ADVERSE CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES: WHY TRAFFICKING VICTIMS END UP RUNNING AWAY, GETTING IN TROUBLE, AND BEING HOMELESS

By

Makaylen Tadeo

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Makaylen Tadeo

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Department of Criminal Justice

Margaret Alexis Kennedy, Ph.D.
Examination Committee Chair

Alexandra Nur, Ph.D.
Examination Committee Member

Amber Krushas, Ph.D.
Examination Committee Member

Emily Troshynski, Ph.D.
Examination Committee Member

Wendy Hoskins, Ph.D.
Graduate College Faculty Representative

Alyssa Crittenden, Ph.D.
Vice Provost for Graduate Education & Dean of the Graduate College

ABSTRACT

Sex trafficking of youth is something that requires people to think deeper as to how they ended up trading sex in the first place. Literature has shown that within adverse childhood experiences, abuse plays a significant factor. There are many types of abuse and a variety of harmful effects it can have on a child that is not only limited to physical and mental health but also to how they grow up and live in the world. Using the life course theory, this current study wanted to apply the concepts to explain how specific adverse childhood experiences in the form of abuse generally, but also specifically with emotional abuse, can have detrimental effects on a child and continue to harm them in adulthood. The current study used secondary data collected from a sample of people who have been sex trafficked to observe how their life experiences of abuse (generally), emotional abuse, and other adverse childhood experiences, along with potential racial/ethnic influences, have a possible relationship as predictors of negative outcomes by running away, homelessness, and juvenile justice engagement that includes being arrested, held in juvenile detention, and adjudicated as a delinquent. Findings confirmed that emotional abuse was significant in increasing the likelihood of those negative life outcomes. Additional findings, limitations, and implications are discussed.

Keywords: emotional abuse, adverse childhood experiences, homelessness, running away, juvenile justice, sex trafficking

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DEDICATION

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through me. From where you are seated in heaven or a butterfly or a giant black moth, I hope I made you proud.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Child abuse is one of the worst crimes because the victims are being harmed by their caretakers – usually their parents - the very people who are supposed to be protecting them. It is a complicated crime to investigate and understand because it happens within the home, behind closed doors, to victims who may not understand that what is happening to them is a crime. Even criminal justice professionals struggle with what behaviors fall under the definition of child abuse. Reports reveal that child abuse is relatively common, for example in the United States alone, it was estimated that 1,820 children died from abuse and neglect in the fiscal year of 2021 compared to the report of estimated child deaths from abuse and neglect in the fiscal year of 2020 at 1,770 (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services & Administration for Children and Families, Administration on Children, Youth and Families, Children's Bureau, 2023).

There is still a critical need to understand the nuances of different types of child abuse (Font & Maguire-Jack, 2020; Kumari, 2020). What is known is that child abuse leads to both short-term and long-term harmful consequences. Children are negatively impacted physically, emotionally, and socially (Zeanah & Humphreys, 2018). The harmful effects are also linked to delinquent behavior that, if not adequately addressed, will only persist well into adulthood (Graf et al., 2020; Naramore et al., 2015). Abuse has also been shown to play a role in early homelessness (Edalati & Nicholls, 2017; Middleton et al., 2022). Child abuse has also been shown to play a significant factor in people who have been sex trafficked (Reid et al., 2017).

As the prevalence of child maltreatment which includes child abuse continues to be explored, definitions to assist organizations and agencies that work together to identify and propose solutions continue to change. The most recent World Health Organization of child maltreatment definition incorporates "all types of physical and/or emotional ill-treatment, sexual

abuse, neglect, negligence, and commercial or other exploitation that brings potential or actual harm that can be used in identifying child abuse" (World Health Organization, 2022). A famous quote with no exact origin says, "Every child deserves a parent, but not every parent deserves a child." Children are very vulnerable and never deserve to experience pain inflicted on them by those in their lives who are supposed to love and care for them the most.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2020) reported that at least one in seven children experience child abuse or neglect in the United States. In 2020, 1,750 children died from maltreatment perpetrated by people who should love them unconditionally (CDC, 2020). National statistics on child abuse provided by the National Children's Alliance (2023) said that in 2021, about 600,000 children were victims of abuse and neglect, but the actual number of children abused globally is underreported. Child maltreatment definitions have varied between a variety of statutes including those that are civil and criminal along with legal and academic perspectives (Font & Maguire-Jack, 2020).

Children who have experienced abuse in any capacity are susceptible and subjected to numerous adverse outcomes that affect their lives. Experiencing such trauma at an early age while the body and brain are still developing has several different consequences. One of those consequences can be acting out and engaging in delinquent behavior. Research has shown that delinquent behavior that stems from abuse can increase one's likelihood of delinquency, and outcomes from that interaction can continue to affect future behavior (Baglivio et al., 2015; Jackson et al., 2023; Jones & Pierce, 2020; Wolff & Baglivio, 2016). It is an ongoing cycle that is challenging to break, but it is imperative to help these children find a way out of this cycle. There is no evidence presented that people are downplaying abuse, but there needs to be more conversation. The less taboo of a topic child abuse becomes, the more conversations can be held

in not only professional and service provider areas but also for the general public. This is all to improve the understanding of possible connections with child abuse and running away, delinquent behavior, and homelessness so that solutions that have intervention strategies can be assessed and improved or new ones created.

People without a background in career fields that work and often encounter abused children, such as criminal justice, social work, and public health areas, can find it challenging to notice abuse if they have not received prior training. Kumari (2020) noted the importance of including regional and cultural variations in the definition of emotional abuse or the emotional aspect of neglect. This may have a hand in recognizing emotional abuse and emotional neglect more widely as a form of maltreatment. Varying definitions in different areas determine what constitutes maltreatment and abuse. This can affect research and how abuse is defined, operationalized, and studied. Recent expansions in research include a new focus on emotional abuse and neglect. The different types of maltreatment that constitute harmful abuse are presented below. This research project will look at the different types of abuse and negative outcomes for some of the most vulnerable youth, human trafficking victims.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Understanding how many minors are trafficked is difficult because many of the victims are afraid of what the traffickers might do if they speak up. They also worry that they might not be believed or that they may be blamed for the situation. This literature review begins with some key concepts related to human trafficking and abuse. It then discusses adverse childhood experiences (ACEs), which include two major categories: abuse and family dysfunction. Also covered are how these adverse experiences might be related to running away, justice system involvement, and homelessness. Finally, the potential interaction with race and ethnicity is also introduced.

Sex Trafficking

Potentially, the most harmful type of abuse is the sex trafficking of children, as they are experiencing sexual, emotional, and physical abuse at the same time. The trafficking of children has become classified as child abuse by different organizations around the world, such as the United Nations (UN), the International Organization of Migration (IOM), the International Labour Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (Miller-Perrin & Wurtele, 2016). Abuse, while frequently occurring in the home by someone close to the child, also occurs at the hands of strangers. Many children, after experiencing abuse, run away from home, and with nowhere else to go, they end up on the streets. These children may become involved in human trafficking as a way to survive, or they are tricked after trusting an adult who approached them and gained their trust (Naramore et al., 2015). Runaway and homeless youth and young adults are particularly vulnerable to exploitation and trafficking (Edalati & Nicholls, 2017; Kaya et al., 2022).

Sexual exploitation involves the use of "force, fraud, or coercion to compel another person to engage in a commercial sex act or causes a child to engage in a commercial sex act" (U.S. Department of State, 2022, p. 1). The Trafficking Victims Protection Act was amended in 2005 to include sex trafficking of children and now defines sex trafficking as

> the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act ... induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age (Franchino-Olsen et al., 2020, p. 1).

Sex trafficking encompasses all types of abuse to keep the victim under control and prevent them from leaving or reporting the incident to someone else. For those under 18, any adult encouraging or benefiting from sexual exploitation will be considered a trafficker.

Accurate estimates of the prevalence of minor sex trafficking have been a challenge for researchers and partnering agencies and organizations involved. A plethora of research has identified the most common challenges researchers and service providers face. Six of the commonly identified barriers provided by Franchino-Olsen et al. (2020) are:

> (a) the often hidden nature of this crime and hard-to-reach nature of trafficked minors; (b) reluctance among victims to disclose victimization, seek services, or participate in research due to fear (fear of retribution from traffickers, fear of law enforcement, fear of being identified as criminals), shame and stigma, lack of access to services, not self-identifying as a victim of DMST/CSEC, and a belief that they will not be believed or truly protected; (c) varying definitions of DMST/CSEC based on context (victims vs. law enforcement vs. industry) and scale (local vs. national); (d) lack of a uniform, centralized, and integrated system for tracking due to legal and policy barriers to

the collection, sharing, and analysis of trafficking data; (e) lack of training and identification by law enforcement and service providers; and (f) challenges to collecting data from trafficked youth (p. 183).

Based on the above reasoning, significant challenges exist in finding accurate numbers of minors who have been trafficked. The most common themes are seen in the fear of retaliation from the trafficker(s) or not being believed as an unwilling participant and blamed for the situation they are in. Additionally, unlike adults, children can make it easier to conceal the actual act of trading sex. Current resources for aiding people who have been trafficked are often limited and may require reporting their experience.

From a population of people who have been trafficked, especially as minors, there has been research to point out that these individuals do have histories of adverse childhood experiences. The following section will explore adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) in various ways. The section focusing on adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) will explain the different types of abuse, how it is defined, and the characteristics that differ from one type of abuse to another. Research on abuse will also be mentioned, as well as the significant gaps in current research as it pertains to the different types of abuse.

Adverse Childhood Experiences

Human trafficking may be the most severe type of sexual childhood abuse, but victims rarely experience it alone. Research has shown that most trafficked children have a history of adverse childhood experiences (Reid et al., 2017). Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) were first described concerning health outcomes by an extensive study by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and healthcare provider Kaiser Permanente in 1998 (Boullier & Blair, 2018). CDC-Kaiser wanted to examine the burden of unrecognized adverse childhood

experiences (Boullier & Blair, 2018; Felitti et al., 1998). The 10-item ACE questionnaire was created to assess the respondent's recall of exposure to specific experiences as a minor (Zarse et al., 2019). For each question asked, one point is added if the respondent has experienced the item being assessed. The total number of points is accumulated, and the higher the total score, the more ACEs experienced, indicating an excellent risk for later health problems.

The ACE score questionnaire is categorized into three broad categories: abuse, neglect, and household dysfunction. Within each category are specific questions asked to assess the adverse experiences further. In the abuse category, the questions surround emotional abuse by a parental figure or other adult, physical abuse by a parental figure or other adult, and sexual abuse by an adult (Boullier & Blair, 2018; Felitti et al., 1998). Questions of neglect assess whether respondents felt they were provided love, support, and basic needs. Questions on household dysfunction include living with anyone who has substance abuse issues, mental illness in the household, observing violence against the mother or stepmother, separated or divorced parents, the household member being incarcerated, emotional neglect, and physical neglect (Boullier & Blair, 2018; Felitti et al., 1998).

The most identified type of abuse is physical abuse. The CDC defines physical abuse as any intentional use of physical force against a child that results in or has the potential to result in physical injury (Leeb et al., 2008). Furthermore, they include examples of what qualifies as physical abuse, such as hitting, kicking, punching, beating, stabbing, biting, pushing, shoving, throwing, pulling, dragging, dropping, shaking, strangling/choking, smothering, burning, scalding, and poisoning. These acts are all child physical abuse whether or not they leave a physical, visibly seen mark on the child because it can still cause damage in other ways.

Childhood sexual abuse (CSA) is defined by the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) as "any completed or attempted (noncompleted) sexual act, sexual contact with, or exploitation (i.e., noncontact sexual interaction) of a child by a caregiver" (Murray et al., 2014, p. 322). While child sexual abuse is illegal in all 50 U.S. states and under federal law, the specifics can vary from state to state. Definitions of child sexual abuse are also varied by country and local specifications. Countries not part of the United Nations may have different definitions if these other countries do not gather and sit to discuss how they want to identify child sexual abuse.

However, having an agreed upon nearly universal definition can help identify CSA and help with future studies. Murray et al. (2014) included the World Health Organization's (WHO) definition that aligns with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), which includes “Acts that both do and do not involve physical touching or physical force, including completed sex acts, attempted sex acts, abusive sexual touching, and noncontact assaults such as harassment, threats, forced exposure to pornography, and taking unwanted sexual images, such as filming or photography" (World Health Organization, 2022, p. 322-323).

Not taking care and satisfying the basic needs of a child is neglect. Neglect can be separated into two categories: emotional and physical. While neglect can be separated into these subtypes, they are often co-occurring. Physical neglect represents inadequate physical care, such as food, hygiene, or medical care. In contrast, emotional neglect refers to a failure to meet a child's emotional needs, such as support and affection, and ensure that a child feels loved (Dube et al., 2003; Grummitt et al., 2021). What can be in its category but also part of neglect is family dysfunction. Depending on the type of dysfunction, which can include one or all of the following factors: domestic violence, unmarried parents, and the presence of a substance-abusing, mentally

ill, or incarcerated household member (Levenson et al., 2017), this may also impact the well-being of the child. Disruption of the household due to parental issues (i.e., addiction, imprisonment, etc.) is also a form of adverse childhood experiences.

Emotional abuse was not always consistently recognized as a form of child maltreatment due to difficulties in identifying the harmful behavior and its effects. Like other types of maltreatment, it also faced difficulties in having a singular definition. The actions and behaviors that comprise emotional abuse include humiliation, demeaning, threatening language or behavior, denial of affection, or isolating a child (Wright, 2007). Such behavior is often seen within family life, so it can be challenging to identify when factoring in region, religion, and cultural or ethnic differences. However, there has been evidence that continues to emerge that claims emotional abuse to be " one of the most destructive and pervasive forms of abuse and that such abuse may also constitute a "core component" of all forms of child abuse and neglect" (Wright, 2007, p. 2).

Emotional abuse relays a message to children that they are worthless, flawed, unloved, unwanted, or only of value in meeting another's needs. This causes a tremendous amount of stress on a child mentally and emotionally. According to Kumari (2020), there is significantly more research on sexual abuse, physical abuse, and physical neglect because they are typically easier to notice due to overall outward signs such as physical injury left on the body or drastic changes in a child's visual appearance. However, emotional neglect and emotional abuse, also called psychological abuse, have less research. This type of maltreatment often does not leave any physical injuries or markings (Kumari, 2020) that would indicate signs of abuse most people are familiar with. The lack of visible markings that raise a loud red flag to others makes this form of abuse extremely dangerous. Reports of incidents can often go unreported because what would

be relied on are verbal statements instead of physical evidence to prove that the incident has occurred, if not once, multiple times.

From the information above, there is more to abuse than physical and sexual abuse. There are forms of abuse that do not appear visibly, and they are just as important to look out for. The following section on child abuse focuses on the harmful effects that can happen to children as a result of those experiences. Such adverse effects can alter the children's physical, mental, social, and behavioral health. Specific examples of these harms are described in the next section.

Harmful Effects of Abuse

Researchers and treatment providers recognize that any child abuse can lead to severe negative consequences on a child's physical, emotional, or mental health. These harms disrupt childhood development and lead to lasting challenges into adulthood. The Centers for Disease Control and other fields in public health have acknowledged child maltreatment as a current public health crisis (Greenbaum, 2020; Gonzalez et al., 2023; Tillyer et al., 2021; Zeanah & Humphreys, 2018).

The physical harm caused by abuse can result in many ways. Commonly seen impacts are in poor physical health or visibly seen disability or disfigurement caused by the severity of the abuse. On the body, burns, lacerations, and fractures can remain (Kiss & Zimmerman, 2019). Poor physical health outcomes caused by maltreatment are commonly seen with heart disease, liver disease, high blood pressure, diabetes, obesity, chronic lung disease, bronchitis, emphysema, skeletal fractures, cancer, and even early death (Muniz et al., 2019). What is not often discussed is the harm to the reproductive system (Kiss & Zimmerman, 2019; Middleton et al., 2022), which is frequently seen in human trafficking victims. Reproductive harm is seen

through issues including STIs, HIV/AIDS, pregnancy, and maternal and infant complications (Le et al., 2018).

While the impact of emotional abuse is less researched, there have been significant findings when it comes to the harm. Children who experience emotional abuse may have difficulties in emotional functioning (Liu et al., 2021). Children may not be able to recognize positive facial expressions as they are more inclined to quickly identify negative emotions since the parents often display negative expressions over positive ones (Liu et al., 2021). Additionally, revictimization is often linked to emotional abuse due to the diminished risk of defensive responses that are caused by the compromised cognitive processing of emotion (Gama et al., 2021).

All types of abuse lead to changes in a victim's behavior. Externalizing behaviors are directed toward the physical environment or others, while internalizing behaviors are directed toward the self, stemming from their psychological and emotional states (Liu et al., 2011). Both externalizing and internalizing behaviors can develop following trauma due to victims trying to understand what happened to them and process complicated emotions (Liu, 2004). Externalizing behaviors can manifest in children as antisocial behaviors, social impairments, conduct disorders, substance use and abuse, smoking, risky sexual behaviors, and lack of regular exercise (Liu, 2004; Mehta et al., 2021; Naramore et al., 2015). Many of the internalizing behaviors seen include depression, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety, low self-esteem, self-harm, and suicidal thoughts (Kiss & Zimmerman, 2019; Mehta et al., 2021; Middleton et al., 2022; Muniz et al., 2019). It is crucial to realize that individuals who have experienced trafficking not only have a myriad of traumatic experiences but also increased risks for harmful health complications in a variety of different areas.

There are many negative effects abuse and other types of adverse childhood experiences can have on a child. Whether the child internalizes or externalizes the trauma and emotions they face, other consequences fall outside of their overall health and social interactions. These adverse health effects can be short-term or long-term issues that persist into adulthood. The next section explores topics surrounding the connection of engagement in the justice system. Prior research has continued to expand on assessing potential relationships with child abuse delinquency and adult offending.

Criminal/Juvenile Justice System Engagement

Research in criminology and sociology has begun to examine the adverse childhood experiences (ACE) association with delinquency and subsequent adult criminal behavior (Jackson et al., 2023; Jones & Pierce, 2020; Muniz et al., 2019). Much research points to positive relationships between high adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) scores and subsequent contact with the justice system in adolescence and adulthood (Graf et al., 2020; Naramore et al., 2015). Delinquency and adult offenders differ in that delinquency focuses on acts committed by a minor - someone under the age of 18. Offenses committed by someone older than 18 will be an adult offender.

Delinquent youths who were lured into sex trafficking were found to have extraordinarily high rates of every ACE score (the highest being parental neglect and sexual abuse) compared to non-trafficked youths (Naramore et al., 2015; Levenson et al., 2017). Furthermore, in a study according to Naramore et al. (2015), all youth charged with trafficking violations experienced at least one ACE, and 97.1% had more than one; the vast majority (81.4%) experienced at least four ACEs. Of youth charged with violations unrelated to trafficking, about 50.1% experienced

four or more ACEs. Risky sexual behavior has been linked to individuals with a maltreatment history.

Family dysfunction has also been found to play a role in criminal justice involvement. Levenson et al. (2017) found that those who have a criminal record are more likely to have higher rates of childhood maltreatment and household dysfunction compared to the general population. There are reports from incarcerated persons who often report witnessing violence in their childhood homes and communities and reported many other types of traumatic experiences (Levenson et al., 2017).

From what prior research in these areas has shown, there are associations between adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) and engagement with the justice system. Such findings have been presented in the literature that assessed juvenile justice system engagement and criminal justice engagement. Studies that assessed people who have been trafficked in their childhood tend to engage more with the juvenile justice system. This continues to reinforce that abuse is essential to be explained in great detail to make sure all types of abuse are not overshadowed so intervention or other strategies to assist in the situation can adequately occur. The following section explored homelessness and how vital of a role childhood abuse can have on these individuals.

Homelessness and abuse histories

Research on child maltreatment has also made connections to experiencing homelessness. Homelessness is also related to engagement in criminal systems. Individuals who experience homelessness because of adverse childhood experiences have higher odds of drug use, deviant peer interactions, and deviant survival behaviors such as violence, stealing, and prostitution (Edalati et al., 2017; Narenforf et al., 2020). System-involved adults also experience elevated

homelessness, which makes it difficult to find a place to live. Homeless adults are more likely to return to jail after incarceration than non-homeless adults (Gonzalez et al., 2017). These adults are allowed back into society after serving their sentences, many under conditions of supervision, but face several barriers that keep them in a cycle of reoffending. Many system-involved adults experience mental health and substance use problems and lack the proper resources to better themselves, which may have already contributed to homelessness (Gonzalez et al., 2017). If an individual enters without a permanent address, later, it increases the likelihood they will be denied bail and more likely to spend more time in custody.

Having early exposure to childhood maltreatment is a primary reason for running away and early homelessness (Edalati & Nicholls, 2017). Such early homelessness may lead to higher risks of other types of victimization and sex trafficking because the individuals experiencing this hardship are trying to find a way to survive. Early homelessness increases the risk of harm by "involving antisocial peers, substance abuse, deviant subsistence strategies, and survival behaviors such as panhandling, theft, drug dealing, and prostitution" (Edalati & Nicholls, 2017, pp. 315-316). The uncertainty of having a place to sleep at night or other instabilities creates an easy method for trafficking leaders to bring in more people.

Exposure to childhood maltreatment often starts this ongoing cycle of homelessness, delinquent behavior, and re-victimization. To break the cycle of a turbulent and harmful lifestyle as a means to survive while still a minor, identifying the prevalent types of maltreatment seen in homeless populations is essential. According to Sundin and Baguley (2014), homeless adults have experienced childhood physical abuse and childhood sexual abuse. Conclusions from a study conducted by Gilbert and colleagues (2009) also indicate that in the general population of Western countries, physical and sexual abuse is more prevalent among homeless individuals.

Youth with histories in foster care and juvenile justice systems had higher odds of trading sex (Narenforf et al., 2020).

Many youths experiencing homelessness who has histories of abuse also report having parents with drug use problems (Tyler & Ray, 2019). Homelessness is a stress factor for financial and housing uncertainty that introduces a variety of risk factors for the child growing up in that environment. Factors seen in youth developing substance use disorders include poverty, parental mental illness, community violence, trauma, family conflicts, family separation, and domestic violence (Ijadi-Maghsoodi et al., 2019).

When parental substance abuse is added to the ongoing issues of homelessness, it has the potential to complicate already present issues and further increased risk factors. There is a high prevalence of parental substance use disorders among families and youth experiencing homelessness along with mental illness, sparking co-occurring disorders that remain untreated (Ijadi-Maghsoodi et al., 2019). When youth are homeless as a result of running away from home, many youths are revictimized by the streets and often left without a support system. Due to the lack of support and having to fend for themselves for food and shelter, some youth may turn to alcohol and drugs to manage and cope with their stress (Tyler & Ray, 2019).

Parental incarceration is an established adverse childhood experience that, in addition to homelessness, affects childhood health and familial health. Families that are experiencing homelessness may be more visible to law enforcement, which may lead to the incarceration of an adult caregiver (So et al., 2023). Incarceration may disrupt the current housing situation and lead to further consequences that can include health problems and delinquent behavior as a means to find a way to survive because the adult figure in their life was removed from them. Children with recently incarcerated mothers and fathers were more likely to be homeless than other children

(Wildeman, 2013). A potential reason for this is that there are no other family members to assist with taking care of the youth, being placed into the welfare system, and running away, and being unable to make financial payments, leading to being forcefully removed from the home.

The harm caused by parental incarceration may result in poorer physical health, cognitive skills (So et al., 2023), and academic performance in early childhood, the presence of externalizing and internalizing symptoms and early delinquent behaviors in middle childhood, and a higher likelihood of risk behaviors, externalizing symptoms, and lower cognitive skills and academic performance in adolescence (Herreros-Fraile et al., 2023). Another harm is following an adult caregiver's release from incarceration; they can face employment and housing policies that limit housing opportunities, potentially displacing the family back on the streets (So et al., 2023).

Racial/Ethnic Differences in Abuse

In the United States, there are hundreds of different racial groups. Within these racial groups, people can identify with multiple ethnicities within a racial category. However, race and ethnicity are often grouped together (i.e., intake forms, applications, surveys) making it difficult to separate them in research. In America, the prominent racial and ethnic identities are Caucasian (non-Hispanic), African American, Hispanic/Latino, Asian/Asian American, Native American, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and mixed race or ethnicity. However, the most prevalent racial/ethnic groups in research have been Caucasian, African American, and Hispanic/Latino. There is a lot of growing research to cover a variety of subjects regarding ethnic differences within these racial groups, but child abuse has substantially less research (Pumariega et al., 2022). However, what we do know is that children of racial minorities are exposed to higher

rates of violence and experience a more significant number of adverse childhood events compared to Caucasian children (Pumariega et al., 2022).

According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services & Administration for Children and Families, Administration on Children, Youth and Families, Children's Bureau (2023), children who have experienced abuse are typically one of three races/ethnicities—Caucasian, Hispanic/Latino, or African American. The most used forms of discipline for these minority racial/ethnic groups are physical and often cross into physical abuse with extreme uses of spankings, slapping, and other forms, which may also include the use of an object (Taillieu et al., 2014). A potential reason behind this can be attributed to how their ethnic and cultural beliefs and values can influence the effects of abuse, perceptions of child abuse, and an individual's ability to disclose (Chen, 1996).

When reporting child abuse, cultural differences in one's ethnic identity could be a factor causing such challenges. Some cultures can see behaviors of emotional abuse as comedic or a way of giving their child tough love. Asian Americans have become a fast-growing minority group in the U.S. over the last few decades; however, they have low reporting rates of child abuse compared to other ethnic groups (Finno-Velasquez et al., 2017). In Asian American culture, there is a demand to be submissive, respect for elders, loyalty, discipline, and privacy (Bang, 2008; Zhai & Gao, 2009). Children in these cultural groups who experience abuse may be less likely to report or even identify the harm done to them if it means having to consider a parent or other family members as an abuser (Chen, 1996). Pacific Islander groups also see similar cultural beliefs (Finno-Velasquez et al., 2017).

Hispanic/Latino and African American communities seemingly have cultural values similar to Asian American values in that they share respect for elders, discipline, and obedience.

However, they differ in that Hispanic/Latino and African American cultures may value the concept of machismo (Ferrari, 2002). Machismo, while most seen in Hispanic/Latino communities, can be seen in African American communities in which there is an emphasis on the strict adherence to traditional gender roles of male and female, which can include "sex discrimination, callous attitudes towards women, being aggressive, dominant, authoritarian, and inhibiting nurturing tendencies" (Ferrari, 2002, p. 795).

Adults who do and do not provide services to children in areas such as health care, criminal and juvenile justice, and education need to learn more about all of the topics in depth mentioned earlier to understand how atrocious crimes against youth committed by adults have dire consequences. Recognizing different types of abuse and neglect, familial disruption, and disruptive behavior allows for early identification and intervention. Awareness of the issues and the proper education and training on how to go about finding help for these youth may decrease the likelihood of future victimization from running away, engaging in delinquent behavior, and homelessness. Adverse childhood experiences may increase multiple risk factors for youths' livelihoods in the form of physical, emotional, and social health. Experiencing such life disruptions has been shown to potentially increase the likelihood of running away, delinquency engagement, and homelessness in sex trafficking victims.

Current Study

Despite growing attention to human trafficking and other types of abuse, much is still unknown about the interactions among different types of abuse. Based on the prior literature, the most attention has been given to childhood sexual abuse. However, this does not mean one type of abuse is necessarily more impactful than other types of abuse. The lack of extensive research

on emotional abuse is exacerbated by challenges in finding a common definition of emotional abuse.

This research project is unique because it started with a population that had all experienced sexual abuse and human trafficking. Using such a unique population allowed for examining potential interactions with other types of abuse. This study looked at how specific adverse childhood experiences may have increased the likelihood of running away, being arrested, being adjudicated as a delinquent, being held in juvenile detention, and experiencing homelessness for participants with sexual abuse and trafficking backgrounds.

The research questions that were asked included:

Question 1 What is the relationship between adverse childhood experiences (ACEs), as indicated by total composite scores, and negative life outcomes among youth, such as running away, engaging in delinquent behavior, or experiencing homelessness?

Question 2: What is the relationship between different types of adverse childhood experiences (ACEs), as indicated by the individual ACE items, and negative life outcomes among youth, such as running away, engaging in delinquent behavior, or experiencing homelessness.

Assessing which types of abuse experienced related to negative life outcomes can help to identify those risk factors for future interventions and treatment programs. Race and ethnicity were used as a control variable to examine the effects of abuse above and beyond those differences.

CHAPTER 3: THEORY

From what previous literature has shown, adverse childhood experiences are a crucial factor for a child to engage in risk-taking behaviors. Such behaviors include delinquent behavior, often resulting in interactions with police and, subsequently, the rest of the criminal justice system. These interactions may catalyze being stuck in an ongoing cycle of continued abuse as the child continues to grow into adulthood. The life-course perspective (Elder, 1994) is best applicable to explain how childhood abuse potentially leads to running away, engaging in delinquent behavior, and continuously enduring a cycle of further abuse and sexual exploitation as the years go by, placing these individuals deeper into a hole in which is difficult to come out of.

The life-course perspective had its foundational roots set by Glen Elder. Glen Elder introduced the concepts of trajectories, transitions, and turning points to describe how these factors may affect an individual's life course. (Elder,1994). In particular, Elder argues that developmental processes shaped by social trajectories people follow in life can change their outcomes based on advancement or demotion through the timing of lives, linked lives, and lives and historical times (Elder, 1994). However, the life course model mainly uses Sampson and Laub's age-graded theory of informal social control. Robert Sampson and John Laub's age-graded theory of informal social control operates on a micro-level and explains how certain life events can affect a criminal career by looking at the inverse relationship with an individual's bond to society (Cullen & Wilcox, 2010). Their theory is one of many in the life course perspective, but it can be used to appropriately explain the cycle of abuse and potential outcomes that can continue to impact a person's life negatively.

Sampson and Laub's theory call for a comprehensive understanding of crime and desistance that considers the relationships between individual agency, environmental influences, and the dynamic nature of life-course development as one goes from early childhood to adolescence and adulthood. Sampson and Laub's age-graded life course theory incorporates Elder's concepts of trajectories, transitions, and turning points to explain a general theory of crime, emphasizing trajectories, and turning points. Trajectories are long-term patterns of behavior. Transitions are short-term/normative effects that punctuate our trajectory. Finally, turning points deflect or change an individual's trajectory in some capacity. Based on those concepts, they combined longitudinal research processes with the social bond strength and labeling (Sampson & Laub, 1997) to show how, based on their assumption of human nature, people can be restrained from crime over the life course through attachments and opportunity structures.

Previous research as seen with Papalia and colleagues (2020) and Fraga and colleagues (2022), has used the life course theory to see how adverse childhood experiences and particularly certain types of abuse can impact their life in a negative or positive way. The life course perspective and adverse childhood experiences can be connected as these experiences occur during a crucial development period. Children are sensitive to the external influences they are exposed to in that they can positively or negatively influence any of their experiences over the life course (Fraga et al., 2022). When children are exposed to adverse experiences, specifically abuse, they absorb a tremendous amount of stress from the trauma, which has been shown to lead to a variety of subsequent negative impacts in various areas over time (Papalia et al., 2020). These stressors can strain healthy social ties and lifestyles needed to build satisfactory social support.

Children who have a history of maltreatment are more likely to offend nearly a year earlier and more frequently than children without official maltreatment histories (Papalia et al., 2020). While there are no definitive answers to this finding, mentioned in Papalia and colleagues (2020) study has found maltreatment or other adversity has attributed earlier offending to such early childhood victimization to influence the onset of offending. However, this does not mean that everyone who has experienced high levels of adverse childhood experiences will always offend at an earlier age. It all depends on the other protective and risk factors the child experiences.

Abuse is an experience that can be a cycle in which the different transitions, turning points, and trajectories an individual goes through can also be repeated in a way that does not better the situation. This repeating cycle without proper help to the child could fuel more negative impacts, experiences, and outcomes. The less support an individual has from the different social bonds around them, such as family, friends, and school, the pathways in front of them to take their lives may become increasingly narrow, and they might feel inclined to escape their current situation. Harmful mechanisms might be used, as they may not fully understand what is occurring to them. Any behaviors that are externalized to cope can be undesirable and frowned upon in ways that may garner the attention of adults and the like who can see them as problem children and persist into adulthood with leading to a repeating cycle of offending.

Based on the concepts described above, it is easy to see how the lack of healthy and positive attachments and opportunity structures based on what they have experienced in early childhood can make an individual more susceptible to crime. With what is known about maltreatment and its harmful effects, it is easy to see how a child's life course can be altered into a cycle of running away, homelessness, and delinquent behavior. The cycle of this behavior can

continue to repeat itself several times since they have nowhere to go and are looking for some way to survive. Children who become involved in crime without the proper interventions and assistance may continue their current way of life well into adulthood.

Figure 1 presents a diagram of what has been created for this study to explain the connection the life course theory can have on those who have experienced abuse or other types of adverse childhood experiences. In the figure, it starts out with adverse childhood experiences mainly in the form of abuse. Then it is followed by negative impacts it puts on the child and often seen in their physical, mental, behavioral, and social capabilities or other behaviors. However, abuse is not a one-time thing. Abuse is known to be a cycle; thus, abuse can be repeated, and the negative impacts may continue to worsen until it reaches a point where the child cannot handle it anymore.

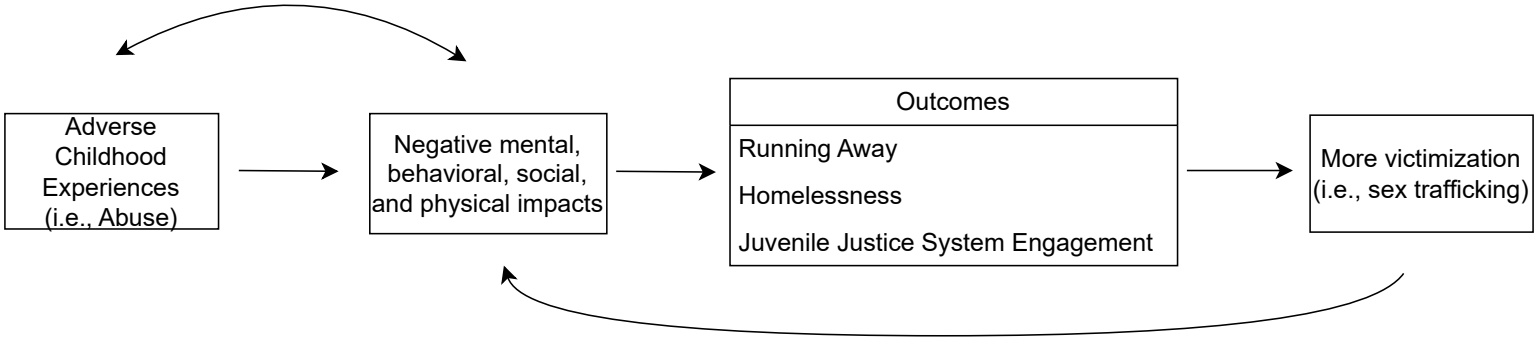
From there, the child can experience three types of outcomes commonly seen in adverse childhood experiences. One outcome is the child runs away from home in which is an outcome that presents issues such as having nowhere to go and often have little to no belongings on them which can help them when they are on their own. This puts them out on the street experiencing early homelessness and having to adapt and learn how to survive often through means of delinquency. In this, there can be adults that take advantage of the child's vulnerability and yearning for a home, safety, and someone to care for them. The adult often forces the child into trafficking by using their bodies to make money.

Finally, this is where the child is put into child sex trafficking and exploitation without a way out. They experience repeated victimization through the act of trading sex unwillingly itself and a lot of traumas in the form of sexual abuse, physical abuse, and more because of how they are forced to live and survive being on their own. Such victimization then goes back into the

negative life experiences in which trafficking as an abusive cycle continues until they try to go through the same outcomes of running away, homelessness, and delinquency.

Figure 1

Adverse Childhood Experiences and the Life Course Theory



CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

Participants and Procedures

Data collected as part of a large National Institute of Justice research project on human trafficking victims was analyzed. A UNLV research team collected the data from 2016 through 2018 under a federal grant from the National Institute of Justice. The participants were recruited from local service providers who work with trafficking victims. A total of 96 young adults aged 20 to 24 participated in the study and identified themselves as minor sex trafficking victims. Out of the entire sample, 94 participants self-identified as female, and the remaining two participants self-identified as male. While participants had the option to select transgender, none did, although they did indicate in the screening interview questions that they were transgender. Participants were screened by phone by a trafficking survivor who had a graduate degree in psychology. Participants were also asked to self-report their race and ethnicity. Eligible participants then completed an online survey that assessed unique life experiences stemming from childhood into where they were at the time of the study and the impacts trafficking has had on their lives.

Measures

The independent variables in this study came from the Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) survey (Felitti et al., 1998). The survey assessed 10 items from the ACE screening tool. Other questions included in the research project looked at experiences of selling or trading sex, a history of running away, a history of homelessness, a history of arrest and deeper juvenile justice

system engagement, and demographic information such as race/ethnicity. The specific questions that were analyzed in this project can be seen in Appendix A.

The independent variable, ACE total score, was operationalized as a continuous variable ranging from 1 to 10. The individual adverse childhood experiences (ACE) items were also independent variables and were dichotomous or assessed as present or absent. In this study, the two items of particular interest were those two related to emotional abuse. Verbal abuse (ACE1) was conceptualized as insults, put-downs, or calling the participant names. Emotional abuse (ACE4) was conceptualized as a parent or caregiver being emotionally cruel to the participant or the other parent or caregiver.

One of the individual items, physical abuse (ACE2), was measured as presented if the participant experienced their parent or caregiver putting their hands on them in harmful ways (e.g., slapping, hitting, kicking, and overall, physically hurting the participant). Sexual abuse (ACE3) for the ACE total score and for that individual item included being touched sexually by a parent or other adult caregiver or being forced to have sex or touch a parent or other adult caregiver. Neglect (ACE5) included the parent or caregivers' failure to care for the participants' basic needs, including cleanliness, food, and clothing. Having a parent with mental health issues (ACE9) was measured if they reported them having depression, mental illness, or attempts of suicide. Divorced or separated parents (ACE6), parents being physically violent with each other (ACE7), parental substance use (ACE8), and a parent being sent to prison (ACE10) were also measured with dichotomous yes or no answers.

This study included five different dependent variables. The first dependent variable included in the analysis was running away. The variable *Run away* was operationalized as a dichotomous variable. This variable had two items that measured the respondent's history of

running away from people who had legal custody of them at the time. Participants were considered to have a history of running away if they endorsed either that they had "*Run away from their parents/caregivers before the age of 18"* or *"Attempted/run away from social services/CPS."* If they did not endorse either of those questions, they were considered not to have a history of running away.

The next dependent variable, homelessness, was operationalized as a dichotomous variable. The specific variables included for a designation of homelessness were “being homeless (ex. street or another place not meant for living) within the past 30 days”, “ever being homeless (ex. slept in a place not meant for sleeping, couch surfing) for a week or longer at age 17 or under”, or “stayed in a homeless shelter at any point.” Respondents who answered yes to any of these variables were coded as having a history of homelessness.

The next dependent variable was having a history of arrest and operationalized as a dichotomous variable. This variable has two items that measure the respondent's history of arrest. They were coded as having a history of arrest if they said yes to either "*Arrested before 18" or "Arrested for involvement in prostitution.”*

Two more dependent variables were included relating to juvenile justice engagement. The goal here was to assess for deeper juvenile justice engagement. One of the variables was *Detention,* which was operationalized as a dichotomous variable. It was measured by whether or not participants were held in juvenile detention. The other dependent variable included in assessing deeper juvenile justice engagement was delinquency. *Delinquency* was operationalized as a dichotomous variable and measured by whether or not a juvenile justice court had adjudicated a youth as being delinquent. Being found adjudicated as a delinquent means they have committed a delinquent act that will remain on their juvenile record.

Race/Ethnicity was used as a control variable and operationalized as a categorical variable. Participants could self-report their race/ethnic identity and choose as many identities as they identified for this question. Both options for race and ethnicity were provided. None of the African American participants also selected Hispanic as an ethnicity. Six categories were created: Caucasian (non-Hispanic)/White, African American/Black, Native American, Hispanic/Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Other. For regression purposes three groups were dummy coded as present/absent: Caucasian (Non-Hispanic), African American, and Hispanic/Latino. The remaining groups of Asian/Pacific Islander, Native American, and other or multiple races/ethnicities were the comparison group. The remaining 12 participants self-reported multiple racial or ethnic identities. Deciding to place the Asian/Pacific Islander, Native American participants, and multi-ethnic participants in one of the major categories of Caucasian, African American, and Hispanic would not accurately reflect their racial or ethnic identity.

Data Analyses

The statistical program SPSS (Version 27) was used to tabulate descriptive statistics of all variables. Binary logistic regressions were also conducted with the independent variables (i.e., total ACE score and the type of abuse experienced) and each dependent variable (i.e., running away, arrest, being held in detention, being adjudicated as a delinquent, and homelessness).

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

Demographics

The largest racial/ethnic group represented in the sample was African American, representing a third (33.3%, 32 respondents). The next largest group were Latino/Hispanic Caucasians (31.3%, 30 participants). The third largest group were Non-Hispanic Caucasians (18.8%, 18 respondents). These three larger groups were dummy coded for regression purposes. The remaining respondents self-reported as Asian/Pacific Islander, (1%, 1) or "Other/multiple ethnicities selected" (12.5% or 12 participants). The other racial/ethnic categories of Native American, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Other/multiple ethnicities were too small to be analyzed on their own, but it does not mean that the information from the groups were unimportant; it just means that there needed to be greater numbers to interpret and report the results appropriately. In other words, the results can be skewed, and the interpretation of the results may not be accurate.

Abuse History

Not surprisingly, for human trafficking victims, participants reported rates of abuse that were very high. The results from the initial screening of participants in this study showed that all 96 participants had experienced sexual abuse through commercial sexual exploitation before the age of 18. It is important to note that in the survey completed, there were other questions assessing other types of sexual abuse and victimization from pimps and johns, friends, or other individuals. For the independent variable of ACE composite score and the sexual abuse ACE item, questions were framed as to whether a parent or a person acting as a parent committed the sexual abuse.

The average of the adverse childhood experiences (ACE) score for these participants was 6.03 (n = 91), SD = 3.03). Additionally, 78% of participants had an adverse childhood experiences (ACE) score of 4 or higher, which is considered a high level of ACEs and a risk factor for negative outcomes (Kennedy et al., 2021). The highest reported adverse childhood experiences (ACE) score was 7 (18.7%). Table 1 presents the rates of experiencing all 10 ACE items. These rates show that adverse childhood experiences were a common occurrence for these participants. Every ACE item has 50% or more, except for having a parent who was sent to prison (ACE10). Verbal abuse (ACE1) has the highest overall endorsement at 77.1% experiencing that, with physical abuse (ACE2) coming in at a close second. The entire Table 1 included the exact number of participants who have experienced each ACE item**.**

Table A1

Abridged Results: Frequencies of Adverse Childhood Experiences

ACE Item	Percentage Experiencing
1. Verbal Abuse	77.1%
2. Physical Abuse	75.0%
3. Sexual Abuse	57.3%
4. Emotional Abuse	59.4%
5. Neglect	66.7%
6. Divorced/Separated Parents	52.1%
7. Parents Physically Violent with Each Other	64.6%
8. Parent Substance Abuse	58.3%
9. Parent Mental Health	50.0%
10. Parent Sent to Prison	37.5%

Abuse and Running Away

The composite ACE scores were assessed with the variable of running away to consider the cumulative effects of adverse childhood experiences. In this analysis, being able to assess the history of running away to the types of abuse and other adverse childhood experiences was beneficial to see how much abuse played a role in the participants running away or attempted to run away from their parents or social services custody before they turned 18 years old.

For the variable run away, 59 (61.5%) of respondents had run away from their parents before they were 18 or attempted to/ran away from social services custody, and 33 (34.4%) of respondents did not run away from their parents before 18 or did not run away or attempt to run away from social services custody. With the participant's race included as a control variable, there were a few significant findings for overall abuse rates as well as different types of abuse and running away.

A logistic regression was performed to assess the potential impact of the composite ACE score and the likelihood that respondents are more likely to run away if they have higher ACE scores. The results are presented in Table 2 for the items of interest (i.e., overall ACE, verbal abuse (ACE1), emotional abuse (ACE4)) or that that had significant findings (i.e., neglect (ACE5), parents physically violent with each other (ACE7), and parent mental health struggles (ACE9)). Since the control variable of race/ethnicity was significant for Hispanic youth in every regression, the remaining regression results are presented in Appendix C.

Table A2

Abridged Results: Running Away Predictors

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
ACE Scores						
Cauc	-2.830	1.222	3.793	1	.051	.093
AA	-1.689	1.153	2.145	1	.143	.185
Hisp	-3.226	1.159	7.748	1	.005**	.040
ACE	.248	.089	7.797	1	.005**	1.282
Verbal Abuse (ACE1)						
Cauc	-1.987	1.159	2.940	1	.086	.137
AA	-1.594	1.116	2.040	1	.153	.203
Hisp	-2.920	1.107	6.956	1	.008***	.054
ACE1	.558	.588	.900	1	.343	1.747
Emotional abuse (ACE4)						
Cauc	-2.535	1.226	4.275	1	.039*	.079
AA	-1.799	1.158	2.417	1	.120	.165
Hisp	-2.788	1.150	5.874	1	.015*	.062
ACE4	1.922	.542	12.562	1	<.001***	6.837

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Divorced/Separated Parents (ACE6)						
Cauc	-2.335	1.201	3.781	1	.052	.097
AA	-1.558	1.133	1.890	1	.169	.211
Hisp	-3.165	1.144	7.648	1	.006**	.042
ACE6	1.471	.532	7.651	1	.006**	4.355
Parents Physically Violent with Each Other (ACE7)						
Cauc	-2.104	1.176	3.200	1	.074	.122
AA	-1.755	1.127	2.425	1	.119	.173
Hisp	-2.986	1.122	7.077	1	.008**	.051
ACE7	1.224	.503	5.918	1	.015*	3.402
Parent Mental Health (ACE9)						
Cauc	-2.492	1.202	4.300	1	.038*	.083
AA	-1.839	1.133	2.636	1	.104	.159
Hisp	-2.971	1.128	6.939	1	.008**	.051
ACE9	1.537	.522	8.672	1	.003**	4.652

*$p < .05$, **$p .< .01$, ***p < .001

For the respondent's overall ACE score, being Hispanic was found to be significant at the .01 significance level with an odds ratio of .040 (Exp(B) .040, $p < .01$) in decreasing the likelihood of running away. However, the ACE score itself was found significant at the .01 significance level with an odds ratio of 1.282 (Exp(B) 1.282, $p < .01$), indicating that those with higher ACE scores are one time more likely to run away compared to those who do not have high ACE scores. Being Hispanic and experiencing verbal abuse (ACE1) also decreased the likelihood of running away at the .01 significance level with an odds ratio of .054 (Exp(B) .054, $p < .01$).

Emotional abuse (ACE4) had three statistically significant findings. The first finding indicated that being Caucasian decreases the likelihood of running away at the .01 significance level with an odds ratio of .079 (Exp(B) .079, $p < .01$). The likelihood of running away decreases for being Hispanic as well at the .01 significance level with an odds ratio of .062 (Exp(B) .062, $p < .01$). Oppositely, emotional abuse (ACE4) was found to increase the likelihood of running away at the .001 significance level with an odds ratio of 6.837 meaning trafficked individuals who experienced emotional abuse in childhood are six times more likely to run away.

Divorced or separated parents (ACE6) had two significant findings. Being Hispanic decreased the likelihood of running away at the .01 significance level with an odds ratio of .042 (Exp(B) .042, $p < .01$). What increased the likelihood of running away was having divorced or separated parents (ACE6) at the .01 significance level with an odds ratio of 4.355 (Exp(B) 4.355, $p < .01$). This means if an individual's parents are not together, they are four times more likely to run away. Witnessing parents being physically violent to each other (ACE7) also had two significant findings. The first finding showed that being Hispanic decreases the likelihood of running away at the .01 significance level with an odds ratio of .051 (Exp(B) .051, $p < .01$).

Meanwhile, witnessing such parental violence (ACE7) increases the likelihood of running away at by three times as it was found to be significant at the .05 significance level with an odds ratio of 3.402 (Exp(B) 3.402, $p < .05$).

A parent with a mental health (ACE9) history has three significant findings. Two of the findings indicate that being Caucasian and Hispanic decreases the likelihood of running away at the .01 significance level with an odds ratio of .083 (Exp(B) .083, $p < .01$) for Caucasian respondents and an odds ratio of .051 (Exp(B) .051, $p < .01$) for Hispanic respondents. Having a parent with mental health issues (ACE9) itself without race as a factor was found to increase the likelihood of running away four times, which is shown to be significant at the .01 significance level with an odds ratio of 4.652 (Exp(B) 4.652, $p < .01$).

Abuse and Homelessness

The next area of interest was whether those youth who experienced higher levels of emotional abuse also experienced higher rates of homelessness. Once again, the composite ACE scores were analyzed with the variable of homelessness. Assessing the history of the participant's homelessness to the types of abuse and other adverse childhood experiences was beneficial to see if and how much of a role abuse has on homelessness since this is the most significant gap in research. Since the homelessness is comprised of three types of questions assessing their homelessness histories, they can be used to determine if a participant has been homeless (ex., street or another place not meant for living) within the past 30 days, ever being homeless (ex., slept in a place not meant for sleeping, couch surfing) for a week or longer at age 17 or under, and stayed in a homeless shelter at any point.

There were high rates of homelessness in this population. Over three-quarters (77.1%, 74 participants reported a history of being homeless).These rates were similar across the three

largest groups (81.3% of African Americans, 77.8% of non-Hispanic Caucasians, and 70% of Hispanics), and race/ethnicity groups did not prove to be significant predictors in any of the regressions.

The composite ACE score regression revealed a significant relationship with experiencing homelessness. Other than emotional abuse (ACE4) or parents physically violent with each other (ACE7), there were no other significant relationships with homelessness. All of the non-significant regressions are included in Appendix D.

Table 3 presents the factors that were significantly related with experiencing homelessness. The first statistically significant finding was with the overall ACE score. The ACE score was found significant at the .05 significance level with an odds ratio of 1.242 (Exp(B) 1.242, $p < .05$), indicating that those with higher ACE scores are more likely to experience homelessness compared to those who do not have high ACE scores. The second statistically significant is emotional abuse (ACE4) at the .001 significance level. What the results have shown is that if a trafficked individual has experienced emotional abuse in their childhood, they are four times more likely to experience homelessness (Exp(B) 4.343, $p < .01$).

The second significant finding was from the participant witnessing their parents being physically violent with each other at the .001 significance level. The data showed that if trafficked individuals witnessed domestic violence between their parents during childhood, they are five times more likely to experience homelessness (Exp(B) 5.699, $p< .001$). From this analysis, it can be inferred that those who have experienced emotional abuse or had parents who were physically violent to each other were more likely to experience homelessness compared to those who did not experience those two adversities.

Table A3

Abridged Results: Homelessness Predictors

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
ACE Scores						
Cauc	-.365	.909	.161	1	.688	.694
AA	.347	.851	.166	1	.684	1.414
Hisp	-.698	.803	.754	1	.385	.498
ACE	.216	.089	5.978	1	.014*	1.242
Emotional abuse (ACE4)						
Cauc	-.395	.898	.194	1	.660	.674
AA	.246	.842	.086	1	.770	1.279
Hisp	-.280	.797	.124	1	.725	.756
ACE4	1.469	.552	7.080	1	.008*	4.343
Parents Physically Violent with Each Other (ACE7)						
Cauc	-.199	.912	.048	1	.827	.819
AA	.226	.854	.070	1	.792	1.253
Hisp	-.533	.806	.438	1	.508	.587
ACE7	1.740	.539	10.440	1	.001**	5.699

*$p < .01$, **$p < .001$

Abuse and Juvenile Justice Engagement

The final area of interest was whether trafficked individuals who experienced higher levels of emotional abuse in their childhood also experienced greater juvenile justice engagement. These analyses analyzed the variables of being arrested, being held in juvenile detention, and being adjudicated as a delinquent.

With the arrest variable, the descriptive analysis shows that 59 (61.5%) of respondents had been arrested before 18 or arrested for involvement in prostitution, and 35 (36.5%) of respondents had not been arrested before 18 or arrested for involvement in prostitution. Looking at the reported rates of a history of arrest, the three largest ethnic groups reported different rates. The African American participants reported the highest history of being arrested (83.3%, 15 participants), Hispanic the next highest rate (60%, 18 participants), and lastly non-Hispanic Caucasian (16.7%, 3 participants).

The direct logistic regression was used to look at the composite ACE score and a history of being arrested. The overall ACE score did not significantly relate to a history of arrest. Being a non-Hispanic Caucasian meant that participants were significantly less likely to be arrested. This racial/ethnic relationship appeared in the composite analysis and all 10 item analyses. These analyses are presented in Appendix E.

Table 4 presents the only individual item that was predictive of a history of being arrested and that was experiencing emotional abuse (ACE4). Emotional abuse (ACE4) had two significant findings in which being Caucasian was found statistically significant at the .01 significance level with an odds ratio of .071 (Exp(B) .071, $p < .01$) and ACE4 was found significant at the .05 significance level with an odds ratio of 3.496 (Exp(B) 3.496, $p < .05$). With

this finding, it can be inferred that the being emotionally abuse can increase likelihood of being arrested at least by three times.

Table A4

Abridged Results: Arrest Predictors

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Emotional abuse (ACE4)						
Cauc	-2.648	.867	9.326	1	.002*	.071
AA	1.503	.844	3.169	1	.075	4.495
Hisp	-.076	.697	.012	1	.913	.927
ACE4	1.252	.566	4.894	1	.027*	3.496

*$p < .01$, **$p < .001$

Looking at another outcome related to juvenile justice engagement, a history of being held in juvenile detention was examined next. Descriptive statistics of the running away variable showed that 53 (55.2%) respondents were held in juvenile detention, and 41 (42.7%) of respondents were not. Similar to the history of arrest, being non-Hispanic Caucasian meant that participants were significantly less likely to be held in detention. The overall ACE score did not distinguish the likelihood of being in detention beyond the one racial/ethnic finding. Appendix F includes the regressions for composite ACE scores and all other 9 ACE items that only showed a relationship with non-Hispanic Caucasian predictions.

Table 5 presents the one item that had a significant relationship beyond the one racial/ethnic protective factor. Emotional abuse (ACE4) had two significant findings. The first finding was with non-Hispanic Caucasian respondents being less likely to be detained at the .01 significance level with an odds ratio of .078 (Exp(B) .078, $p < .01$). The second finding is that at

the .05 significance level with an odds ratio of 3.334 (Exp(B) 3.334, p< .05), ACE4 itself was significant. Such findings can infer that trafficked individuals who have experienced childhood emotional abuse are three times more likely to be held in juvenile detention.

Table A5

Abridged Results: Detention Predictors

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Emotional abuse (ACE4)						
Cauc	-2.551	.865	8.702	1	.003*	.078
AA	.713	.735	.941	1	.332	2.040
Hisp	-.675	.683	.975	1	.324	.509
ACE4	1.204	.512	5.528	1	.019*	3.334

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

The last area of interest for deeper juvenile justice engagement was whether the participant was adjudicated or found to have committed a violation of the law as a delinquent. For the variable delinquency, 47 (49.0%) were adjudicated as delinquents, and 47 (49.0%) of respondents were not.

Similar to the other two juvenile justice involvement variables, being formally adjudicated as a delinquent varied significantly for non-Hispanic Caucasian participants as they were less likely to get that court designation.

The overall ACE score did not significantly impact a designation of delinquent. Appendix G presents the ACE score results with only being a non-Hispanic Caucasian as a significant predictor. The results for the ACE items that did not predict delinquency designations are also included in Appendix G.

Two ACE items did have significant relationships with delinquency designations and are presented in Table 6. First, Emotional abuse (ACE4) was found to increase the likelihood of being adjudicated as a delinquent at the .05 significance level with an odds ratio of 3.099 (Exp(B) 3.099, $p < .05$). What this tells is that trafficked individuals who experienced emotional abuse (ACE4) in their childhood are three times more likely to be adjudicated as a delinquent. The other finding tells us that Caucasians are less likely to be found and labeled as delinquent if they have experienced childhood emotional abuse (ACE4) at the .01 significance level with an odds ratio of .066 (Exp(B) .066, $p < .01$). With neglect (ACE5), only being Caucasian was found to be significant at the .01 significance level with an odds ratio of .058 (Exp(B) .058, $p < .01$).

Table A6

Abridged Results: Delinquency Predictors

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Emotional abuse (ACE4)						
Cauc	-2.717	.935	9.445	1	.004**	.066
AA	.105	.664	.025	1	.875	1.110
Hisp	-.246	.665	.137	1	.712	.782
ACE4	1.131	.486	5.425	1	.020*	3.099
Parent Sent to Prison (ACE10)						
Cauc	-2.512	.936	7.210	1	.007**	.081
AA	.113	.660	.030	1	.864	1.120
Hisp	-.466	.655	.508	1	.476	.627
ACE10	1.119	.483	5.370	1	.020*	3.063

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

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

Prior research on child abuse has continued to show that it is a problem that has no simple or easy fix. Adverse childhood experiences can be detrimental to a child's physical, emotional, behavioral, and social health throughout their lifespan if the trauma is not addressed and handled with care. Prior research has revealed connections between and becoming sex-trafficked individuals. However, research is lacking on emotional abuse being potentially connected to outcomes such as running away, homelessness, and juvenile justice, with homelessness being the area that has the least amount of research. To find a way to bridge this gap, this project considered the relationship between different types of abuse experienced and the negative outcomes.

People who have been trafficked go through terrible experiences that put them at risk of being involved in a cycle of re-victimization. This study confirmed the link between abuse and negative outcomes, and for the first time found that emotional abuse was the most impactful predictor of these outcomes. All the human trafficking survivors in this project had experienced difficult and abusive childhoods, with high overall ACE scores. This matches prior research on trafficking victims has shown that their total ACE scores are significantly higher than individuals who have not been trafficked (Reid et al., 2017). Such high ACE scores increase the risk of other adverse experiences, leaving victims in vulnerable situations.

Adverse Childhood Experiences

When measuring adverse childhood experiences, the composite ACE score suggests the higher the overall ACE score, the more likely a person is to experience negative outcomes. We predicted that the composite ACE score would be increase the likelihood that trafficked youth

would experience the negative outcomes of running away, homeless, and juvenile justice involvement. Running away and homelessness was the only negative outcomes impacted by the overall ACE score. It suggested that experiencing more than one kind of adverse childhood experiences was a significant predictor for running away and homelessness. The average ACE score for youth in this study was high at 6.03 with prior research identifying anything over 4 to be an elevated risk (Kennedy et al., 2021). In fact, 78% of the youth had an ACE score of 4 or higher (Kennedy et al., 2021). It was unexpected that these high ACE scores did not predict juvenile justice engagement which is contrary to prior research (Graf et al., 2020; Naramore et al., 2015).

Emotional Abuse

Respondents in the study disclosed high rates of emotional abuse. In the survey given to participants, there were two different measures on emotional abuse. The first, verbal abuse (ACE1) had the highest overall percentage of participants reporting to have experienced it at (77%). Verbal abuse failed to be a significant predictor for many of the negative outcomes but perhaps that was due to a restriction in range, as so many participants experienced it. Initially, it was expected that both verbal abuse (ACE1) and emotional abuse (ACE4) would have very similar results throughout the analyses. However, this was not the case, as verbal abuse (ACE1) failed to be a statistically significant predictor.

Emotional abuse, in contract to verbal abuse, was a significant predictor of negative outcomes. There are characteristics to help differentiate between emotional abuse and verbal abuse. Verbal abuse involves the use of spoken words used to hurt, intimidate, and control a person through words alone. For example, a person being told they will be hit or physically hurt without proceeding with the act of physically hitting them. Emotional abuse is less about threats,

but more about manipulation. Emotional abuse uses tactics to purposefully hurt a person's emotions and manipulate and mistreat them through humiliation, demeaning, threatening language or behavior, denial of affection, or isolating a child (Wright, 2007). The most common methods of emotional abuse can include criticism, humiliation, and control. Giving someone the silent treatment is an example of emotional abuse as the person on the receiving end can interpret the interaction or lack thereof as not being liked.

Emotional abuse turned out to be a significant predictor of negative outcomes. The discoveries made signified how these youth are incredibly vulnerable to direct and indirect experiences. The more emotional abuse an individual experienced, the the more likely they are to negative life outcomes such as running away, homelessness, arrest, being held in juvenile detention, and being adjudicated as a delinquent.

The first negative outcome considered the history of running away. This was the only negative outcome impacted by the overall ACE score. The research project found the overall adverse childhood experience score, emotional abuse, divorced or separated parents, parents being physically violent with each other, and parental mental health challenges. This study confirmed that adverse childhood experiences does have a relationship to running away (similar to prior research), but not all outcome variables were significantly significant. This contrasts with prior research that has linked physical and sexual abuse to running away. It was interesting to see that being exposed to family disruption was significantly related with running away than other forms of abuse.

Literature on the issue of homelessness has shown how early homelessness, meaning homelessness as a child, can lead to a higher likelihood of engaging in trading sex (Edalati et al., 2017; Narenforf et al., 2020). Research on homelessness has not looked at the impact on

different types of abuse. Emotional abuse was a significant predictor of experiencing homelessness. Finding connections with physical or sexual abuse and homelessness was to be expected since literature has shown that they do have a relationship with homelessness (Sundin & Baguley, 2014) which was different from what was found in this research.

Another important finding was how seeing violence between parents can affect someone later in life. Witnessing violence can be as impactful as other family disruption like parental substance use or mental health problems (Ijadi-Maghsoodi et al., 2019). Witnessing such violence in the home can create such a toxic living environment that can cause the child in the middle of domestic violence between parents to want to leave, but they do not have anywhere to go. It can be suggested that being homeless is a better option than being surrounded by the toxicity of family. By understanding these connections better, we can work towards better solutions that address the real causes and not just the symptoms of homelessness.

Prior research on justice system engagement has suggested the relationship adverse childhood experiences may have on juvenile justice engagement and criminal justice engagement (Jackson et al., 2023; Jones & Pierce, 2020; Muniz et al., 2019). With delinquency, there were a few significant findings across arrest, detention, and being a delinquent. Prior research that suggests higher ACE scores increases the likelihood to subsequent contact with both the juvenile and criminal justice systems (Graf et al., 2020; Naramore et al., 2015). Experiencing emotional abuse increased the likelihood of being arrested, being held in juvenile detention, and being adjudicated as a delinquent.

Among the three juvenile justice outcomes, only being labeled a delinquent was significantly related to a type of childhood abuse above and beyond experiencing emotional abuse, and that was having a parent sent to prison. Children with parents who have been sent to

prison are more likely to be labeled as delinquent. If the impact was due to the loss of access to a parent, as was argued by Papalia and colleagues (2020), we would have expected to see an impact on all three delinquency outcomes. Since it only impacted being labeled a delinquent, perhaps the impact of an incarcerated parent was more about the labeling than the absenteeism.

Race/Ethnicity

Prior research has repeatedly shown racial and ethnic differences in negative outcomes such as running away, homelessness, and juvenile justice engagement (Graf et al., 2020; Naramore et al., 2015). While race and ethnicity were used as a control variable to separate it from the impact of abuse, some of the race and ethnicity findings were unexpected.

We expected to see youth of color experience more negative outcomes. The patterns varied between outcomes. There were significant relationships with race and ethnicity found across all variables except for homelessness. The juvenile justice outcomes were as expected with being White (Caucasian) meaning youth were less likely to be arrested, held in juvenile detention, or labeled as a delinquent.

The patterns of running away were different for the two groups of visible minorities. Being African American did not significantly predict any of the negative outcomes. Being Hispanic/Latino meant that youth were less likely to run away from home or social service providers. The same relationship was seen with being White (Caucasian) showing they were also significantly less likely to run away from home or child protective services custody.

Life Course Theory

Life course theory may help explain why experiencing some types of childhood abuse predicted other negative childhood experiences such as running away, being homeless, or being

involved in the juvenile justice system. We could not directly test this theory as we did not measure the timing of experiencing abuse and the negative outcomes. While not directly tested here, it is clear that an increase in childhood abuse is often accompanied by other negative experiences like running away or being in trouble. Based on the life course theory research, it is important to set up intervention or prevention strategies to reduce the negative impact and improve potential life course outcomes.

People being abused like as the participants in this study may not have the people or institutions in their lives to show that someone truly cares, further putting them at risk. These children often have a problematic relationship with their family at home, meaning the social bonds with their family are already fragile. Institutions such as schools should be a place for these kids to continue being cared for. Unfortunately, if a child "acts out" in school due to not knowing how to deal with their home situations, educators may label them as a "problem student" and not try to look deeper into the reasons for their behavior. This can negatively impact the relationship with the school, distancing these vulnerable youth from a potential escape from home to be with other adults who can provide them with a healthy environment. When parents give up on being good parents, and teachers give up on teaching because they are "bad students," their peers take notice and may not want to be friends and associate with the child in distress. Figure 1 that was created for this study has these implications of the cycle of abuse causing distressed behaviors and how it may lead to negative outcomes that is another cycle and potentially leading into being trafficked.

Repeated negative experiences can continue to harm the child down, making them more vulnerable to other types of victimization, including human trafficking. The negative impact of child abuse, school isolation, a lack of trusted adult relationships depletes a youth's ability in

themselves. One abuse reinforces another, possibly pushing the victims into the delinquency system and away from normal social supports.

Limitations

This study was able to highlight the importance of abuse histories and how they can lead to running away, homelessness, and arrest or deeper justice system engagement. There are some limitations to the results presented here. One limitation is regarding the sample size. The data used for this research paper had a total sample of 96 respondents. Some of the unexpected non-significant findings might be different with a larger sample size.

Another limitation is that the sample was highly unique. Based on the way that participants were recruited for the study, this group would be specific to the resources and services provided for victims of human trafficking in the Las Vegas area. This means that the findings may not be generalizable to other areas.

Participants self-reported their demographic information, including gender. Out of the entire sample, only two participants self-reported themselves as male. Due to this, the other participants who self-identified as female could have been biologically male, and self-identified males could have been biologically female. Other gender-related answer options, such as transgender, were not chosen by any of the participants. Gender and gender identify were not analyzable with this sample.

Other demographic information that was limited and self-reported is the participant's ethnicity/race. Ethnicity/race was included in a few of the analyses, but it was not easy to separate the two categories. The specific question in the survey that participants had completed had the participants include one or more racial or ethnic identities Caucasian (non-Hispanic)/White, African American/Black, Hispanic/Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, Native

American, and other (ethnically/racially mixed participants). Given those options, there is a mix of racial or ethnic identities within those selections (i.e., Hispanic is an ethnicity, and Latino is not) that could not be separated. If race and ethnicity were separated, it could lead to similar issues with the sample size being too small to analyze for accurate results. As the sample size was smaller, Asian/Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, and others were already excluded from the analyses, making the results difficult to apply to those identifying with the racial groups analyzed.

Future Research

Focusing on the different types of child abuse will continue to bring awareness to emotional abuse and other forms of abuse that are currently lacking in research. Since emotional abuse in this study was experienced by a high percentage of participants, this is a topic that should continue to be expanded upon, with the possibility of verbal abuse being included in future studies as well. It continues to be a challenge to use consistent conceptualization, characterization, and legal definitions of abuse and varies in prior research. While there may never be a fully inclusive definition of abuse, it is essential to assess how all these different agencies advocating to bring attention and prevention to child abuse can change laws and policies to stop all types of abuse.

Research on abuse needs to include emotional abuse as it proved to be a better predictor of negative outcomes than the traditional measures of sexual or physical abuse. Further research on the relationships of race and ethnicity and its interactions with abuse needs to be conducted. Our findings were mixed and sometimes contrary to prior research. Research on more diverse populations is also needed.

Theoretical applications using the life course theory can be further explored. It would be interesting to see if intergenerational trauma influences the negative outcomes that were analyzed.

Conclusion

This paper has explored the current research surrounding the topics of abuse, childhood adversity, and outcomes of running away, homelessness, and getting into trouble with the justice system. The study was able to explore and show the potential relationship or predictors of adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) and particularly emotional abuse across variables of running away, homelessness, arrest, being held in juvenile detention, and being adjudicated as a delinquent as outcomes that can harm an individual. Other adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) in the form of family dysfunction were shown to potentially have a more prominent role in different harmful.

These findings emphasized the harmful impact emotional abuse can have. Emotional abuse was found to have relationships with all negative outcomes analyzed compared and had an impact above and beyond that of other types of abuse. It is imperative that research on emotional abuse should continue to be expanded on so that identification and prevention policies can be put in place.

This sample of human trafficking victims reported diverse adverse childhood experiences which were related to running away and becoming homeless, being forced to survive on the street by any means necessary, often accompanied by juvenile justice system engagement. It is a vicious cycle that hard to stop..

As mentioned earlier in this paper, there are many reasons why people do not disclose abuse that is happening to them. The topics explored in this study are vital to identify and realize

that such harm has been and continues to be detrimental to the individual who experiences it. In bringing more awareness to the issue of emotional abuse on different outcomes, there is a potential to prevent more instances of this type of abuse in the future.

Adults, whether they are mandated reporters or not, should take on the responsibility to say something to the proper authorities if they suspect abuse is happening. Educators who spend much time with other people's children may not always be able to identify signs of abuse if it is not visible externally such as the signs of physical abuse. However, if students display externalizing behaviors commonly seen as disruptive or problematic, the educator should try to assess if something deeper is going on. What such assessments can help with is engaging child protective services sooner to investigate and stop the abuse.

In instances where trafficked people are involved, whether they are children or adults, their interventions need to be handled with care. While law enforcement is doing their job during operations in which they actively identify victims of trafficking, their response may not always be appropriate. Officers who participate in such operations may meet these highly traumatized individuals with coldness and have a lack of empathy for the experiences that these victims did not choose to go through willingly. Better education is needed in the areas of abuse, trafficking, and victimization, and in making sure that when law enforcement does encounter these victims, they are ensuring the safety of everyone involved but also handling these individuals with care and compassion. These research findings demonstrated the high levels of emotional abuse which needs to be communicated to those seeking to help the victims.

APPENDIX A: QUESTIONS USED IN ANALYSIS

Demographic

Dem 40: What is your race/ethnicity?

Dem 46.lead: Before you turned 18, were you ever…

1: arrested

2: arrested for involvement in prostitution

3: held in juvenile detention

4: adjudicated as a delinquent (juvenile judge found you guilty)

5: received probation

6: placed in juvenile placement facility for any offense

7: sent to placement outside of the city where you live

Dem 50: Where have you lived for the past 30 days?

Dem 50.5: Homeless (ex. street or another place not meant for living)

Dem 51: Were you ever homeless (ex. Slept in a place not meant for sleeping, couch surfing) for a week or longer at age 17 or under?

Dem 52: Have you ever stayed in a homeless shelter?

Dem 56: Did you ever run away from your parents/caregivers' home before the age of 18?

Dem 58.lead: When you ran away from your parents / caregivers, where did you go?

1: A friend's home

2: A boyfriend/girlfriend's home

3: The home of a customer or someone who trades sex with

4: A place not meant for living (e.g. street, car)

5: A shelter

6: With a pimp or trafficker

Dem 60.lead: Before you were 18, was anyone that you lived with (your parents, caregivers, or other adults)…

1: A problem drinker or using drugs?

2: Sent to prison?

3: Depressed, mentally ill, or attempted suicide?

4: Physically violent with each other?

5: Emotionally cruel to each other or to you?

6: Divorced or separated?

7: Closely monitored or supervised your activities?

Dem 61.lead: Before you were age 18, how often did your parents or other adult caregivers….

1: Leave you home alone when an adult should have been with you?

2: Fail to take care of your basic needs (ex. keep you clean, provide food, clothing)?

3: Slap, hit, or kick or otherwise physically hurt you?

4: Touch you sexually, force you to touch them sexually or forced you to have sex?

5: Insulted you, put you down, or called you names?

APPENDIX B

Table F1

Full Results: Frequencies of Adverse Childhood Experiences

ACE Item	Yes	No	Percentage Experiencing
1. Verbal Abuse	74	20	77.1%
2. Physical Abuse	72	23	75.0%
3. Sexual Abuse	55	39	57.3%
4. Emotional Abuse	57	37	59.4%
5. Neglect	64	30	66.7%
6. Divorced/Separated Parents	50	44	52.1%
7. Parents Physically Violent with Each Other	62	33	64.6%
8. Parent Substance Abuse	56	39	58.3%

9. Parent Mental Health	48	47	50.0%
10. Parent Sent to Prison	36	59	37.5%

APPENDIX C

Table F2

Full Results: Running Away Predictors

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
ACE Scores						
Cauc	-2.830	1.222	3.793	1	.051	.093
AA	-1.689	1.153	2.145	1	.143	.185
Hisp	-3.226	1.159	7.748	1	.005**	.040
ACE	.248	.089	7.797	1	.005**	1.282
Verbal Abuse (ACE1)						
Cauc	-1.987	1.159	2.940	1	.086	.137
AA	-1.594	1.116	2.040	1	.153	.203
Hisp	-2.920	1.107	6.956	1	.008**	.054
ACE1	.558	.588	.900	1	.343	1.747
Physical Abuse (ACE2)						
Cauc	-2.068	1.158	3.190	1	.074	.126
AA	-1.683	1.113	2.287	1	.130	.186
Hisp	-3.037	1.108	7.519	1	.006**	.048
ACE2	.604	.563	1.152	1	.283	1.830

Sexual Abuse (ACE3)						
Cauc	-2.055	1.157	3.152	1	.076	.128
AA	-1.748	1.108	2.487	1	.115	.174
Hisp	-3.109	1.116	7.754	1	.005**	.045
ACE3	.115	.503	.052	1	.820	1.121
Emotional abuse (ACE4)						
Cauc	-2.535	1.226	4.275	1	.039*	.079
AA	-1.799	1.158	2.417	1	.120	.165
Hisp	-2.788	1.150	5.874	1	.015*	.062
ACE4	1.922	.542	12.562	1	<.001***	6.837
Neglect (ACE5)						
Cauc	-2.029	1.166	3.026	1	.082	.131
AA	-1.685	1.112	2.297	1	.130	.185
Hisp	-2.969	1.113	7.121	1	.008**	.051
ACE5	.257	.526	.238	1	.626	1.292
Divorced/Separated Parents (ACE6)						
Cauc	-2.335	1.201	3.781	1	.052	.097
AA	-1.558	1.133	1.890	1	.169	.211
Hisp	-3.165	1.144	7.648	1	.006**	.042
ACE6	1.471	.532	7.651	1	.006**	4.355

Parents Physically Violent with Each Other (ACE7)						
Cauc	-2.104	1.176	3.200	1	.074	.122
AA	-1.755	1.127	2.425	1	.119	.173
Hisp	-2.986	1.122	7.077	1	.008**	.051
ACE7	1.224	.503	5.918	1	.015*	3.402
Parent Substance Use (ACE8)						
Cauc	-2.150	1.165	3.407	1	.065	.117
AA	-1.791	1.112	2.594	1	.107	.167
Hisp	-2.990	1.104	7.332	1	.007**	.050
ACE8	.435	.485	.805	1	.370	1.545
Parent Mental Health (ACE9)						
Cauc	-2.492	1.202	4.300	1	.038*	.083
AA	-1.839	1.133	2.636	1	.104	.159
Hisp	-2.971	1.128	6.939	1	.008**	.051
ACE9	1.537	.522	8.672	1	.003**	4.652
Parent Sent to Prison (ACE10)						
Cauc	-1.930	1.163	2.754	1	.097	.145
AA	-1.747	1.117	2.445	1	.118	.174
Hisp	-2.980	1.112	7.179	1	.007**	.051

ACE10	.967	.520	3.465	1	.063	2.631

*$p < .05$, **$p .< .01$, ***p < .001

APPENDIX D

Table F3

Full Results: Homelessness Predictors

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
ACE Scores						
Cauc	-.365	.909	.161	1	.688	.694
AA	.347	.851	.166	1	.684	1.414
Hisp	-.698	.803	.754	1	.385	.498
ACE	.216	.089	5.978	1	.014*	1.242
Verbal Abuse (ACE1)						
Cauc	-.177	.874	.041	1	.840	.838
AA	.374	.827	.205	1	.651	1.454
Hisp	-.595	.773	.594	1	.441	.551
ACE1	.980	.576	2.892	1	.089	2.665
Physical Abuse (ACE2)						
Cauc	-.257	.874	.087	1	.768	.773
AA	.278	.824	.114	1	.736	1.321
Hisp	-.749	.776	.932	1	.334	.473
ACE2	1.061	.560	3.595	1	.058	2.890

Sexual Abuse (ACE3)						
Cauc	-.210	.857	.060	1	.807	.811
AA	.182	.805	.051	1	.821	1.199
Hisp	-.661	.765	.746	1	.388	.517
ACE3	-.033	.525	.004	1	.950	.968
Emotional abuse (ACE4)						
Cauc	-.395	.898	.194	1	.660	.674
AA	.246	.842	.086	1	.770	1.279
Hisp	-.280	.797	.124	1	.725	.756
ACE4	1.469	.552	7.080	1	.008**	4.343
Neglect (ACE5)						
Cauc	-.284	.881	.104	1	.747	.752
AA	.226	.814	.077	1	.781	1.254
Hisp	-.643	.773	.691	1	.406	.526
ACE5	.475	.539	.776	1	.378	1.608
Divorced/Separated Parents (ACE6)						
Cauc	-.267	.878	.092	1	.761	.766
AA	.371	.824	.203	1	.652	1.450
Hisp	-.591	.773	.585	1	.444	.554
ACE6	.913	.526	3.016	1	.082	2.492

Parents Physically Violent with Each Other (ACE7)						
Cauc	-.199	.912	.048	1	.827	.819
AA	.226	.854	.070	1	.792	1.253
Hisp	-.533	.806	.438	1	.508	.587
ACE7	1.740	.539	10.440	1	.001***	5.699
Parent Substance Use (ACE8)						
Cauc	-.471	.884	.284	1	.594	.624
AA	.089	.818	.012	1	.913	1.093
Hisp	-.639	.766	.696	1	.404	.528
ACE8	.847	.521	2.640	1	.104	2.332
Parent Mental Health (ACE9)						
Cauc	-.359	.872	.169	1	.681	.699
AA	.175	.811	.047	1	.829	1.191
Hisp	-.548	.762	.518	1	.471	.578
ACE9	.614	.528	1.355	1	.244	1.848
Parent Sent to Prison (ACE10)						
Cauc	-.137	.862	.025	1	.874	.872
AA	.193	.809	.057	1	.812	1.213
Hisp	-.590	.758	.606	1	.436	.554

ACE10	.512	.545	.883	1	.347	1.669

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$

APPENDIX E

Table F4

Full Results: Arrest Predictors

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
ACE Scores						
Cauc	-2.731	.901	9.181	1	.002**	.065
AA	1.275	.860	2.199	1	.138	3.578
Hisp	-.642	.714	.809	1	.369	.526
ACE	.108	.092	1.380	1	.240	1.114
Verbal Abuse (ACE1)						
Cauc	-2.641	.864	9.350	1	.002**	.071
AA	1.224	.849	2.079	1	.149	3.401
Hisp	-.620	.695	.796	1	.372	.538
ACE1	.330	.639	.267	1	.605	1.391
Physical Abuse (ACE2)						
Cauc	-2.437	.838	8.461	1	.004**	.087
AA	1.468	.822	3.194	1	.074	4.342
Hisp	-.433	.662	.426	1	.514	.649
ACE2	.522	.606	.741	1	.389	1.686

Sexual Abuse (ACE3)						
Cauc	-2.428	.837	8.419	1	.004**	.088
AA	1.418	.814	3.033	1	.082	4.130
Hisp	-.490	.671	.533	1	.465	.613
ACE3	.215	.534	.162	1	.688	1.239
Emotional abuse (ACE4)						
Cauc	-2.648	.867	9.326	1	.002*	.071
AA	1.503	.844	3.169	1	.075	4.495
Hisp	-.076	.697	.012	1	.913	.927
ACE4	1.252	.566	4.894	1	.027*	3.496
Neglect (ACE5)						
Cauc	-2.554	.873	8.553	1	.003**	.078
AA	1.204	.846	2.028	1	.154	3.334
Hisp	-.559	.701	.636	1	.425	.572
ACE5	-.246	.569	.187	1	.665	.782
Divorced/Separated Parents (ACE6)						
Cauc	-2.385	.849	7.892	1	.005**	.092
AA	1.574	.827	3.622	1	.057	4.826
Hisp	-.306	.667	.211	1	.646	.736
ACE6	.445	.523	.726	1	.394	1.561

Parents Physically Violent with Each Other (ACE7)						
Cauc	-2.401	.832	8.335	1	.004**	.091
AA	1.407	.813	2.993	1	.084	4.084
Hisp	-.392	.657	.355	1	.551	.676
ACE7	-.100	.527	.036	1	.849	.904
Parent Substance Use (ACE8)						
Cauc	-2.395	.843	8.067	1	.005**	.091
AA	1.410	.815	2.993	1	.084	4.095
Hisp	-.383	.656	.341	1	.559	.682
ACE8	-.009	.517	.000	1	.986	.991
Parent Mental Health (ACE9)						
Cauc	-2.590	.861	9.057	1	.003**	.075
AA	1.409	.820	2.957	1	.086	4.093
Hisp	-.305	.666	.210	1	.647	.737
ACE9	.651	.541	1.447	1	.229	1.917
Parent Sent to Prison (ACE10)						
Cauc	-2.345	.836	7.863	1	.005**	.096
AA	1.443	.818	3.107	1	.078	4.232
Hisp	-.351	.661	.282	1	.596	.704

ACE10	.541	.533	1.031	1	.310	1.718

*$p < .01$, **$p < .001$

APPENDIX F

Table F5

Full Results: Detention Predictors

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
ACE Scores						
Cauc	-2.838	.965	8.643	1	.003**	.059
AA	-.052	.688	.006	1	.939	.949
Hisp	-.605	.685	.781	1	.377	.546
ACE	.129	.079	2.651	1	.103	1.137
Verbal Abuse (ACE1)						
Cauc	-2.556	.864	8.749	1	.003**	.078
AA	.426	.742	.329	1	.566	1.531
Hisp	-1.149	.690	2.777	1	.096	.317
ACE1	.112	.589	.036	1	.850	1.118
Physical Abuse (ACE2)						
Cauc	-2.339	.836	7.835	1	.005**	.096
AA	.660	.708	.870	1	.351	1.936
Hisp	-.947	.655	2.089	1	.148	.388
ACE2	.267	.559	.228	1	.633	1.306

Sexual Abuse (ACE3)						
Cauc	-2.317	.835	7.699	1	.006**	.099
AA	.637	.706	.813	1	.367	1.890
Hisp	-.956	.664	2.071	1	.150	.385
ACE3	-.189	.493	.146	1	.702	.828
Emotional abuse (ACE4)						
Cauc	-2.551	.865	8.702	1	.003*	.078
AA	.713	.735	.941	1	.332	2.040
Hisp	-.675	.683	.975	1	.324	.509
ACE4	1.204	.512	5.528	1	.019*	3.334
Neglect (ACE5)						
Cauc	-2.387	.876	7.422	1	.006**	.092
AA	.488	.752	.422	1	.516	1.630
Hisp	-1.022	.702	2.119	1	.145	.360
ACE5	-.808	.537	2.263	1	.132	.446
Divorced/Separated Parents (ACE6)						
Cauc	-2.278	.846	7.257	1	.007**	.102
AA	.771	.716	1.159	1	.282	2.162
Hisp	-.841	.661	1.619	1	.203	.431
ACE6	.300	.482	.387	1	.534	1.350

Parents Physically Violent with Each Other (ACE7)						
Cauc	-2.326	.835	7.755	1	.005**	.098
AA	.644	.707	.830	1	.362	1.903
Hisp	-.901	.654	1.901	1	.168	.406
ACE7	.278	.489	.324	1	.569	1.321
Parent Substance Use (ACE8)						
Cauc	-2.322	.843	7.580	1	.006**	.098
AA	.642	.708	.823	1	.364	1.900
Hisp	-.922	.652	2.001	1	.157	.398
ACE8	-.027	.481	.003	1	.955	.973
Parent Mental Health (ACE9)						
Cauc	-2.346	.841	7.780	1	.005**	.096
AA	.638	.706	.817	1	.366	1.892
Hisp	-.912	.655	1.939	1	.164	.402
ACE9	.080	.482	.028	1	.868	1.084
Parent Sent to Prison (ACE10)						
Cauc	-2.284	.841	7.376	1	.007**	.102
AA	.661	.712	.862	1	.353	1.937
Hisp	-.898	.659	1.857	1	.173	.407

ACE10	.637	.493	1.669	1	.196	1.891

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

APPENDIX G

Table F6

Full Results: Delinquency Predictors

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
ACE Scores						
Cauc	-2.551	.885	8.316	1	.004**	.078
AA	..470	.750	.392	1	.531	1.599
Hisp	-1.163	.705	2.722	1	.099	.312
ACE	.061	.083	.541	1	.462	1.063
Verbal Abuse (ACE1)						
Cauc	-2.774	.940	8.711	1	.003**	.062
AA	-.020	.676	.001	1	.977	.981
Hisp	-.738	.668	1.222	1	.269	.478
ACE1	.811	.560	2.098	1	.147	2.250
Physical Abuse (ACE2)						
Cauc	-2.637	.930	8.033	1	.005**	.072
AA	.181	.661	.075	1	.784	1.198
Hisp	-.633	.653	.939	1	.333	.531
ACE2	1.112	.550	4.085	1	.043*	3.041

Sexual Abuse (ACE3)						
Cauc	-2.532	.914	7.669	1	.006**	.080
AA	.088	.639	.019	1	.890	1.092
Hisp	-.456	.645	.499	1	.480	.634
ACE3	.062	.467	.018	1	.894	1.064
Emotional abuse (ACE4)						
Cauc	-2.717	.935	9.445	1	.004**	.066
AA	.105	.664	.025	1	.875	1.110
Hisp	-.246	.665	.137	1	.712	.782
ACE4	1.131	.486	5.425	1	.020*	3.099
Neglect (ACE5)						
Cauc	-2.846	.950	8.966	1	.003**	.058
AA	-.130	.669	.038	1	.846	.878
Hisp	-.784	.672	1.364	1	.243	.456
ACE5	.418	.489	.729	1	.393	1.519
Divorced/Separated Parents (ACE6)						
Cauc	-2.449	.923	7.048	1	.008**	.086
AA	.217	.650	.111	1	.739	1.242
Hisp	-.414	.642	.415	1	.520	.661
ACE6	.210	.456	.213	1	.644	1.234

Parents Physically Violent with Each Other (ACE7)						
Cauc	-2.523	.914	7.620	1	.006**	.080
AA	.090	.640	.020	1	.888	1.094
Hisp	-.488	.635	.592	1	.442	.614
ACE7	.281	.468	.360	1	.549	1.324
Parent Substance Use (ACE8)						
Cauc	-2.633	.927	8.061	1	.005**	.072
AA	.047	.643	.005	1	.942	1.048
Hisp	-.515	.635	.657	1	.417	.598
ACE8	..357	.458	.607	1	.436	1.429
Parent Mental Health (ACE9)						
Cauc	-2.617	.924	8.015	1	.005**	.073
AA	.082	.641	.016	1	.899	1.085
Hisp	-.466	.637	.534	1	.465	.628
ACE9	.369	.460	.645	1	.422	1.447
Parent Sent to Prison (ACE10)						
Cauc	-2.512	.936	7.210	1	.007**	.081
AA	.113	.660	.030	1	.864	1.120
Hisp	-.466	.655	.508	1	.476	.627

ACE10	1.119	.483	5.370	1	.020*	3.063

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

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Makaylen Tadeo

Contact Information
Email address:
makaylentadeo@gmail.com

Address:
Department of Criminal Justice
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
Mail Stop: 5009
4505 S. Maryland Pkwy.
Las Vegas, NV 89154

Education
Master of Arts – Criminal Justice
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
May 2024

Bachelor of Arts – Criminal Justice
Minor, Human Services
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
May 2022