children, thus reducing a child's tendency towards future delinquent behavior (Maschi, Bradley, & Morgen, 2008).

Instability, lack of non-delinquent peers, and lack of parental supervision are factors associated with being served by CPS more vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Commercially sexually exploited children or youth (CSEC) are children who have been exploited for the benefit of another person in exchange for monetary or non-monetary benefits (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Programs [OJJDP], 2016). Children are often coerced or offered safe places to stay, expensive gifts, and love by traffickers to draw them into exploitation (OJJDP, 2016). In many cities and states, children are arrested for prostitution rather than being treated as a victim of exploitation, causing the child to become a part of the juvenile justice system.

On September 29, 2014, the United States Congress passed Public Law 113-183, requiring that child protective agencies improve how they address the issue of sex trafficking (H.R. 4980). Agencies who receive federal funding and have contact with children in the foster care system must implement policies to identify and address CSEC. This is particularly important for children who are considered "at-risk" and children who have already experienced exploitation. These policy changes must include staff and case worker training for screening and identifying those children who are at the most risk and under their care (H.R. 4980).

Currently, there is no indication that a screening process or identification protocol has been established for Clark County Child Protective Services. It is also unknown how many of their wards are either at risk for exploitation or are already victims of exploitation.

This research is important because this is a vulnerable population that has very little voice and no control over the decisions being made for them. There is a failure in the child protective system and the juvenile justice system in actually protecting these children. One of the goals of this research is to bring these failures to light and to help give a voice to these victims. This research aims to not only add to the current literature about CPS and juvenile justice involved youth but also create an awareness of CPS youth who are at a high risk of being sexually exploited.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine a very vulnerable population: commercially sexually exploited children who have been arrested for prostitution related charges. Specifically, this research is meant to discover if youth who are CPS youth who have been arrested for prostitution charges are more likely to have more frequent involvement in the juvenile justice system than non-CPS involved youth who have been arrested for prostitution charges as well. The goal of this research is to not only determine if CPS involved children are at risk for broader patterns of criminality, but also to see if they have higher rates of recidivism compared to non-CPS involved children. This research looks at the number of arrests for CPS and non-CPS involved youth, and other delinquency variables to determine if CPS youth are more at risk for more frequent and deeper engagements in the juvenile justice system.

Significance of the Study

Currently, there is a wealth of research supporting the claim that children involved with CPS are more likely to become involved with the juvenile justice system (Abbott & Barnett, 2015; Huang et al., 2012; Maschi et al., 2008; Miller et al., 2013; Ryan et al., 2007).

However, there is almost no research addressing CPS involvement and the risk of commercial sexual exploitation. The current study aims to add to the current literature that children in child welfare systems are a highly vulnerable population, and also show that these children may be at even more risk for sexual exploitation than other youth who have not been involved with CPS.

Outline of the Study

Chapter Two expands on the topic through a review of the literature. The literature addresses current legislation concerning CPS and CSEC, current child protective service policies, risks of being involved with CPS, children involved with juvenile justice, risk factors for sexual exploitation, and lastly, the theoretical framework in which this research is grounded. Chapter Three describes the research sample and the quantitative methods used for this study. The results of the statistical analyses are presented in Chapter Four. Chapter Five includes discussion of the findings, policy implications, limitations of the research study, possible future research, and the conclusion.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The purpose of this research was to determine if CPS involved youth who have been arrested for prostitution related offenses have more frequent contact with the juvenile justice system than non-CPS involved youth who have also been arrested for prostitution related offenses. This research was meant to examine this relationship between child protective services involvement, commercial sexual exploitation of children, and engagement in the juvenile justice system. This relationship has been implied (Bounds, Julion, & Delaney, 2015), but not empirically tested. Prior to presenting the findings of this project, an examination of the current knowledge is warranted. This chapter is divided into four sections covering legislation regarding child welfare and commercial sexual exploitation, literature on the sexual exploitation of children, problems in the child welfare systems, and the theoretical framework in which this research is grounded.

Legislative History

While human trafficking is not a new issue, the legislation regarding definitions of trafficking, punishments for traffickers, and mandates for identifying at risk populations is relatively new. It was recognized over a century ago that transporting people against their will needed to be addressed (Mann Act of 1910) and the creation of child protection services followed shortly after (1935), but the U.S. federal government did not define modern trafficking until 2000.

It was not until the passage of the Preventing Sex Trafficking and Strengthening Families Act of 2014 that child sexual exploitation and child protective services were included in the same legislation. It is important to understand the progression of legislation

surrounding the protection of children and the issue of human trafficking to recognize how the first laws have evolved over time. Current laws show how we have improved some legislation over time, but it also shows how laws are still failing vulnerable populations. This section will outline the progression of legislation that has dealt with the trafficking of persons, the protection of children, and the current laws that address the issue of child sexual exploitation and the role CPS may have in protecting children from exploitation.

The Mann Act of 1910

The first acknowledgment of a problem with transporting people against their will was in 1910 when Congress passed the Mann Act. The Mann Act was ratified during the 61st Congressional session and dealt purely on the transportation of women and girls across state lines (Mann Act, 1910). It was later amended to include the specifications of transporting “for the purpose of prostitution or debauchery, or for any other immoral purpose” (Mann Act, 1978, sec. 14).

Eventually in 1986, the Mann Act was revised to include child pornography as a punishable offense. This portion of the Mann Act stated that it was for the possession, creation or distribution of child pornography (Gelber, 2006). This addition of child pornography was a step in the right direction towards protecting children from victimization but it did not include any provisions against the trafficking of children (Gelber, 2006).

One of the limitations of the Mann Act is that it only outlaws sex trafficking for the purpose of interstate or foreign commerce (Doyle, 2015). For the Mann Act to apply to the trafficking of persons, a person must transport another person across state lines. It does not address the issue of children being sexually exploited when they engage in survival sex,

nor does it cover exploitation that does not involve the transportation of victims (Doyle, 2015).

Establishment of Child Protective Services

While there was legislation addressing the trafficking of persons, there was also legislation being passed regarding child safety and welfare. However, , it would be almost 80 years before child welfare and the prevention of child trafficking would occupy the same legislative bill. There have been many legislative initiatives directed towards child welfare, but three key acts have influenced current practices towards children's safety. In 1935, Congress approved the Social Security Act and within the act it was specified that the federal government would provide funding to states to support a system of child welfare. It is this federal pass through that is being used as leverage now to force states to improve their identification and treatment of trafficking victims.

The second major area of change came 30 years later, in 1967, when individual states passed child abuse reporting laws (Vieth, 2006). The last key piece of legislation was passed in 1974. The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA) established the basic guidelines and standards of child abuse and neglect (CAPTA, 2010). Physical abuse, sexual abuse (familial only), and neglect were defined and gave the child welfare system authority to remove children for abuse offenses. The CAPTA guidelines for child abuse, however, did not include or address the issue of commercial child sexual exploitation (2010).

Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000

Although the Mann Act addressed the transporting of persons for prostitution, it was the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA), a landmark piece of legislation, that

first officially addressed the issue of human trafficking in the United States. The TVPA was specifically created to, “Combat trafficking in persons, especially into the sex trade, slavery, and involuntary servitude, to reauthorize certain Federal programs to prevent violence against women...” (TVPA, 2000, para. 2). This legislation was particularly noteworthy for specifically mentioning commercially sexually exploited children.

Division A of the TVPA is the section that addresses the trafficking of minors. This portion designates that any person who has not yet reached the age of 18 and has experienced “force, fraud, or coercion” to commit a commercial sex act is a victim of human trafficking (TVPA, 2000, sec. 103, para. 8(a)). This definition also includes “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” as types of crimes that can be committed against both minors and adults (TVPA, 2000, sec. 103, para. 8(b)).

Outlined within the TVPA are definitions for what constitutes coercion, commercial sex act, debt bondage, involuntary servitude, severe forms of trafficking in persons, and sex trafficking. For victims of severe forms of trafficking and victims of trafficking, this legislation provides a framework for how victims should be treated and what services they are entitled to receive (TVPA, 2000). The passage of the TVPA brings attention to the fact that prior legislation and enforcement was insufficient for prosecuting trafficking offenders and offered no protection for the victims of trafficking.

The TVPA has been reauthorized five times since its original inception, with the latest reauthorization in January of 2019. As groundbreaking as the TVPA was and has been, there has never been any mention of the involvement of child protective services in

the restoration of children who are exploited. There is also no mention of how child protective services can and should identify those in their care who are at risk for exploitation.

Preventing Sex Trafficking and Strengthening Families Act

Finally, in 2014 the Preventing Sex Trafficking and Strengthening Families Act (PSTSFA; Federal Public Law 113.183) was passed during the 113th Congress. This act specifically states that it is meant, “to prevent and address sex trafficking of children in foster care” (PSTSFA, 2014, para. 1). This is the first piece of legislation that specifically addresses the issue of children in CPS care being a vulnerable population that is at risk for being trafficked. One of the primary goals of this act is to identify children in the states’ care who have been trafficked or are at risk of being trafficked (PSTSFA, 2014).

The first section of the PSTSFA starts with mandates outlining that, within one year of the passage of the act, all child protective service agencies in the United States must implement policies and procedures for identifying, keeping records about, and providing appropriate services in regards to children over whom the agency has a responsibility and are at risk of exploitation. Language for the PSTSFA leaned heavily on previous trafficking legislation (such as the TVPA and Mann Act) for definitions and penalties for trafficking children. The PSTSFA definition of CSEC was taken directly from the TVPA. All the definitions of what constitutes a victim of trafficking and exploitation were also borrowed from the TVPA. Although the PSTSFA borrowed from previous legislation, it was a completely new idea to include child sexual exploitation as a part of CPS jurisdiction.

One area that the PSTSFA is vague about is distinguishing between domestic minor sex trafficking and international sex trafficking (Murray, 2015). The lack of distinction

between domestic and international sex trafficking means that it can be implied that the legislation applies to both populations. One of the challenges for CPS agencies in this area is that they must prepare for both domestic and international sex trafficking victims (Murray, 2015). It has already been seen that CPS agencies struggle to meet the needs and protect domestic victims but international victims may require even more that CPS cannot provide. This means that language barriers, cultural differences, and visa issues could all pose problems for international victims (Gerassi, 2015; Murray, 2015).

The PSTSFA makes it clear that CPS agencies are responsible for identifying children that are being trafficked or at risk for being trafficked. It is stated in the PSTSFA that, within one year of the Act's enactment, the States must be able to demonstrate that these policies and procedures have been implemented (PSTSFA, 2014). If states and CPS agencies fail to adopt policies regarding the prevention of child exploitation by 2016 they risk losing their federal funding.

The federal government was clearly concerned about whether protective services were tracking the victims in their care. Section 102 included specific language that stipulates that CPS agencies are to "report immediately and in no case later than 24 hours after receiving information on children or youth who have been identified as being a sex trafficking victim to the law enforcement authorities" (PSTSFA, 2014, section 671 (A)).

Additionally, states are required to report to the U.S. Secretary of State the total number of children and youth who have been identified as sex trafficking victims. Section 103 also states that children who experienced exploitation before or during their involvement with CPS should also be included in the states' report (PSTSFA, 2014). These

broad reporting requirements imply that the federal government is concerned about not knowing how widespread this problem is.

One of the biggest challenges with children in foster care is their tendency to run away from placements. Section 104 states that, within one year of the Act's implementation, agencies must have protocols for finding the child quickly, determining the reason for the child's running away, screening the child for adverse experiences while gone (including screening for sexual exploitation), and finally, reporting the incident immediately to the U.S. Secretary of State (PSTSFA, 2014). After two years, agencies must report incidents of missing children within 24 hours to law enforcement for entry into the National Crime Information Center. This database is overseen by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children.

While the Preventing Sex Trafficking and Strengthening Families Act is a step in the right direction, one of the biggest challenges is making sure states and agencies implement policies regarding trafficked CPS youth. Unfortunately, it was not until 2018 that Nevada presented a clear plan for enacting policies for protecting trafficked CPS youth. This is four years after the passage of the legislation and three years after the deadline set by the federal government. It can also be said that this may not be surprising, Nevada, specifically Clark County has a terrible record for taking care of children in the care of CPS.

Nevada and Clark County Child Protective Services

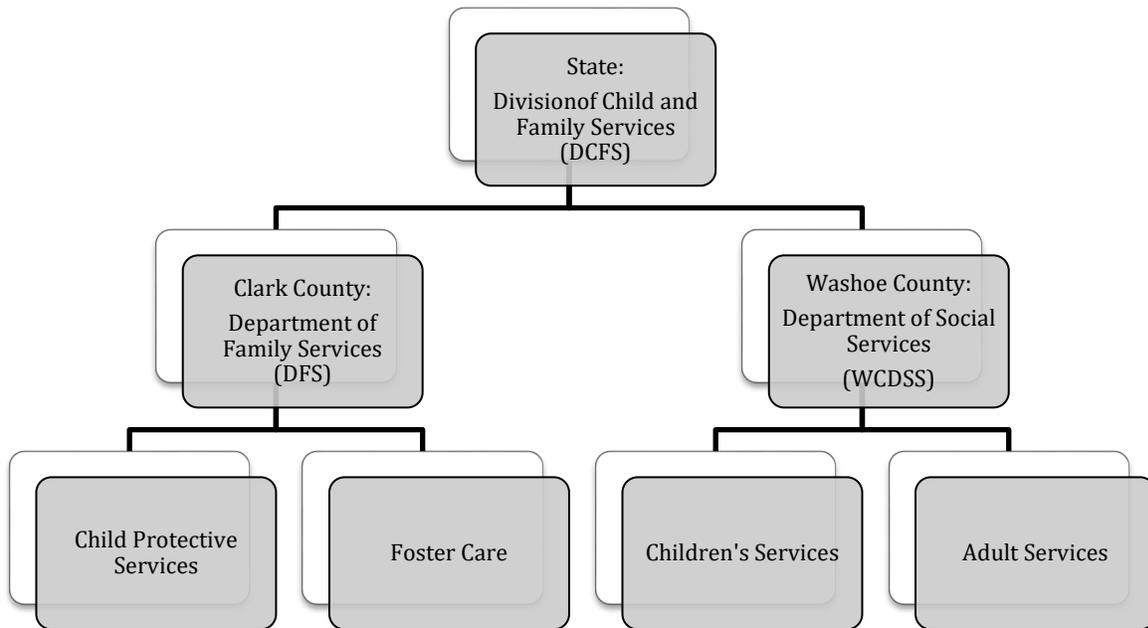
It is important to understand the current organization of the Nevada child welfare system and the problems that the Clark County child protective services have historically had in keeping children safe. The data being used for this research originate from Clark

County, Nevada, and focus on the child protective service histories of children involved in the juvenile justice system for sexual exploitation.

In 2001, the Division of Child and Family Services (DCFS) was created to manage child welfare at the state level. The purpose of the agency was to merge child protective services and foster care under the same system (Nevada Revised Statutes [NRS], 432B.325). Two county divisions were also created at that time, the Washoe County Department of Social Services (WCDSS) oversees child welfare in the northern part of the state and the Clark County Department of Family Services (DFS) provides services in the south. The Clark County DFS directs child protective services and foster care. Under NRS 432B.140 CPS has the obligation to investigate sexual, physical, and mental abuses along with neglect. Figure 1 demonstrates the organization of the child welfare agencies in Nevada.

Figure 1.

Structure of Nevada Child and Family Services



While Washoe County encompasses adult services under their Department of Social Services, Clark County only deals with adults under DFS if they are parents of children in child protective services. Adult services are found in a separate area of the county government system.

Unfortunately, the state of Nevada and Clark County have both had numerous complaints filed against them for not being in compliance with federal regulations regarding child safety, permanency of placements, and child wellbeing outcomes (Pelton, 2008). Between January 2011 and June 2015 there were 37 fatalities and 22 near fatalities of children in Clark County who had been involved with CPS (National Center for Youth

Law [NCYL], 2006). This is an incredibly high number of children in the child protective services that were clearly not protected.

During an inquiry of the Clark County CPS practices, it was found that many investigations of abuse and neglect were not done correctly, resulting in a child's death (NCYL, 2008). Reviews of current cases in DFS showed that many cases were not properly assessed for safe environments for children and that most cases had not been revisited in over 60 days, for unknown reasons (Pelton, 2008). Only 65% of the children were deemed in a safe environment, leaving 35% of children in dangerous or potentially lethal situations (Cotton, 2006).

In 2005, the National Center for Youth Law filed a suit against Clark County on behalf of the abused and neglected children in the county (Pelton, 2008). The suit was filed in response to 13 different cases of children being harmed or neglected while in DFS care (NCYL, 2006). One such case concerned a group of siblings when their brother died while in an unfit foster home. Another case of poor foster care was when an infant was locked in a closet. When the older sibling tried to get him out, he was severely beaten (NCYL, 2006). Another child was repeatedly admitted to the emergency room for overdosing on psychotropic drugs while he was a ward of the county (NCYL, 2006). These cases are just a few examples of the evidence found against DFS during the NCYL lawsuit.

CPS agencies are required to track and report child welfare outcomes to the Children's Bureau (a division of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services). The seven areas that agencies are graded on include:

1. Reducing the recurrence of child abuse and/or neglect
2. Reducing the incidence of child abuse and/or neglect in foster care

3. Increase the permanency of placements for children in foster care
4. Reducing time in foster care to time of reunification with family without increasing reentry to foster care
5. Reducing time in foster care to adoption
6. Increase foster care placement stability
7. Reducing placements of young children in group homes or institutions (Children's Bureau, 2008).

When this case was initially investigated, it was found that not only were cases of abuse and neglect underreported, but also that Clark County was deficient in all seven areas of federal compliance (NCYL, 2015).

Ten years later, it seems as though this has not changed much. Clark County is still failing to meet most of the requirements for federal compliance in child safety and welfare (NCYL, 2015). NCYL has continued to work in Clark County and found that child fatalities have actually increased. From the years 2013-2014, the number of child deaths in Clark County CPS increased from six to sixteen (NCYL, 2015). According to the NCYL, "If this trend continues, 2015 will see the highest number of child fatalities and near-fatalities recorded in Clark County for at least the past five years" (2015, para. 26).

The 2016 Statewide Child Death Report released by the State of Nevada Division of Child and Family Services provides information about all child deaths in the state of Nevada, including those that occurred while the child was under child protective services care. According to the 2016 report, there were 18 children who died while having open CPS cases. Fifteen of these children were located in Clark County and six of those were in foster homes (Nevada Division of Child and Family Services, 2016).

Nevada State Initiatives

It can be seen that Nevada, and Clark County in particular, struggles to create safe environments for children. With the 2014 PSTSFA call to action by the federal government, Governor Brian Sandoval created the Nevada Coalition to Prevent the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (NCPCSEC). However, the coalition was created in May of 2016, two years after the federal mandate and after the reporting period for exploited children should have started.

The coalition's mission is to, "Combat commercial sexual exploitation of children in Nevada with a trauma-informed and victim-centered approach" (Executive Order NCPCSEC Strategic Plan, 2015, p. 1). The strategic plan for combating the sexual exploitation of children consists of four action plans, but Action Plan 3 states that the coalition will, "Develop a comprehensive Statewide Strategic Plan that addresses the provision of coordinated service for CSEC children and youth, and includes recommendations on how to address the Sex Trafficking provisions of P.L. 113-183" (NCPCSEC Governor's Executive Order, 2016, section 5). Although the coalition has been successful in creating a statewide plan, it is still unclear that any CPS policies or practices have changed in regards to identifying CSEC children.

Types of Child Abuse

Despite the Clark County CPS having a negative track record for taking care of children, child protection agencies are generally considered to be a safety mechanism for children. There are a multitude of reasons why a child would become involved in the child welfare system, but child abuse is the most common reason for CPS involvement.

According to the Juvenile Offenders and Victims 2014 National Report (JOV) there are six types of child abuse and maltreatment: Physical abuse, childhood sexual abuse, emotional abuse, physical neglect, emotional neglect, and educational neglect (Sickmund & Puzzanchera, 2014). The passage of the laws such as the Preventing Sex Trafficking and Strengthening Families Act shows that there is a recognized need to include commercial sexual exploitation of youth to the list of abuses under CPS jurisdiction.

Physical abuse is one of the most common types of abuse. This abuse can be defined as a physical act that has caused or could potentially cause physical injury to a child. This could also include excessive corporal punishment (DCFS, 2017). While physical abuse does not necessarily have to have physical evidence, marks or bruising are the most common ways of identifying physical abuse. Unfortunately, childhood sexual abuse very rarely has visible physical signs, meaning that the identification of this type of abuse is difficult without disclosure (Simkins & Katz, 2002). Childhood sexual abuse involves children or youth in a sexual act, either with or without force. A sexual act can include, but is not limited to, “contact or touching for sexual purposes, prostitution, pornography, or sexually exploitive activities” (Sickmund & Puzzanchera, 2014, p. 20).

Similar to sexual abuse, emotional abuse does not leave physical marks that can be easily discerned. Emotional abuse can encompass a wide range of abuses. Verbally abusing a child, degradation, or purposefully terrorizing a child can all constitute emotional abuse (Van der Kolk, 2015). Other types of abuse that fall under emotional abuse are, “administering un-prescribed and potentially harmful substances, and willful cruelty or exploitation not covered by other types of maltreatment” (Sickmund & Puzzanchera, 2014, p. 20).

Neglect has been found to be one of the most common types of abuse reported to CPS (Kennedy, 2016). Neglect can be categorized into three categories: physical, emotional, and educational. Physical neglect is when a parent or guardian disregards a child's physical wellbeing. This can include ignoring their physical safety, abandoning them, banning them from the home, and denying or delaying medical care (DCFS, 2017). Negligence in supervision, failing to supply food, shelter, and/or clothing, and disregarding hygiene care would all be considered physical neglect.

Emotional neglect is denying a child affection or failing to provide nurturing. The definition of emotional neglect encompasses a wide range of behaviors. These could include inattention to emotional needs, ignoring developmental needs, exposing children to domestic violence or violent environments (Bland, Lambie, & Best, 2018). Allowing bad behavior from a child could also be seen as emotional neglect.

The last type of maltreatment and neglect is educational neglect. This includes not enrolling a child in school, allowing persistent truancy, or other negligence in educational needs (Bland, Lambie, & Best, 2018).

While these six types of abuse are commonly known and recognized, some states, such as Illinois, have gone as far as classifying the human trafficking of children as a type of child abuse and, as a result, it is now a reportable CPS offense (Calica, 2013). This inclusion of trafficking of children in a CPS policy guide is promising, but many states have not adopted this idea. The Preventing Sex Trafficking and Strengthening Families Act is hopefully the prompt that CPS agencies need to start including sexual exploitation as a type of child abuse, along with policies on how to identify and prevent exploitation.

While it is the goal of the PSTSFA to implement those policies regarding the trafficking of children, it seems as though their current policies are not always being enforced. The Juvenile Offenders and Victims National Report found that only about 43% of maltreated children received a CPS investigation (Sickmund & Puzzanchera, 2014). This could be due to either the cases not being reported or then being reported but not investigated by CPS. It also found that only about 56% of accusations of sexual abuse were investigated. In regards to response time, while some cases might receive a faster response, the average time of response by CPS to a child maltreatment claim was about 3 days (Sickmund & Puzzanchera, 2014).

Adverse Childhood Experiences

Child protective services are charged with protecting children from abuse and neglect. Often the harm inflicted by these traumas is seen immediately, but the long-term effects are harder to determine. It was not until the Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) survey results were published that it was discovered how damaging childhood trauma could be. In 1995, the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), in partnership with Kaiser Permanente, launched one of the largest research studies on adults who had suffered trauma and abuse as children (CDC, 2016). The research concluded in 1997, and the results were astounding. During this study 17,337 surveys were completed. Surveys consisted of questions regarding childhood physical, sexual, and emotional abuse, neglect, and household dysfunction (i.e., alcohol/substance abuse, mental illness, violence, suicidal and/or imprisoned household member; CDC, 2016). It was found that there was a significant relationship between the amount of experienced childhood trauma and the number of high risk health behaviors one adopted as an adult. The higher the ACE score,

the higher the likelihood of poor health and poor health choices one makes as an adult (Felitti, 2009).

James Mercy, one of the researchers for the ACE Study, made this impactful statement about their findings:

Imagine a childhood disease that affects one in five girls and one in seven boys before they reach 18; a disease that can cause dramatic mood swings, erratic behavior, and even severe conduct disorders among those exposed; a disease that breeds distrust of adults and undermines the possibility of experiencing normal sexual relationships; a disease that can have profound implications for an individual's future health by increasing the risk of problems such as substance abuse, sexually transmitted diseases, and suicidal behavior.

Imagine what we, as a society, would do if such a disease existed. We would spare no expense. We would invest heavily in basic and applied research. We would devise systems to identify those affected and provide services to treat them. We would develop and broadly implement prevention campaigns to protect our children.

Wouldn't we? Such a disease does exist – it's called child sexual abuse.

(Center for Disease Control, 1999, para. 3-4).

The ACEs study discovered that the long-term consequences of childhood abuse are incredible detrimental and can follow a person their entire life. The role of CPS agencies is to protect children from these abuses; however, just identifying them is not enough. Children in the CPS system often have compounding trauma and victimization that can lead to more severe issues if not addressed (Vidal et al., 2002).

Childhood Trauma and Delinquency

There is an abundance of research supporting the idea that abuse and neglect can increase the probability of delinquent behaviors (Baglavoio, Epps, Swartz, Hug, Sheer, & Hardt, 2014). One study found that “being neglected or abused in childhood has been shown to increase the likelihood of arrest as a juvenile by 59%, as an adult by 28%, and of committing a crime involving violence by 30%” (Widom & Maxfield, 2001, p. 329). This abuse and neglect also increases the chance of reoffending (Baglavoio et al., 2014). While not all children involved in child protective services end up in the juvenile justice system, the delinquency rates among children involved with child welfare agencies are about 47% higher than children not involved with the child protection system (Ryan & Testa, 2005).

The abuse and neglect experienced by a child can be exacerbated by an overloaded child welfare system (Abbott & Barnett, 2015). The stress and stigma of being “in the system” can create the risk of developing severe mental health issues. Post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), major depression, and psychopathy are just a few issues that can develop from a lack of stability and amplification of trauma (Bender, 2010). The stress of abuse and maltreatment also affects the physical development of an adolescent brain, making victims susceptible to substance abuse and mental health issues (Teicher, Anderson, & Polcari, 2012; Teicher, Anderson, Polcari, Anderson et al., 2003).

Not only are CPS youth already a vulnerable population for victimization but teens in general are also more prone to experience traumas. The Juvenile Offenders and Victims Report found that juveniles are more likely to be violently victimized by adults than others their age (Sickmund & Puzanchera, 2014). It was also found that about 90% of adolescent victimization cases were committed by a family member, friend or acquaintance and only

about 6% were committed by a stranger to the teen. Other research has also found that girls who were sexually abused were less likely to be enrolled in school (Sickmund & Puzzanchera, 2014). Another study found that one in 10 youth were likely to have been sexually abused in their lifetime and girls were more likely to report sexual abuse than boys (NatSCEV, 2008). Among girls detained in Clark County, nearly half reported witnessing violence in the home and over half reported being a victim of sexual violence (Kennedy, 2014, 2018).

The National Survey of Children's Exposure to Violence (NatSCEV) interviewed youth ages 10-17 and caregivers of youth under the age of nine (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Programs [OJJDP], 2008). They found that out of the 4,500 interviewed, 61% of youth had either been victims of violence or had witnessed violence within the last year (2008). Witnessing violence is considered a type of neglect and could be a reason for a child to be put in the CPS system, but it can also cause violent tendencies. Juveniles who act out in violent or aggressive manners could be imitating behaviors they have witnessed (OJJDP, 2008).

Even though the goal of child protective services is to protect children, it has been found that child involvement in the child welfare system can be traumatic on its own. Oftentimes removing children from problematic situations (e.g. dysfunctional households, abusive situations, and access to drugs) is the only way to protect children; however, this removal creates instability for the child (Ryan, Hernandez, & Marshall, 2007). This instability, caused by frequent moving and unstable personal relationships, is a contributing cause of juvenile delinquency (Ryan & Testa, 2005).

There is a set of risk factors that were developed to help explain childhood delinquency and behavior problems (Assink, 2015; Catalano & Hawkins, 1995). Some research has found that there are protective factors that help prevent youth from acting out (resulting in delinquency), and risk factors which exacerbate delinquent behavior (Assink et al., 2015). Protective factors include family stability, regular school attendance, and non-delinquent peers. Risk factors that can contribute to delinquent behaviors are the opposite of the protective factors, family instability, infrequent school attendance/dropping out, and association with delinquent peers that encourage the behavior (Assink et al., 2015). Family disruption (such as CPS involvement) is one of the key factors that contributes to juvenile delinquency (Sampson, 2017; Stevenson, 2017) Table 1 displays how these risk factors can affect juvenile delinquency, substance abuse, teenage pregnancy, school dropouts, and violence (Catalano & Hawkins, 1995).

Table 1

Risk Factors for Health and Behavior Problems

Risk Factors	Substance Abuse	Delinquency	Teenage Pregnancy	School Dropout	Violence
Community					
Availability of Drugs	X				
Availability of Firearms		X			X
Community laws and norms favorable to drug use, firearms, and crime	X	X			X
Media portrayals of violence					X
Transitions and mobility	X	X		X	
Low neighborhood attachment and community organization	X	X			X
Extreme economic deprivation	X	X	X	X	X
Family					
Family history of the problem behavior	X	X	X	X	
Family management problems	X	X	X	X	X
Family conflict	X	X	X	X	X
Favorable parental attitudes toward and involvement in the problem behavior	X	X			X
School					
Early and persistent antisocial behavior	X	X	X	X	X
Academic failure beginning in elementary school	X	X	X	X	X
Lack of commitment to school	X	X	X	X	
Individual/Peer					
Rebelliousness	X	X		X	
Friends who engage in the problem behavior	X	X	X	X	X
Favorable attitudes toward the problem behavior	X	X	X	X	
Early initiation of the problem behavior	X	X	X	X	X

(Catalano & Hawkins, 1995)

Dual Involved and Crossover Youth

Knowing that CPS involved children are more likely to have delinquent behaviors and are also at a higher risk for being exploited, there is no surprise that many of these children are also a part of the juvenile justice system. National studies looking at youth involved in CPS found that a third to half were also involved in the delinquency system (Herz, Ryan, & Bilchik, 2010; Gillalla, 2015). The juvenile justice system is often intertwined with the child welfare system, both holding responsibility for youth under the age of 18 who have committed delinquent acts or broken the law (National Center for Juvenile Justice [NCJJ], 2014).

The prevalence of children involved in both the child welfare system and the juvenile justice system has created the need for terms to define the ways in which children and youth are referred to when they become a part of both systems. Herz et al. (2010), coined the term “crossover youth” to refer to children and youth who have experienced abuse and have also engaged in delinquency. For crossover youth, the maltreatment and delinquency may or may not be brought to the attention of either CPS or juvenile justice. Alternatively, dual-involved youth have been involved in both the child welfare system and juvenile justice, although their involvement in the systems does not necessarily have to be coinciding (Baglivio et al., 2016). This group can also be referred to as dual-jurisdictional youth (Halembe et al., 2004).

For youth who are dually involved, if they become actively involved in CPS and juvenile justice systems at the same time they can be referred to as dually-adjudicated youth (Vidal et al., 2016). “Involvement” can be defined as a placement or adjudication. According to Baglivio et al. (2016), there are two common ways that a youth can become a

dually adjudicated youth. The most typical way an adolescent becomes dually served is when they are a part of the CPS system and then commit a crime while in the care of CPS. The second way is when a child or youth is arrested for delinquency and then referred to CPS on suspicion of abuse or neglect at home (Baglivio et al., 2016).

In Clark County, the Department of Family Services Child Protective Services and the juvenile justice system operate as separate county entities, and rarely coordinate or cooperate with one another. The true overlap numbers of children in CPS care and those involved with juvenile justice at the same time are not regularly calculated (Sampson, 2017). This lack of communication between CPS and juvenile delinquency systems is not uncommon and is not limited to Clark County. Previous research has found that “due to a lack of systematic data sharing or integration of information systems, dually-served youth often represent a hidden population as professionals in either system are often unaware of the youth’s involvement in the counterpart system” (Baglivio, 2016, p. 627).

This research is specifically focused on these youth that are dual-involved. CPS involved youth who have been arrested for prostitution related offenses and are now involved in the juvenile justice system are a unique population. These youth have been victimized in some way to be involved in CPS and now they have been sexually exploited. The layers of victimization these children have suffered are only compounded when they are arrested and treated as criminals for their victimization.

Using the Juvenile Justice System as a Catch All

Despite the TVPA categorizing anyone who has been sexually exploited and under the age of 18 as a trafficking victim, Nevada along with other states, continue to manage trafficked youth with the juvenile justice system. Rather than providing treatment and

victim resources for trafficked youth, exploited children are routed through the juvenile delinquency system as offenders. National research has repeatedly criticized states for their overreliance on confinement for youth (Justice Policy Institute, 2014; Myers, 2018). Youth who have committed minor infractions are often treated more harshly than warranted to instill a fear of recidivism (Weisburd, Farrington, & Gill, 2017). This approach of “scared straight is a problem” (Maahs & Pratts, 2016, p. 57).

Annually, over 600,000 youth in America are placed in juvenile detention centers and daily snapshots reveal 70,000 youth reside in U.S. juvenile correctional facilities (Mental Health and Juvenile Justice Collaborative for Change, 2014). It has also been found that 62% of youth nationally committed in 2011 were adjudicated for non-violent offenses, for example, prostitution related offenses (Justice Police Institute, 2014). In the case of sexually exploited youth, they are being arrested and incarcerated for their victimization (Simkins & Katz, 2002).

Despite recognizing the detriments of relying on confinement to change youths' behavior, juvenile justice systems around the country have seen an increase in referrals. These youth were formerly managed through schools and mental health facilities but get passed now to juvenile justice for relatively minor behaviors. This added burden creates a new urgency for juvenile justice systems to develop best practices in mental health screening so that youth can be diverted out of the delinquency system.

Commercially Sexually Exploited Children

Commercially sexually exploited children or youth are defined by the TVPA as anyone under the age of 18, who has been forced, coerced, or misled to perform sexual acts for commercial purposes is considered a victim of commercial sexual exploitation

(TVPA, 2000). This section discusses the risk factors for being exploited, the prostitution laws in Nevada, and introduces the CSEC population in Clark County.

Risk Factors for Exploitation

Victims of domestic minor sex trafficking can be from any race, gender, or socioeconomic background (Hasselbarth, 2014). Some research has found that African American girls are over-represented when looking at trafficked minors, and girls in general are more likely to be victims (Mir, 2013). Young girls are often considered more vulnerable and malleable by traffickers, this can lead to an increased likelihood of being victimized and sexually exploited (Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016).

Most research has found that the average age of sexual exploitation is about 14, but with ages as low as 11 in some cases (Kennedy, 2014; Shared Hope International, 2014; Patel, 2015). Unfortunately, the way of identifying the ages of exploited children is through arrest records. Although, the TVPA classifies children under the age of 18 as victims of trafficking, the most common response for law enforcement to exploited children is to arrest them. Hasselbarth poses the question that many are asking about the sexual exploitation of children:

...[T]he large majority of juveniles engaged in illegal sex work cannot even legally consent to the commercial sex acts that they are being prosecuted for. How can a juvenile be both a criminal and a victim based on a single sexual act? Does the fact that there was a value exchange automatically transform the otherwise statutory raped juvenile from victim to criminal? (2014, p. 401)

Brannigan and Van Brunschot (1997) found that adolescents who had been exploited were more likely to describe their home life as negative and chaotic. Many of

their descriptions included high levels of physical and sexual abuse, along with parental drug and alcohol abuse (Brannigan & Van Brunschot, 1997). While abuse is not a cause of exploitation it can be seen as a correlate. One study found that children with histories of family dysfunction and abuse are generally targeted by traffickers who know how to manipulate them into “the life” or exploitation (Farley, Franzblau, & Kennedy, 2013). Pimps and traffickers are very astute in capitalizing on young girls’ emotional vulnerabilities with promises of love and money (Kennedy, Klein, Bristowe, Cooper, & Yuille, 2007).

Children who are running away from abusive home lives or poverty are at a higher risk of being exploited (Kennedy & Jordan, 2014). In 2017, the Center for Missing and Exploited Children found that about one out of every seven children who were reported as runaways were being exploited. Runaway and homeless teens are susceptible to trafficking because they may have to participate in “survival sex,” meaning that they have to trade sex for food or shelter (Hasselbarth, 2014). Some homeless and runaway youths are recruited or forced to work for traffickers (i.e. pimps). Trafficker recruitment is not limited to teens that have runaway or are homeless, but these populations are more vulnerable to being trafficked (Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2017).

Children involved with the child welfare system are at a greater risk for being exploited because of the instability in their lives and the sometimes lack of supervision (Bounds et al., 2015). A study conducted on missing and exploited children in the United States found that of the reported missing children about 88% were in child social services care when they went missing (Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2017).

A newer trend that has been noticed is gang use of commercial sexual exploitation to fund gang activities or to use exploitation as a part of gang initiation (Hasselbarth, 2014).

Ranking third only behind illicit firearm and drug sales, human traffickers collectively make a profit between 7 and 10 billion U.S. dollars annually (Rieger, 2007; Haynes, 2007). Crime syndicates and organizations have taken advantage of the fact that, unlike drugs and guns, people can be sold and resold until they are of no more use (Haynes, 2007).

Sexually exploited children are an incredibly vulnerable population that is often criminalized for their victimization. The risk of being sexually exploited is not limited to age, race, gender, or socio-economic status (Gerassi, 2015). However, youth who face instability in their lives or have family dysfunction could be seen as having a higher risk of being sexually exploited, particularly those that have been put in CPS care.

CSEC in Las Vegas, Nevada

“What happens in Vegas, stays in Vegas” is an adage that has become the slogan for many Las Vegas tourists. Unfortunately, this saying often convinces tourists that they can get away with anything and have no repercussions when in Las Vegas. Prostitution is legal in Nevada, but it is not legal in Clark County where Las Vegas is located (NRS 244.345). Nevada Revised Statute 244.345 states that counties with populations under 700,000 may petition to have legalized houses of prostitution, but the county board has discretion as to allow the establishment. There is a misconception that prostitution is legal in Las Vegas since it operates so openly; however, the sexual exploitation of children is always illegal.

For the past 13 years Las Vegas Family Court has had a specialized court dedicated to exploited children who have been arrested for ‘prostitution.’ Data collected from this court show that roughly 150-200 youth are arrested annually for prostitution related charges (Kennedy, 2016). The existence of a specialized court for youth who have been arrested for prostitution related offenses is in direct contradiction to the federal laws that

have been put in place. By law, youth who have been sexually exploited should be treated as victims but instead they are being arrested and adjudicated by a specialty court. These youth are being labeled delinquent for their victimization.

Theoretical Framework - Labeling Theory

Labeling theory offers an approach to juvenile delinquency that could potentially explain why some youth are more delinquent than others. This research is focused on CPS and non-CPS involved youth who have been criminalized for their sexual exploitation. One of the main premises of labeling theory is that youth are given delinquent variables by society, which then leads to more delinquent behaviors. While labeling theory is only concerned with delinquency labels, this research posits that CPS could be considered a negative label that affects delinquent behavior as well.

There are many schools of thought when it comes to the causes of crime and delinquency. There is no one theory that can explain all crimes. Labeling theory has a long history in criminology and can be traced back to the idea of the “looking glass self” (Cooley, 1902). Mead (1934) built on Cooley’s idea by arguing that individuals construct their image and understanding of self through social interactions. He suggested that this occurs through role-taking or the way one’s self is perceived through another individual’s or group’s viewpoint. Negative social interactions resulted in anti-social or deviant behaviors (Mead, 1934). Many would attribute the creation of labeling theory to Frank Tannenbaum (*The Dramatization of Evil*, 1938), but in actuality it is a composition of several propositions. In 1951, Lemert tied together the idea of the negative self, societal labeling, and deviant behavior. He suggested that there were primary and secondary deviant behaviors that were guided by society labeling them as such.

Over time, three main assumptions of labeled deviance evolved from a number of researchers adding to what is now considered labeling theory. Primary deviance is the first basic assumption. This is the stage before a deviant act is labeled deviant, although the perpetrator may not deem their acts as deviant (Lemert, 1951). Research has shown that there are a number of factors that can influence a juvenile's onset of delinquency (Scheff, 1966). There are risk factors often associated with the initial onset of juvenile delinquency (such as CPS involvement), as well as protective factors. Often, a juvenile will rationalize primary deviance and will see it as a minor part of their daily lives.

The most important assumption of the labeling approach is when there is a negative societal reaction to primary deviance, this is referred to as secondary deviance. The labeling of the act as "deviant" by society causes the shift from primary to secondary deviance (Meade, 1974). This is the point at which the person internalizes the negative societal reaction to the deviant behavior that then alters their self-identity. When this shift occurs the juvenile then starts making choices that revolve around the deviant stigma that has been assigned to them by society (Lemert, 1951). This then fosters the continuation of delinquent behavior (Akers & Sellers, 2009).

The last assumption of labeling theory is that a 'delinquent' label is not based solely on their behaviors, but also relies on factors regarding their age, sex, race, socio-economic status, societal norms, and organizational norms (Shoemaker, 2000). Research has found that there are groups of juveniles who are labeled as delinquent while others are not, although they participate in the same anti-social activities (Becker, 1963). Chambliss (1973) found that two groups of juveniles "the Saints and the Roughnecks" had very different experiences with societal sanctions due to socio-economic status. The Saints were

from a higher socio-economic section of the city while the Roughnecks were from a lower income part of the city. Both groups participated in the same type of behaviors, but the Roughnecks were considered “trouble.” Through his research, Chambliss (1973) found that although the two groups were the same, except for socio-economic status, the Saints did not consider themselves “deviant,” because the community did not. However, the Roughnecks adopted the “deviant” label that society gave them and their delinquent behavior escalated through time.

Although there are the three main tenets of the labeling approach, there are a number of sub-sections that can be looked at as well. Research has found that there is a difference between formal and informal labeling (Matsueda, 2014). In the labeling approach, formal labeling occurs when a juvenile comes into contact with anyone who has authority to officially label the individual as deviant, such as the juvenile justice system (Chiricos, Barrick, Bales, & Bontrager, 2007). Many do not realize that there are a number of negative, formal labels that society frequently uses, such as, “felon,” “sex offender,” and “delinquent” (Chin, 2002; Love, Roberts, & Klingele, 2013). These formal labels not only affect a person’s self-view, but can also carry strict societal consequences. A formal label as a “sex offender” requires a person to register on the national database, restricts their housing options, and can severely impede a person’s ability to reintegrate into society (Tewksbury, 2005).

Conversely, informal labels are given by someone who does not have official authority and who sometimes cannot differentiate between the deviant and the non-deviant behavior of juveniles (Liu, 2000). The most common instigators of informal labeling are parents (Ray & Downs, 1986). This informal labeling seems to be one of the

most detrimental to a juvenile's self-esteem or self-concept. It has been argued that a parent label as a "rule-violator" not only negatively affects a youth's view of self, but also impacts their involvement in future delinquency (Matsueda, 1992).

Application of Labeling Theory

Formal and informal societal reactions to delinquency influence the subsequent attitudes and behaviors of juveniles. The labeling perspective argues that negative self-concept is the result of having been labeled delinquent. It also suggests that self-identification of oneself as a delinquent, criminal, deviant, or any other negative connotation promotes future delinquent behaviors (Shoemaker, 2000).

The formal labels assigned by dominant social groups or official authority figures lead to secondary deviance. This research concentrates on juveniles who have been a part of the child welfare system and who have also been arrested for prostitution related offenses. By having official involvement in the juvenile justice system, these youth have officially been labeled delinquent. However, this research proposes that the youth with CPS involvement already carry a label, which may have lead to their subsequent delinquency. This label of being a "foster" youth or having "CPS" attached to their name could be considered the preliminary label that affects a youth's perception of self, therefore initiating a pattern of delinquent behavior.

This research proposes that this CPS label not only affects a youth's future delinquency but that the social structures (juvenile justice) use that label against them. There is often a stigma associated with being involved with the CPS system (van Bijleveld, Dedding, & Bunders-Aelen, 2015). This stigma could be considered a negative label that these children are given by society. Often children become involved in the CPS system at a

young age and they are given the CPS label before they can even speak. However this label follows them and can influence the way they behave and the way they are treated by the juvenile justice system. Once involved with the juvenile justice system they now have what could be considered two negative labels.

There are number of ways that children can become involved in CPS but most of the time it is related to some kind of abuse. Similarly, there are a number of ways that a youth could become involved in the juvenile justice system. This research is specifically looking at youth arrested for prostitution related offenses, meaning they were arrested for being victimized. The inclusion in both of these juvenile systems revolves around these children being negatively labeled for their victimization.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to examine if youth who had experience in the child protective service system had more frequent contact with the juvenile justice system than their non-child welfare involved peers. Research on dual involved youth has been relatively limited until recently. Previous research has focused on placements of youth, maltreatment effects, systems treatment, and recidivism (Huang et al., 2012; Miller et al., 2013; Ryan et al., 2007). However, previous research has not addressed the issue of CPS youth being at risk of being sexually exploited, or if they are more likely to be in the juvenile justice system due to prostitution related offenses. This research hypothesized that children who had the “CPS” label were more likely to have deeper and more frequent engagements in the juvenile justice system than their non-CPS counterparts when arrested for prostitution related charges.

Research Questions

This research used labeling theory to guide the quantitative methodology. Labeling theory does not have testable components but it offers a way to conceptualize the idea that juveniles with a CPS label will have a more difficult time in the juvenile delinquency system.

The research questions motivating this research were:

Question 1. Are CPS involved trafficking victims more likely to have higher numbers of arrest than non-CPS involved trafficking victims?

Question 2. Are CPS involved trafficking victims more likely to have new arrests for prostitution related offenses than non-CPS involved trafficking victims?

Question 3. Are CPS involved trafficking victims more likely to have higher numbers of violations of probation than non-CPS involved trafficking victims?

Question 4. Are CPS involved trafficking victims less likely to have earned dismissals than non-CPS involved trafficking victims?

Question 5. Are CPS involved trafficking victims more likely to have longer lengths of probation than non-CPS involved trafficking victims?

Data Collection

This was a quantitative study comparing sexually exploited youth who had a history of CPS involvement to sexually exploited youth who had not been involved with CPS. The fundamental goal of this project was to explore the “label” of CPS involvement among youth who were justice involved due to sexual exploitation. All participants in the current study had been arrested for prostitution related charges. The research sample included youth arrested for prostitution related charges in Clark County, Nevada, during the year 2017.

The data being used were secondary data that had already been collected for a specialty juvenile court in Clark County. The specialty court calendar is overseen by the most senior family court judge. Information collected by the court system included: demographic information, birthdate, date of arrest, number of arrests, dates of hearings, arrest charges, dispositions, violations of probation, length of probation and notes on placements. In order to determine if the arrested youth were dually involved, the court was granted permission to check for overlap in the Department of Child and Family Services computer system (UNITY). The analysis of data in this dissertation falls under UNLV IRB #953682-5.

Research Sample

In 2017, 156 youth were arrested for prostitution related charges in Clark County, Nevada. Of the arrested youth, 100 were from Clark County while 56 were from other states. This research focused on the local youth, since child welfare involvement information for the youth who were transported back to their state of origin would not be available in UNITY. Complete data were available for 79 of the 100 local youth. The 79 juveniles arrested in 2017 for prostitution related offenses were the sample used for this research project.

The majority of youth arrested for prostitution related offenses in Clark County were female (n=78) with only one male arrested for the same charges. The average age of all of the arrested youth was 15.8 with 13 being the youngest and 17 being the oldest. Racially, there were a disproportionate number of African American females represented. African Americans accounted for 59% of the arrested youth (including the one male). Caucasians who did not identify as Hispanic represented 15% of the sample and an equal number of Caucasians identified as Hispanic (15%). Those who identified as mixed race accounted for 11% of the arrested youth.

Juvenile justice involvement and CPS involvement were both analyzed for this project. Previous research on delinquent youth has found that both CPS and non-CPS involved youth report experiencing very high rates of abuse (Kennedy, Stout & Bejinuariu, 2018). The data previously collected in Nevada, shows that these two groups did not differ statistically significantly in their experience of abuse. Among delinquent girls interviewed in detention, 13 CPS involved youth reported rates of abuse at 100%, whereas the non-CPS involved youth reported rates of abuse at 88% (Kennedy et al., 2018). These universally

high rates of underlying abuse, for both CPS and non-CPS youth, allowed this project to examine involvement in the CPS system as an exacerbating condition for youth not their x abuse history.

Variables

The patterns of involvement in both systems (i.e., juvenile justice and child welfare) can be complex and very different for each youth.

Independent Variables.

CPS involvement was the independent variable used for this research. CPS involvement was a dichotomous variable to determine: yes (1) they had been involved in the CPS system or no (2) they had not been involved in the CPS system.

Other control variables that were used in these analyses were race and age of first prostitution arrest. Race was coded into the four groups available from the court data: Caucasian, African American, Latinx, and Mix or other. In the analyses, African American was used as the comparison group. The age of first prostitution arrest was a continuous variable.

Dependent Variables.

Delinquency and child welfare variables were collected for this research. Delinquency variables were in direct relation to a youth's juvenile justice involvement such as the number of times they had been arrested. In order to address Research Question 1, the first dependent variable was the number of arrests a youth had. This is also referred to as disposition number or D-number in court records. While this research focused specifically on prostitution related charges to generate the research sample, all arrests

were counted for this variable. If a youth had been arrested for prostitution related charges and then later for breaking curfew both arrests were counted.

The second dependent variable was the number of probation violations a youth had. Probation violations occur when a minor is rearrested for minor infractions (e.g. breaking curfew, skipping school, using banned technology, associating with delinquent peers). The court can set a number of probation restrictions for a youth after they have been arrested. These are often difficult for youth to adhere to and often ends in them being rearrested for violations of probation. This variable was a count of the number of times a youth was arrested for violating their probation orders.

The third variable was continuous and denoted how many prostitution related offenses a youth had been arrested for. While the first variable (number of arrests) included all arrests for any crimes or delinquency, this variable was specifically collected to see if youth had more than one arrest for prostitution related offenses. This was also a continuous variable.

To address research question four, earned dismissals were coded as a dichotomous variable (1 = yes, 2 = no). An earned dismissal is when a youth meets all of the requirements given to them by the court. These requirements are generally the same as their probation terms (e.g., being home by curfew, going to school, not using the internet, staying away from delinquent peers, etc.). A youth was coded as having earned a dismissal if they earned one at any point before the data collection was finished.

The last delinquency variable was the length of probation a youth received from the judge. This variable was collected to explore whether or not a CPS youth was treated differently in the juvenile justice system because of their CPS label. The lengths of

probation found in the data were by month increments. Some youth were not given probation and that was considered zero. The other youth in the sample received six months, nine months or 12 months.

The child welfare variables that were collected for this research included age at first CPS report, reports of neglect, physical abuse, and sexual abuse. These variables were only available for children that were identified as CPS involved in the Clark County UNITY computer system. The age of first CPS contact was collected in years of age and started with under 1 year of age. The neglect variable indicated if the youth had ever experienced any type of neglect. Physical and sexual abuses were also collected if there were investigations of those types of abuse. The abuse variables (neglect, physical abuse, sexual abuse) were all separate dichotomous variables (1 = yes this type of abuse was reported, 2 = no this type of abuse was not reported).

Analytic Techniques

This study included a range of analyses to determine if the dependent variables were affected by the independent variables (and hence to test the hypotheses). Descriptive statistical analyses were conducted to explore age of first CPS and age of first delinquency involvement. Correlations were run on the delinquency and the child welfare variables to determine if any relationships between variables were present.

The main goal of this research was to compare CPS involved youth with non-CPS involved youth so a statistical method was used compare the two groups. The data used in this research does not meet the assumptions of normality so the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was selected as a non-parametric test. This test was used because it does not make assumptions of the distribution of data (Finner & Gontscharuk, 2018). There is an

assumption that the data being used is continuous, which this research data was. This method tends to be a more powerful statistic because it can assume interval or higher-level data (Hassani & Silva, 2015).

To ensure that there was no omitted variable bias in this data, the decision was made to use a regression analysis so predictors could be used as control variables. Four of the research hypotheses had continuous outcome variables that did not have normal distributions. For the research questions regarding number of arrests, number of arrests for prostitution, number of violations of probation, and length of probation a negative binomial regression was chosen as the statistical method. This statistical method was chosen because the residual plots performed on the data did not fit the assumptions of ordinary least squares estimation (Shirazi, Lord, & Dhavala, 2016). For the reasons of continuous data and having that data not meet the assumptions of other regression models, negative binomial regression was chosen. The predictor control variables included in these analyses were race and age of first prostitution arrest. Age of first CPS involvement could not be used as a control variable since only CPS involved youth would have that information, not allowing for a comparison between the two groups.

The fifth dependent variable, earned dismissals, was coded as yes = earned dismissal or no = did not earn dismissal making it a dichotomous outcome variable. The independent variable for this research was CPS involvement, which was also a dichotomous variable. The use of dichotomous variables for both the independent and dependent variables is preferred for logistic regression analysis (Mansournia, 2017). For this reason logistic regression was considered an appropriate analytic method. Similar to

the negative binomial regression model, race and age at first prostitution arrest were used as predictor control variables.

To conduct these analyses IBM Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) for Mac OS X Yosemite statistical software version 26.0 (IBM SPSS, 2018) was used. The SPSS computer program can be utilized to edit and analyze many forms of data. This program is widely used in the social sciences with many analytic capabilities.

Chapter 4

Results

The purpose of this dissertation was to explore differences between CPS and non-CPS involved youth who had been arrested for prostitution related offenses. The research questions sought to identify differences between the two groups related to their involvement and interactions within the juvenile justice system

The research questions were meant to explore not only the youths' involvement in the juvenile justice system but also how the actors (e.g. the presiding judge) within the juvenile justice system responded to the arrested juveniles through assignment of terms of probation. The use of delinquency variables such as number of arrests, multiple arrests for prostitution, violations of probation, earned dismissals, and length of probation were used in this section to answer the research questions.

Descriptive Statistics of Child Welfare Involvement

This research was focused on two groups of juveniles, those involved in the child protective system and those not involved. The first group included children who were part of the child welfare system meaning that a report had been filed about suspicions of abuse. This was the largest category and accounted for two-thirds of the sample (n = 59, 74.6%). The second group in this sample was composed of the juveniles that had no interactions with the child protective system. This group accounted for 25.3% (n = 20, 25.3%) of the total sample.

Following a report of abuse to the child welfare system, investigations could result in two different outcomes: substantiated or unsubstantiated allegations. Substantiated investigations meant that evidence had been found that justified either removing the child

from the home or requiring guardians to take steps to change a harmful situation.

Unsubstantiated claims or investigations did not have any further action taken. Of the 59 juveniles with investigations ($M = 5.95$, $SD = 5.57$), only 30 children ($M = .54$, $SD = .503$) had complaints substantiated.

When looking at juveniles, their age of first CPS involvement can often be seen as correlated to subsequent activities: the earlier they engage in delinquent behavior, the more likely they are to have continued engagement (Teicher, Anderson, & Polcari, 2012). Table 2 displays the ages of first involvement with CPS. The median age of first involvement was 12 ($M = 9.68$, $SD = 5.77$).

Table 2

Age of First CPS Interaction

Age	N	%	Cumulative %
1	8	10.1	13.6
2	5	6.3	22.0
3	2	2.5	25.4
4	1	1.3	27.1
5	3	3.8	32.2
6	1	1.3	33.9
7	3	3.8	39.0
9	1	1.3	40.7
10	2	2.5	44.1
11	3	3.8	49.2
12	3	3.8	54.2
13	5	6.3	62.7
14	6	7.6	72.9
15	6	7.6	83.1
16	6	7.6	93.2
17	4	5.1	100.00
Total	59		

There are three main types of abuse that CPS typically investigates: neglect, physical abuse, and sexual abuse. As mentioned above, not all complaints were substantiated. Additionally, children may be the subject of multiple reports (range of the number of reports made in this sample was 1 to 24) and within each report, multiple allegations may be included. Table 3 presents the types of abuse that were investigated. The total number

of abuse categories investigated does not match the 59 CPS involved children because some children experienced reports of multiple forms of abuse.

Table 3

Number and Types of Reported Abuses

Type of Abuse	N	%	Mean	SD
Neglect	42	53.2	.81	.398
Physical Abuse	30	38.0	.58	.499
Sexual Abuse	18	22.8	.35	.480

Descriptive Statistics of Delinquency Involvement

This research compared CPS to non-CPS involved youth among juveniles who had been arrested and were being managed through the juvenile justice system, so they all had delinquency disposition records. Table 4 shows the age of first arrest for prostitution-related offenses for the sample being examined.

Table 4

Age of First Prostitution Arrest

Age	N	%	Cumulative %
13	3	3.8	3.8
14	12	15.2	19.0
15	10	12.7	31.6
16	30	38.0	69.6
17	24	30.4	100.00
Total	79	100.00	

While all of the youths were arrested for prostitution related offenses at least once, there were some who had been arrested more than once for prostitution related charges. Table 5 displays the data for multiple arrests for prostitution.

Table 5

Multiple Arrests for Prostitution

Number of additional arrests	N	%	Cumulative %
No additional arrest	69	87.3	87.3
1	7	8.9	96.2
2	1	1.3	97.5
3	1	1.3	98.7
4	1	1.3	100.00
Total	79	100.00	

Most of the youth (87.3%) did not have multiple arrests for prostitution; however, ten of the 79 did have multiple prostitution arrests. Of those ten youth, eight of them were CPS involved.

Many of the youth in the research sample were arrested for other offenses. Disposition numbers are used to track the number of times a youth has been arrested for different offenses. At each arrest instance, there may have been multiple charges laid. Table 6 shows the number of additional arrests for non-prostitution related offenses for this research sample.

Table 6

Number of Arrests for Non-Prostitution Offenses

Number of Non-Prostitution Arrests	N	%	Cumulative %
No additional arrests	21	26.6	26.6
1	14	17.7	44.3
2	7	8.9	53.2
3	10	12.7	65.8
4	7	8.9	74.7
5	2	2.5	77.2
6	7	8.9	86.1
7	2	2.5	88.6
8	3	3.8	92.4
9	2	2.5	94.9
10	2	2.5	97.5
11	1	1.3	98.7
12	1	1.3	100.00
Total	79	100.00	

As illustrated in the table, three-quarters of the youth in the sample had been arrested on multiple occasions for non-prostitution related offenses ($M = 4.01$, $SD = 3.20$). Over half (53.2%) had at least three arrests. The type of charges that the juveniles were subsequently arrested for varied greatly. Reasons for arrest could range from new prostitution charges, acts of violence, to probation violations. Violations of probation were the most common reason for rearrests. Table 7 shows the number of violations and the number of juveniles who have had that number of violations.

Table 7

Violations of Probation

# of Violations	N	%	Cumulative %
0	34	43.0	43.0
1	9	11.4	54.4
2	12	15.2	69.6
3	11	13.9	83.5
4	5	6.3	89.9
5	2	2.5	92.4
6	4	5.1	97.5
7	1	1.3	98.7
8	1	1.3	100.00
Total	79	100.00	

As shown in Table 7, eight was the highest number of probation violations by any of the juveniles in the sample. Over half (57.0%) of the juveniles had at least one violation of probation ($M = 1.71$, $SD = 2.00$).

The high rates of violations of probation may explain the low rates of earned dismissals. An earned dismissal is when the court revisits the case and if all of the orders have been followed, the original charges will be dismissed. Table 8 shows that less than 20% of the youth earned a dismissal for their prostitution charges.

Table 8

Earned Dismissals

Earned Dismissal	N	%	Cumulative %
Yes	14	17.7	17.7
No	62	78.5	96.2
Unknown	3	3.8	100.00
Total	79	100.00	

The three unknown earned dismissals were for youth whose files were incomplete or where youth had not yet finished their court mandates and so were not yet eligible to earn a dismissal.

Some of the juveniles may struggle with meeting the court requirements due to familial situations or due to the stringency of the court mandates. When setting a juvenile's court orders, the judge has discretion in how strict or lenient they want to be. Often a judge's decision is made by weighing the severity of the offense, the juvenile's history of delinquency, and their history of complying with court orders. The length of probation a juvenile is given can be dependent on all of these factors. Table 9 shows the typical length of probation that was given to the youth.

Table 9

Length of Probation

Length of Probation	N	%	Cumulative %
Not Used	27	34.2	34.2
6 months	39	49.4	83.5
9 months	6	7.6	91.1
12 months	7	8.9	100.00
Total	79	100.00	

As Table 9 shows, almost half (49.4%) of the youth were given six months of probation ($M = .91$, $SD = .88$). The longest length of probation was 12 months. There are three reasons why 27 of the youth might not have been given probation. The first reason could be that the judge determined that they were not at risk for reoffending. Second, youth who were almost 18 were unlikely to be given juvenile probation supervision because they were would be aging out of the juvenile probation system and would then be under the adult system if they re-offended. The final reason might be that the judge determined that they were at a high risk for reoffending and, rather than letting them return to the community under supervision, instead sentenced them to be detained at Caliente Youth Center.

Caliente Youth Center is a correctional facility for youth located in Caliente, Nevada. Typically, youth who have been committed to Caliente Youth Center have been involved with the juvenile delinquency system for a longer time period. This research does not specifically ask about the judge's decisions on sending youth to Caliente; however, the data gathered provided information about Caliente commitments.

Table 10

Caliente Youth Center Commitments

Sent to Caliente	N	%	Cumulative %
Yes	26	32.9	32.9
No	53	67.1	100.00
Total	79	100.00	

Table 10 shows that 26 of the 79 juveniles who had been arrested for prostitution related charges received orders sending them to Caliente Youth Camp following their identification as sexually exploited youth ($M = .33, SD = .473$).

Interactions between CPS and Delinquency Involvement

This research was focused on the effect of CPS involvement on youth who were involved in the juvenile justice system for prostitution related offenses. To explore this effect, several correlations were performed and are presented in Table 11. Although these correlations were not directly related to the research questions of this research, they revealed some interactions between CPS involvement, abuse experienced, and delinquency involvement.

The age when a child was first involved with the CPS system had several interesting relationships. As presented in Table 11, simple correlations revealed a negative relationship between age of first CPS report and the likelihood of substantiated investigations, ($r = -.49, n = 56, p < .00$). There was also negative relationship between age of first CPS report and neglect ($r = -.42, n = 52, p < .00$), meaning the younger children were for their first involvement in CPS, the more likely they were to experience neglect. This was also true for age of first report and child physical abuse ($r = -.40, n = 52, p < .01$), the

younger children were for first CPS involvement the more likely they were to experience physical abuse.

There were two correlations linked to reports of physical abuse. The first was that there was a negative relationship between physical abuse and the age of first involvement in prostitution ($r = -.38, n = 52, p < .01$). This shows that the younger youth were when arrested for prostitution related offenses, the more likely they were to have a history of physical abuse. The second was that there was a positive correlation between physical abuse and the number of arrests a youth incurred ($r = .312, n = 52, p < .03$). This means that youth with histories of physical abuse were more likely they were to have a higher number of arrests.

Table 11

Correlations of Child Welfare Variables

	Age First CPS	Neglect	Physical Abuse	Sexual Abuse
Age First CPS	1	-.42**	-.39**	.08
Neglect		1	-.02	-.16
Physical Abuse			1	.05
Sexual Abuse				1

** p< 0.01 level (2-tailed), * p< 0.05 level (2-tailed).

In terms of the delinquency variables, it seems that patterns of delinquency involvement tended to be related to the juveniles' number of arrests. When the age of first prostitution involvement was correlated with the number of arrests it was found that there was a negative relationship ($r = -.47, n = 79, p < .00$). This means that the younger a youth

was arrested for prostitution related offenses, the higher number of arrests she or he was likely to have. There was a positive relationship between arrest numbers and several other variables. Table 12 presents these values.

Table 12

Correlations of Delinquency Variables

	Number of Arrests	Multiple Arrests for Prostitution	Violations of Probation	Caliente	Earned Dismissal
Number of Arrests	1	.26*	.87**	.52**	-.38**
Multiple Arrests for Prostitution		1	.15	.14	-.16
Violations of Probation			1	.51**	-.37**
Caliente				1	-.32**
Earned Dismissal					1

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

The correlations above show that there is a negative relationship between earned dismissals and three of the four other delinquency variables. The only variable it did not significantly correlate with was multiple arrests for prostitution. There was a negative significant relationship between number of arrests and earned dismissal ($r = -.38$, $n = 76$, $p < .00$). This means that the more arrests a youth incurs, the less likely they are to earn a dismissal. Violations of probation and earned dismissals were also a significantly negative relationship ($r = -.37$, $n = 76$, $p < .00$). This shows that the more violations of probation a youth has, the less likely they are to earn a dismissal. The last significant correlation was a negative relationship between earned dismissal and being sent to Caliente ($r = -.32$, $n = 76$, $p < .01$). If youth were sent to Caliente Youth Center, they were less likely to earn a dismissal.

The variable for youth being sent to Caliente positively correlated with number of arrests ($r = .52, n = 79, p < .00$) and violations of probation ($r = .509, n = 79, p < .00$). In both of these cases, the more arrests youth had or the more violations for probation they incurred, the more likely they were to be sent to Caliente.

Number of arrests was also significantly correlated with multiple arrests for prostitution ($r = .26, n = 79, p < .05$). This relationship makes sense because multiple arrests for prostitution would increase the number of overall arrests a youth has. Violations of probation significantly correlated with number of arrests, as well ($r = .87, n = 79, p < .00$). Youth are often arrested for violations of probation and those arrests would add to the number of arrests they had experienced.

Table 13 shows the correlations between both the CPS and the delinquency variables. Looking at the correlations between types of abuse and delinquency, the number of arrests and physical abuse had a significant relationship ($r = .31, n = 52, p < .05$). This meant that a youth was more likely to have a higher number of arrests if she or he had a history of physical abuse. The other significant correlation was between reports of physical abuse and violations of probation ($r = .32, n = 52, p < .05$). A youth with a history of physical abuse was more likely to have more violations of probation.

Table 13

Correlations between Child Welfare and Delinquency Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Age First CPS	1								
2. Neglect	-.421**	1							
3. Physical Abuse	-.385**	-.023	1						
4. Sexual Abuse	.080	-.158	.050	1					
5. Number of Arrests	-.084	-.006	.312*	.190	1				
6. Multiple Arrests for Prostitution	.046	-.197	-.054	-.070	.277*	1			
7. Violations of Probation	-.053	-.108	.318*	.182	.865**	.105	1		
8. Earned Dismissal	-.155	.220	.451	-.226	-.382**	-.156	-.365**	1	
9. Length of Probation	-.208	-.030	.235	.129	.119	.122	.073	-.211	1

Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test

The primary goal of this research was to determine if CPS youth had more interactions with the juvenile justice system than non-CPS involved youth once in the juvenile justice system. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was used because the two groups of youth are being compared to one another. A non-parametric test (such as the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test) was needed for this data because the data did not meet the assumptions of normality (Hassani & Silva, 2015).

Research Question 1. Were CPS involved trafficking victims more likely to have higher numbers of arrests than non-CPS involved trafficking victims?

In regards to the number of arrests sustained by CPS versus non-CPS involved youth, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test indicated that there was no significant relationship between number of arrests and CPS involvement. The test did not show that arrest numbers were different for CPS involved youth (Mdn = 4.00) and non-CPS involved youth (Mdn = 2.00), $Z = .81$, $p = .52$, $r = .10$.

Research Question 2. Were CPS involved trafficking victims more likely to have new arrests for prostitution related offenses than non-CPS involved trafficking victims?

When the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was run to determine differences in groups for the number of prostitution related arrests, no differences were found. It was found that there was no significant relationship between CPS involved youth (Mdn = .00) and non-CPS involved youth (Mdn = .00), $Z = .14$, $p = 1.00$, $r = .02$.

Research Question 3. Were CPS involved trafficking victims more likely to have higher numbers of violations of probation than non-CPS involved trafficking victims?

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test did not show a significant relationship between the number of violations of probation and the two groups analyzed. This test did not show that there were any group differences between CPS involved youth (Mdn = 2.00) and non-CPS involved youth (Mdn = .00), $Z = 1.14$, $p = .15$, $r = 0.13$.

Research Question 4. Were CPS involved trafficking victims less likely to have earned dismissals than non-CPS involved trafficking victims?

The two groups did not show any differences when earned dismissals were analyzed with the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test. There was no significant relationship between the groups, CPS youth (Mdn = .00) and non-CPS involved youth (Mdn = .00) when it came to earned dismissals, $Z = .40$, $p = .98$, $r = .04$.

Research Question 5. Were CPS involved trafficking victims more likely to have longer lengths of probation than non-CPS involved trafficking victims?

The last variable, length of probation, also did not show a significant difference between groups when the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was performed. No differences were found between the two groups of CPS (Mdn = 1.00) and non-CPS involved youth (Mdn = 1.00) when looking at the length of probation given to them by the judge, $Z = .20$, $p = 1.00$, $r = .02$.

None of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests revealed any statistical significance for the delinquency dependent variables. This means that the two groups appear to be evenly distributed and there were no differences found.

Generalized Linear Models

To ensure there was no omitted variable bias, a negative binomial regression was run for the number of arrests, number of prostitution arrests, violations of probation, and

length of probation. The predictors used as control variables for the negative binomial regression were race and age of first prostitution arrest.

Table 14.

Negative Binomial Regression Model Estimates for Number of Arrests

<i>Variable</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>IRR</i>
CPS Involvement	-.29	.16	.07	.74
Caucasian	-.29	.21	.18	.75
Latinx	.01	.21	.93	1.01
Mixed	.38	.18	.04*	1.46
Age First Prostitution Arrest	-.28	.07	.00**	.76
AIC	388.15			
BIC	402.22			
Log Likelihood	-188.08			

Note. IRR = Incident Rate Ratio. AIC = Akaike Information Criterion. BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 14 shows that CPS involvement does not predict an increased number of arrests. As presented in Table 14, the answer as to whether CPS involvement influences the total number of arrests appears to be no.

Table 15.

Negative Binomial Regression Model Estimates for Number of Prostitution Arrests

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>IRR</i>
CPS Involvement	.25	.87	.77	1.28
Latinx	-.97	1.14	.39	.37
Mixed	.75	.82	.36	2.13
Age First Prostitution Arrest	-.39	.20	.06	.67
AIC	89.79			
BIC	101.51			
Loglikelihood	-39.89			

Note. IRR = Incident Rate Ratio. AIC = Akaike Information Criterion. BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

The negative binomial regression for number of prostitution arrests is displayed in Table 15.¹ In the model CPS involvement was not shown to predict an increased number of arrests for prostitution. Therefore, the answer to research question two (whether CPS involvement predicts the number of arrests for prostitution) is no.

¹ The decision to omit the variable ‘white’ from the model for Table 15 was due to the fact that none of the sample that had been repeatedly arrested for prostitution was white. When initially running the model with the white variable, the following error was provided: “The Hessian Matrix is singular, convergence criteria are not satisfied.”

Table 16.

Negative Binomial Regression Model Estimates for Number of Violations of Probation

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>IRR</i>
CPS Involvement	-.60	.33	.06	.54
Caucasian	-.15	.45	.72	.85
Latinx	.29	.32	.36	1.34
Mixed	.73	.39	.06	2.09
Age First Prostitution Arrest	-.35	.12	.00**	.70
AIC	273.25			
BIC	287.31			
Loglikelihood	-130.62			

Note. IRR = Incident Rate Ratio. AIC = Akaike Information Criterion. BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 16 shows the model estimating the number of violations of probation. CPS involvement was not found to be a statistically significant predictor of the number of violations of probation. This model indicates that the answers to research question three is that CPS involvement does not lead to a higher number of probation violations.

Table 17.

Negative Binomial Regression Model Estimates for Length of Probation

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>IRR</i>
CPS Involvement	-.09	.24	.71	.91
Caucasian	.19	.36	.59	1.21
Latinx	.19	.32	.54	1.21
Mixed	.41	.30	.17	1.50
Age First Prostitution Arrest	-.01	.08	.84	.98
AIC	216.10			
BIC	230.17			
Loglikelihood	-102.05			

Note. IRR = Incident Rate Ratio. AIC = Akaike Information Criterion. BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 17 did not find CPS involvement to be a statistically significant predictor of the length of probation. Based off of these estimates it appears that CPS involvement does not predict the length of sentenced probation, thus answering research question five.

Logistic Regression

To test the research question regarding earned dismissals logistic regression was used. This outcome variable was dichotomous so a logistic regression was more appropriate to use for this hypothesis.

Table 18.

Logistic Regression for Earned Dismissals

<i>Earned Dismissal</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
CPS Involvement	-.55	.69	.42
Caucasian	1.09	.86	.20
Latinx	1.35	.82	.10
Mixed	.12	1.20	.91
Age First Prostitution	.63	.36	.08

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 18 shows that CPS involvement is not a predictor of whether a youth earns a dismissal. Because of this, the answer to research question four (whether CPS involvement increases the likelihood of earning a dismissal) is no.

Exploratory Analyses

To explore the relationship between type of abuse and involvement in the juvenile justice system, negative binomial regressions were conducted with the two statistically significant dependent variables found during the initial negative binomial regression.

Negative binomial regressions were run with the previously tested dependent variables:

number of arrests and violations of probation. The control variables were neglect, child physical abuse, child sexual abuse, race and age at first prostitution arrest².

Model estimates for Table 19 show that there is no statistically significant relationship between the various types of abuse and the number of arrests.

Table 19.

Negative Binomial Regression Model Estimates for Number of Arrests and Types of Abuse

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>IRR</i>
Neglect	.26	.25	.30	1.30
Physical Abuse	.17	.24	.47	1.19
Sexual Abuse	.25	.17	.13	1.29
Caucasian	-.22	.33	.50	.79
Latinx	.18	.30	.53	1.20
Mixed	.28	.25	.27	1.32
Age of First Prostitution	-.22	.10	.03*	.80
AIC	273.27			
BIC	288.57			
Loglikelihood	-128.64			

Note. IRR = Incident Rate Ratio. AIC = Akaike Information Criterion. BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

² CPS involvement was not included as a predictor for this model because only those with CPS involvement had reports of abuse. Those with no CPS involvement were not included in this analysis.

The results displayed in Table 20 show no statistically significant relationship between the various types of abuse and violations of probation. Based off of the findings of this analysis, abuse does not appear to be a predictor of the number of violations of probation.

Table 20.

Negative Binomial Regression Model Estimates for Violations of Probation and Types of Abuse

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>IRR</i>
Neglect	-.03	.39	.93	.96
Physical Abuse	.55	.39	.16	1.74
Sexual Abuse	.36	.25	.15	1.43
Caucasian	-.18	.59	.75	.83
Latinx	.33	.43	.43	1.39
Mixed	-.05	.38	.87	.94
Age of First Prostitution	-.12	.17	.45	.88
AIC	204.21			
BIC	219.50			
Loglikelihood	-94.10			

Note. IRR = Incident Rate Ratio. AIC = Akaike Information Criterion. BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to see if child welfare involved youth arrested for prostitution related offenses had a more a difficult time in the juvenile delinquency system than non-child welfare involved youth similarly arrested. The youth included in this study were all from an abused and victimized population, surviving through commercial sexual exploitation before they were identified and arrested. All of the youth could be considered abused when you recognize that commercial sexual activity under age 18 is a form of child abuse. The federal laws have clearly identified these children as victims of domestic minor sex trafficking. The practice, however, in most states is to manage these trafficking victims through the juvenile delinquency system. This is a common practice in the state of Nevada and has been for over 25 years (Kennedy & Pucci, 2007).

This chapter discusses the finding of the statistical analyses, outlines the limitations of the current study, suggests future research on the topic and will discuss the implications this research may have.

Findings

To understand the relationship between child welfare involvement and delinquency behavior, this research looked at a number of delinquency variables. Among the arrested trafficking victims, a history with CPS was examined in relation to number of arrests, repeat arrests for prostitution, increased violations of probation, the ability to earn dismissals receiving longer lengths of probation. Among the 79 local trafficking victims, the majority had experience with the child welfare system. Over three-quarters of the victims

had been subjects of a report to child protective services (59 of the 79). This high percentage of child welfare involvement may have reduced the power to spot differences in outcomes between children who were CPS involved and those who were not.

The comparison group of non-CPS involved children was only 20 out of the 79. This overrepresentation of CPS youth in the juvenile delinquency system is a finding in and of itself. The goal of the child welfare system is to restore and protect abused children, and to have so many being trafficked could be considered a failure of child protective services. The high rates of CPS history among trafficked children suggests interventions of CPS are failing to prevent abused children from becoming re-victimized through prostitution. These two systems often act like they are managing separate populations of children when they are not.

One of the main assumptions of this research was that youths involved in CPS are more vulnerable and therefore more likely to be sexually exploited. Research question two was meant to explore whether or not CPS involved juveniles would be arrested more for prostitution related offenses than their non-CPS counterparts. The non-parametric test that was used did not reveal any statistical significance when looking at the number of prostitution related arrests. CPS was not found as a predictor for the number of time a youth was arrested prostitution related offenses. Previous research has found that CPS involved youth are a vulnerable population (Ryan & Testa, 2007), but very little research has been done to directly test the differences between CPS and non-CPS involved juveniles who have been arrested for prostitution related offenses. What the data was not able to test was whether juveniles got better at avoiding arrest following a first arrest.

The negative binomial regression measured the relationship between CPS involvement and the length of probation given by the Judge. There was no evidence found that CPS involvement predicted how many months of probation was given to arrested youth. Previous research has also found that disposition outcomes do not differ from CPS to non-CPS involved youth (Ryan et al., 2007). The findings of this study supported that claim.

A logistic regression was conducted between earned dismissals and CPS involvement but it did not show any statistically significant relationship either. CPS did not predict the likelihood of a CPS involved youth failing to earn a dismissal.

There was a statistically significant relationship between the number of arrests and the age of first prostitution arrest. This finding suggests that the younger a child is arrested the more likely they are to have higher numbers of arrest. This also makes sense because the youth has had a longer engagement with the juvenile justice system. This could also be true for the number of probation violations, which was also found statistically significant. The longer a youth is involved in the juvenile justice system the more opportunities they have to violate the conditions of their probation. Previous research also supports this finding that CPS involved youths have a higher tendency to recidivate (Huang et al., 2012).

Follow up analyses were conducted to examine whether the different types of abuse (i.e., neglect, physical abuse, or sexual abuse) reported to CPS might be related to the number of arrests as well as the number of violations of probation. The results show that none of the abuse typologies are related to the number of arrests or violations of probation. This contradicts previous research, which has shown that early abuse is a driving factor of criminal behavior (Perez et al., 2016). While all participants included in Tables 19 and 20

have been abused, their abuse does not appear to be a driving factor of their delinquent behavior.

Some research would suggest that abuse would be more prevalent for youth who had been arrested for prostitution related offenses (Simkins & Katz, 2002). It is important to remember that the variables used in this study were abuse types reported to child welfare for investigation, not actual abuse experienced. Research among girls held in the delinquency system found that three-quarters had experienced sexual abuse (Kennedy, 2014). Not all experiences of abuse are reported to the child welfare system.

Overall, it appears that CPS does not directly influence juvenile delinquency. However the majority of the sample was CPS involved. This finding in and of itself shows that child protective services fails to meet their goals. If CPS was adequately protecting youth in their care, then we should see a far lower number of CPS involved youth in the juvenile justice system. Because of the trauma these youth are experiencing it should be seen that they provide closer care and wraparound service to these youth. Instead it is seen that many of the youth in their care are being arrested for offenses such as prostitution; an outcome that may have been stemmed if CPS had offered adequate services.

Connecting to Labeling Theory

The theoretical framework that helped guide this research was labeling theory. While labeling theory does not have any testable components included in this research, it offers a view of juvenile delinquency that can help explain why some youths may be more delinquent than others. It was hypothesized for this research that child welfare

involvement is a negative label that is given to children and youth that may impact their future behavior.

Labeling theory suggests that juveniles see themselves the way that society labels them, so it would make sense that a child who is labeled as a part of a family investigated by the state for abuse identifies with such a label (Shoemaker, 2010). In this research sample, most of the youth were involved in CPS before becoming involved with the delinquency system.

Not only did a majority of the sample have a CPS label, but they are also now labeled as delinquent. The process of being labeled delinquent can be traumatizing in and of itself. The label is often placed after the youth has been arrested. The processing into detention can be invasive and, if a youth has been sexually exploited, it can add to their victimization (Kennedy, 2018). Once in detention, they are then grouped with other adolescents who have also been labeled as delinquent by society. This only helps reaffirm the negative delinquent label.

Labeling theory proposes that there can be positive and negative labels assigned to someone (Meade, 1974). In this research it was assumed that CPS would be considered a negative label. The label of delinquent is also negative. This means that a large portion of dual involved youth have two negative labels given to them by state agencies. The literature on labeling theory is adamant that a label of delinquency only strengthens a juvenile's belief that they are delinquent and they will continue with delinquent behavior (Shoemaker, 2010).

One of the things that needs to be addressed in this discussion is that these youths were being arrested and given a delinquency label for a crime in which they are a victim.

Commercially sexually exploited youth are a unique population that is often criminalized for their victimization (Simkins & Katz, 2002). As mentioned before, the TVPA states that any youth under the age of 18 is a victim of human trafficking and therefore should be treated as such (2000). These youths are being mislabeled and being forced to accept the role of delinquent.

This research seeks to expand upon labeling theory by proposing that all social institutions label children not just the juvenile delinquency system. CPS youth are labeled at such, often at a young age, and that label follows them. Early negative labels can impact how children perceive themselves thus affecting future behaviors (Matsueda, 1992). The population in this research had, what could be considered, two negative labels, which could be very detrimental to self-perception. Youth with two negative labels could internalize those labels and perceive themselves as bad and delinquent. The truth is that these particular labels have been given to them based on their victimization.

Policy Implications

The Preventing Sex Trafficking and Strengthening Families Act was passed to prompt child protective service agencies to pass policies that address the issue of human trafficking (Federal Public Law 113.183). This research began to explore how CPS involved youths are at a higher risk for being sexually exploited. The finding that the majority of trafficked children arrested were CPS involved shows that there is a need for CPS services to identify youth at risk for exploitation and to intervene.

One of the biggest policy failures that can be seen is the practice of criminalizing exploited youth. Nevada and other states use the criminal justice system to manage exploited youth rather than providing victim services (Hasselbarth, 2014). Many times the

reason youth are arrested and put in detention is the lack of victim services for exploited youth (Mir, 2013). There is a desperate need for victim services for victims of human trafficking and exploitation (Mir, 2013). Specialized foster care for exploited CPS youth would go a long way to help this vulnerable population (Lee & Villagrana, 2015).

Implementing policies and procedures not only in the CPS system but also in the criminal justice system to identify and treat victims of exploitation should be a priority of policy makers. Although there is legislation surrounding the topic of exploitation and exploited youth (e.g. Preventing Sex Trafficking and Strengthening Families Act, TVPA), there is a serious disconnect between legislation and actual practice. Many service providers (such as CPS) and law enforcement (such as juvenile justice) know the laws meant to protect trafficking victims, but fail to execute them correctly. This default practice of relying on delinquency systems to manage victims can often be attributed to a lack of resources, such as safe houses for exploited youth, which are an alternative to juvenile detention (Hasselbarth, 2014).

Not only is there a disconnect between policy and practice, but there is a lack of communication between child protection agencies and the criminal justice system. Previous research has found that child welfare systems do not communicate with one another (Vidal et al., 2017). Communication between CPS and the juvenile justice system should be key in providing services to at-risk and exploited youth.

The lack of communication between agencies may have been a contributing factor for one of the biggest hurdles in this research project. Many of the CPS and court files on these youths are incomplete and the outcomes of the youths' cases are unclear. Almost a quarter (21%) of the local youth did not have complete files and it was unknown if they

were CPS involved due the lack of information. These cases were not included in the data set because of their lack of information.

The disorganization surrounding both the CPS system and the delinquency system is discouraging and does not help with trying to create a stable environment for these exploited youth. One case note found in the juvenile court data described a situation in which the youth had been missing from foster care for over a year. The youth could not be found to attend court dates, so the case was closed. It is unknown if CPS and service agencies are still looking for the youth or if they have given up. These are the types of situations in which CPS and law enforcement agencies should work together for the benefit and safety of the at-risk youth who is missing.

It is understood that child welfare agencies and the juvenile justice system are overtaxed (Miller et al., 2013) and this leads to another problem. There are instances where a CPS involved youth becomes dually involved and CPS lets the juvenile justice system become the primary caregiver for the youth (Miller et al., 2013). This is quite the opposite of what juveniles in this situation need. The best solution is for both systems to be fully engaged with the youth so they can have as much support as possible. Being shuffled from one system to the other and back again does not create a stable environment and youth are more likely to suffer from this instability.

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

There are a few limitations with this research. The first limitation is that this research focused on youth who were arrested for prostitution related charges and did not include those arrested for other crimes. This sample was specifically chosen for their arrest

for prostitution related offenses and sexual exploitation. CPS involved youth with other arrests for delinquency (non-prostitution related offenses) were not captured.

Future research should include a study of the entire dually involved juvenile population, not just those arrested for prostitution related offenses. Those arrested for other delinquent acts may be exploited but not yet identified. While the main focus of this research was the vulnerability of CPS youth to exploitation, it would be beneficial to explore the connection of CPS youth to other types of crimes as well. Expanding research to include youth arrested for prostitution and non-prostitution related crimes could help understand other pathways in which CPS youth become involved in the juvenile justice system.

Another limitation of this research is that it is geographically limited. The whole research sample consists of youth who are in Clark County CPS system and have been arrested by a Clark County police agency. There were 156 youth arrested for prostitution related offenses in 2017. Only 79 of those arrested were local youth in which CPS and in-depth delinquency involvement could be collected, which is also considered a limitation of this research.

Future research should work to expand the research sample to other geographical areas. It has already been shown that Clark County does not have a history of protecting children, so this research should explore other parts of Nevada (such as Washoe County) to see if there are differences between counties within the state.

A focus of future research should be to account for the youth who are arrested in Clark County but are from other states. The mentality of 'what happens in Vegas, stays in Vegas' leads to the trafficking of youth from other states to Las Vegas to meet demand

(Forey, 2014). Eventually, future research should be expanded to a comparison between states.

Conclusion

The trafficked children included in this research have experienced extraordinary amounts of abuse at a young age. Instead being treated as victims, these children have experienced being arrested and managed through the delinquency system – despite often being wards of the state through child welfare. The federal laws and initiatives that designate trafficked children as victims of serious abuse are being ignored when the children are held in juvenile detention or sent to youth prisons for violating their probation orders. These victims have often run away from abusive situations and end up homeless on the street. They try to survive by trading sex, thus enduring further victimization. When they are arrested for prostitution related offenses and labeled delinquent, the court places sanctions on them that add to their burdens.

It is often difficult for youth in the juvenile justice system to adhere to the regulations given to them by the court, even if have a supportive family (Lee & Villagrana, 2015). No juvenile who is adjudicated by the juvenile justice system has the same court orders as another. Examples of court orders could include: meeting a specific curfew, staying within a geographic radius, no internet access, or staying away from delinquent peers. Youth are often given multiple conditions by the court, which makes it even harder for them to successfully meet all the demands. The lack of supervision and stability in a CPS involved youth's life does not help when trying to meet stringent demands placed upon them by a judge.

What this research revealed was a regular failure to stay out of the juvenile justice system, with rearrests leading to new conditions and new failures and a cycle of delinquency.

Trafficking victims who get caught in the cycle were often sent to the juvenile residential behavioral modification facility - Caliente Youth Center. The trafficking victims locked away there consider it a prison. In fact, in 2018 one trafficking victim sued the juvenile justice system and won the right not to be sent to Caliente. In the legal decision, the misuse of delinquency sanctions for trafficking victims was described as follows,

The record before us clearly demonstrates that A.J. was arrested only for engaging in prostitution or the solicitation of prostitution. Therefore, we conclude that A.J. was entitled to protections afforded under NRS 62C.240, and the juvenile court arbitrarily and capriciously abused its discretion by adjudicating her as a delinquent. (A.J. vs. The Eighth Judicial District Court of the State of Nevada, 2017)

Although the findings of this research differ from what was expected (significant difference between CPS and non-CPS youth), there are still important findings. The discovery that a majority of the research sample are CPS involved youth might explain why there were no significant differences between groups and provides evidence that CPS involved youth may be at a greater risk of being sexually exploited and labeled delinquent. The federal mandate set forth by the Preventing Sex Trafficking and Strengthening Families Act requires that state and local CPS agencies implement policies to identify youth who are at risk of becoming sexually exploited. The findings of this research support the need for these policies. Both child welfare and the juvenile justice systems are failing these youth.

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Curriculum Vitae

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Education

Ph.D., Public Affairs, In Progress, University of Nevada Las Vegas, Las Vegas, NV

M.A., Criminal Justice, May 2013, University of Nevada Las Vegas, Las Vegas, NV

B.S., Justice Studies, May 2011, University of Idaho, Moscow, ID

B.S., Sociology, May 2011, University of Idaho, Moscow, ID

Associates, Anthropology, May 2011, University of Idaho, Moscow, ID

Professional Employment

January 2019 – Present, Instructor, Greenspun College of Urban Affairs, University of Nevada Las Vegas, Las Vegas, NV

August 2017- Present, National Institute of Justice Grant Funded Graduate Research Assistant, Department of Criminal Justice, University of Nevada Las Vegas, Las Vegas, NV

August 2013-2016, Instructor, Greenspun College of Urban Affairs, University of Nevada Las Vegas, Las Vegas, NV

August 2011-2013, Graduate Research Assistant, Department of Criminal Justice, University of Nevada Las Vegas, Las Vegas, NV

May 2010-2012, Research Assistant, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Idaho, Moscow, ID

Teaching Experience

Instructor, Greenspun College of Urban Affairs, Second Year Seminar: Civic Engagement in Urban Communities, Spring 2019

Guest Lecturer, Department of Criminal Justice, Psychology of Drug Use and Abuse, Fall, 2018

Guest Lecturer, Department of Criminal Justice, Criminal Law and Procedure, Fall 2018

Guest Lecturer, Department of Criminal Justice, Graduate Course: Law and Social Control, Spring 2017

Guest Lecturer, Department of Criminal Justice, Victims of Sex Crimes, Spring 2017

Guest Lecturer, Department of Criminal Justice, Proseminar in Criminal Justice, Fall 2016

Instructor, Greenspun College of Urban Affairs, First Year Experience, 2013-2016.

Scholarship

Thesis

Stout, Kelly Rae (Defended 2013). Police Responses to Domestic Violence and Public Perception. University of Nevada, Las Vegas, Las Vegas, NV.

Publications:

Stout, K.R., & Kennedy, M.A. (2017). Police as educators: Support for possible responses to intimate partner violence calls. *Justice Policy Journal*, 14, 1-20.

Neuilly, Mélanie-Angela, & Stout, Kelly Rae (2013). Violent Roots: Assessing the Levels of Lethal Violence in the Territorial and Early Statehood Northwest. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 29(3), 417-439.

Professional Reports:

Kennedy, M.A. & Stout, K.R. (2017) Hope for Prisoners Education Manual

Stout, K.R. & Kennedy, M.A. (2016). Children's Mental Health Needs Assessment.

Kennedy, M.A. & Stout, K.R. (2016). Best Healthcare Practices for Foster Children.

Kennedy, M.A. & Stout, K.R. (2015). Recommendations and Best Practices for the Clark County Child Welfare System.

Curriculum Development:

Psychology of Drug Use and Abuse, University of Nevada Las Vegas, Criminal Justice Department, Curriculum

Victims of Sex Crimes, University of Nevada Las Vegas, Criminal Justice Department, Online Curriculum and Outreach Programs

Hope for Prisoners, Community Re-Entry Program for Previously Incarcerated Men, Las Vegas, Nevada, 2012-2013.

Key Note Presentations:

Stout, Kelly Rae (2017). Risks of Child Abuse and Trafficking, Prevent Child Abuse Nevada 16th Annual Meeting, Las Vegas, NV.

Presentations:

Stout, Kelly Rae, Kennedy, M. Alexis, Cimino, Andrea, & Decker, Michele (2018) *"I feel like they don't do their job." Perspectives on CPS from Trafficking Victims*. 74th Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Atlanta, GA.

Stout, Kelly Rae & Kennedy, M. Alexis (2016). *Pimp Torture Tactics*. 72nd Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, New Orleans, LA.

Stout, Kelly Rae, Kennedy, M. Alexis, & Jordan, Magann (2015). *Needs Assessment of Incarcerated Juvenile Girls*. The 2015 Annual Meeting of the Western Psychology Association, Long Beach, CA.

Kennedy, M. Alexis, & Stout, Kelly Rae (2015, August). *Traffickers, Pimps and Boyfriends: Abuse in the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children*. The 2015 Convention of American Psychological Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Stout, Kelly Rae & Kennedy, M. Alexis (2014, November). *Police Responses to Domestic Violence and Public Perception*. 70th Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, CA.

Shelden, Randall G., Estrella, Kristine-Gem, Stout, Kelly, Martinez, Natalie, & Waller, Jeremy (2012, November). *Is Wall Street a Gang?* 68th Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Chicago, IL.

Stout, Kelly Rae & Kennedy, M. Alexis (2012, November). *Sexual Harassment of Men*. 68th Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Chicago, IL.

Stout, Kelly Rae (2012, November). Panel Moderator for *Victimization Across Sexual Contexts*. 68th Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Chicago, IL.

Stout, Kelly Rae (2012). *Promises and Failures of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000*. Beyond the Neon Lights: Human Trafficking Symposium, Las Vegas, NV, April 21, 2012.

Neuilly, Mélanie-Angela, & Stout, Kelly Rae (2010). *Violent Roots: Assessing the Levels of Lethal Violence in the Territorial and Early Statehood Northwest*. 62nd Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, CA, November 17-20, 2010.

Stout, Kelly R. (2010, August). *Best Practices of Recruitment*. Council for Advancement and Support of Education, Affiliated Student Advancement Programs National Conference, Kansas City, MO.

Stout, Kelly R. (2010, February). *Creating Team Cohesion*. Council for Advancement and Support of Education, Affiliated Student Advancement Programs District Conference, San Diego, CA.

Stout, Kelly R. (2009, August). *There's No Better Place: Recruiting for Your University*. Council for Advancement and Support of Education, Affiliated Student Advancement Programs National Conference, Baltimore, MD.

Stout, Kelly R. (2009, February). *Leadership and Team Building in Your Organization*. Council for Advancement and Support of Education, Affiliated Student Advancement Programs District Conference, Calgary, Alberta, Canada.

Professional and Scholarly Organizations

Youth Advocacy Program, Advisory Council Violence Reduction Program, (2017-Present)
Las Vegas Human Trafficking Sub-Committee Victim Services, Las Vegas Metropolitan
Police Department (2017-Present)

Las Vegas Human Trafficking Task Force, Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department
(2014-Present)

American Society of Criminology Division of Victimology (2012-Present)

Alpha Phi Sigma National Criminal Justice Honor Society (2012-Present)

American Society of Criminology (2010-Present)

American Criminal Justice Association (2007-2011)