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Intergenerational Pathways into Family Sex Market Facilitation

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ABSTRACT

Prior studies have found that 15–31% of sex market facilitators (SMFs) experienced family trafficking, and this was a primary route of market entrance (Dank et al., 2014), yet researchers have not thoroughly explored this social problem. We interviewed 24 SMFs exposed to facilitation through family, starting as teenagers. We qualitatively explored the accounts using the Grounded Theory (G.T.) approach (Glaser & Strauss, 2017), evaluating patterns to their entrance story using the sensitizing concept of "agency." Our sample consisted of SMFs experiencing structural disadvantage. Their positionality informed their formulations of their entrance, ranging from family coercion to cooperative learning. Their negative formulations centered on being denied a childhood, exposure to negative stimuli, physical or sexual abuse, unconventional relationships with caregivers, strained relationships with traditional family and family discord. At the same time, their positive interpretations centered on family bonding, masculinity, survival, career, status, and freedom. Our findings indicate that prevention programming should be implemented at the community and family levels to address structural inequality contributing to fragile family systems, risk, trauma, and destructive relationship cycles. Policy directives and legislation should consider these social actors exploited and include them in prevention programs.

KEYWORDS

Pimping; sex trafficking; family; social learning; structural disadvantage; prevention

Introduction

Since the 1970s, several studies have investigated how people enter sex market facilitation (e.g., Broad, 2015; Carpenter & Gates, 2016; Dank et al., 2014; Hargreaves-Cormany & Patterson, 2016; Kennedy et al., 2007; Milner & Milner, 1973; Raphael & Myers-Powell, 2010; Reid, 2012; Stalans & Finn, 2016, 2018). These studies revealed that sex market facilitators entered the market for many of the same reasons their traffickers did—a connection with a family member or intimate partner/friend who was already involved or through neighborhood exposure to the commercial sex market. However, few studies investigate intergenerational pimping, illustrating a vacuum in research on family recruitment.

To remain transparent about our participants, we must lead with an explanation about why we chose to use specific terminology. In this article, we use the term sex market facilitator (SMF) because all participants qualified for pandering charges,[1]" and when they were younger many qualified for sex trafficking charges.[2] For instance, it was common for

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eighteen or nineteen-year-old SMFs to work with friends or acquaintances in a similar age bracket (sixteen or nineteen years old), and based on the TVPA's bright-line rule, they qualified as sex traffickers (Horning, 2013). Due to the changeability of SMFs' roles in the commercial sex market and their legal classifications, we use the broad term sex market facilitator (SMF). Many researchers warn of the dangers of conflating pimping and sex trafficking, and we agree. However, legal changes conflated these activities, especially for teenage traffickers, whose core stories are intrinsically similar to other panderers, except that they are young. Additionally, we do not use the label 'pimp.,[3] except when referring to the activity, i.e., pimping. The caregivers or family members discussed in narratives who recruited these participants would sometimes qualify as sex traffickers due to their interactions with underage or coerced sex trafficking victims. However, some qualified as labor traffickers and engaged in forced criminality.[4]

There are several crucial points about young people recruited within the family system. First, in these family scenarios, these social actors begin as minors subject to the constraints outlined by the political economy of youth model that highlights how young people lack independence from family, school structures, and legal and economic power (Cote & Allahar, 2006). Recruitment by family is technically coercive, especially considering a child's constrained agency as outlined in this model. Second, many sex market facilitators (SMFs) have childhood risk profiles similar to child trafficking victims, with common denominators of poverty, community exposure to prostitution, family and community violence, childhood abuse, running away, being in foster care, being unhoused, and having substance abuse issues (Courtois, 2010; Finigan-Carr et al., 2019; Puigvert et al., 2021; Raino et al., 2020; Reid et al., 2019). Third, multiple traumatic events contribute to "complex trauma." Shared Hope reported that those who experienced early complex trauma are more likely to experience this in adulthood. Fourth, structural and intersectional pressures play a role in the push/pull factors influencing family pimping and contribute to continued childhood trauma and strained relationships.

The sex marketplace is stratified by socioeconomic status, race, and ethnicity (Weitzer, 2009). Recently, a few wealthy sex market facilitators were prosecuted, such as Jeffrey Epstein and Ghislaine Maxwell[5]- yet the upper-echelon market remains elusive. In the U.S., most prosecuted U.S. domestic sex trafficking involves lower socioeconomic (SES) minorities who are easier to find and convict (Goździak, 2020; Williamson & Marcus, 2017). As most prosecuted SMFs are easy targets due to their multiple marginalizations, it becomes apparent that SES is a crucial structural component of whom law enforcement criminalizes for sex market facilitation. Therefore, investigating the contours of intergenerational family pimping in lower socioeconomic areas should be considered when implementing fair legislation and preventative policies.

Many quantitative studies about intergenerational family criminality focus on the correlation of criminality between parents and children and the cycles of criminality (e.g., Besemer et al., 2011; Farrington, 2005). For example, Hjalmarsson and Lindquist (2012) used data from the Stockholm Birth Cohort study and found strong support for an intergenerational (father-offspring) criminal relationship with regression models showing support for human capital explaining the choice to commit a crime. Human capital is obtained through parents teaching children through modeling, instilling norms, and providing them access to networks and neighborhood environments. van Dijk et al. (2022) found that children of convicted organized crime offenders are three times more at risk of offending than children in the comparison group, supporting intergenerational continuity. Kleemans and Van Koppen

(2020) asserted that social relationships like family are related to becoming involved in organized crime because these activities require criminal and conventional capital.

Some qualitative studies investigated the continuity of intergenerational activities in illicit markets. van Dijk et al. (2019) researched 25 organized offenders and 48 of their children using crime scene files and other archival records like child protective services records. van Dijk et al. (2019) found that continuation often occurred when there were inadequate parenting skills (mother only), a "famous" or violent reputation of the father, and extensive deviant social learning. Their children were more likely to know family associates, and this trust was vital to an easy entrance. However, when comparing male and female children within organized crime families, they found that sons were more apt to continue criminal activities. Daughters had more protective factors, such as child protective services intervening. Sex market facilitation does not necessarily constitute organized crime. However, this literature is closer as family members are active in the illicit economy requiring extensive social learning. However, it is different because organized crime offenders are not necessarily at risk due to structural risk factors (see, van Dijk et al., 2019).

For this study, we aimed to investigate how SMFs with structural risk factors interpreted this social process of family recruitment. We explored the following research questions 1) how do SMFs frame their entrance within families, with a focus on their agency? 2) how do structural factors and the "deprivation cycle" or intergenerational risk contribute to family pimping? and 3) how do participants negatively and positively formulate this process? This current study will provide insight into how families indoctrinate younger family members and how participants interpret these teachings and make sense of their experiences with a focus on effective intervention strategies. Further, this study contributes to the literature on intergenerational continuity in family offending because only a few studies asked transgressors about their evaluation of the recruitment process during childhood, which may be relevant to persistence and desistance.

Learning through the generations: structural factors and cycles

The mechanics of social learning theory underlie the intergenerational continuity of criminal behavior. In Akers's (1998/2017) general social learning (S.L.) theory, he derived many critical components from earlier S.L. theorists. The key components are observational learning (developed by Bandura), reinforcement (developed by Skinner, 1988), acquiring definitions favorable to crime learned through close associations (developed by Sutherland and Cressey, 1947), and social structural factors (developed by Akers (1998/2017). There is often continual observation and vicarious learning within families, so even seemingly passive watching is active. In addition, family members are instrumental in teaching behaviors, especially for children. Children may be more motivated to reproduce the behavior when learning occurs with role models, such as family, due to the magnitude and extensive duration of family learning. Also, children may be positively reinforced by the family for replicating behavior. We do not directly test these mechanics, but they are at play in intergenerational pimping and are connected to structural factors.

There are a few studies that focused on some of these S.L. dynamics. Stalans and Finn (2016) interviewed 44 SMFs and noted that neighborhood exposure to the market was often linked to SMFs' entrance. Dank et al.'s (2014) study of 73 SMFs found that 31.5% of their sample entered facilitation by witnessing family members involved in pandering and

prostitution. Their study emphasized that many SMFs described a critical factor in their entrance stories as "passive exposure rather than an active choice." Dank et al. (2014) found that families did not force SMFs, but this exposure was profound, leading to a myopic view of opportunities. SMF's involvement was normalized and viewed as a "way to survive." In illicit trades, social networks, including family, play a role in persistence (Campbell & Hansen, 2012), and family members may be expected to contribute. Based on the socioeconomic position of the typical communities where prosecuted SMFs grow up, we have to question whether these survival stories are justifications/excuses or if we can take them at face value (see Horning & Stalans, 2022). Within the family context, social learning theory is influential, but systemic pressures from capitalism create strain or pressure in the community and school, impacting their interpersonal lives.

A crucial point about family sex market facilitation is whether it started in the context of coercion where transgressors, especially minors, are less culpable. The family system is powerful, and many SMFs begin before age 18 and sometimes in early childhood (Dank et al., 2014), making their role coercive at the least. SMFs may recruit younger family members into the business, and scholars and policymakers have primarily ignored this phenomenon. Those who have been indoctrinated into sex market facilitation and are under eighteen are required to participate in school and attend middle or high school. SMFs working in school hallways or community colleges may recruit similarly aged peers who are often friends or acquaintances, and these collaborations often center on survival (Horning, 2013; Dank, 2011).

Recent studies have explored the familial sex trafficking of minors, with families trafficking their children for money or drugs (Heil & Nichols, 2015; Sprang & Cole, 2018). Dank et al. (2014) and Stalans and Finn (2016) emphasized that many participants from their studies came from lower socioeconomic status neighborhoods. Across studies, researchers found that SMFs described facilitation as learned in the community as a viable way of economic survival or status mobility. These structural disadvantages are a significant pull factor for sex market facilitation (Dank et al., 2014; Raphael & Myers-Powell, 2010).

Structural disadvantage concerns community and intergenerational risk factors, such as poverty and drug abuse, contributing to the "deprivation cycle" (Farrington, 2002, 2005). Wacquant, a noted comparative sociologist specializing in the urban environment, coined "advanced marginalization," categorizing those experiencing new kinds of exclusion at the margins. Wacquant identified distinctive properties of the rise of marginality, including desocialization of wage labor; mass joblessness; concentrated advanced marginalization in bounded territories, such as housing projects; and the alienation and deteriorating sense of community in these spaces (Wacquant, 2008). The levels of deprivation experienced by those relegated to U.S. public housing, where most of these interviews took place, influenced participants' and their families' ideas of what is possible in the licit sector under capitalism and what is acceptable to survive. Sampson et al. (2018) discuss how structural conditions can shape "cognitive landscapes" or "ecologically structured norms" regarding the role of legal institutions and appropriate standards and expectations of conduct (p. 16), emphasizing that working in the illicit economy can come to be expected to be part of daily life. The authors also discussed prior research highlighting how this does not vary by race when structural disadvantage is present (Sampson et al., 2018).

However, lower SES, predominantly BIPOC communities, are not monolithic. Venkatesh (2006) emphasized that many families simultaneously work in the illicit and formal economy, and individuals can work in both economies simultaneously.

Lower SES neighborhoods contain those who live "straight lives," those who work in the illicit economy to support themselves and their families, and individuals who work in both. When the entire family network is involved, there may be higher expectations for participation. In contrast, one or a few family members involved may place fewer expectations on these teenagers, but perhaps more tension between conventional family members and those involved in the sex trade. Differences in family participation and acceptance may also impact how SMFs interpret their early learning experience and whether they continue the cycle.

As previously discussed, the literature on intergenerational continuance has been explored by evaluating external factors (especially in quantitative studies), gender differences, and the extensiveness of the social learning process. However, few have evaluated how transgressors perceived these early social learning experiences regarding agency and positive or negative formulations. Participants' evaluations of their early formative learning experiences may lead to innovative interventions and inform what experiences lead to continued intergenerational continuance.

Juvenile "pimps" and sex traffickers and legislation and policy

In terms of state and federal laws, pandering laws vary across states. The Merriam-Webster legal dictionary defines pandering as "the act or crime of recruiting prostitutes or arranging a situation for another to practice prostitution." In addition, the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) defines sex trafficking as a commercial sex act "induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to such an act has not attained 18 years of age." Most U.S. states have enacted sex trafficking laws modeled after the TVPA, and most sex trafficking cases, except those involving interstate offenses, are prosecuted at the state level. Additionally, most state laws require that offenders charged with pandering or sex trafficking register on the sex offender registry as required by Sex Offender Registration and Notification Act (SORNA). While the government designed these laws to protect the public and serve as retributive justice, prosecutors tend to target lower SES SMFs because they are more accessible (Goździak, 2020). Unfortunately, some lower SES SMFs are young people engaged in the sex market for survival and can unknowingly get caught in the sex offender net (Horning, 2013, Horning & Stalans, 2022), often carrying a fifteen-year minimum sentence.

In December 2021, President Biden released a National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking, with a new focus on gender and racial equity to prevent the domestic and commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC). Therefore, it is crucial to address the intersectionality of this study's participants, who were predominantly black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) and grew up in disenfranchised communities. We address the challenges specific to their intersectionality as it contributes to the "deprivation cycle," contributing to risk and family and community survival strategies.

Methods

Sample and data collection

We interviewed 85 sex market facilitators in several public housing complexes in Harlem from 2011–2012. For this current study, the subsample of 24 participants included SMFs

who learned sex market facilitation from family or worked with the family. Establishing this subsample was necessary to investigate the social process of intergenerational facilitation within families.

During participant recruitment, we used the term "pimp" because this population did not often know other terms, such as "sex market facilitator (SMF)." The criteria were expressed clearly to ensure participants had procured, facilitated, managed, or contributed to commercial sex. However, all participants qualified for pandering charges, and others legally qualified for sex trafficking charges (these charges vary by state but often are 15 years to life). In addition, participants' roles often changed from sex trafficking to pandering, especially if they began in their teenage years.[6] Further, relationship dynamics change and voluntary arrangements can become coercive or vice-versa.

Most interviews took place in East Harlem, New York, with people from these communities. East Harlem has one of the country's largest concentrations of low-income housing and has more than 16 public housing developments with over 16,000 residents (NYC Public Housing Authority). According to census data from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Harlem is rated 10 out of 10 on the community disadvantage index, which means that it is poorer than 99% of communities nationally, indicating that East Harlem is one of the nation's most impoverished communities (as cited in Harlem Community Justice Center, 2011). People living in these housing projects were at high risk for family poverty, under-employment, and high rates of juvenile delinquency (Barrett & Welsh, 2018; HCJC, 2011). East Harlem has long been an area of concentrated disadvantage, with many residents experiencing very high levels of relative deprivation. Therefore, we must understand the study participants' social context because of where and how sex workers' labor is influenced by social stratification.

Participants faced the conditions of living in U.S. public housing but also battled the barriers created by the "iconic ghetto," which, according to Anderson (2022), is culturally transmitted and a primary source of discrimination. These participants were experiencing advanced marginalization, and this macrostructural position impacted their early risk profiles, chances for gainful employment, and opportunities. The macrostructural levels of deprivation experienced by those relegated to U.S. housing projects influence the persistence of intergenerational facilitation, including the learning of teenagers by family and people in the neighborhood.

Similarly, the race and class of SMFs constrain how and where they work. Historically, lower-class black males have dominated street-based sex markets (Davis, 2013). The levels of deprivation experienced by those relegated to lower SES areas, such as public housing, limited their opportunities in licit markets and how they operate in the commercial sex market. The participants worked indoors and outdoors and in local, disenfranchised areas. The indoor work consisted of indoor parties, selling sex in clubs, or using social media to facilitate indoor meetings. Their clients were often friends, acquaintances, and strangers and were similarly disenfranchised.

Our gatekeepers were the primary sources of access and referral, so we used a modified snowball technique. This sampling technique is common in non-probability fieldwork studies, especially when participants are active offenders (Flick, 2009). Both gatekeepers lived in these housing projects and worked as SMFs for families who sold sex. We used snowball sampling, where initial research participants (or gatekeepers) refer qualified participants in a chain of referrals. It is typically used in non-probability fieldwork studies and works well with hard-to-

reach populations and active offenders (Flick, 2009). Referrals were allowed to do interviews inside or in a quiet corner of the courtyard. Interviews were not audible to others. We interviewed in offices at two nonprofit organizations in Harlem during the winter months.

The interviews were semi-structured. We asked participants questions about their entrance into facilitation, their neighborhoods, where they worked, their business structure, how they conducted work daily, and how they interacted with coworkers and sex workers. Interviews were confidential and tape-recorded, and participants gave verbal consent for participation. Most interviews were one-to-one, except for the Trio (young participants who worked in a group with the leader being recruited in the family), who specifically requested a group interview. We received Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval to waive written documentation of their informed consent/assent because, given their participation in illicit or criminalized activities, the main threat to these participants would be the existence of written documentation identifying them as SMFs. Therefore, there were no identifiers, and participants gave pseudonyms. We informed participants about the potential risks and benefits of participation and allowed them to do interviews inside or in a public space, and most preferred the latter. Each interview was 30 to 90 minutes, and they were paid $30 for their time.

Analysis

First, we analyzed each account for participants' reliance on structural factors to describe why their family operated in the commercial sex market as sex market facilitators or sex workers. This technique allowed us to better understand SMFs' stories of family generations involved in this market within a marginalized community. We qualitatively explored the accounts using the Grounded Theory (G.T.) approach (Glaser & Strauss, 2017), evaluating patterns to their entrance story using the sensitizing concept (see, Blumer, 1954; Bowen, 2006) of "agency." We approached this data analysis phase inductively, guided by the concept of agency, but then deductively with an openness to positive and negative interpretations of family recruitment in sex market facilitation. The first two authors coded the data for two cases with the Inter-Rater Reliability (IRR) at 91.67%. In addition, beforehand, coders discussed the parameters of agency and what constituted negative and positive interpretations.

We recognize that victims of sex trafficking reject the label of victim and choose not to frame their stories from the starting point of having no agency (e.g., Luminais et al., 2019). We assumed these SMFs would similarly have varied perspectives on the entrance within the family system, finding SMFs' interpretations ranging from *coercion* to *cooperative learning*. Some interviewees had mixed accounts, beginning with stories of cooperative learning but later expressing feelings of exploitation and other negative interpretations.

We acknowledge that when older family members convinced these minors to engage in sex with workers or try their hand at facilitation, these stories indicate child exploitation and maltreatment, including forced criminality, labor exploitation, and even sexual abuse. Again, however, how participants frame their experiences is crucial, and we evaluate this experience from the participant's perspectives.

Next, we analyzed SMFs' negative and positive statements about their exposure and training through family and how it impacted their lives. We used open coding to derive themes in the narratives to identify the key ideas (see, Figure 1). Their positive interpretations centered on family bonding, masculinity, survival, career, status, and freedom. Their negative formulations centered on being denied a childhood, exposure to negative stimuli (sex,

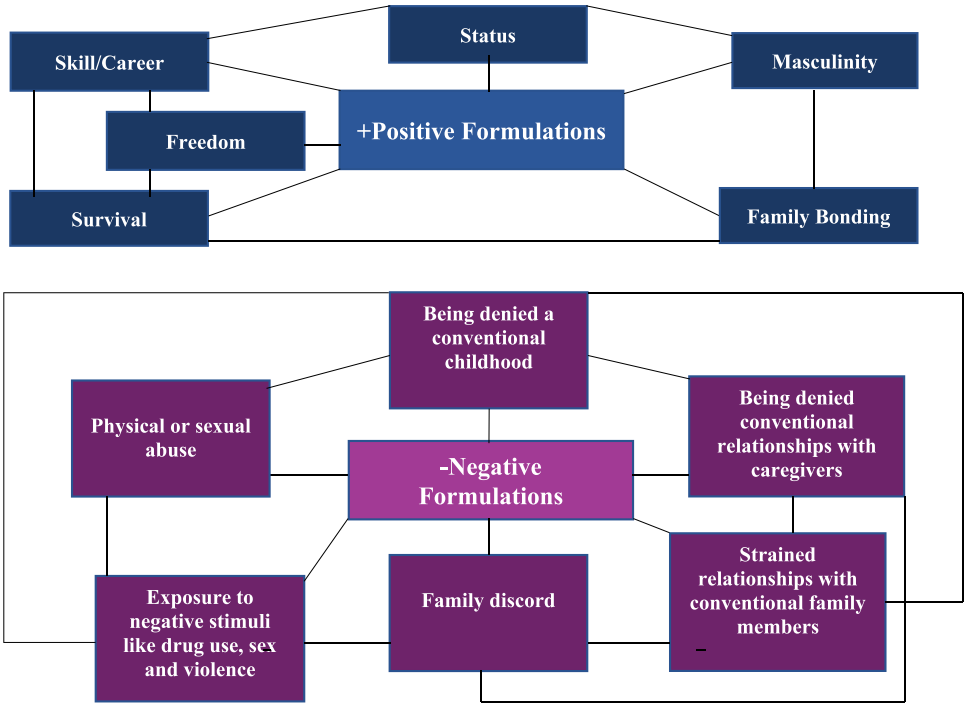

Figure 1. Participants' interpretations of entrance through family.
Note: Themes within positive or negative formulations are not perceived by participants this way in all cases. There are negative case examples. For instance, some participants viewed masculinity tests by male family members as stressful and formulated this negatively. Another example is exposure to negative stimuli where in some cases the exposure to sex, drugs and the party scene was exciting and therefore positive.

violence, drug use), physical and sexual abuse, unconventional relationships with caregivers, and strained relationships with traditional family and family discord. Last, we evaluated SMFs continued or interrupted facilitation patterns and deductively evaluated what factors mattered and could contribute to interrupting the family cycle.

Sample characteristics

The sample of SMFs who learned from family, represented over a quarter of the total sample (24/85; 28.1%). In this sample, the mean number of years participants worked as SMFs was 6.9 years (range 1–25, median = 6). Similar to the total sample, all the participants were members of minority groups: black (n = 18, 75%); Hispanic/Latino (n = 2, 8.3%); or other (n = 4, 16.7%). The number of black participants was higher than latinos compared to the local population. All participants were men. In this sub-sample, SMFs had an average of seven SWIPs at a given time (range 1–40; median = 5). The average age of the participants was 28.3 years old (range = 18–67 years old, median = 28). Most SMFs started facilitation during their teenage years, with an average age of 15.9 years old (range = 9–19 years old, median = 16), substantially younger than the total sample where the average age was eighteen (range = 11–31 years old, median = 16).

Results

Coercion to cooperation: the negatives and positives of pimping as a family affair

The participants came from families involved in sex market facilitation with fathers, uncles, cousins, and mothers who showed these young men how to be SMFs through modeling or training. We asked SMFs how they entered the sex market and their reflections on the family business. With the understanding that SMFs lacked agency within the family system, we sought to understand differences in how they framed their agency, from experiencing *coercion, cooperative learning, both* or *other* (see, Table 1). Participants' interpretations of the entrance and continuation of facilitation were positive and negative. Usually, both manifested within single narratives. The themes of the positive experiences included *family bonding, survival, career, status, masculinity*, and *freedom*. The negative themes centered on *being denied a childhood, exposure to negative stimuli like drug use, sex, and violence, physical and sexual abuse, unconventional relationships with caregivers, strained relationships with conventional family members*, and *family discord*.

A few (n = 2, 8.3%) participants started before their teenage years, expressing coercive experiences with multiple negative interpretations about exposures and subsequent pathways. Our second gatekeeper, Mista Warbux, was introduced into the business at nine years old, with his father and stepfather working as SMFs. First, he hung around his stepfathers' sex workers and ran errands for them, but Mista Warbux said he did not become "ardent about pimping" until he was thirteen. He described himself as a "pawn" used by his stepfather and mother and expressed intense resentment about this early exposure. His mother would send him over to hang out with his stepfather to keep tabs on what he did with sex workers. His mother expected reports and remained jealous. This spying scenario ensured that Mista Warbux had early exposure to negative stimuli, including pimping, sex work, and sex and drugs. However, his primary source of anger was being asked to intervene and be a party to his parents' maladaptive relationship. Later in the study, we interviewed his stepfather, who had a long career facilitating, starting in the early 1970s. Their relationship was complicated, and both had a few positive memories of their father-son relationship. However, for Mista Warbux, many memories were painful because he re-interpreted many interactions as exploitative, including working as a runner for many years without compensation. Sex market facilitation is a hustle passed down through the generations, often by older male family members. This initiation into the commercial sex market is not always positive for these minors.

When Dantes was fifteen, he remarked that his father "gave" him two sex workers to see if he could facilitate. Dantes emphasized that he was "real young," but he framed this part of his life story as a type of masculinity test he successfully passed. Dantes said:

> My father's a pimp. It started with me when I was real young. You know what I'm saying, so I first started. I had my first two. When I had my first bitch though, I was like 15. I was 15 when I started. My father actually introduced me to her. You know what I'm saying. My father wanted to see if I could do it, so I showed him I could.

Dantes reflected on his untraditional relationship with his father, describing it as "not a father-son relationship" but more "like a brother relationship." Remembering those moments in his adolescence, Dantes said he and his father were like "best friends." However, he paused when the interviewer asked if he was close to his father. He explained

Table 1. Participants' entrance into pimping.

ID and Name	Framed as Coercive or Cooperative Learning	Negative Experiences	Positive Experiences	Family/ relationship tension or discord
01 Mista Warbux	Coercive (1)	Denied typical childhood (9), Missed traditional relationship with caregivers (10), Exposure to negative stimuli (violence, sex, drugs) (11), Physically or sexually abused by family (12), Strained relationship with family (13)	Survival (3)	Yes (1) His mother was upset about his father and stepfather's pimping. So he was summoned to spy on them at age nine and taught early on.
09 Jay	Cooperative learning experience (2)	Exposure to negative stimuli (violence, sex, drugs) (11), Other (13), specify: The training made him into "someone crude."	Masculinity (1), Status (2)	Yes (1) He had tension with his mother, who wanted him to lead a conventional life. One of his brothers taught him; the rest of the family was in the Air Force. He had little contact with them.
13 Chicago	Both (3) specify: He described pimping as running in the family and necessary to their survival. Later, he said his dad left early, and his family was on welfare.	Missed traditional relationship with caregivers (10), Other (13), specify: Chicago's father abandoned the family.	Survival (3)	Yes (1) His father left the family, and they struggled to survive.
10 Gordon	Other (4), specify: He described pimping as inevitable.	Exposure to negative stimuli (violence, sex, drugs) (11), Strained relationship with family (13)	Masculinity (1), Status (2), Survival (3), specify: He described the lifestyle as providing him with freedom.	Yes (1) There was so much discord that he refused to talk about his relationship with his father
17 Flow	Cooperative learning experience (2)	Other (13) His lifestyle pushed him away from his siblings.	Masculinity (1), Status (2), Survival (3), Career (5), Other (7), specify: He described the lifestyle as providing him with freedom.	Yes (1) He could not be close to his mother or sibling due to his lifestyle. It pushed him away from his family, and he only reconciled with them after he quit.
18 Alex	Cooperative learning experience (2)	Denied typical childhood (9), Exposure to negative stimuli (violence, sex, drugs), Other (14), specify: A teacher sexually abused him, and his parents let him sleep over at that teacher's house.	Survival (3), Family bonding (6)	No (0)

(*Continued*)

Table 1. (Continued).

ID and Name	Framed as Coercive or Cooperative Learning	Negative Experiences	Positive Experiences	Family/ relationship tension or discord
20 Sonny Boy	Coercive (1)	Exposure to negative stimuli (violence, sex, drugs) (11), Physically or sexually abused by family (12), Other (13), Specify: His father taught him to drug, rape, and traffick women. As a result, he cannot form a romantic relationship with a woman due to his experiences, and he regrets this.	Masculinity (1), Status (2), Survival (3), Family bonding (6)(5), Other (7), specify: He described the lifestyle providing him freedom.	No (0) He framed his experience with his father as neutral or positive, focusing on masculinity, survival, and bonding. However, he described his father as one who taught him to mistreat women. He blamed these teachings on his inability to connect with women.
21 Dantes	Both (3) He described the experience as a masculinity test.	Difficult (8), Denied typical childhood (9), Strained relationship with family (13)	Masculinity (1), Career (5)	Yes (1) At first, he described a close but unconventional relationship with his dad but then revealed that he had not spoken to him in years and that their relationship soured.
30 Benny	Cooperative learning experience (2)	Other (14) specify: He imagined a hypothetical future relationship with a daughter, and Benny said this is why he quit.	Status (2)	Other (3) He imagined having a strained relationship with a hypothetical daughter, and this idea was so powerful that he quit.
34 Spanky	Both (3) He was required to do this and described a cooperative learning experience.	Exposure to negative stimuli (violence, drugs) (11)	Status (2), Other (7), specify: Spanky quit because he realized he was not harsh or ruthless; he gained respect for women.	No (0) His entire family was involved in the commercial sex market, and they were OK to let him quit because they viewed him as unsuitable.
43 Rip	Coercive (1)	Denied typical childhood (9); Missed traditional relationship with caregivers (mom was very debilitated due to crack use) (10), Exposure to negative stimuli (violence, sex, drugs) (11), Strained relationship with family (13), Other (14), specify: He started mimicking what was done to his mom, i.e., getting SWs addicted to drugs and selling them, but stopped when his mother almost died due to a drug overdose.	Status (2), Survival (3)	Yes (1) He had much anger toward his mother for raising him in an environment with sex and drug use, and violence. She was heavily addicted to crack, and his anger was so great that he got his sex worker addicted to drugs. However, when his mother almost died from drug use, he quit realizing he had a hand in getting many women addicted to hard drugs.

(*Continued*)

Table 1. (Continued).

ID and Name	Framed as Coercive or Cooperative Learning	Negative Experiences	Positive Experiences	Family/ relationship tension or discord
49 Jamaica	Other (4) specify: He learned by watching his uncle, a flashy and successful SMF, but the uncle never instructed him. So he would drive around and spy on his uncle because he looked up to him and was intrigued.	Exposure to negative stimuli (violence, sex, drugs) (11) He could not tolerate the intersection of the crack and sex market and feared for his life.	Status (2), Survival (3), Family bonding (6) (He pimped as a way to feel close to his uncle).	Yes (1) His family tolerated his uncle, who was a SMF, but they did not fully accept him. He had to dress in more conservative clothing to visit the family house. Jamaica described the change as like Clark Kent and Superman. He does not discuss his relationship with his family.
50 Daryl	Coercive (1)	Difficult (8), Exposure to negative stimuli (violence, sex, drugs) (11) Other (14), specify: Pimping made him feel bad about what he was doing to mothers and daughters.	Survival (3), Family bonding (6) (He talked about liking to hang out with his uncle.)	Yes (1) He talked about keeping what he did from a girlfriend. She told him she hoped he was not doing what his uncle did.
51 Percy	Cooperative learning experience (2)	Difficult (8), Exposure to negative stimuli (violence, sex, drugs) (11), Strained relationship with family (13), Other (14), specify: He talked about how the sex workers were somebody's mother, sister, or aunt and he was exposing them to things like AIDS or STDs.	Status (2), Survival (3), Other (7), specify: He described the lifestyle as providing him with freedom.	Unknown (999) Not specifically discussed. Percy did mention that his cousin would call him "a winner and a snake," but he did not elaborate.
54 Darnell	Cooperative learning experience (2)	Exposure to negative stimuli (violence, sex, drugs) (11)	Masculinity (1), Survival (3)	Other (3) When asked what he thought his uncle would think of him now, he replied, "he probably think I'm a failure."
57 Jason	Other (4) He said he could go to work after receiving two tips from his uncle. He met his partner through his uncle.	Exposure to negative stimuli (violence, sex, drugs) (11) Other (14), specify: He said: "pimping is whack." He did not like belittling women, especially when he got physical with sex workers or money came up missing. He also worried about the police arresting him on a conspiracy charge.	Masculinity (1), Status (2), Survival (3)	Unknown (999)

(*Continued*)

Table 1. (Continued).

ID and Name	Framed as Coercive or Cooperative Learning	Negative Experiences	Positive Experiences	Family/ relationship tension or discord
58 Frederick	Both (3) He talked about proving that he was worthy of doing what his cousin did.	Difficult (8), Denied typical childhood (9), Exposure to negative stimuli (violence, sex, drugs) (11), Other (14), specify: He talked about a hypothetical daughter being slapped by a SMF.	Masculinity (1), Status (2), Survival (3), Other (7), specify: Being a SMF made him realize he wanted to protect women.	Yes (1) He had tension with his uncle when he said he did not want to pistol-whip sex workers, and his uncle cut him out of the business.
60 Trio – Participant #2	Unknown (999)	Strained relationship with family (13)	Survival (3), Other (7), specify: He invested his money from pimping into a music career. He wanted to do something positive with the money. Also, he described the lifestyle as providing him with freedom.	Yes (1) His girlfriend broke up when she found out what he was doing for work, and he would not stop.
62 Leon	Cooperative learning experience (2)	Exposure to negative stimuli (violence, sex, drugs) (11), Strained relationship with family (13)	Masculinity (1), Status (2), Survival (3), Career (5) specify: He described the lifestyle as providing him with freedom.	Unknown (999)
65 Steve	Other (4) specify: He saw his uncle getting money from pimping, and then he got his sex workers.	None discussed.	Survival (3)	Unknown (999)
77 Antoine Mike	Cooperative learning experience (2)	Exposure to negative stimuli (violence, sex, drugs) (11)	Survival (3)	Yes (1) Since he was 16, he told his girlfriend about his activities. When she asked where he got his money, he told her he had been saving it.
84 Randall	Both (3) He came from a family of SMFs. His father and uncle were SMFs. Randall described pimping as being in his blood. He started pimping after a female "babysitter" introduced him to the "sex thing" and asked how much money he wanted from it, and he "just took it from there."	Exposure to negative stimuli (violence, sex, drugs) (11)	Masculinity (1), Survival (3)	Yes (1). Randall said his wife did not know what he did and thought he worked in real estate.
89 Kev	Cooperative learning experience (2)	Denied typical childhood (9), Strained relationship with family (13)	Masculinity (1), Status (2)	Yes (1) Kev talked about how his dad did not like what he was doing and wanted at least one of his children to attend college. He had to prove to his sister that he had stopped to move into her house.

that as he got older, he had an "aha" moment about their dynamics. In fact, Dantes had not been in touch with his father for years, but he imagined his father was still facilitating. This pause in conversation was Dantes's remembering that his relationship with his father was painful. Even though he portrayed the experience as a masculinity test, this test is coercive in the context of a father-teenage-son relationship. Dantes is still facilitating but is more focused on selling drugs. He said, "I am hustling (–). I take my money from pimping, and I put it to drugs. Me, I get my money for drugs from facilitating. It's like free money on top of free money. His father taught him how to facilitate, but Dantes said, "like with many families, all types of hustling follow."

If the family business operates out of the house, this can make non-participation difficult, if not impossible. For example, Daryl lived with his uncle. His uncles brought sex workers and clients into the home. He discussed the training process in this context and wanted to stop facilitating, but he needed the money for survival.

> I mean, someone was basically training me on what to do. not physically training me but telling me, "oh, you can do it." I had one girl, and then she knows a couple other girls, and I have to live with my uncle. My uncle who has two bedrooms that are empty, so they sleep there. I mean, he's pretty much with everything that was going on. But it's not mainly me; it's him. I don't really like it, but it's so much money.

Further, Daryl explained how learning facilitation was inevitable in the family, and some family members were "really good at it." He described this process as a skill passed down. Daryl's uncle targeted unhoused women who would live with him if they made $400 per week. Daryl described his first sex workers as "washed up, bummy, and whatever. She was looking for a place to stay." She had similar friends, and he started his operation using the same recruitment method as his uncle. Daryl's impression of women overall was that they were unmotivated to improve their conditions, but he pointed out that they were "institutionalized" this way. He said, "She's like any other girl [his main sex worker], woman, you could say. Likes to, um, play around a lot. Doesn't wanna do anything. Don't wanna go to school. Doesn't wanna better herself so stuck in that institutionalized stage of where doing nothing becomes an everyday thing." Despite his negative impression of the women he recruited, he sympathized with them. We asked him what he would like to do in the future, and he discussed how he was studying business management. He said, "I would like to open up a business to protect homeless women and women that's in danger of doing type of stuff like that [sex work]." In this case, Daryl described experiencing labor exploitation, at the least by being required to help his uncle pander and engage in sex trafficking in his family residence. If Daryl wanted to continue living there, he had no other choice but to live in an atmosphere where his uncle exploited minors, including him, and unhoused minors.

It is not only men in the family who transmit the business. Sometimes it is mothers, aunts, or sisters. Rip said, "my mother was a prostitute. On top of that, she was a crackhead. Then on top of that, she used to run hoes herself." His story, like Mistabux, was more painful, and he interpreted these experiences negatively. He said, "At seventeen years old, on my birthday, I had at least seven hoes. I never had a birthday cake, never had none of that old gushy "Oh, here, take a bike!" Rip described being denied a childhood and exposed to dangerous things early on. Rip witnessed his mother's lifestyle and the lifestyle of many in his neighborhood as inappropriate, upsetting, and childhood trauma. Rip said, "Do you wanna know why I look so old for my age?" He proceeded:

> Honestly, I've seen so much in my life that I shouldn't have never been able to see. You know, so, like, even when I was sixteen, I was introduced to all hoes, prostitutes, stonehard crackheads, all of that type of stuff. So, it was, like, at a young age, I couldn't really understand, like: yo, why is these people like this? Why do people stay on the floor and stuff like that, looking for white stuff? Why is there, like, hoes sitting there, moving back and forth while the pimps saying, okay, I got your money? I got your money - like they're the IRS and all that.

These early exposures to selling drugs, using drugs, and buying and selling sex were common in this sample (n = 16, 66.67%).

Later, after facilitating for a while, Rip decided to get his sex workers addicted to drugs. An older SMF advised him to put his sex worker on crack, and Rip said, "In the back of my head, I'm thinking about my mother now. "Oh, snap, no, no, I can't be doing this!" His decision struck Rip despite seeing his mother deteriorate on crack cocaine. However, he stated that his choice was money-driven, and he facilitated to survive, stating, "So, this was like on some survival tactics." His early interactions with his mother may have impacted his style of pimping, which could have been about replication and maybe a form of revenge. Rip expressed disdain about her use of crack cocaine, yet he decided to introduce it to his workers. Then, his mother almost died from drug toxicity. That same day, that event prompted him to reflect deeply on his activities, and he quit trafficking women that same day.

For some (n = 15, 65.22%), just one family member facilitated and inspired them to do the same. Jamaica came from what he described as a "conservative family," and his uncle was from the "dark side of the family, the black sheep." He described his uncle as a "flashy and flamboyant pimp with big bell-bottom pants that broke down to the side with a feather." Jamaica had other prosocial members of his family. However, he was impressed by his uncle's ability to do business and challenge mainstream culture with his fashion and lifestyle drawn to the status of pimping. However, the main draw was his ability to make money and have a career. Jamaica said, "My uncle was one hell of a businessman. (–). He died a rich man." He was weary of the danger as his uncle was killed by one of his sex workers, but he still remembered him as a powerful force to be emulated. While his uncle did not directly train Jamaica, he would drive to where his uncle operated and secretly watch him. Family members who make money in the illicit economy can unknowingly become role models. This is an alternative way that intergeneration facilitation functions. Jamaica's narrative contained many positive interpretations centered on status and success. It did not contain many negative portrayals, probably because he did not live with the family member who facilitated but observed from afar.

Chicago was introduced to facilitation by his father in the 1980s. He said:

> Well, you know, my Pops was a trick, and it ran in the family. You know, and we were poor. You know what I'm saying? And if you got the gift of the gab, if you got a woman that she's willing to do anything for you, sell her ass, whatever it takes, so we can make that money to pay that rent, she's gonna do it.

His father facilitated, and Chicago did the same to feel close to his father, feeling that he had inherited the skills. Later in the interview, he admitted that his father abandoned the family, and Chicago reflected on his early childhood exposure to the struggles of persistent poverty despite a long career in sex market facilitation. He said, "I was just a child. Never went to school. Never graduated. No family. Only had a mother; my father abandoned us. They

didn't give a fuck about us. We was on food stamps. I'm still on food stamps. Still getting food stamps. I get $200 a month." Participants often discussed being denied a childhood and precluded from fulfilling prosocial societal obligations, such as attending college, joining the military, getting married, or getting a licit job.

In most of these interviews (n = 23, 95.86%), participants emphasized many negative experiences with the person who instructed them, with some specifically highlighting coercion (n = 9, 37.5%). In a negative case, Flow frames this interaction as purely cooperative. At thirteen, Flow's father trained him to be a "pimp." His mother lived out of state, and his father had custody of him. Flow said that his father taught him "the ropes" and "Told me what to do, how to do it, how to keep your hoes in line." Flow said his father was a "guerilla pimp" where violence was used against sex workers, especially those who were "mind strong." Later, Flow modeled his facilitating style after his father's, and he was deeply involved in the pimping lifestyle. When asked about his relationship with his father, he said, "We had a great relationship. You got four to five bitches in the house, running around in their panties, doing whatever they feel like; it was great."

However, he regretted his distance from conventional family members, like in many cases. He claimed he destroyed relationships with his mother, three siblings, and friends due to his activities in the sex market. However, his perspective changed when Flow had a daughter, and he quit facilitation. The birth of his daughter ended the family cycle. Flow reflected, "But my daughter changed me. You know what I'm saying. So, that's basically why I stopped, my child, you know." Quitting sex market facilitation due to having children, especially girls, was not uncommon in this sample.

Interrupting or continuing the cycle

Others continued and reproduced a similar type of pimping. The most extreme example of coercion and abuse was that of Sonny Boy, a self-professed "guerilla" pimp. He was one of the most violent SMFs in this sample. He described being trained by his father at a young age to drug and rape women and then trafficked them. He said: "Whatever he did, had me there to do it, too." He nonchalantly described his father's method of getting everyone to use heavy drugs but especially to make the women less aware of the circumstances and then sexually assault them or encourage others to do it. Sonny Boy said:

> The drugs (—)'cause they gon' make your mind go somewhere else, you gon' get numbed, you have no feeling . . . about whatchu doing. Yea, so we let him do the drugs first. Lil' cocaine, sniff a little bit, smoke some weed, drink. The drinking is there; once you drugged, you all fucked up. People be passed out on the floor. Somebody just fucking you right there! While you, you know. It's crazy.

When Sonny moved to New York City, he began to pick up underage runaways at Port Authority. He replicated his father's methods by inviting them to the "Money House" in the Bronx, where he gave victims drugs, then raped and trafficked them. With little emotion, Sonny described the extreme abuse that he used to inflict on these victims. After these descriptions, he reflected on how his childhood and pathway made it so he could never have a romantic relationship with a woman. This is part of the interview where he expressed more emotion and regret. While it was difficult to sympathize with this participant, it is crucial to emphasize that he was a minor, and his father forced, if not coerced, him to

commit sexual assault regularly and then traffic women. This form of family recruitment constitutes forced criminality, extreme child maltreatment, and sexual abuse. In this case, this family member's violent model was reproduced.

While some families transmitted violent models of sex trafficking to their sons, others were taught by families that this is unacceptable. For example, Jason learned about the business from an uncle with fifteen sex workers. Jason said, "I went around with him all day when he was younger." Jason described what his uncle taught him:

> Don't ever put your hands on a girl. That's one thing you don't do. You know what I'm saying? You cherish them. They like a diamond. Cause that's what females are. They worth a lotta money. Between their legs, the mind, how they give it up, they persona. He just told me the ins and outs of the game, man.

While Jason's uncle was instrumental in teaching him how to facilitate, he partnered with his uncle's friend to work in the commercial sex market. He discussed his uncle's friend's decision to partner with him "Ever since I was a little, little kid. You know what I mean. He seen me. He already knew I had potential." Initial exposures can happen within families, and they prime these young men for later entrance into the commercial sex market. Additionally, his uncle's early instruction about avoiding violent interactions stuck with him and impacted his style of pimping.

Many of these accounts (n = 13, 56.52%) focus on intergenerational continuation, but a few SMFs (n = 5, 21.73%) focused on how their entrance was interrupted. For example, Shorty grew up in a family of sex workers and SMFs. His uncles owned a house where everyone lived, including hired sex workers. One aspect of the family business was selling sex. Shorty's uncles had him try facilitating with a few sex workers to see if he could effectively "manage them." Instead, he described himself as "the worst pimp in the world." His family fired Shorty within a few months, yet he continued to sell drugs. The family was involved in multiple hustles, and if he could pull his weight in one area, he was not ousted or ridiculed (at least not too much). Intergenerational facilitation often involves families engaged in multiple hustles, and each family member figures out where they excel.

Frederick briefly worked for his cousin, who ran an extensive operation in several New York City boroughs. He watched his cousin and said, "All these girls are bringing him money. I'm thinking, like, I see him ballin'. They just giving him money – Get outta here. What you doing on this block? Get outta here." His cousin was reluctant to bring him into the business because he was young, but he eventually agreed. After school, Frederick's main task at these sites was security, and he was required to go with a handgun. Other SMFs were working in the area, and one violently attacked a sex worker he knew. Frederick became very close with all the sex workers, and Frederick was distraught over this incident. His cousin fired him because he could not handle difficult parts of the job, such as witnessing violence. While facilitating can be intergenerational and expected, some participants were relieved of this responsibility by their families, who viewed them unsuitable for sex market facilitation. In some cases, families expected them to perform other illicit work and contribute to the family, and in other cases, facilitating is viewed as a brief apprenticeship.

Structural disadvantage and advanced marginalization in harlem

The context where the participants lived and sometimes worked highlighted their structural disadvantage and marginalization that precluded them from formal opportunities. As this sample was primarily BIPOC, living in public housing, and experiencing extreme poverty deprivation, these structural disadvantages contextualize learning pimping within families. The themes of structural inequality and neighborhood-level poverty were prevalent in all participant's accounts. Participants often imagined what would have happened if they had taken the conventional route by obtaining an education and joining formal capitalism. Generally, participants expressed relief that they did not have to experience the financial pressure of conventional life. For instance, Dantes learned facilitation from his father as a teenager. However, once he reached adulthood, he persisted because of his fear of poverty, stating, "I see people in the workforce struggling every day. Why would I want to do that?" Dantes reflected that his pathway would have been very different if he had not been exposed to pimping.

Younger SMFs gain exposure to facilitation from neighbors or family members and commonly work with similarly aged youth who are their business partners, sex workers, or clients. We found that typically younger people came together to work with peers in their existing social networks. Some young SMFs came together to survive, make it out of the housing projects, or have new sneakers and clothes, a specific goal for much of the teenage population. In the case of the Trio, they facilitated so they could purchase items, but the Trio quickly realized that they had found a way out of poverty. They saved money in shoeboxes, Puma for January, and Adidas for February, and they attained enough to lay down their first music track. Fundamentally, none of them identified as "pimps," but they were facilitating to succeed in the rap music industry, playing their latest viral beat on their iPhones during the interview. They met in high school and the neighborhood and had been recruiting minors from their middle and high schools since then. The family trained only the group leader, and the two others had no early family exposure to pimping. When we asked the group about their plans, the leader said, "The thing when we making this money, like at first, we just spending it on flashy stuff. You know, just be chill, you know we have shoes, everything, just you know. But now it's like later on; it's like we have to invest. Invest in getting rich another way. Like boom, we just chose music." The second teenager chimed in, saying, "We all do something." We asked them, "What's your vision?" Moreover, the leader assured us, "We're obviously not gonna be, you know, lawyers or doctors or anything like that. Furthermore, the second teenager chimed in, "Or CIA!"

Many of the youth who come together have similar risk profiles. For instance, Jason described his traumatic background of being abandoned by his family and living with his uncle, "a pimp with quite a stable- fifteen girls." Jason said that despite living with his uncle, "I have been on my own since twelve." Jason struggled with going in and out of jail, being addicted to drugs, and having an unstable life overall. He met Melanie, who started selling sex but helped him facilitate later. Jason said, "She was lost. She wasn't even like girlfriend material. You know? She was lost. She was raised in the system, so she didn't have a mind of her own. She was always in and out of the foster care system." He perceived himself as able to care for her since he "essentially raised himself. "After saying this, Jason painted a different picture of their relationship. 'So I was already fucked up. You know what I'm saying. So, I just brought her with me.' We started off like that. She became something extravagant. (–). She was more the boss."

Jason and Melanie had early traumatic backgrounds involving abandonment, foster care, jail, and addiction. They came together to survive in a world where they had difficulty seizing opportunities due to formal capitalism and where Jason presented a tool of survival that he learned in childhood. Their story is typical among this sample and many who work in the lower SES street-based sex market. Both members of this dyad had "complex trauma" due to family environments, and their early experiences continued to impact their lives. Younger SMFs often work with similarly aged and disenfranchised peers who are acutely aware of their position in society and within the economy.

Jason relayed their recruitment pitch to impoverished, similarly aged sex workers, focusing on the cycle of poverty and getting recruits to realize that working in the formal economy is futile. He relayed that to break this cycle, the recruits cannot be "lazy," They have to "chase money," referencing the generation's family poverty as a hook to get them to enter the sex market. While this a savvy recruitment pitch, Jason seemed to believe in this narrative and may feel that he has broken the cycle of poverty, yet he has also managed to continue the cycle of trauma. Jason accounted for the "deprivation cycle":

> Jason: The economy is fucked up; that's what I'm saying. My people, wanna people want out here. You know what I mean—people that's been poor for years: my family, my uncle's uncle been poor. Great grandmother's been poor. It's a cycle, man. You always been poor. You know, so come on in and get this money. You know what I mean. People lazy. They don't wanna chase that money; you know what I'm saying. I don't know, man.

Fragile family system and divisiveness

It is crucial to understand that the area in East Harlem is culturally complex, and the families living within them often are a tapestry of those working in the formal and illicit sectors.

Many narratives (n = 14, 83.35%) illustrated a tension between the lure of illicit work and living a conventional life, with illicit work prevailing due to its accessibility and ease that allowed participants to circumvent structural inequality and the difficulties of conformity. For example, when Jay was fifteen years old, he learned facilitation from an older brother, and by the time he was eighteen, he rejected a clear pathway out of illicit work. Many of Jay's family members led conventional lives with generations in the Air Force and only a few working in the illicit sector. Family systems are not monolithic. Two pathways were modeled in Jay's family and he described his decision-making at this fork in the road and his regret in taking this pathway.

> Jay: Yeah. When I was 18, yeah, cause I was going to school. I even quit school because I was making so much money. I had two months left to graduate from high school, and I quit. Cause of fast money. It was fast money. I was making like 2000 dollars in a week. I was like, that was a lot of money at that time. Yeah. So, I was just like, all right, I don't need to go to school. And I was going to Aviation. I was gonna become. I was gonna go to the Air Force cause, like all my brothers and sisters, they in the services at from my oldest brother. And, um, I messed up.

Jay reflected, "I messed up my life because following the street life," and he ascribed this to the "glamor life, " which he went on to mean "the women, the cars, the jewelry, and the drugs" and many of the positive sentiments that participants used to describe the pimping lifestyle.

In some cases, like Jay, the family is conventional, but the neighborhood context, coupled with the instruction from an older male relative, tipped the scales in favor of the illicit sector. Sometimes losing respect from conventional family and other family tension has a tremendous emotional impact on participants. In Jay's case, he brought sex workers to his mother's house because she had many rooms. He described how she complained about his lifestyle, saying he described his interaction with his mother. Jay discussed how his mother used to complain about him "Said, "you never came out like your brothers or your sisters. They all in the service. They all got houses. They got the cars and stuff like that. All you gotta do is all you have is hos and drug money. " Jay continued, "Cause she never accepted anything I gave her. "

Similarly, Arro entered the business through an older brother who learned from people in the neighborhood and was "a bigger pimp now." He described how his brother brought other sex market facilitators around his family home and said, "They never disrespected us. That's one thing about it that you could be a pimp too and be a gentleman at the same time." He noted that the conventional family members were unhappy about his brother's activities but tolerated him. He said, "My mom's didn't like it. My grandma doesn't like it. But at the end of the day, they accept it cause this is what he was doing. He wasn't going to jail. He wasn't, you know, out there hurting people, but I was saying how moms used to say they's females. That's somebody, child." The participants in this study showed how engaging in the criminal lifestyle can create discord in families, while in other cases, the family accepts or tolerates the difference.

Other participants avoided worrying about family discord or whether they would receive acceptance. Instead, they chose to hide their activities from their loved ones. For instance, Randall was aware that his wife would not condone pimping. However, when asked if his wife knew about his activities, Randall said, "you know, so you keep your family and business separated completely " because " you find yourself in serious shit when you involve, you know, your family with your money and business." He further explained that his wife thought he was in real estate, investing in and selling houses. SMFs are acutely aware of how they upset traditional family members and their opinions about their activities.

These stories of circumventing formal capitalism and often abject poverty through illicit means are typical of these SMFs' accounts. Families can pass down pimping skills, providing another avenue of survival. However, just as the illicit sector and conventional plays out in communities experiencing "advanced marginalization," it can be divisive within families, such as Jay's, or a point of difference, such as in Arro's account. The illicit and conventional sectors do not represent a fractured neighborhood. However, they reflect the distinct ways groups in lower socioeconomic areas adapt within a capitalist structure while constrained by racism and classism. However, these differences in adaptation can result in tension and divisiveness in family systems.

Discussion and policy implications

As previously discussed, in December 2021, President Biden released a National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking, emphasizing gender and racial equity. The plan addresses domestic sex trafficking head-on, with plans to address inequities for marginalized groups. This is a significant first step since the rates of child trafficking have not

declined, with scholars attributing this to a lack of adequate prevention programs (Luminais et al., 2019). While Biden's plan addresses sex trafficking directly, we assert that the plan should acknowledge both members of the SMF/sex worker dyads who often come from similarly disenfranchised neighborhoods, have family members involved in the sex trade, suffer from "complex trauma," and face multiple barriers to engaging in formal capitalism. The most evident victims in the prevention and protection equation are the sex trafficking victims (see, Finigan-Carr et al., 2019), but juvenile SMFs have similar risk profiles. Therefore, we assert that prevention plans should include everyone involved in the domestic sex trafficking equation, especially considering that, on average, SMFs enter the sex trade in their teenage years (Horning et al., 2019; Stalans & Finn, 2018).

How participants framed their experiences is crucial; however, when older family members convinced these minors to engage in sex with workers or try their hand at facilitation, these stories indicate child exploitation and maltreatment, including forced criminality, labor exploitation, and even sexual abuse. Due to stereotypical conceptions of gender and masculinity, these participants may be viewed as having agency. Society may assume that juvenile sex market facilitators, even those trained by the family, have agency; however, they are still minors subject to child labor laws and required to live with guardians. Participants' reframing of early experiences indicated uncertainty about their agency and how to interpret familial recruitment. Like trafficking victims (see, Luminais et al., 2019), young people trafficked into sex market facilitation may not view themselves as victims. Even as adults, these participants' interpretations were conflicted. This poses more difficulty for effective intervention and a need for more awareness.

Almost all participants' negative experiences centered on family relationships. The early experiences involved missing typical childhood milestones and family relationships, exposure to negative stimuli, strained relationships with conventional family members, and family discord. In this sample, the family system was adversely affected even when only one family member was involved. Families were strained or divided by participation, but this may also be the key to interrupting the family cycle. SMFs were significantly impacted by this discord, indicating that conventional family members could make a difference in their trajectories. In some accounts, SMFs expressed being left out or cut off from the rest of the family with feelings of regret and pain. A few SMFs even imagined having daughters and how their work could negatively influence their future relationships.

While intergenerational facilitation is prevalent in some poorer communities, families, and communities are not monolithic, and many include individuals working in conventional and illicit sectors. The participants in this study hesitated or felt shame to persist in the commercial sex market, especially when conventional mothers and children (mainly female) did not approve. Prosocial community members and family may determine whether these minor SMFs persist or desist in the commercial sex market. Community-based outreach programs could use these conventional family members to show alternative paths, or programming could include a family systems approach.

A few participants described learning within families and replicating the style of sex market facilitation demonstrated by families. If the family member(s) modeled or described how to interact with sex workers, emphasizing nonviolence or violence, SMFs seemed to follow suit. This was evidenced in several cases; however, future studies should explore how styles are replicated or changed through the generations, emphasizing how violence is replicated. Participant interpretations of their continuance in working in the illicit economy

were to retain capital like studies investigating the intergenerational continuance of human capital (Hjalmarsson & Lindquist, 2012) and to studies on the continuance of organized crime families (see, Kleemans & Van Koppen, 2020; van Dijk et al., 2022). Maintaining capital is also crucial to lower SES families. Due to a lack of prosocial opportunity and family survival strategies, the drive for continuance could be enhanced in "advanced marginalization" communities.

Some families asked minors to quit or step down when they could not tolerate the work. This interruption centered on their inability to be "tough" or violent or witness violence against sex workers, indicating that the cycle is not inevitable. One protective factor may be the participant's disdain or intolerance for violence, which should be explored more in-depth. Many studies showed that intergenerational violence is more likely to continue (Widom & Wilson, 2015); however, these negative cases show that some families stop the cycle when they see their children's negative emotions in response to violence.

Most participants struggled with early trauma typical of people growing up in violent lower socioeconomic areas and expressed what Farrington (2002, 2005) termed the "deprivation cycle." Participants often discussed crime and violence, noting how it was traumatic and sometimes normalized. Living in impoverished conditions also meant witnessing other negative stimuli, like drug use, overdoses, homicides, suicides, domestic violence, and neighborhood violence, and some of these participants probably experienced "complex trauma" akin to sex trafficking victims living in similar "advanced marginalized" communities (Franchino-Olsen, 2021; Puigvert et al., 2021; Raino et al., 2020; Reid et al., 2019). Families passing on structural risk factors coupled with social learning makes intervention difficult but possible by addressing poverty, providing prosocial interactions and opportunities and individual and family therapeutic intervention, and giving resources and assistance in schools and the community to teenagers suffering from complex trauma.'

When a young person is indoctrinated into sex market facilitation in middle or high school or attending community college, their peers are at risk for recruitment. Youth in low SES neighborhoods often come together to survive or seek money for clothes or other teenage items (Horning et al., 2019). Those who learn from family may ask friends to engage in sex work or solicit friends to be clients. Often, individuals operate within their social networks when engaging in illicit activities (Faust & Tita, 2019). If their social networks are in high school hallways, these other teenagers become targets for entrance into the commercial sex market. High schools, especially in poorer areas, should be aware that these family businesses exist, and their students could become involved. Schools could be sites for prevention and intervention programs. Non-judgmental awareness campaigns may effectively make teachers, guidance counselors, and students aware of this possibility. Schools could implement red flag training to detect child sex trafficking and family facilitating. Teenagers taught by family can seek assistance in school settings, especially if they are experiencing coercion or duress to engage in these activities. There are some campaigns to prevent domestic sex trafficking for middle and high school children, such as "Not A Number" led by Love46.org, which is a five-module prevention curriculum designed to teach youth to protect themselves from human trafficking and exploitation, including from friends; however, this does not include recruitment into sex market facilitation.

States designed the Safe Harbor Laws to remove the punitive sanctions for young victims of commercial sexual exploitation. However, the young boy indoctrinated by his father or uncle through sex with sex workers and told to facilitate sex work starting as early as nine

(in this sample) is not given different legal treatment by the criminal justice system. Even if he is still a teenager, he will be prosecuted for sex trafficking and "severe sex trafficking" if his sex workers are eighteen or younger. Family learning could be, at the least, a mitigating factor in legal cases. A few states, such as New York State, raised the legal age to be a sex trafficker to twenty-one years of age. N.Y. factored in the prevalence of survival sex in the teen population and sought to eliminate teen sex traffickers. Other states should consider similar legal changes to reduce the targeting of unhoused teens and teens coerced by family members to engage in sex trafficking. Some may argue that this law could encourage families to recruit more teenage family members. However, many SMFs are unaware of sex trafficking legislation (see Horning & Stalans, 2022), and recruitment within families will persist due to the structural factors that encourage this social learning process. This legislative change in other states would allow those involved in family facilitation adequate time to break away from this imposed legacy.

Instead of the intense focus on prosecution, where exorbitant funds are allocated (Weitzer, 2009), some resources should be re-allocated to where most domestic cases begin, with teenage sex market facilitators and sex workers who require resources, support, education, jobs, and clearly defined exit routes as opposed to punitive legislation. Prevention and prosecution are essential, but too few funds are spent on intervention/prevention, especially for this class of victims. We hope the U.S. government includes teenagers engaged in family sex market facilitation in the National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking and subsequent legislation designed to combat child exploitation.

Notes

1. Pandering laws vary across states. The Merriam-Webster legal dictionary defines pandering as "The act or crime of recruiting prostitutes or arranging a situation for another to practice prostitution.
2. TVPA defines sex trafficking as a commercial sex act induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to such an act has not attained 18 years of age.
3. A "pimp" is someone who procured, facilitated, managed, or contributed to commercial sex transactions. We acknowledge that "pimp" is a contested, racialized term. While it is most recognizable, we avoid using this contested word and use sex market facilitator (SMF) instead. However, we sometimes use the term pimping as it refers to an activity and not a person.
4. Forced criminality is considered a new form of labor trafficking, with global rates at 10.5% of the total U.S. Department of State (2022).
5. prosecuted for soliciting and pandering, and trafficking, respectively.
6. TVPA outlines that anyone younger than eighteen who sells sex with an SMF is designated a trafficking victim, and the SMF commits a "severe form of trafficking in persons."

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