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**Understanding the Nature of Human Trafficking:
A Content Analysis Approach**

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by

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ABSTRACT

Although the exploitation of people has existed for centuries, human trafficking has only recently emerged as an offense that merits special legal intervention. This recognition is due, in part, to a growing movement that has labeled trafficking as a social problem that requires a collective response. Despite efforts to better understand and prevent these crimes, the clandestine nature of human trafficking makes it difficult to measure and draw a reliable portrait of offenders and their victims. In this respect, scientific research on this topic is limited. Thus, the purpose of this dissertation is to use an innovative method to expand knowledge about the nature of human trafficking in the United States.

The current dissertation applies content analysis methods to create a rich database that informs characteristics on victims, offenders, and offenses. To facilitate this goal, human trafficking incidents from 32 independent newspapers, located in 22 of the largest cities across the United States, were reviewed from January 1, 2000 to December 31, 2016. Identified cases that reported an arrest, conviction, or sentencing for a trafficking-related crime were then subjected to supplemental searches to gather all publicly available information on these events. Seven domains were recorded and analyzed: (1) identifiers; (2) newspaper details; (3) locations of cases; (4) nature of the crime; (5) victim characteristics; (6) offender characteristics; and (7) trial characteristics and offender outcomes. Using these methods, 361 cases were identified and coded for the final analysis. There were 303 sex trafficking cases, 39 labor trafficking cases, and 19 sex-and-labor trafficking cases.

The analysis illuminated clear patterns regarding sex and labor trafficking offenses. In particular, sex trafficking cases tended to involve trafficking offenses without any smuggling component, domestic victims, and relatively few victims per case. Reports about sex traffickers

suggested that they were in their early adulthood when they were first arrested for their crimes. A majority of sex traffickers were also Black or Hispanic and U.S. citizens. The victims of sex trafficking were relatively young and often Hispanic. The duration of sex trafficking was approximately six months. Labor trafficking, however, tended to involve smuggling and trafficking offenses, foreign national victims, and a large number of victims per case. Labor traffickers were in their early 40s and were frequently Hispanic or Asian. Many traffickers were also foreign nationals. The victims of labor trafficking were commonly adults in their 20s and Asian; they were often trafficked for more than two years.

Taken together, these findings revealed that trafficking offenses were characterized by unique patterns. The results were then contextualized within existing opportunity models (lifestyle-routine activities theory and target congruence theory) to explain trafficking events. Although both frameworks were informative, the target congruence perspective could be especially important when considering individual characteristics that traffickers target. These models also have implications for crime prevention. It is likely that a combination of situational crime prevention and other approaches (e.g., place-based efforts, specialty courts) can be used to prevent human trafficking by different actors and at different stages of exploitation.

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Chapter 1

UNDERSTANDING HUMAN TRAFFICKING: DEFINITIONS, DISCOVERY, AND RESEARCH

Human trafficking encompasses the use of force, fraud, and/or coercion to exploit individuals most commonly through commercialized sex and involuntary labor (Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000). It is estimated that at any given time, as many as 20.9 million individuals are trafficked globally (International Labour Office [ILO], 2012) and that traffickers earn more than \$150 billion in profits each year (ILO, 2014, p. 13). In the United States alone, earnings from sex trafficking can fluctuate in the millions depending on the location (Dank et al., 2014). Given the lucrative profits that trafficking offers, this disquieting practice is unlikely to disappear in the foreseeable future. Additionally, trafficking can impact diverse sectors of society; its victims can be minors or adults, foreign nationals or domestic citizens, live on any continent, and come from all socioeconomic and racial/ethnic backgrounds. Still, trafficking impacts most extensively the vulnerable among us—those who have little social support or education, have been previously exposed to physical or sexual violence, are homeless or runaways, come from an impoverished background, or who have mental health or substance abuse issues (Adepoju, 2005; Heil & Nichols, 2015; Kara, 2009; Lloyd, 2011; MacGibbon, 2011; Martin, Pierce, Gabilondo, & Tulpule, 2014; Rosenblatt & Murphey, 2014; Zimmerman, Hossain, Yun, Roche, Morison, & Watts, 2006). Then-President Barack Obama (2012) specifically addressed some of these issues in his speech at the *Clinton Global Initiative Annual Meeting*:

When a man, desperate for work, finds himself in a factory or on a fishing boat or in a field, working, toiling, for little or no pay, and beaten if he tries to escape—that is slavery. When a woman is locked in a sweatshop, or trapped in a home as a domestic servant, alone and abused and incapable of leaving—that's slavery. When a little boy is

kidnapped, turned into a child soldier, forced to kill or be killed—that's slavery. When a little girl is sold by her impoverished family—girls my daughters' age—runs away from home, or is lured by the false promises of a better life, and then imprisoned in a brothel and tortured if she resists—that's slavery. It is barbaric, and it is evil, and it has no place in a civilized world.

The vulnerabilities of victims paired with the underground nature of trafficking creates immense difficulties not only in rescuing victims, but also in preventing their victimization in the first place.

In this regard, government agencies have recently initiated efforts to collect data on incidents of human trafficking in the United States to understand more accurately the extent of the problem. Thus, starting in 2013, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI; 2015) *Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)* has initiated the gathering of official statistics related to human trafficking. These data, however, are limited due to the low number of agencies submitting reports of incidents, the use of broad categories of trafficking, and the restricted details on those involved (i.e., race, gender, age). An additional effort to obtain details on trafficking incidents has been undertaken by the Human Trafficking Reporting System (HTRS). The HTRS was established as a way to measure the performance of federally funded task forces that suspect trafficking incidents have occurred (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011; Kyckelhahn, Beck, & Cohen, 2009). Through the HTRS, more specific details are captured regarding type of offense, agency involvement, demographics, and outcome (i.e., confirmed trafficking case or not). Still, this approach is problematic due to inconsistent updates by task forces and missing/limited data on victims, offenders, and the event itself. Lastly, in 2007, the National Human Trafficking Resource Center (NHTRC)—later renamed the National Human Trafficking Hotline (NHTH) in 2016—was created as a unifying organization to which potential trafficking incidents can be

reported (Polaris Project, n.d.). Data are confined to information communicated to hotline specialists, which may not contain specific details about the event itself or its outcome.

Despite these advances, the shortcomings of the extant data-collection efforts means that a comprehensive data set on the details of trafficking incidents is not yet available. For a given trafficking event, only limited information is known about the characteristics of victims and offenders, the relationship between victims and offenders, how trafficking is discovered, how long a victim is controlled, the circumstances that led to trafficking, the settings in which trafficking occurs, geographic concentration of known trafficking cases, and the harms that victims experience. Nevertheless, prior investigations of difficult-to-study areas of crime (e.g., white-collar crime) have attempted to overcome the lack of publicly available data by conducting content analyses of reports of criminal incidents in newspapers. In essence, news stories are gleaned for relevant information that is then used to create what amounts to an incident report on each criminal event.

This dissertation is an attempt to expand knowledge about the nature of human trafficking in the United States by creating a database of identified trafficking cases based on newspaper reports. To set the context for this analysis, the current chapter explores four issues. First, human trafficking and its corresponding categories will be defined and the issues surrounding identification will be discussed. Second, the history and discovery of human trafficking as a socially constructed problem will be analyzed to understand more fully why this phenomenon has gained attention as a global issue. Third, existing research on human trafficking will be examined and the limitations of their methods and results will be reviewed. Finally, the current research strategy will be outlined and how it extends prior literature to provide a comprehensive database of trafficking events will be explained.

DEFINING HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Human trafficking is often referred to as “modern day slavery” (Benjamin, 2017; Soderlund, 2005; Winterdyk, Perrin, & Reichel, 2012) and, as previously noted, involves the exploitation of another person. The phrase “modern day” is used to differentiate today’s slavery from the legal institution that permitted the ownership of slaves in the past. However, human trafficking today is considered an umbrella term that captures a variety of exploitive practices. In this respect, this section examines four key issues. First, the two common trafficking definitions that scholars use in research will be presented. Second, the issues with classifying events as human trafficking will be explored. Third, the major classifications of trafficking will be outlined. Fourth, behaviors that are similar to but not considered trafficking will be reviewed.

Definitions

While there are many legal definitions that criminalize trafficking across countries, scholars predominantly define human trafficking in one of two ways. The first way trafficking is defined is based on United States federal legislation. Initially introduced by Representative Christopher Smith (R-NJ) in 1998, the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 was signed into law by President Bill Clinton in October 2000. Under Division A, the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA; 22 U.S.C. § 7102) states that trafficking comprises:

(4) DEBT BONDAGE.—The term “debt bondage” means the status or condition of a debtor arising from a pledge by the debtor of his or her personal services or of those of a person under his or her control as a security for debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied toward the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined.

(5) INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE.—The term “involuntary servitude” includes a condition of servitude induced by means of—

(A) any scheme, plan, or pattern intended to cause a person to believe that, if the person did not enter into or continue in such condition, that person or another person would suffer serious harm or physical restraint; or

(B) the abuse or threatened abuse of the legal process.

(8) SEVERE FORMS OF TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS.—The term “severe forms of trafficking in persons” means—

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

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

(9) SEX TRAFFICKING.—The term “sex trafficking” means the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act.

The purpose of the TVPA was a three-pronged approach to (1) prevent trafficking in persons (especially against women and children), (2) to prosecute traffickers, and (3) to protect victims. Since its inception, the TVPA has been reauthorized several times—in 2003, 2005, 2008, 2013, and 2015 (U.S. Department of State, n.d.). Each of these reauthorizations provided further support for the initial agenda of the TVPA by adding grant programs to assist local and state law enforcement to combat human trafficking, increasing penalties associated with trafficking offenses, adding new systems to gather data on these crimes, allowing victims to sue their traffickers, and creating shelters and treatment programs for identified victims.

The second way to define human trafficking is to use the description provided by the United Nations’ Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially in Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime—otherwise known as the Palermo Protocol (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2004). The Palermo Protocol was established in November 2000, and its purpose was stated in three provisions: (1) prevent and combat human trafficking; (2) protect and assist victims; and (3) promote cooperation among countries to facilitate these objectives. More than

80 nations signed the Protocol—including the United States—thus showing their support for an international response to this issue. An additional component of the Protocol was that it included a broad definition of trafficking for countries to use as a guide when they established their own policies and laws. Article 3 of the Palermo Protocol defines trafficking in the following way:

(a) “Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;

(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph *(a)* of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph *(a)* have been used;

(c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered “trafficking in persons” even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph *(a)* of this article;

(d) “Child” shall mean any person under eighteen years of age.

As might be expected, international research on trafficking tends to focus on the definition provided by the Palermo Protocol (see, e.g., Bjelland, 2017; Kara, 2009; Lebov, 2010), whereas research from the United States generally emphasizes the TVPA definition (see, e.g., Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011; Busch-Armendariz et al., 2016; Cole & Anderson, 2013; Wilson & Dalton, 2008; cf. Albanese, Donnelly, & Kelegian, 2004). Still, the TVPA and Palermo Protocol have three common components. First, both of these definitions specify two broad classifications of trafficking: sex and labor. However, distinctions can be made between the definitions. The Palermo Protocol includes the category of organ trafficking, and the TVPA specifically defines subcategories of labor trafficking (i.e., debt bondage, involuntary servitude).

These nuances allow for further divisions of trafficking by lawmakers but give a structure for the overarching dimensions related to sex and labor exploitation.

Second, both definitions identify the necessary factors for an event to be classified as trafficking: *actions*, *means*, and *purpose* (Polaris Project, 2012; Smith & Kangaspunta, 2012). The *actions* that are required for trafficking include the recruitment, transportation, transferring, harboring, or obtaining/receiving a person for exploitive purposes. *Means* refer the tactics used to induce a victim by force (e.g., physical restraint, causing serious harm), fraud (e.g., deception, abuse of power), or coercion (e.g., threats, impression that serious harm will occur) (TVPA, 2000; see also Ohio Human Trafficking Task Force, 2013). However, the *means* component (i.e., force, fraud, coercion) does not have to be proven if the victim is less than 18 years of age for any form of trafficking in the Palermo Protocol; this stipulation is only applicable to sex trafficking in the TVPA. Lastly, the *purpose* or goal is captured by the broadly exploitive behavior of sex and/or labor trafficking.

In essence, trafficking occurs when at least one component from each of the three categories in the *action-means-purpose* (A-M-P) model occurs simultaneously (Polaris Project, 2012). For example, Kenndric Roberts was a 33-year-old male who lured eight young women by telling them he could arrange modeling jobs for them that were lucrative. However, he then took away their IDs/phones and threatened physical harm if they did not work at a strip club and bring him the money they earned (Ortiz, 2017). In this real-life case, Roberts recruited, transferred (to and from the strip club), and harbored the victims in his home as his *actions*; the *means* by which he gained control were through fraud—there was no modeling job—and coercion by using threats of violence; and the *purpose* was to exploit these women for labor at a

local strip club. Roberts is currently in jail for the 15 charges brought against him and, if convicted on all charges, could face a sentence of life imprisonment (Burns, 2017; Ortiz, 2017).

Third, trafficking involves any stage of a trafficking event (i.e., recruiting, transporting, transferring, harboring, or receiving a victim). Importantly, any given one of these activities denotes the activity as trafficking if the offender uses force, fraud or coercion to exploit the victim (with the exception of minors who engage in commercial sex acts noted above). One common misconception is that for an event to be classified as trafficking, the victim has to be transported from one location to another (Kendall & Funk, 2017, p. 39; Kristof & WuDunn, 2009, pp. 9-10; Logan, Walker, & Hunt, 2009; Polaris Project, 2010; U.S. Department of State, 2006). These definitions clarify that transportation is only one possible element in a given trafficking event and is not a requirement.

Issues with Classification

As outlined above, both the TVPA and the Palermo Protocol overlap quite a bit when defining human trafficking. Still, these are definitions created by government agencies and do not necessarily capture the day-to-day difficulties when trying to identify and classify trafficking events by law enforcement, the criminal justice system, or other service providers (Clawson & Dutch, 2008; Farrell, McDevitt, Pfeffer, Fahy, Owens, Dank, & Adams, 2012; Heil & Nichols, 2015; Hopper, 2004; Tyldum, 2010). There are three major issues that can impede agencies' ability to specify which individuals are actually victims. The first issue is that trafficking by nature is a hidden crime that makes it difficult to recognize and quantify. Second, discrepancies between state and federal legislation can alter who is and is not classified as a victim depending on the legal criteria that needs to be met. The third issue revolves around whether local law enforcement has appropriate training and resources to effectively respond to trafficking events.

A Hidden Population. The very nature of trafficking makes it difficult to identify. Thus, victims are often isolated, have their documents taken from them, become dependent on their trafficker (e.g., food, money, shelter, drugs), are afraid they or their families will be harmed or shamed if they seek help, do not trust law enforcement, may not consider themselves to be victims, or are illegal immigrants that do not speak the language and unaware of their rights (Clawson & Dutch, 2008; Kara, 2009; Kendall & Funk, 2017; Kristof & WuDunn, 2009; Lloyd, 2011; Macias-Konstantopoulous, Munroe, Purcell, Tester, & Burke, 2015; Malarek, 2011; Wilson & Dalton, 2008; Zhang, 2012a). Runaway and homeless youths are especially vulnerable to traffickers and the emotional manipulation tactics they use to make them become dependent on their support (Anderson, England, & Davidson, 2017; Cole & Sprang, 2015; Cole, Sprang, Lee, & Cohen, 2016; Edinburgh, Pape-Blabolil, Harpin, & Saewyc, 2015; Williams & Frederick, 2009; Williamson & Prior, 2009; Wilson & Dalton, 2008). But once the exploitation begins, it can last anywhere from a few hours to years (Hurst, 2013; Muftić & Finn, 2013). If a victim is fortunate enough to escape on their own, they could have no place to go except back to what initially made them vulnerable to trafficking—typically a volatile home situation (e.g., Clarke, Clarke, Roe-Sepowitz, & Fey, 2012; Clawson & Goldblatt Grace, 2007; Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Williamson & Prior, 2009). Complicating matters further, some offenses can be facilitated online (e.g., prostitution), which makes it more difficult for authorities to locate and track down potential victims due to the sheer volume of advertisements (Crile, 2012; Smith, Vardaman, & Snow, 2009).

Even though every crime has a hidden or dark figure, trafficking is especially difficult to identify and estimate due to the issues noted above. Although there have been estimates, they have led to wildly varying figures. For example, globally, there were an estimated 66,520

identified victims in 2016 (U.S. Department of State, 2017). However, other methods suggest that there were as many as 45.8 million slaves around the world in 2016 (Global Slavery Index, 2016) and 20.9 million victims at any given time (ILO, 2012). The variability in estimates and the methods used to calculate them will be addressed more fully later in the chapter. The main point is that the inability to count trafficking events accurately is a manifestation of the clandestine nature of the crime. The question then becomes how to understand the dark figure of trafficking. The two predominant methods for examining crime, self-report surveys and official statistics, do not provide an accurate assessment of the problem at this time (Albanese, 2007a; Farrell & Reichert, 2017; Goodey, 2008; Jordan, Patel, & Rapp, 2013). Self-report surveys are likely not going to be administered to the vulnerable individuals at highest risk for trafficking, resulting in underreporting of the problem. Likewise, official statistics are limited only to identified cases that are processed by the criminal justice system and do not capture events that were misclassified or never recognized. In sum, predominant data collection methods in the field are not going to capture all the trafficking events that occur.

State and Federal Legislation. A second obstacle in classifying these events is created by the legislation that criminalizes it. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to compare and contrast all state and federal legislation on trafficking—all 50 states and the District of Columbia have separate legislation in addition to federal statutes (Polaris Project, 2014). Still, there are some broad factors that could affect the identification of trafficking in a given location.

The largest discrepancy between state and federal legislation is how minors are classified (Advocating Opportunity, 2015; Crile, 2012; Dysart, 2014; Sager, 2012; Supreme Court of Ohio, 2017; Wasch, Wolfe, Levitan, & Finck, 2016). The federal TVPA specifies that individuals under the age of 18 who are involved in commercial sex acts are victims of sex trafficking—the

means (i.e., force, fraud, coercion) do not need to be proven. The rationale for this classification is that minors are too young to give consent for commercial sexual acts and thus are automatically labeled as victims (Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000, 22 U.S.C § 7106). Some states, however, have created legislation in conflict with the TVPA. More specifically, states sometimes end up charging minors with engaging in prostitution if they participate in commercial sex acts rather than treating them as victims. The criminalization of minors as prostitutes occurs, in part, because not all states specify the same age cutoffs as the TVPA for minor victim status, there is inconsistency in how laws are applied, and/or there are often no minimum age requirements in prostitution statutes (Crile, 2012; Fernandez, 2013; Halter, 2010; Mir, 2013; Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2010; Musto, 2013). As an example, the Trafficking in Persons Ohio Revised Code (§ 2905.32) states that only when minors are under the age of 16 do law enforcement officials not have to prove the means used to induce commercial sexual activity; they are seen and treated as trafficking victims. For minors aged 16 to 17, Ohio specifies that law enforcement officials do not have to prove that the individual was compelled to engage in commercial sexual acts only if the trafficker is in a position of authority over the victim (e.g., parent, teacher, coach, administrator) (see also Sexual Battery, Ohio Revised Code § 2907.03). In other words, a one-year difference can change whether a minor is classified as a victim or arrested as a prostitute (i.e., if the trafficker does not have a position of authority over the victim and the means to induce commercial sex acts cannot be proven). The estimated 1,000 juveniles arrested for prostitution across the United States in 2010 further emphasizes the discrepancy between state and federal responses (Sickmund & Puzanchera, 2014). Reviews of trafficking laws have confirmed that Ohio is not the only state where discrepancies exist between local and federal legislation (Advocating Opportunity, 2015; Heil &

Nichols, 2015; Polaris Project, 2014; Shared Hope International, 2015a, 2015b; Wasch et al., 2016).

To address inconsistencies in how minors who are identified as engaging in commercial sexual acts are treated, states have started to adopt what are known as “safe harbor” laws. The purpose of these laws is to provide the legal system with the tools to redefine the concept of “juvenile prostitution” as the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC)—also commonly referred to as domestic minor sex trafficking (DMST) in the United States (Barnert, Abrams, Azzi, Ryan, Brook, & Chung, 2016; Shields & Letourneau, 2015). There are two components to safe harbor laws: (1) legal protection and (2) provision of services (Polaris Project, 2015a). Legal protection provides immunity from prosecution for certain offenses committed while being trafficked (e.g., prostitution). The protection component can also include a diversion program where charges are dismissed after the victim completes a required service program. The second component, or provision of services, that safe harbor laws offer can include medical and mental health treatment, housing, education, job training, language assistance, and legal services. These supports are often facilitated through the state child welfare system (Polaris Project, 2015a). As of 2015, approximately 34 states have passed some form of a safe harbor law (Polaris Project, 2015a).

The implementation of safe harbor laws, however, can vary significantly by state. States tend to fall into one of four response categories: (1) provide immunity from prostitution-related charges without a referral for services; (2) provide immunity from prostitution-related charges and provides referral for specialized services; (3) does not provide immunity from prostitution-related charges, but allows law enforcement to refer minors to child welfare or other system-based services instead of arrest; and (4) does not provide immunity from prostitution-related

charges, but allows juveniles to enter a diversion program where they can access specialized services (Wasch et al., 2016, p. 3). For example, Ohio offers a diversion program for youths who are arrested for prostitution, loitering, or solicitation that also allows them to qualify for services (Complaint of Delinquency of Juvenile Traffic Offenders, Ohio Revised Code § 2152.021[F]). Youths qualify for this program even if they do not comply with law enforcement investigations or disclose personal victimization. The goal is to facilitate services to these trafficked youths (Shared Hope International, 2015b). Still, the diversion program and court initiative to identify potential trafficking victims are not consistent across Ohio counties so not all youths get the same opportunities (Shared Hope International, 2015b; Supreme Court of Ohio, 2017).

The discrepancies between legislation both at the state and federal level make it difficult to measure trafficking cases in the United States. Differences in definitions, especially with respect to minors, make it almost impossible to compare systematically trafficking events at both levels. However, the issues with legal classification are not uncommon when quantifying crime. Certain offenses in the *Uniform Crime Reports*, such as theft, have been criticized because one jurisdiction could classify the offense as larceny-theft whereas another could classify it as burglary, thus leading to issues in accurately comparing events (Fisher, Reyns, & Sloan, 2016, p. 109). As states start to implement legislation to address these inconsistencies, the gap between who is classified as a known victim and who is likely a victim but charged as an offender could diminish. Until then, scholars and professionals will have to continue to examine case-level details related to cases for victims and offenders to fully capture and categorize trafficking events.

Local Responses to Trafficking. Related to discrepancies in legislation, how individuals in the field perceive trafficking and whether they have appropriate resources can also affect how potential victims are classified. Researchers have identified two major elements that affect the identification of trafficking events at the local level.

First, even though there are state and federal laws criminalizing human trafficking, research suggests that officials are not always able to clearly identify or interpret them (Farrell & Pfeffer, 2014). In a survey of law enforcement, prosecutors, and service providers, Newton, Mulcahy, and Martin (2008) asked respondents how they define human trafficking. They found that respondents tended to rely on their own experiences and definitions to describe trafficking rather than using a legal framework. Some respondents gave descriptions of trafficking that captured elements of the TVPA or local statutes, but many were unable to furnish comprehensive definitions, were overly vague, confused trafficking with smuggling, or gave incorrect information. Some agencies, however, indicated a thorough understanding of this crime. Service providers and officials from vice and juvenile investigation units were often more aware of trafficking distinctions than prosecutors or other law enforcement officials.

These narrow definitions of trafficking by responders in the field can lead to stereotypical images of victims and neglect others who might require their assistance (Farrell & Pfeffer, 2014; Farrell et al., 2012). For example, an interview with a law enforcement investigator highlighted their own difficulty in distinguishing elements that constitute labor and sex trafficking:

My knowledge of human trafficking was a very vague understanding of foreign persons being brought into the US illegally and forced into labor or sex. I did not have a clear understanding of the commercial sex aspect of it in regard to U.S. citizens. (*Northeast, Basic Legislation, Law Enforcement 3*) (Farrell, Pfeffer, & Bright, 2015, p. 322)

In another example, legal officials find themselves not recognizing the signs of trafficking because victims are not cooperative the way they think someone who is being victimized would be:

We served the warrants. We detained the women, and began the interviews. We didn't establish anything further than the original prostitution charges. The girls ... either it wasn't there or they weren't willing to talk about if they were being trafficked. The following day I received a call from a victim service provider and she expressed concerns regarding the way law enforcement handled the interviews. The detectives did not handle the investigation properly. (Farrell & Pfeffer, 2014, p. 59)

These examples illustrate that depending on how law enforcement personnel view victims could affect whether or not they provide support and resources. Victims could go undetected or treated as offenders because they do not fit the schema that legal authorities have (Farrell et al., 2015).

The issues in understanding human trafficking are attributed to discrepancies between laws in jurisdictions and a general lack of training on the subject (Clawson, Dutch, & Cummings, 2006; Halter, 2010; Wilson & Dalton, 2007, 2008). The real-life consequences, however, are that first responders are not aware of what trafficking is or how to recognize it effectively.

A second issue is that even when law enforcement and other officials are aware of legal definitions, they are not necessarily equipped with proper training and resources to clearly identify and prove a case is a trafficking event (Heil & Nichols, 2015). Trafficking cases are complex, and agencies spend an inordinate amount of time and effort on these incidents (Clawson, Dutch, & Cummings, 2006). Identification issues are exacerbated when victims are not always willing to cooperate with law enforcement officers for a number of reasons (Heil & Nichols, 2015; Lloyd, 2011; Logan, 2007). The result is that officials have difficulty proving that individuals are being victimized even if they recognize that something illegal is going on. In essence, applying legal definitions to potential cases can be complicated for officials in the field. As an interview with one detective explains:

It's an easy case if someone is chained in the basement, but how far does involuntary servitude go? We really struggled with that. Besides the fact that there's a lot of undocumented labor going on in the U.S., that you gotta earn a living wage so that you can eat, right? So it's the degree that is involuntary [that] is hard to prove. Victims don't come in with this vocabulary and they don't know to say, "Well, I was working involuntarily for this person and by fraud, he brought me from such and such a country." They don't talk that way. They don't know that is what they need to prove. Sometimes they don't even know they are a victim. (Farrell & Pfeffer, 2014, p. 50)

Additionally, investigating crimes of human trafficking are relatively new for police forces given that major trafficking legislation is not even two decades old. The consequence of agencies trying to manage these crimes is that specialized divisions become overworked and do not have the resources or knowledge to investigate crimes properly. A supervisor of a traditional vice-investigative unit describes the difficulties in trying to tackle all forms of trafficking within their department:

Well, we had such success at that [identifying commercially sexually exploited juveniles], that our department said, "You know what? We're going to give you human trafficking because a lot of the commercial sexual exploitation of youth involves domestic trafficking." So we said, "Hey, no problem." I said, "No problem. We'll take it." And boy did I bite off more than I could chew because, I didn't realize that they were just . . . weren't talking about human trafficking. We were talking about foreign victims of trafficking, domestic victims of trafficking, sex trafficking, and the bigger issue: labor trafficking. (*West, Comprehensive Legislation, Law Enforcement 1*) (Farrell et al., 2015, p. 325)

Agencies require a high level of support to ensure that potential trafficking cases are not overlooked. This support, however, is not always easy to obtain. To appropriately staff a dedicated trafficking division, agencies need officers to investigate and interview victims. They also need to reach out to providers so as to identify and build trust with potential victims and to furnish specialized training and technical support to sustain the efforts of providers (Clawson & Dutch, 2008). Without the proper resources, it is unlikely that officers will be able to classify applicable incidents as trafficking events. Overall, more training, resources, and support are needed to help officials address and identify these crimes at the local level (Bales & Lize, 2005;

Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2010; Gallagher & Holmes, 2008; Halter, 2010; Logan, 2007; Wilson, Walsh, & Kleuber, 2006).

Types of Trafficking

There are four major classifications of trafficking that are recognized in the United States: (1) sex trafficking; (2) labor trafficking; (3) debt bondage; and (4) organ trafficking. For any event to be considered trafficking, it must include the components outlined in the A-M-P model (Polaris Project, 2012; Smith & Kangaspunta, 2012; U.S. Department of State, 2009). Sometimes these four classifications are further divided to specify the population being exploited (e.g., domestic, migrant) or age groupings (i.e., minor, adult), but all trafficking is represented by these broad categories. Additionally, these groupings are presented as distinct but an individual could be trafficked under multiple forms at the same time (e.g., an individual is being sex trafficked but is also exploited through debt bondage). The section to follow reviews these types of trafficking.

Sex Trafficking. Sex trafficking is generally what comes to mind when people hear about human trafficking. It includes the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, obtaining, patronizing, or soliciting of a person who is induced by force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of commercial sex (Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000; Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act of 2015). The act of sex trafficking is considered one of the “severe forms of trafficking in persons” in the United States. Again, the federal TVPA specifies that authorities do not have to prove force, fraud, or coercion for minors to be considered a victim if they are engaging in commercial sex acts. Minors are always considered victims under federal law.

Males and females can be victims of sex trafficking, but in the United States females represent the majority of identified victims (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011; Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2004; NHTRC, 2016). Unlike the stereotype that only foreign nationals are victims of trafficking (Polaris Project, 2010), many victims of sex trafficking are U.S. citizens (NHTRC, 2016). Sex trafficking victims are exploited via online advertisements where “johns” (i.e., buyers of sex) can call and schedule meetings in brothels or hotels/motels (NHTRC, 2016). Other victims are forced to sell sex on the streets, at truck stops, or at a strip club, and/or they are forced to engage in pornography.

A seemingly specific component to sex trafficking is that many victims report that their trafficker usually started out as a caregiver or “boyfriend” before they started exploiting them (Lloyd, 2011; Raphael, Reichert, & Powers, 2010; Rosenblatt & Murphey, 2014; Shelley, 2010; Williams, 2015; Williamson & Prior, 2009). Unlike other forms of trafficking, there is typically a grooming process that facilitates trust between a victim and trafficker before any violence occurs. This bond usually complicates law enforcement’s efforts to intervene and makes it difficult for victims to leave or seek help (e.g., Farrell & Pfeffer, 2014; Macias-Konstantopoulos et al., 2015; Raphael et al., 2010).

Labor Trafficking. The second “severe forms of trafficking in persons” in the United States is labor trafficking. Labor trafficking is a broad term that captures both forced labor and involuntary servitude (U.S. Department of State, 2009). In essence, labor trafficking involves the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services by use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary labor (Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000).

It is believed that labor trafficking might be not only more prevalent than sex trafficking but also more difficult to detect because laborers are kept out of sight and are not advertised anywhere (Bales & Soodalter, 2009; Logan et al., 2009; Webber & Shirk, 2005; Wilson & Dalton, 2008; Zhang, 2012a). Victims are often lured by promises of false jobs, education, or new opportunities that subsequently turn into forced work that they cannot freely leave (Logan et al., 2009; Wilson & Dalton, 2008; Zhang, 2012a). Labor trafficking is more evenly distributed where males and females are roughly equally at risk for exploitation (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011; NHTRC, 2016; Zhang, 2012a). However, based on identified cases, foreign nationals seem to be at greater risk than U.S. citizens (NHTRC, 2016; Zhang, 2012a). Traffickers tend to exploit laborers in a variety of locations including domestic work, agriculture/farms, construction, food processing, traveling sales crews, restaurants, health and beauty services, and/or other retail industries (NHTRC, 2016; Zhang, 2012a).

Debt Bondage. While debt bondage is noted as a form of labor trafficking, it has unique components that warrant a separate definition by the TVPA. Debt bondage—also known as bonded labor—is when a trafficker exploits an initial debt owed by victims that they have to work off before they can be “set free” (U.S. Department of State, 2009; Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000). This debt, however, is never truly paid off and generally increases over time (Polaris Project, 2016). An example of this type of trafficking is illustrated in Salt Lake City, Utah. Changfeng Lin is a 35-year-old male who was arrested for trafficking women at massage parlors where they engaged in commercial sex (Winslow, 2015). The women were brought into the United States but were told once they arrived that they had to work in the parlors to pay off the debt they incurred throughout their travels. In this case, the women were both being sex trafficked and exploited through debt bondage.

Organ Trafficking. There are no laws regarding organ trafficking in the TVPA, but federal legislation signed in 1984 (National Organ Transplant Act) criminalizes the private selling of organs and the United States does recognize it as a form of trafficking based on the broad definition provided by the Palermo Protocol (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2004). While organ trafficking does not usually come to most people's minds when thinking of human trafficking more generally, there are rare cases in the United States. For example, Levy Izhak Rosenbaum was a 60-year-old male residing in New York who pleaded guilty to brokering the sale of organs in 2011 (Glovin, Smith, & Voreacos, 2011). He arranged for an Israeli donor's travel to the United States, lodging, and blood tests to ensure matches with the recipients that paid him. None of the patients who purchased the organs were charged. This case represents a rare but still recognized form of trafficking. Organ trafficking is likely more of a problem in impoverished countries where legal protections are lacking, but it could also be an overlooked form of exploitation in more developed countries (Wagner, 2014).

What is Not Trafficking

The previous sections outlined how human trafficking is defined, what issues surround the appropriate classification of victims, and the major recognized forms of trafficking. However, it is also important to clarify what trafficking is not. First and foremost, trafficking is not inevitably classified as smuggling (Nichols, 2016; Smith & Kangaspunta, 2012). Human smuggling requires transportation, is considered a crime against a border, generally only involves foreign nationals, and is voluntary on the part of the individual being smuggled (Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center, 2006, 2016). Smuggling can turn into trafficking, however, if the smuggler lies and exploits the individual once he or she is under the smuggler's control (see also Albanese et al., 2004; Bales & Lize, 2005). This makes it especially difficult for law

enforcement to identify victims because the individual is engaging in criminal behavior (i.e., the individual chose to be smuggled) but then was exploited and is now considered a victim in a foreign country (Farrell et al., 2010; Farrell, Owens, & McDevitt, 2014).

Second, trafficking is not the same as wage disputes (Smith & Kangaspunta, 2012). Under these conditions, the focus is on the amount of money that was promised for a certain job and not inducing someone to do a job. Even though the behavior of the employer might be dishonest, the worker disputing the wage is free to leave the job. As a result, the discrepancies between payment and work do not automatically meet the A-M-P model elements (Polaris Project, 2012). With this in mind, it is still important for authorities and scholars to examine fully cases where smuggling or wage disputes are present to make sure that someone is not being exploited (e.g., Albanese et al., 2004). In other words, smuggling and wage disputes *could* be indicators of trafficking, but more details are required to make that final determination.

THE DISCOVERY OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Human trafficking today is considered by many to be an emerging issue that requires a multidisciplinary approach to manage (see, e.g., Goździak & Bump, 2008; Schauer & Wheaton, 2006; Tanagho, 2007; U.S. Department of State, 2017; Weitzer, 2007, 2015). However, trafficking was not always acknowledged as a common term in society or as an event that warranted attention. Rather, and like many forms of crime, human trafficking had to be “discovered” as a social problem before it could be recognized as a broader national concern. The eventual discovery of trafficking as a serious offense led to numerous efforts to try and estimate its prevalence, identify its predictors, and catalog its adverse outcomes (see, e.g., Bailey & Wade, 2014; Edinburgh et al., 2015; Greenbaum & Crawford-Jakubiak, 2015; Reid & Piquero, 2014; Williamson & Prior, 2009). In this context, the purpose of the current section is

to review the history of how trafficking came to be constructed as a horrendous crime that has received both national and international responses. Thus, this section is divided into two parts: (1) a brief review of the history of “trafficking” and of the importance of using the word to describe this event, and (2) an examination of how trafficking has been socially constructed through legislation, police initiatives, scholarly work, and media attention.

The Emergence of “Human Trafficking”

“Human trafficking” is not a chance phrase. Rather, it signifies the destructive nature of the behaviors that trafficking encompasses. This term generally conjures up images of young girls being chained or bound by offenders who force them into commercial sex acts or of laborers working in fields and factories without pay. However, the use of language in this context is especially important. Today, these forms of exploitation fall under the umbrella term of “human trafficking” rather than calling them other names such as forced prostitution or labor disagreements. So, how did human trafficking come to be the phrase used to describe the manipulation and abuse of people? Merriam-Webster notes that the first known use of the phrase “human trafficking” (2017) was 1904. To examine the history of the term, Google Ngram Viewer was used to graph how often the phrase “human trafficking” was cited in English language books between 1800 and 2008 (see Figure 1.1). Human trafficking only started to appear during the late 1980s and then, after 2000, the curve of the graph showed a dramatic and steady growth upward. Still, the relatively recent use of the phrase is rooted in a broader history of human mistreatment.

Figure 1.1. Ngram of Human Trafficking



The term human trafficking has been in the English lexicon for several decades, but the behaviors that encompass it are not new. The practice of capturing, selling, and exploiting individuals has existed for centuries. More recent in America's history is the transatlantic slave trade that lasted from approximately the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. The legal buying, selling, and transportation of slaves resulted in the oppression of millions of Africans and Native Americans (Davis, 2006). Slavery was later abolished, but the practice and terminology never truly went away. Even during the slave trade in the United States, the term "white slavery" was being used in the 1830s by White laborers to describe their low wages and poor working conditions (Keire, 2001, p. 7). The subtle distinction in language allowed White laborers to condemn the industries that mistreated them while simultaneously separating and elevating their status in comparison to Black slaves (Roediger, 1991). The implication was that some slaves were more important than others.

Over time, the term "white slavery" evolved to describe the injustice against a different sector of the population. By 1907, a United States commission was appointed to investigate unsubstantiated reports of women and girls being lured into prostitution domestically and abroad (History, 2009; Keire, 2001; Weiner, 2008). These reports created a national hysteria that innocent White females were being coerced and trapped in the criminal world of commercial sex, mainly by non-White slavers (i.e., "white slavery") (Connelly, 1980). While no evidence of these events was made publicly available, the scare ultimately led to the passage of the Mann Act in 1910—otherwise known as the White Slave Traffic Act (Weiner, 2008). As suggested by the law's title, the central goal of this Act was to protect White victims specifically (Kittling, 2006). The Mann Act criminalized the transportation of women and girls across state lines "for the purpose of prostitution or debauchery, or for any other immoral purpose" (Sec. 2). This Act

introduced the first federal legislation related to trafficking, but it was narrowly defined to only apply to females in the sex trade. However, commentators have argued that the passage of the Mann Act had more to do with controlling morality in response to the Industrial Revolution than allowed women more economic and sexual freedom than addressing rumors of forced prostitution (see, e.g., Doezema, 2005; Keire, 2001, Weiner, 2008). Regardless of the reason, the result was anti-trafficking legislation that paved the way for future statutes.

The perception of “white slavery” as a crime against White females would remain popular in the United States until a new global challenge emerged. In a 1978 report, the United Nations Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery started to raise the issue of sex tourism (Bravo, 2011; Miers, 2003). Real-life horror stories began to surface in media reports detailing the exploitation of women and children across the globe. In large part, young children were being bought and forced to engage in pornography, the sex trade, marriage, or labor (see, e.g., Jacobson, 1992; Reuters News Service, 1991; Schnedler, 1988; Simons, 1994; Spinks, 1987; Stetson, 2004). The dissolution of the Soviet Union was considered the catalyst that exacerbated these crimes and created a supply of vulnerable females that could be sold for profit (Bravo, 2011; Wong, 2005). Nations that offered inadequate protections for residents or that had apathetic law enforcement officials created ideal conditions for perpetrators to sell victims without fear of consequences (Higgins, 1992; Spinks, 1987). At times, the context of these stories raised concerns that, if left unchecked, these abuses could lead to a worldwide AIDS epidemic (see, e.g., Bragg, 1991; Erlanger, 1989; Higgins, 1992; Schnedler, 1988; Stevenson, 1990). The need to tackle this crisis seemed imminent to prevent further harm.

Representative Christopher Smith (R-NJ) began to take notice of the media reports and the corrupt officials who permitted or actively engaged in the sex trafficking of women and

children for profit (personal communication with Representative Smith's office, August 4, 2017). It was also becoming increasingly evident that, based on news reports, these offenses were being committed by Americans abroad and occurring within the United States (Associated Press, 1993; Collie, 1997; Donegan, 1993; Stetson, 2004; Upchurch, 1992). The significance was that citizens from the United States were actively contributing to this newly recognized social problem. In response, Representative Smith authored legislation to combat this crisis in 1998. He introduced the Freedom from Sexual Slavery Act (H.R. 1356) at a hearing before the Committee on International Operations and Human Rights in 1999 to address trafficking in the United States. While the Freedom Act was never approved, it laid the groundwork for the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (i.e., Trafficking Victims Protection Act [TVPA]) that was signed by President Clinton on October 28, 2000. In a press release, President Clinton (2000) stated:

Traffickers who prey on vulnerable women and children should have no place to hide, and victims of trafficking must be treated with dignity and afforded vital assistance and protection. I expect this legislation to be of immense benefit in rooting out this despicable practice and in helping future Administrations carry on the vital work that this Administration has begun.

The passage of the TVPA started a chain of events that changed how certain criminal offenses are viewed. Now, the force, fraud, or coercion of individuals to engage in exploitive behaviors are defined as human trafficking. This legal phrase has three important implications. First, the new terminology is inclusive of potential victim experiences regardless of race. Given the accumulating media reports across the globe, the term "white slavery" no longer accurately represented the victim population that was being discussed (Doezema, 2000; Kittling, 2006). Second, human trafficking captures both sex and labor trafficking, whereas early definitions largely focused on the forced sex of females. The inclusion of both sex and labor offenses

without limiting victims to females broadens the type of victims and industries affected. Third, the term “trafficking” invokes a certain kind of response that is not captured by other phrases that could have been used to describe these events (e.g., child prostitution). Human trafficking unequivocally suggests that a crime is occurring and that there is a victim, a perpetrator, and a need to intervene. Unlike the phrase “child prostitution,” which suggests there is some level of agreement or choice in this behavior, the term “trafficking” implies that these are individuals who have been taken advantage of in some manner (Fernandez, 2013). This shift in phrases is especially important in structuring the way people think about these offenses because it influences their level of support for prevention and intervention (Stolz, 2007). If trafficked individuals are considered victims, then there is no need to sanction any criminal behavior committed during their exploitation (e.g., prostitution). Rather, the focus is shifted to rescuing trafficking victims as opposed to punishing them for things they were coerced to do.

The changing social construction of language has been important in classifying who is considered a victim, what types of behaviors constitute offenses, and how the government and public should respond. Prior classifications narrowly constructed victims as White females who were mostly lured into prostitution. This way of looking at the issue only focuses on assisting one segment of the population (i.e., White females) in the limited capacity of sex work. Additionally, the language of prostitution still suggests some level of compliance or choice on the part of the victim. The current perspective, however, captures a variety of behaviors that affect individuals from different backgrounds. The recent shift to be more inclusive and to define exploitive behavior as trafficking signifies a different social agenda and response. Today, the viewpoint is that the government should focus on rescuing and providing services to affected victims, punishing traffickers, and preventing future offenses.

The Social Construction of Human Trafficking

As reviewed above, the recognition that trafficking is a social ill that requires a response did not happen quickly. Rather, it took centuries for the actions that encompass human trafficking to be classified as a global social problem. As defined by Spector and Kitsuse (1977, p. 75), a social problem involves “the activities of individuals or groups making assertions of grievances and claims with respect to some putative conditions.” In other words, individuals from different backgrounds have to come together and collectively construct a narrative that defines a social issue in a particular way. Criminologists have long recognized that certain objective problems arise due to the socio-historical period where a variety of actors coalesce to acknowledge the objective reality, to define the problem, and to give it a name that constructs a particular issue. This process of identifying certain actions as problematic has been demonstrated in a variety of areas including child abuse (Pfohl, 1977), white-collar crime (Katz, 1980), money laundering (Nichols, 1997), campus crime (Sloan & Fisher, 2011), prisoner reentry (Jonson & Cullen, 2015), and the opioid crisis (Lam, 2017). This same framework is useful for understanding the evolution of human trafficking as a social issue.

When successful, the collective action of actors creates a social movement whereby new problems are identified and addressed (Touraine, 1985). However, social movements are complex entities that require actors from different community sectors to be acknowledged and accepted by the broader public. As such, there are three generally agreed upon core components that define a social movement: (1) political process perspective; (2) resource mobilization theory; and (3) collective behavior (Diani, 1992; Staggenborg, 2005). Each of these elements can also be used to describe the movement to eradicate trafficking.

Political Process Perspective. First, the political process perspective emphasizes the importance of the political environment in advancing movements (Staggenborg, 2005). Likely due to the harmful nature of trafficking, there has been a high level of support to create anti-trafficking legislation. For example, the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA) signaled a new government response with co-sponsors from the Democratic, Republican, and Independent parties. Over time, the TVPA has been reauthorized to create harsher penalties for traffickers, increase funding to combat trafficking, provide services and protections to victims, and update systems used to identify trafficking events. Additional passed and pending legislation has continued to benefit from bipartisan support to hold traffickers accountable while continuing to strengthen services and protections for victims (e.g., Klobuchar, 2017; Portman, 2017; Rhodan, 2014, 2015; Wetzstein, 2015).

There has been little to no debate regarding the passage of anti-trafficking laws with one notable exception (Sorensen, 2017). In 2015, Democrats blocked the passage of the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act after Republicans added language that barred funds for victims' abortions (Huetteman, 2015; Kelly, 2015; Sneed, 2015). The issues between the political parties were eventually resolved and President Obama signed the bill into law in May 2015. Thus, even though there is a consensus to have anti-trafficking statutes, there are still core issues that can influence support for legislation. Overall, the political environment can shape what legislation is passed and, consequently, how resources are allocated to victims and communities. The current political atmosphere is supportive of bipartisan efforts to implement trafficking legislation. However, changes to the political environment could affect the government response to human trafficking.

Resource Mobilization Theory. Next, the theory of resource mobilization argues that social networks and institutions are needed to support the organization of a movement (Jenkins, 1983; Staggenborg, 2005). For human trafficking, there has been a campaign to support inter-agency cooperation through the creation of specialized task forces. More specifically, federal funding has been used to create more than 40 human trafficking task forces across the United States (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011; Moosy, 2009; Office of Justice Programs, 2011). Task forces are generally made up of law enforcement officials, victim service providers, social service agents, and other community stakeholders that regularly meet and coordinate efforts to combat trafficking (Office of Justice Programs, n.d.). This collective cooperation facilitates investigations and prosecutions of these cases and combines resources that are needed to identify victims so they receive appropriate services (Polaris Project, 2015b). Additionally, task forces increase public awareness of the problem when they conduct professional and community trainings on how to recognize and report trafficking events (U.S. Department of Justice, 2014; Office of Justice Programs, n.d.). In essence, these trainings help recruit new members in the fight against trafficking from a variety of social networks and organizations—individuals who may have otherwise never known about these crimes (Staggenborg, 2005). The collaboration between government institutions and community providers creates a formidable opponent to would-be traffickers and sends a united message that these behaviors will not be tolerated.

Collective Behavior. Lastly, the collective behavior framework highlights the importance of a more informal shared identity among society members compared to the previous political process and resource mobilization perspectives (Diani, 1992). Accordingly, the wider recognition of a problem results from collective action frames or “ways of presenting issues that identify injustices, attribute blame, suggests solutions, and inspire collective action”

(Staggenborg, 2005, p. 755). In this respect, there are two sources of collective behavior that illustrate the importance of classifying trafficking as a social problem and advocating for multi-method solutions: (1) scholarly works and (2) the media.

First, academic works frame the problem of human trafficking as an objective reality that can be measured and ultimately prevented. Within this line of literature, scholars tend to focus on several interrelated problems with corresponding solutions. For example, some researchers recommend that professionals (e.g., court actors, law enforcement officers) adjust their understanding of what human trafficking “looks like” to better classify and treat victims (see, e.g., Clawson, Dutch, Salomon, & Goldblatt, 2009; Farrell & Pfeffer, 2014; Salisbury, Dabney, & Russell, 2015; Wilson et al., 2006). In another example, academics highlight the importance of various factors (e.g., running away, substance use, family dynamics) that can be used to better identify who is at risk of being trafficked to inform prevention efforts (see, e.g., Fedina, Williamson, & Perdue, 2016; Reid & Piquero, 2016; Roe-Sepowitz, 2012). Still, other scholars concentrate on how to disrupt these crimes by successfully prosecuting offenders (see, e.g., Adams & Flynn, 2017; Bales & Lize, 2005; Farrell et al., 2014; Reid, 2013). The broader point is that an increasing volume of literature is now focusing on the problem of human trafficking and related solutions—subsequently laying the groundwork for future researchers to extend current findings.

Second, the media provides an outlet for the general population to gain a better understanding of the problem by reporting on specific trafficking cases. In this way, individuals who may not have known about human trafficking are able to receive information from publicly available sources. Additionally, news stories tend to capture real-life events over time. For example, *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* in Georgia reported on the initial arrest of a former

professional wrestler Norris Harrison, Jr. (aka Harrison “Hardbody” Norris) on August 21, 2004 (Plummer, 2004). He was accused of lying to females by telling them he would train them to be pro wrestlers and then trapped them in his house and forced them to engage in commercial sex acts. The newspaper then continued to follow the case over the next four years (see, e.g., Boone, 2008; Feagans, 2007, 2008b; Feagans & Rankin, 2007; Plummer, 2005). “Hardbody” was eventually sentenced to 35 years in prison for crimes including forced labor, sex trafficking, peonage, aggravated sexual assault, witness tampering, and obstruction (Cook, 2012; Feagans, 2008a; Rankin & Cook, 2012). Stories such as this one make the crime of human trafficking all too real because it contextualizes how events like this can take place. And whether intentionally or unintentionally, these stories also suggest how society should respond. Newspaper articles typically advocate for greater public awareness of the problem, victim assistance, and/or harsher punishments for offenders (Farrell & Fahy, 2009; Gulati, 2010; Kristof, 2012). The far-reaching effect of actual cases is that they can create incentives for public mobilization and intervention (see, e.g., Bertagnoli, 2016; Faircloth, 2017; Hughes, 2017; Swarens, 2017).

In sum, the core components of a social movement illustrate the power of collective action. Any of these elements alone would not be sufficient to create a reaction influential enough to illicit a widespread public response. Rather, the combination of political influences, resources, and collective behavior provide a multidisciplinary framework that illuminates the societal decision to treat trafficking as an issue that needs to be addressed. Only when all forces are working in unison can human trafficking truly be considered a “social problem.”

STUDYING HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Given the widespread recognition that human trafficking is an issue of serious concern, there is global interest in studying this crime. As such, researchers have used a variety of

methods to analyze the extent and nature of this problem so as to inform future prevention and intervention efforts. In particular, trafficking research is divided up into three main categories: (1) analyses based on quantitative data; (2) qualitative interviews; and (3) content analyses. The following section will outline each of these techniques, review the general conclusions across studies, and discuss the limitations in the current literature.

Quantitative Data

One of the major ways that scholars attempt to study any crime—including human trafficking—is through quantitative methods (Sykes & Cullen, 1992). In particular, official data sources and surveys are primary tools used to evaluate human trafficking and the prevalence of the problem. These approaches provide insight into identified trafficking cases that have come to the attention of law enforcement officials and/or community agencies that assist victims. As previously noted, official data sources on trafficking at the national level are limited to the *Uniform Crime Reports (UCR; FBI, 2015)* and the Human Trafficking Reporting System (HTRS; Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011). The National Human Trafficking Hotline (NHTH; Polaris Project, n.d.) is also considered a national resource for trafficking cases. However, the NHTH only receives calls about potential events that are later classified as trafficking by employees based on information provided by the caller. These sources have been used to inform the nature of trafficking research across the country (see, e.g., Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011; Busch-Armendariz et al., 2016; FBI, 2013a, 2014, 2015; Harris, 2012; Kyckelhahn et al., 2009; Polaris Project, n.d., 2017a; Trujillo, Kissell, Smith, & Hilkey, 2015; Williamson et al., 2010).

Notably, scholars have used an alternative method to obtain data on human trafficking to better understand these events: They have administered their own surveys to law enforcement, service providers, prosecutors, rescued survivors, and other community stakeholders (see, e.g.,

Arkansas Attorney General, 2014; Cheon, Webb, Katz, & Nuño, 2015; Cole & Anderson, 2013; Farrell et al., 2008, 2010; Farrell & Reichert, 2017; Mapp, Hornung, D'Almeida, & Juhnke, 2016; Weiner & Hala, 2008; Zhang, 2012a; Zhang, Spiller, Finch, & Qin, 2014). The purpose of these surveys is either to obtain data about victims who may not be captured in the official records but who are receiving services and/or to gather additional details on the crime event itself. Overall, a review of these sources yield five conclusions: (1) the methods used to study trafficking are flawed; (2) estimates vary widely; (3) human trafficking is a serious problem; (4) some forms of trafficking seem to occur more frequently than other forms of trafficking; and (5) there is variation in the geographic locations where trafficking occurs. These conclusions are discussed below.

Flawed Methods. The methods used to study human trafficking are flawed in five ways. First, quantitative estimates are limited to only identified trafficking events. These estimates are not representative of individuals who do not interact with agencies or who are not documented as victims (Andrees & van der Linden, 2005; Clawson & Dutch, 2008; Nichols & Heil, 2015; Tyldum, 2010; for an exception, see Zhang, 2012a). Unfortunately, it is likely that there are victims who are never discovered and then included in quantitative analyses due to the underground nature of trafficking. Thus, the actual number of individuals exploited is likely much larger than what is captured in statistics.

Second, definitions and characteristics can vary across data-collection methods. Definitions can differ depending on the purpose of the data-collection efforts or the legislation used to guide victim identification (Stefanizzi, 2007; Wilson & Dalton, 2007). These disparities can result in inconsistent victim classification. Relatedly, estimates can vary depending on the level of analysis (e.g., global, national, local), the timeframe, target population (e.g., minor,

adult), or stage of trafficking event (e.g., at-risk, trafficked) that researchers examine (Tyldum & Brunovskis, 2005). These discrepancies in methods result in unreliable estimates that cannot be easily compared.

Third, data are not always collected in a comprehensive manner. For example, official databases (i.e., *UCR*, *HTRS*) are relatively new and tend to have limitations in how the data are organized and gathered (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011; FBI, 2015). Similarly, surveys can only gather a limited amount of information on events. For example, scholars may not be able to ask all potentially relevant questions about human trafficking experiences or survivors may not accurately recall details. Consequently, trafficking events cannot be fully understood without collecting reliable and abundant details on trafficking events.

Fourth, duplicate cases are often not removed from estimates. Because data generally come from multiple agencies that do not always share resources, the same individual could be classified as a victim across multiple databases. Scholars may or may not be able to address issues with duplicate cases depending on whether they can obtain identifying victim information across sources (see, e.g., Estes & Weiner, 2001; Williamson et al., 2010). For this reason, estimates across multiple agencies are generally not comparable.

Fifth, data analysis can influence researchers' confidence in the number of victims affected by this crime. For example, some researchers count the number of identified or suspected cases (e.g., Bailey & Wade, 2014; Harris, 2012; Johnson, 2016; Kyckelhahn et al., 2009; Tourtchaninova & Kandel, 2016), whereas others use multipliers or simulation models to extract an estimated number of victims for a given geographic location (e.g., Estes & Weiner, 2001; Larsen & Diego-Rosell, 2017; Williamson et al., 2010; Zhang & Vincent, 2017). While

counted cases are likely not representative of the total affected population, estimates from simulation methods cannot be verified.

Trafficking Estimates Vary Widely. Depending on the methodology used, human trafficking estimates can range from tens of thousands to tens of millions of victims. Again, characteristics of the events are important to contextualize variation in these statistical approximations. For example, global estimates range from an estimated 66,520 identified victims reported in the 2016 *Trafficking in Persons Report* (U.S. Department of State, 2017) to as many as 45.8 million slaves around the world in 2016 (Global Slavery Index, 2016). Based on simulation models, another estimate reported that 14,500 to 17,500 individuals are trafficked *into* the United States annually (U.S. Department of Justice, 2004). Yet the Office on Trafficking in Persons (2017) only issued 444 Certification Letters (extends benefits and services to victims) to foreign national trafficking victims in 2016. And between 2008 and 2010, there were only 2,515 suspected incidents of human trafficking identified by federally funded trafficking task forces (of those, 389 incidents were confirmed trafficking events) (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011). Related to youths, it is suggested that annually there are at least 100,000 minors who are victims of sex trafficking (Smith et al., 2009) and that as many as 325,000 youths are “at risk” for commercial sexual exploitation in the United States (Estes & Weiner, 2001). The variation in estimates has drawn the understandable criticism that, as a society, a need exists for more reliable approximations of how many people are being exploited (Goździak & Bump, 2008; Goździak & Collett, 2005; Guth, Anderson, Kinnard, & Tran, 2014; McNeill, 2014; Weitzer, 2007, 2010, 2014; Zhang, 2009).

Human Trafficking is a Serious Problem. Even though estimates vary, scholars agree that human trafficking is a serious crime that needs to be examined further. Given the wide

range of harms exploited individuals experience (e.g., physical and psychological violence, anxiety, depression, chronic pain, unwanted pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases), working toward a more accurate estimate of occurrence is important for ensuring that needed services are available (Antonopoulou & Skoufalos, 2006; Dovydaitis, 2010; Greenbaum & Crawford-Jakubiak, 2015; Muftić & Finn, 2013; Tsutsumi, Izutsu, Poudyal, Kato, & Marui, 2008). While methods used to glean estimates are criticized by scholars, there is no dispute regarding the existence of human trafficking. In fact, trafficking is considered an underreported crime due to the hidden nature of the population and the tactics used by traffickers to keep victims compliant (Bailey & Wade, 2014; Farrell & Reichert, 2017; Logan et al., 2009; McGaha & Evans, 2009; Newton et al., 2008; Raymond, Hughes, & Gomez, 2001). Therefore, the actual prevalence of human trafficking is undoubtedly higher than what is described in official statistics, reported to the national hotline (i.e., NHTH), or gathered from survey data.

Some Forms of Trafficking Seem More Common. Researchers have examined all forms of human trafficking given the interest in understanding these offenses. However, not all forms of trafficking are studied equally. In particular, sex trafficking has received an inordinate amount of attention by scholars (see, e.g., Adams & Flynn, 2017; Albanese, 2007b; Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Gibbs, Hardison Walters, Lutnick, Miller, & Kluckman, 2015; Kara, 2009; Malarek, 2011; Nichols, 2016; Reid, 2011; Smith et al., 2009; Varma, Gillespie, McCracken, & Greenbaum, 2015). Researchers have attempted to illuminate the nature of this offense, its prevalence, adverse outcomes, and specific risk factors related to minors. Because sex trafficking is reviewed extensively, it might seem as though it is the most common form of exploitation. Yet scholars have argued that labor trafficking might be more prevalent than sex trafficking. The nature of labor trafficking and the population that is affected (e.g.,

undocumented immigrants) might make it more difficult to locate and study, which could make it seem like an infrequent event (Bales & Soodalter, 2009; Logan et al., 2009; Webber & Shirk, 2005; Wilson & Dalton, 2008; Zhang, 2012a). Nevertheless, there will continue to be speculation about which types of human trafficking offenses occur more often until scholars are able to adequately examine the hidden nature of these offenses.

Trafficking Varies by Location. Finally, there is variation in the geographic locations where trafficking occurs. The concentration of human trafficking reports is most clearly illustrated by data from the NHTH. Data from potential trafficking cases reported between 2007 and 2012 indicate that California was the state with the most calls to the hotline followed by Texas, Florida, New York, Illinois, and the District of Columbia (Polaris Project, n.d.). In a more recent 2016 report, California maintained its top ranking and was followed by Texas, Florida, Ohio, New York, and Michigan (NHTH, 2017a). These geographic trends are further supported by an independent analysis of human trafficking arrests across the United States. Bouche and colleagues (2016) reported that some of the highest total trafficking arrests were from California, Florida, New York, Texas, and Ohio (see also Roe-Sepowitz, Gallagher, Hogan, Ward, Denecour, & Bracy, 2017). While state investment (e.g., posting NHTH number, presence of task forces, law enforcement training) was associated with arrests in those states, the results also support the conclusion that human trafficking is likely occurring at a relatively high rate in those locations. The findings demonstrate that trafficking might not be equally distributed but concentrates in areas that likely have larger populations and more opportunities to target vulnerable populations (Wheaton, Schauer, & Galli, 2010). If specific areas continue to be hot spots for human trafficking, then they can also inform where prevention efforts might have the most impact.

Due to the nature of human trafficking, the information gathered by quantitative methods is generally only from identified cases or from survivors who have been able to escape a trafficking situation. These techniques are not consistently or adequately assessing the hidden population affected by these crimes (Albanese, 2007a; Clawson & Dutch, 2008; Farrell & Reichert, 2017; Goodey, 2008; Gozdziaik & Collett, 2005; Hopper, 2004; Jordan et al., 2013). In other words, the major tools used to study human trafficking (e.g., official data, surveys) are ineffective for understanding individuals who are still being trafficked or who never receive services from law enforcement or other providers. The shortcomings outlined above ultimately decrease our confidence in what we know about trafficking events. While there are efforts to improve quantitative approaches (see, e.g., Laczko & Gozdziaik, 2005; Savona & Stefanizzi, 2007), they do not currently represent a method that provides a comprehensive overview of the problem.

Qualitative Research

A second method used to study human trafficking is through qualitative research. Unlike traditional quantitative techniques, this method allows scholars to gain a richer understanding of trafficking events by reviewing cases and interviewing victims, key stakeholders, and other community agents. The information compiled informs where possible points of intervention could be implemented based on first-hand reports of these events. While the sample sizes tend to be smaller than quantitative techniques and the method has been criticized (see, e.g., Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002), the details gathered provide new insights into these crimes. This body of literature produces three main findings: (1) interactions matter; (2) vulnerability increases risk of being trafficked; and (3) the consequences of human trafficking are enormous. These findings are reviewed below.

Interactions Matter. Interactions between victims and key informants are important factors for identifying and responding to human trafficking events (Farrell et al., 2015; Wilson et al., 2006). On the one hand, positive interactions where victims are identified and offered services are likely to result in victims feeling like they were treated well, having trust in authorities who assisted them, and working with agencies to prosecute their traffickers. On the other hand, negative interactions with providers and first responders—either before or after they are identified as a victim—can result in victims having decreased confidence in the system that is supposed to assist and protect them. However, these harmful contacts can have real-world consequences. Given that victim cooperation is often required to prosecute and convict traffickers, gaining a victim’s trust is a necessary component for bringing charges against perpetrators of these crimes (Bales & Lize, 2005; Clawson, Dutch, & Cummings, 2006; Raymond et al., 2001). In this respect, details from victims and key informants offer insights into the nature of these interactions.

Interviews with victims illustrate that some exchanges can be frustrating to victims and cause them to mistrust the justice system. For example, one exploited teenager who experienced violence at the hands of her pimp recounted her contact with law enforcement after the incident: “They told me...like, ‘it’s your fault,’ you know? And I said, ‘Excuse me? I’m the one who is sitting here...(beaten up)...and you say it’s my fault?’” (Williams, 2015, p. 307). In this case, law enforcement officials viewed the victim as a complicit offender who was responsible for her own abuse and not as an exploited youth. These negative contacts with police could potentially lead victims to seek protection elsewhere and do little to guard them from their abusers (Lloyd, 2011; Reid, 2013; Williams & Frederick, 2009). Furthermore, and beyond victim-blaming

attitudes, other victims have stated that they were abused or neglected by police during their exploitation (Hurst, 2013, p. 114):

Emma: There was a police officer that lived next door to us 'cause we lived out in the country and he was involved in all of the -- he knew what was going on cause he was actually a “john” or whatever you call it.

Gabrielle: They thought we were the cute ones out there, so we unfortunately ended up doing all the police parties. They pay you a whopping \$5.00 for a blow job. Yeah. Yeah and the police know. They knew who I was. They knew I was there. They knew I was underage. I told them I wanted to go home. They didn't help me.

Alexis: So the house would get raided a couple times. They raided it. The police would come in, see me all black and blue and just make a big joke of it. The police would see me walking down the street black and blue and wouldn't do anything. [My pimp] had drug me down the street by my hair one day and the police had drove by and did nothing.

Police officers who abuse trafficking victims or disregard their safety foster suspicion and fear of authorities. These harmful impressions further reduce the likelihood that victims will cooperate with law enforcement in the future (Hurst, 2013; Lloyd, 2011).

It is important to recognize, however, that interactions are important across agencies and service providers. For example, victims who reported contact with medical professionals while they were being trafficked indicated that they were often overlooked while the trafficker maintained control (Baldwin, Eisenman, Sayles, Ryan, & Chuang, 2011). In one case, a rescued trafficking victim described her experience at a medical facility with her trafficker present:

She [the trafficker] didn't ask me anything. She filled out everything. [When they called my name], she walked in with me. She called me her “auntie.” [The doctor and the nurse] talked to her. I couldn't even listen. I didn't speak English. (Baldwin et al., 2011, p. 41)

Because the trafficker was still in the room with the victim and translated for her, she was not able to indicate that anything was wrong. Professionals who are not properly trained on the signs of trafficking, lack time with patients, and rely on individuals who accompany patients as

translators—as opposed to using a translation service—risk silencing potential victims and missing a rare opportunity for intervention (Barrows & Finger, 2008).

Alternatively, scholars have reviewed case studies and interviewed juvenile court practitioners, police, prosecutors, attorneys, victim service providers, and community groups to better understand perspectives and interactions of key informants (Anderson et al., 2017; Bales & Lize, 2005; Farrell & Pfeffer, 2014; Farrell et al., 2014, 2015; Logan, 2007; Martin et al., 2014; Musto, 2013; Nichols & Heil, 2015; Pearce, 2011; Raymond et al., 2001; Sapiro, Johnson, Postmus, & Simmel, 2016; Wilson & Dalton, 2007, 2008). The findings indicate that, for varying reasons, many providers and agents struggle when working with victims. For example, key actors often have mixed views of trafficking victims and are unsure about how to reconcile exploitation with other conduct they do not approve of on the part of the victim. One juvenile court officer described the behavior of a trafficked minor who was involved in the justice system:

She hangs out with much older men. I mean, I'm telling you, she is dating like 20 and 25 year old men. She's dating older guys. She definitely looks older so I could see how people might think she's older than 16...this time when she was AWOL, she was dating and she had places to stay, she has money, pictures on Facebook, you know, she has a cell phone. She's pretty sophisticated and manipulative...she does what she needs to do to get her needs met which is like cigarettes and money for clothes, things like that. These older men can give her rides, they can give her money, they can give her a place to stay when she can't stay at home. I mean, they care for her. (Anderson et al., 2017, p. 671)

The court officer viewed the minor as actively manipulating and taking advantage of older men, which caused conflict when determining how much responsibility should be placed on the juvenile for her own victimization. Other officials view youths in the sex trade as victims, but they do not always know how to help them communicate with authorities. An interview with an

advocate supported this sentiment and the need to have an understanding environment for victims:

For the most part, I think all of our clients have been willing to talk to law enforcement. Some people are, they have to get to a point psychologically where they can even talk about their experience. So I think that is a challenge that we see, but once they are able to talk about their experience and feel safe talking about it, I think our experience has been that folks are more than willing to talk to law enforcement. And the challenge was trying to get law enforcement to hear them. (Nichols & Heil, 2015, p. 22)

While the advocate was optimistic that victims will assist with case investigations, there were also reservations if law enforcement agents were not willing or able to listen. Ultimately, it is necessary to educate first responders on how to approach and talk to potential victims to increase their trust in law enforcement. As explained by a police lieutenant, law enforcement officials are still working on how they view and treat victims:

But the trick is the education of those the guys [police] to recognize it more from a victim-centered approach as opposed to ‘she’s just a prostitute.’ If you want her to cooperate or that person to cooperate, then I mean, you have to start right from the beginning and do it—start right. (Nichols & Heil, 2015, p. 23)

In sum, interactions are important. Building relationships with trafficking victims is a necessary element to ensure that offenders are prosecuted, but it is not always easily achieved (Farrell et al., 2014). Victims who are not trusting of agents and providers are not likely to cooperate with investigations. Likewise, service providers and first responders should be aware of how their opinions and attitudes influence their behavior when dealing with victims. To facilitate victim identification and cooperation, key informants should be trained on how to recognize trafficking so they are better equipped to assist potential victims effectively. Overall, damaging interactions that further deteriorate relationships with victims will continue to impede successful responses to human trafficking.

Vulnerability Increases Risk. A recurring theme in qualitative research is that certain indicators increase an individual's likelihood of being trafficked. Identified risk factors associated with human trafficking include trauma or abuse, neglect, family dysfunction, impaired mental and/or physical health, running away, homelessness, being placed in foster care or with child protective services, having older dating partners, poor school performance, substance use, financial insecurity, and using marriage to enter into the United States (Anderson et al., 2017; Edinburgh et al., 2015; Holger-Ambrose, Langmade, Edinburgh, & Saewyc, 2013; Hughes, Chon, & Ellerman, 2007; Hurst, 2013; Macias-Konstantopoulos et al., 2015; Martin et al., 2014; Nadon, Koverola, & Schludermann, 1998; Pasko & Chesney-Lind, 2016; Reid, 2013, 2016a; Rothman, Bazzi, & Bair-Merritt, 2015; Schaffner, Buhr, Lewis, Roc, & Volpintesta, 2016; Williams, 2010, 2015; Williams & Frederick, 2009; Williamson & Prior, 2009). In essence, certain factors could place victims at risk for trafficking because they have little to no resources or positive social support systems in place. These gaps make it relatively easy for traffickers to exploit an individual's vulnerability.

For example, one trafficked youth reflected on their search for love and support:

I felt like anyone that cared loved me, they just loved me, and I used to, like, feel like mom and my dad, no one really loved me. So I just, I went out and I tried to find people that loved me or that I felt like loved me. And, um, now that I'm just learning that really, they didn't love me, and it kind of hurts my feelings. (Edinburgh et al., 2015, p. 54)

The lack of supervision and healthy relationships created an opportunity for the trafficker to take advantage and manipulate the victim. Another interview with an advocate summarized common experiences and circumstances of victims:

Many, many of the people that I spoke with generally came from families that were highly unstable. And by that, I mean that there was a lot of child abuse or neglect in the home. There was quite a significant number of people that reported their mothers, or grandmothers, having been in prostitution or using substances, and it usually went hand in hand, substance use and prostitution. Many primarily entered into heavy drug use at a

young age. Many talked about being runaways at like age 13 or 15, hooking up with drugs and then...once you're addicted, needing to find whatever way you could to get your next fix. So a lot of folks were, um, exchanged sex for drugs...and that then became part and parcel of the way to survive on the street. Sex, many people had...were a part of generations of this type of dysfunction and so were sometimes even prostituted by their parents or by the adults in the home as children, even by mothers to get their next fix. And that was not an uncommon story. (advocate 1) (Macias-Konstantopoulos et al., 2015, pp. 7-8)

Similar backgrounds among trafficking victims demonstrate that multiple risk factors make a person an attractive target. Furthermore, the comorbidity of risk factors seems to create a cumulative disadvantage that likely limits an individual's ability to resist a trafficker who is offering needed resources (e.g., shelter, money, love).

The overarching message of these findings is that not everyone is equally predisposed to becoming a trafficking victim. Rather, trafficking victims seem to have a certain profile of vulnerability. The broader implication is that these indicators can inform future prevention efforts. First responders and service providers who are aware of these factors will be better equipped to respond to at-risk individuals and hopefully reduce their likelihood of being trafficked in the first place (Williams, 2015). However, it is important that individuals who encounter at-risk individuals are properly trained and educated on the elements that traffickers look for in a target to make sure that these opportunities are not missed (Brawn & Roe-Sepowitz, 2008; Cole & Sprang, 2015).

Consequences of Human Trafficking are Enormous. Finally, the debilitating consequences of being trafficked are enormous. The negative effects of trafficking can be divided into two broad categories: physical trauma and mental/emotional trauma (Baldwin et al., 2011; Edinburgh et al., 2015; Hickle, 2014; Ijadi-Maghsoodi, Bath, Cook, Textor, & Barnert, 2018; Macias-Konstantopoulos et al., 2015; Miller, Decker, Silverman, & Raj, 2007; Muftić & Finn, 2013; Raymond et al., 2001; Ugarte, Zarate, & Farley, 2004; Zimmerman et al., 2006).

Victims suffering the physical effects of human trafficking have reported infections, respiratory illnesses, bodily injury (e.g., broken bones, head injuries, bruises, dental damage), chronic pain, pregnancy, and sexually transmitted diseases. Even after the trafficking has ended, victims report experiencing chronic physical pain and discomfort. One rescued victim identified her most painful injuries as a headache and constant pain in her temple that was “caused by an extremely brutal hit to the head” while she was being trafficked (Zimmerman et al., 2006, p. 50). As such, chronic physical ailments experienced by victims require regular medical check-ups and the financial support needed to attend these appointments (Dovydaitis, 2010). However, the daily functioning of these individuals may vary depending on the severity of their trauma and could, in some cases, result in a permanent disability (Zimmerman et al., 2006).

Mental/emotional damage caused by human trafficking can be manifested through suicide attempts and ideation, cutting, substance use, depression, anxiety, posttraumatic stress disorder, memory problems, nightmares, a sense of rejection, feelings of guilt, anger, or rage, and/or difficulty with intimacy. The emotional trauma that many victims continue to endure can make it difficult to reintegrate back into society. Victims often have difficulty finding stable employment, obtaining an education, and successfully functioning in their day-to-day lives once they escape their trafficker (Bales & Lize, 2005; Zimmerman et al., 2006). As one rescued victim explained, “I don't know how to live in this life. What I am supposed to do or how to survive. Too much is uncertain in my life. I don't know sometimes where I am or where I'm going to go” (Zimmerman et al., 2006, p. 81). Another victim succinctly stated, “My wounds are inside. They are not visible” (Zimmerman et al., 2008, p. 55). Even though mental/emotional issues cannot always be visibly seen, the effects and costs they have on an individual's quality of life is substantial. Similar to treatment for physical concerns, victims experiencing

mental/emotional issues because of their victimization likely require long-term counseling to address their trauma and reintegration into society (Greenbaum et al., 2015; Hardy, Compton, McPhatter, 2013).

While these effects are represented as two categories, many victims experience a combination of both forms of trauma once they escape their trafficker (Dovydaitis, 2010; Zimmerman et al., 2008). In essence, the effects of trafficking can be life altering. As such, victims are left to address the well-being of their physical and mental health with regular doctors' appointments well after their victimization ends. Given the potentially immediate and long-lasting consequences of trafficking, survivors require support, access to mental and physical health care, and nonmedical supplies (e.g., shelter, food, clothing) to help successfully adapt to society once they are rescued (Greenbaum et al., 2015). For these reasons, early intervention and comprehensive services for newly rescued trafficking victims are vital for successful rehabilitation and reintegration.

In sum, the greatest benefit of qualitative research is that it allows scholars to examine human trafficking crimes in detail. Unlike quantitative data, interviews and case study reviews provide insights into interactions between key informants and victims, factors that increase vulnerability, and effects of victims who are trafficked. The information gained by working directly with victims and key informants creates a foundation for understanding these crimes and how to prevent and intervene in these events. However, these methods are still limited because they generally use smaller sample sizes that likely are not generalizable to all affected victims (Dovydaitis, 2010; Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007). In this respect, research based on qualitative methods is limited in its ability to offer a systematic understanding of the trafficking problem.

Content Analyses

A final method that scholars use to examine human trafficking events is content analysis. Content analysis is a subcategory of qualitative research used “for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use” (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 24). This strategy involves systematically reviewing texts, coding indicators, and developing a comprehensive database (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Rather than using traditional quantitative and qualitative methods, some scholars have relied on the content analysis approach due to its flexibility when examining trafficking crimes.

Although documents such as case files (e.g., Halter, 2010; Martin et al., 2014; Reid, 2016b) or empirical studies (e.g., Heilemann & Santhiveeran, 2011) can be examined in a content analysis, trafficking scholars mainly analyze public reports of these events. Due to the heinous nature of trafficking and the interest in understanding these crimes by the public, cases that are identified are likely to be reported by journalists in their writings (see, e.g., Benson & Gottschalk, 2015). Even though content analyses of media reports on human trafficking are limited to identified incidents, the methodology gives scholars a way to examine a rich source of information to create detailed databases on these events. When creating a dataset using trafficking text, scholars tend to focus on a particular time frame, use search terms to find relevant reports in specified sources, and code particular characteristics pertinent to the study objectives.

As outlined in Table 1.1, there have been 22 content analyses examining text related to human trafficking. Fourteen of these studies focus on gathering the details on the nature of the crime, whereas eight studies focus on how news stories are framed. The studies that focus on the nature of trafficking crimes tend to code details on the characteristics of offenders, victims, and

the event including the following: region/country of origin, crimes charged, demographic characteristics, method of entrance into the United States (if transnational), status of the victim, number of ways victims were exploited, length of exploitation, how police found out about the incident, and the date of arrest, prosecution, and sentencing. As will be explained, these studies are particularly relevant because the current dissertation will build on these findings and explore the issue in more detail. Research that focuses on the framing of a news article generally gathers information on how human trafficking is defined, word count, article placement, story triggers, sources cited in the article, efforts of key stakeholders to control trafficking, solutions to the problem, and the context of human trafficking as a social problem (e.g., human rights, crime, national security, public health concern).

Notably, results from content analyses generate three main findings: (1) the nature of trafficking is patterned; (2) framing matters; and (3) context is important. These study results are discussed in more detail below.

Table 1.1. Content Analyses on Human Trafficking

| Author(s) | Purpose of Study | Time Frame | Sources | Unit of Analysis | Search Terms | Coded Categories |
|---------------------------|--|-------------------|--|-------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Albanese et al. (2004) | Code details on human trafficking arrests reported in major newspapers | 2002 | 19 newspapers identified in major cities | 51 articles on arrests | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human trafficking • Drug trafficking • Smuggling • Prostitution • Illegal immigration • Alien • Refugee | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Region • Incident reported • Crime charged • Underlying crime • Type of trafficking • Country of origin • Entry route • Number of victims • Gender of victims • Age of victims • Method of entrance into United States • Type of group facilitating entry • Victims working to pay off a debt • Evidence of trafficking vs. smuggling • Lure used to get victim into the United States • Current status of victim • Amount of money paid by the victim • How police found out about incident |

Table 1.1. Content Analyses on Human Trafficking

| Author(s) | Purpose of Study | Time Frame | Sources | Unit of Analysis | Search Terms | Coded Categories |
|------------------|--|-------------------|--|-----------------------------|--|--|
| 2. Bouché (2017) | Examine the extent and nature of federally-prosecuted trafficking cases with organized crime | 2000-2015 | Used search protocols for LexisNexis, WestLaw, and Bloomberg Law | 862 cases; 2,096 defendants | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human/sex/labor trafficking <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Human traffic ○ Gang* ○ Organized crime ○ Mafia ○ Cartel* ○ Conspiracy ○ RICO ○ Racketeering ○ DA • Visa fraud/document fraud <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Human traffic ○ Gang* ○ Organized crime ○ Mafia ○ Cartel* ○ Conspiracy ○ RICO ○ Racketeering ○ DA | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Case number • Start date • End date • State • Federal district location/circuit number • Judge name, race, gender, tenure, and appointed by • Case summary • Minor/adult sex or labor trafficking • Type of labor • Type of sex • Number of victims, minor/adult status, and foreign born status • Number of female/male victims • Recruit method • Recruit website • Sale web • Defendant’s name, alias, gender, race, country of origin, birth year, arrest age, charge date, and arrest date • Detained • Bail type and amount • Date terminated • Sentenced date • Total sentence • Restitution • Asset forfeiture • Appeal • Supervised release |

Table 1.1. Content Analyses on Human Trafficking

| Author(s) | Purpose of Study | Time Frame | Sources | Unit of Analysis | Search Terms | Coded Categories |
|-----------|------------------|------------|---------|------------------|--------------|--|
| | | | | | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Probation • Felonies charged • Felonies sentenced • Statute • Counts • Counts nolle prossed • Plea dismissed • Plea guilty • Trial guilty • Trial not guilty • Fines • Sentence • Probation • Country of origin for victims • Criminal mode • International or domestic trafficking • Inter-state status • Entry method • Legal method • Illegal method • Entry port • Base location • Crime locations |

Table 1.1. Content Analyses on Human Trafficking

| Author(s) | Purpose of Study | Time Frame | Sources | Unit of Analysis | Search Terms | Coded Categories |
|-------------------------|---|-------------------|---|----------------------------------|---|---|
| 3. Bouche et al. (2016) | Examine whether and how state laws on human trafficking have impacted arrests and prosecutions of human trafficking cases | 2003-2012 | Cases identified through: (1) open source information (LexisNexis, Access World News Database, Google News)—number of sources not provided—and (2) requested court records from identified suspects | 3,225 human trafficking suspects | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human trafficking <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ arrest* ○ convict* ○ investigat* • Sex trafficking <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ arrest* ○ convict* ○ investigat* • Labor trafficking <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ arrest* ○ convict* ○ investigat* | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of sources • State of incident • City of incident • Type of trafficking • Subtype/venue • Victim and suspect names • Victim minor/adult status • Suspect minor/adult status • Victim US or foreign born • Suspect US or foreign born • Description of incident • Suspect arrested • Date of arrest • City of arrest • Description of arrest • Arresting agency • Suspect prosecuted • Description of prosecution charges • Prosecuting agency • Suspect convicted • Date of conviction • Description of sentence • Names of prosecutors • Outlet where information found • Date of publication • Civil case • Sources and author |

Table 1.1. Content Analyses on Human Trafficking

| Author(s) | Purpose of Study | Time Frame | Sources | Unit of Analysis | Search Terms | Coded Categories |
|--------------------------|---|-------------------|--|-------------------------|--|--|
| 4. Denton (2010) | Code details on the trafficking act and the actors involved and assess the implications of how trafficking is framed in the media | 1990-2008 | Google News Archive—number and type of specific sources not provided | 191 unique incidents | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human trafficking arrest • Sex trafficking arrest • Human smuggling arrest • Human trafficking prosecution • Sex trafficking prosecution • Human smuggling prosecution • [-drug –narcotic – cocaine] | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age and gender of trafficker • Age and gender of victim • Initiation of transport • Trafficker cooperation with others • Method of transportation • Offender employment/community position • Previous arrest(s) of trafficker • Previous conviction(s) of trafficker • Region of arrest of trafficker • Region of origination of trafficker • Region of origination of victim • Role of trafficker • Type of geographical move |
| 5. Farrell & Fahy (2009) | Examine the public framing of human trafficking in the media | 1990-2006 | 568 newspapers identified from LexisNexis | 2,462 articles | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human trafficking • Trafficking in persons • Sex trafficking • Labor trafficking | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Story placement • Number of words • Type of trafficking discussed • International or domestic victim focus • Definitions of the problem • Efforts of human rights/nongovernmental organizations • Efforts of law enforcement • Links between trafficking and problems • Important groups/figures • Recommendations by interest groups • Governmental efforts • Articles frames (e.g., rights, crimes) |

Table 1.1. Content Analyses on Human Trafficking

| Author(s) | Purpose of Study | Time Frame | Sources | Unit of Analysis | Search Terms | Coded Categories |
|------------------|--|-------------------|---|-------------------------|--|---|
| 6. Gulati (2010) | Determine how the media frames human trafficking events and what triggers stories | 1980-2006 | 2 newspapers (<i>The New York Times</i> and the <i>Washington Post</i>) | 605 articles | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traffic* within three characters of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Human ○ Persons ○ Women ○ Girls ○ Children ○ Sex ○ Labor | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Story trigger • Source type • Causes of trafficking • Solutions • Article placement • Word count • Issue focus |
| 7. Halter (2010) | Examine how the police conceptualize juveniles involved in prostitution (i.e., as victims of child sexual exploitation or delinquents) | Before 2000 | Police agencies in 6 major cities | 126 juvenile files | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • N/A—cases drawn from police agencies that involved juveniles engaged in prostitution and where event occurred between the date of the site visit and January 1, 2000 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Victim culpability status • Reported to police • Cooperation • Exploiter involvement • Crying • Prior record • Age and sex of victim • Race/ethnicity of victim • Residence of victim |

Table 1.1. Content Analyses on Human Trafficking

| Author(s) | Purpose of Study | Time Frame | Sources | Unit of Analysis | Search Terms | Coded Categories |
|------------------------------------|--|-------------------|--|--|--|--|
| 8. Heilemann & Santhiveeran (2011) | Explores the hardships experienced by female adolescents involved in prostitution and the coping strategies they employ for their survival | 1997-2006 | 12 library databases (Social Services Abstracts, PsychInfo, Social Sciences Abstracts, Sociological Abstracts, Women Studies Abstracts, Criminal Justice Abstracts, Academic Search Elite, Medline, PubMed, LexisNexis, ERIC, and CINAHL Plus) | 31 empirical articles | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Search terms not listed <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Studies had to be peer-reviewed | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Authors and years • Country and sample of studies • Sample source of studies • Data collection procedures of studies • Physical hardships • Psychological hardships • Social hardships • Coping strategies • Survival strategies |
| 9. Johnston et al. (2015) | Analyze media framing of sex trafficking reports | 2008-2012 | Stories identified through LexisNexis and searches from other news sources (<i>ABC News, CBS News, CNBC News, CNN, Fox News Network, MSNBC, National Public Radio, and NBC News</i>) | 710 newspaper stories and 79 broadcast stories | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sex trafficking | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence of international information • Age of victim • Presence of episodic or thematic elements • Presence of statements that minimize importance of trafficking • Sources quoted or cited • Causes of trafficking • Consequences of trafficking • Remedies • Other issue present • Other people/sources mentioned • Other cause/impact/remedy |

Table 1.1. Content Analyses on Human Trafficking

| Author(s) | Purpose of Study | Time Frame | Sources | Unit of Analysis | Search Terms | Coded Categories |
|-----------------------------|--|-------------------|---|--|---|--|
| 10. Kotrla & Wommack (2011) | Create a “snapshot” of potential minor sex trafficking victims through secondary data analysis | 2000-2009 | Cases identified through: (1) Press releases archived on the U.S. Department of Justice website and (2) online search of media reports (number and type of specific sources not provided) | 115 cases of minor sex trafficking in the U.S. involving 153 victims | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Child trafficking • Domestic minor sex trafficking • Child prostitution | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year the case was identified • Number of minor victims involved in the case • Number of traffickers • Gender of traffickers • Status of the traffickers (e.g., arrested, indicted or convicted) • Gender of victims • Age of victims upon rescue or escape • Ethnicity of the victims • The victim’s country of origin • State where the victims were located upon rescue or escape • Number/type of commercial sex acts in which the victim was exploited (e.g., prostitution, pornography, stripping, escort services) • How long the victims were in their trafficking situation • Whether the victim had run away from home • Whether the victim had been advertised on an Internet website |

Table 1.1. Content Analyses on Human Trafficking

| Author(s) | Purpose of Study | Time Frame | Sources | Unit of Analysis | Search Terms | Coded Categories |
|-----------------------------|--|-------------------|--|----------------------------------|--|--|
| 11. Martin et al. (2014) | Gather details on the market for sex with trafficked minor girls in Minneapolis | 2007-2013 | Cases identified through: (1) LexisNexis—number of sources not listed—and (2) relevant criminal justice data files | 69 articles and 86 cases | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sex trafficking • Human trafficking • Sex trade • Teen sex offenses • Prostitution • Trafficking • Minnesota • Metro area | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year of publication • Coverage per case • Terminology in how victims are described • Vulnerabilities of victims • Age range of offenders • Sex of offenders • Socioeconomic status of offenders • Age range of victims • Sex of victims • Online advertisement of victims • Trial stage of case • Language and perspective of article • Emotional appeal for victims • Emphasis on female traffickers |
| 12. Papadouka et al. (2016) | Determine whether, and how, the subject of human trafficking is approached differently by journalists and commenters | 2009-2014 | 1 newspaper (<i>The Guardian</i>) | 134 articles with 6,644 comments | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Search terms not listed | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sex workers and paid sex • Human trafficking as modern slavery • Police reaction to trafficking in children • Gender relations • Opinion about the article • Workers and forced labor • Human rights • Generalizations on how people perceive/act toward human trafficking • Government and charity response • Prostitution • Human trafficking victims |

Table 1.1. Content Analyses on Human Trafficking

| Author(s) | Purpose of Study | Time Frame | Sources | Unit of Analysis | Search Terms | Coded Categories |
|---------------------------|--|-------------------|---|-------------------------|---|--|
| 13. Raymond et al. (2001) | Investigate the international and domestic trafficking in women in the United States | Not listed | Men’s writings on their experiences buying sex from women on <i>The World Sex Guide</i> | 298 men’s writings | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Criteria for writing selection not listed | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Operation of the sex industry • Recruiters, traffickers, and pimps • Methods of movement • Methods of control • Men who buy women in prostitution • Methods of coping and resistance • Racial and national identity of women • Experiences buying women • Attitudes and treatment of women • Degradation and violence of women • Men’s activities inside prostitution establishments |
| 14. Reid (2016b) | Understand tactics employed by sex traffickers to recruit minors | 2007-2012 | Cases identified through: (1) case files and (2) interviews with service providers | 79 female victims | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • N/A—cases drawn from social service agencies providing case management and counseling to trafficking female youth | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Victim age at initial exploitation • Race/ethnicity of trafficker • Age and gender of trafficker • Victim-trafficker relationship • Entrapment schemes • Enmeshment tactics |

Table 1.1. Content Analyses on Human Trafficking

| Author(s) | Purpose of Study | Time Frame | Sources | Unit of Analysis | Search Terms | Coded Categories |
|--------------------------------|--|-------------------|--|-------------------------|--|---|
| 15. Roe-Sepowitz et al. (2017) | Determine the incidence of arrests for sex traffickers of a minor in the United States | 2010-2015 | Google, electronically filed court documents, and online press releases—number of sources not provided | 1,416 arrests | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not listed | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age of traffickers at time of arrest • Gender of traffickers • Race/ethnicity of traffickers • Trafficker US or foreign born • Age of victims at time of exploitation and rescue • Gender of victims • Where victims live prior to trafficking • Victim-trafficker relationship • Occupations of traffickers • Trafficker arrest location • Prosecution level • Trafficker gang involvement • Trafficker previous criminal history • Trafficker role • Actions of traffickers • Transportation of victims • Recruitment tactics and actions • Trafficking venues • Use of technology in trafficking • Victim control tactics • Victim vulnerabilities • Arrest methods and offense discovery • Bail/bond information • Indictment charges • Pleas and trials • Convictions • Sentencing |

Table 1.1. Content Analyses on Human Trafficking

| Author(s) | Purpose of Study | Time Frame | Sources | Unit of Analysis | Search Terms | Coded Categories |
|---------------------------|--|-------------------|---|-------------------------|--|--|
| 16. Sanford et al. (2016) | Replicate and expand on Gulati (2010) study, in addition to analyzing additional factors not examined in the previous study | 2012-2013 | 2 newspapers (<i>The New York Times</i> and the <i>Washington Post</i>) | 464 articles | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traffic* within three characters of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Human ○ Persons ○ Women ○ Girls ○ Children ○ Sex ○ Labor | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Article placement • Story trigger • Issue focus • Source type • Age and gender of victims • Definitions of trafficking • Quantifying trafficking |
| 17. Snow (2017) | Examine whether or not the impact and expansion of human trafficking is accurately portrayed by online media outlets in the United States and the United Kingdom | Not listed | 3 news media sources (<i>The New York Times</i> , <i>CNN</i> , and <i>The Guardian</i>) | 17 articles | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sex trafficking • Sex trafficking in the U.S. • Sex trafficking in the U.K. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tone • Word choice • Narrative themes • In-text content • United States trends • United Kingdom trends |

Table 1.1. Content Analyses on Human Trafficking

| Author(s) | Purpose of Study | Time Frame | Sources | Unit of Analysis | Search Terms | Coded Categories |
|------------------|--|-------------------|--|-------------------------|---|---|
| 18. Sobel (2016) | Examine news frames present in sex trafficking-related stories in five English-language newspapers in Thailand | 1999-2014 | 5 newspapers (<i>The Nation, Bangkok Post, Pattaya Mail, Phuket Gazette, and Chiang Rai Times</i>) | 319 articles | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sex trafficking• Human trafficking• Sex slavery• Prostitution• Solicitation• Flesh Trade | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Problem definition• Type of article• Whether sex trafficking was discussed in conjunction with other forms of trafficking• Ages of trafficked persons• Gender of trafficked persons• Terminology used to describe the trafficked individual• References to statelessness or ethnic minority communities• References to an international aspect of trafficking,• References to Buddhism or the monarchy• Dominant frame of the article• Isolated incident or recurring problem• Cited sources• Remedy for lessening the prevalence |

Table 1.1. Content Analyses on Human Trafficking

| Author(s) | Purpose of Study | Time Frame | Sources | Unit of Analysis | Search Terms | Coded Categories |
|--------------------|---|-------------------|---|-------------------------|--|--|
| 19. Ta (2014) | Analysis of how sex traffickers are represented or portrayed in newspapers in the United States | 2001-2013 | 6 newspapers located in LexisNexis (<i>Tampa Bay Times, The Washington Post, The Atlanta Journal-Constitution, San Jose Mercury News, The Washington Times, and St. Paul Pioneer Press</i>) | 68 news cases | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human trafficking • Sex trafficking | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of traffickers • Number of victims • Race/ethnicity, nationality, and gender of traffickers • Race/ethnicity, nationality, and gender of victims • Gang involvement • Immigration status of traffickers • Presence of graphics and captions • Sentences • The presence of language indicators of traffickers' force, fraud and coercion • The presence of traffickers' and victims' voices • The presence of traffickers' social and economic backgrounds (i.e. family, economic situation, personal struggles) |
| 20. Tesfaye (2017) | Investigate how human trafficking issue is framed by the selected newspapers in comparative perspective | 2013-2015 | 2 newspapers (<i>Addis Zemen and Amharic Reporter</i>) | 180 articles | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Search terms not listed <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Articles that focus on human trafficking stories such as news, editorial, and features which appeared the selected period were included | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Article framing of article • Locations of human trafficking articles • Sources of information • Causes of human trafficking |

Table 1.1. Content Analyses on Human Trafficking

| Author(s) | Purpose of Study | Time Frame | Sources | Unit of Analysis | Search Terms | Coded Categories |
|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------|--|------------------------------------|--|---|
| 21. Tripp & McMahon-Howard (2016) | Conduct an exploratory study to determine if there is a link between human trafficking and organized crime in Atlanta, Georgia | 2000-2013 | Searched Department of Justice bulletins, news reports/press releases, law review articles, and legal newspapers to identify all TVPA cases prosecuted in metropolitan Atlanta | 24 federal human trafficking cases | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Search terms not listed <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ To be considered a TVPA case, the case had to contain at least one of the following eight charges: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Peonage ▪ Enticement into slavery ▪ Sale into involuntary servitude ▪ Forced labor ▪ Trafficking with respect to peonage, slavery, involuntary servitude, or forced labor ▪ Sex trafficking of children, or by force, fraud, or coercion ▪ Unlawful conduct ▪ General provisions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Case name • Year indicted • Type of trafficking • Domestic or international trafficking • Number of defendants • Defendant nationality • Number of victims • Victim nationality • Relationship to organized crime |

Table 1.1. Content Analyses on Human Trafficking

| Author(s) | Purpose of Study | Time Frame | Sources | Unit of Analysis | Search Terms | Coded Categories |
|----------------------------|---|-------------------|---|---|---|--|
| 22. Wilson & Dalton (2008) | Explores the extent and characteristics of human trafficking in Columbus and Toledo, Ohio | 2003-2006 | 2 newspapers (<i>The Columbus Dispatch</i> and the <i>Toledo Blade</i>) | 4 cases (results mixed with interview data) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brothel • Immigrant • Labor • Massage • Pimp • Pornograph(y) • Prostitut(e) • Rape • Sex • Slave • Sweatshop • Traffick(ing) • Underage • Undercover | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Type of trafficking • Age and gender of victims • Race/ethnicity of victims • Age and gender of traffickers • Race/ethnicity of traffickers • Occupations of traffickers • Number of offenders per case • Number of victims per case • Criminal activity of traffickers • Victim-trafficker relationship • Recruitment of victims • Venues and conditions • Physical and psychological control and abuse • Identification of victims • Treatment of victims • Charges and penalties |

Note. Asterisks (*) indicate search term was truncated and all permutations of the word were searched.

The Nature of Trafficking Is Patterned. Content analyses can be used to show the nature of human trafficking incidents, especially the characteristics of victims and offenders. As with the examination of other data sources, this information reveals clear patterns. However, the “data” also show areas of variation and that trafficking is widespread and can occur across diverse contexts.

Thus, although some traffickers are female, the content analyses reveal that most are male (Bouché, 2017; Bouche et al., 2016; Denton, 2010; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017). The average age of traffickers varies from approximately 15 to 70 years old, with female traffickers often being younger than male traffickers (Bouché, 2017; Bouche et al., 2016; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017; Ta, 2014; Wilson & Dalton, 2008). Regarding race, traffickers are mostly Black followed by White, Pacific Islander/Asian, and other race categories (Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017; Ta, 2014). Traffickers come from all backgrounds and exploit individuals across the world, but a large percentage of traffickers originate from the United States (Bouché, 2017; Denton, 2010). When committing their crimes, certain traffickers work alone, whereas others choose to join organized groups (Albanese et al., 2004; Bouché, 2017; Denton, 2010; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017; Tripp & McMahon-Howard, 2016). Findings also suggest that sex traffickers are more likely to exploit individuals with the assistance of an organized crime group compared to labor traffickers (Tripp & McMahon-Howard, 2016; see also Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017). Still, most traffickers engage in a variety of roles when exploiting other people. Thus, traffickers could act as a recruiter, middleman or middlewoman (e.g., set up sales), and/or end user (e.g., purchase commercial sex acts) (Denton, 2010).

For victims, and as might be expected, females are generally more often trafficked for sex, whereas males are more often exploited for labor (Albanese et al., 2004; Roe-Sepowitz et

al., 2017). Additionally, there are often multiple victims per trafficking incident (Albanese et al., 2004; Kotrla & Wommack, 2011). Minors are frequently victims of sex trafficking and could be especially vulnerable to trafficker's manipulative recruitment tactics (Halter, 2010; Kotrla & Wommack, 2011; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017). Traffickers mainly recruit victims through false promises, intimate relationships, money and wealth, educational opportunities, family members, and kidnapping (Albanese et al., 2004; Bouché, 2017; Kotrla & Wommack, 2011; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017). When examining how minor sex trafficking victims are exploited, research suggests that victims are held captive anywhere between 6 months and 11 years (Kotrla & Wommack, 2011; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017). Furthermore, while some victims or family members of victims reach out for help (Martin et al., 2014; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017), other victims are found "accidentally" rather than through the presentation of evidence (Albanese et al., 2004). For example, law enforcement officers may learn about trafficking because of a traffic accident, checkpoint, or community tip. Lastly, and similar to traffickers, victims come from a variety of backgrounds without one predominant region of origin (Denton, 2010; Kotrla & Wommack, 2011). However, a large percentage of victims are from North America. When examining domestic minor sex trafficking victim's race, a majority are White or Black followed by Asian, Native Hawaiian, and mixed race (Halter, 2010; Martin et al., 2014; Reid, 2016b).

The main value of content analyzing human trafficking events is that these reviews illuminate details of these crimes. While there are still gaps in our understanding of trafficking incidents, content analyses provide scholars with a way to study publicly available details on identified events. In particular, information on traffickers and victims offer key insights into who is vulnerable, how experiences vary by type of trafficking, how victims are identified, and where interventions could be implemented.

Article Framing Matters. Some content analyses on human trafficking focus on how the media frames or presents a trafficking story because of its importance in shaping public awareness of this crime (Farrell & Fahy, 2009; Gulati, 2010; Johnston, Friedman, & Sobel, 2015; Papadouka, Evangelopoulos, & Ignatow, 2016; Sanford, Martínez, & Weitzer, 2016; Snow, 2017; Sobel, 2016; Tesfaye, 2017). In essence, how this crime is discussed shapes the social construction of human trafficking today. The implication of these reviews is that how society views human trafficking events can affect how the public responds.

The results from content analyses suggest that the framing of trafficking stories has changed over time depending on the political agenda of the era. For example, since the 1990s, human trafficking has evolved from being portrayed as a human rights problem, to a crime problem, to a national security problem (Farrell & Fahy, 2009). However, it has rarely been framed as a public health concern (Johnston et al., 2015). The insinuation is that trafficking is not a risk to the general population but an issue that is limited to a subset of individuals. Additionally, the sometimes narrow focus of news media to emphasize cases of sex trafficking can influence who the public perceives as a likely target (e.g., young females). This restricted image of trafficking ignores other forms of trafficking such as forced labor and the affected victims who also require interventions (Farrell & Fahy, 2009; Gulati, 2010; cf. Papadouka et al., 2016; Sanford et al., 2016; Sobel, 2016).

Ultimately, media reports on human trafficking are useful for educating the public about this particular offense and for guiding certain social responses. However, media frames can affect who the public believes is at risk and what types of activities indicate someone might be in need of assistance (Denton, 2010; Sanford et al., 2016). The media's neglect of certain forms of trafficking (e.g., labor) can leave certain individuals vulnerable to continued exploitation if

society does not recognize the signs or need to intervene. In this respect, it is important to pay attention to how stories are written and the factors that influence framing.

Context is Important. Related to framing, context can also influence if and how media stories on human trafficking are reported. In particular, human trafficking was not legally recognized as a federal crime until the passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) in 2000. While incidents certainly occurred before the TVPA was passed, this crime was not necessarily discussed using such trafficking terminology, and few traffickers were charged with the actual crime of “trafficking” (Albanese et al., 2004). Those engaging in trafficking have previously been, and continue to be, charged with other crimes such as compelling or promoting prostitution, property crimes, obstruction of justice, pandering, sexual abuse or rape, conspiracy, racketeering, or kidnapping (see also Bouche et al., 2016; Farrell et al., 2014; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017). This legal reality has methodological implications. Scholars who attempt to search for human trafficking cases in public reports tend to find that there are few reported instances in the early to mid 2000s (see, e.g., Bouche et al., 2016; Farrell & Fahy, 2009; Gulati, 2010; Kotrla & Wommack, 2011; Martin et al., 2014; Ta, 2014). By contrast, human trafficking has attracted far more media attention since that time and now is reported with increasing frequency. The increased publication of trafficking stories thus allows for greater insights into the nature and trends of these crimes in content analyses in which scholars code and analyze cases.

Content analyses thus give scholars another method to examine the hidden nature of human trafficking using existing and publicly available information. This technique is invaluable when attempting to study a crime where few existing databases exist. While the method is still limited to the analysis of identified cases that have come to light, media reports furnish details and case characteristics that allow researchers to develop rich databases to better

understand these events and the way the news media reports on them. In this way, scholars can use content analyses to track and code characteristics of victims, offenders, and events over time and assess how the framing and reporting of cases evolves.

Summary

In conclusion, the way human trafficking is studied can affect the type of information gathered, the consistency in data, and the depth of understanding of these events. Depending on the research questions and available resources, each method provides a unique approach to studying these events. Even though the three major methods used to study human trafficking are described here as separate techniques, some scholars have combined these strategies for a mixed-methods approach (see, e.g., Bailey & Wade, 2014; California Alliance to Combat Trafficking and Slavery Task Force, 2007; Clawson, Dutch, & Cummings, 2006; Clawson, Layne, & Small, 2006; Estes & Weiner, 2001; Harris, 2012; Martin et al., 2014; Newton et al., 2008; Raymond et al., 2001; Wilson & Dalton, 2008; Zhang, 2012a). The major limitation of this mixed-methods approach is its inability to integrate estimates or other incident-level details due to issues with possible duplicate cases (Estes & Weiner, 2001; Smith et al., 2009). Still, these methods help illuminate a crime that is difficult to study and may provide invaluable information on how to prevent vulnerable populations from being targeted.

RESEARCH STRATEGY

Although there is interest in understanding the nature of human trafficking events, details on a large number of cases are difficult to obtain. Official data, surveys, and interviews from quantitative and qualitative approaches are often not generalizable due to missing information or relatively small sample sizes. While useful and informative, these methods are unable to provide

a systematic overview of these crimes. The lack of a comprehensive database to examine human trafficking events has motivated the current project.

Notably, scholars have used content analyses as an alternative methodology when attempting to gain insight into the nature of difficult-to-measure crimes. In particular, this approach has been used to study parricides (Boots & Heide, 2006), averted school rampages (Daniels, Buck, Croxall, Gruber, Kime, & Govert, 2007), school shootings (Leary, Kowalski, Smith, & Phillips, 2003), child sexual abuse (Mejia, Cheyne, & Dorfman, 2012), and serial rape (Wright, Vander Ven, & Fesmire, 2016). As an example, this methodology has been used effectively in studies of white-collar crime, an offense type that is difficult to measure and for which government incident-level statistics are lacking (see, e.g., Benson & Gottschalk, 2015; Steffensmeier, Schwartz, & Roche, 2013). For example, Benson and Gottschalk (2015) relied on a content analysis of newspapers to identify white-collar crime cases that were “of sufficient notoriety or newsworthiness as to garner newspaper coverage” (p. 542). They developed and then employed an instrument to code incident characteristics reported in the newspaper stories on each crime. The result was a rich database on the nature of white-collar offenders, victims, and offenses. Benson and Gottschalk’s (2015) specific interest was in seeing how gender affected the nature of participation in different types of white-collar crime. Based on their content analysis, they concluded that, for the most part, gender continues to shape participation in these offenses, with women mostly found in lower-level criminal enterprises that are more vulnerable to prosecution.

Steffensmeier et al. (2013) employed a similar method in their manuscript that was published in the *American Sociological Review*. They were able to use an existing online repository of known cases of corporate fraud to identify indictments because of the extensive

documentation associated with this type of crime. The repository provided the authors with official cases of fraud but did not always have complete information. However, relevant to our purposes here, they also conducted Internet searches for news archives of the cases. By supplementing their known cases with materials from these news stories, the authors were able to develop a rich database and code characteristics on 83 cases of corporate fraud related to the company, corporate offense, and defendant.

Of course, and as outlined above, scholars have also used content analyses to gather information on human trafficking events. The existing analyses are promising and reveal certain patterns that further illuminate the nature of these crimes. Although useful, these works generally have five main limitations: (1) their coverage is restricted to a short time frame of trafficking incidents within the United States (e.g., one year to three-and-a-half years); (2) they use a limited number of news sources to identify trafficking incidents; (3) they tend to use minimal search criteria to discover incidents of trafficking; (4) they provide limited coverage of different types of trafficking (e.g., focus on sex trafficking of minors only); or (5) they content analyze only limited details on the nature of the crime, victim, or case outcome. Although more recent content analyses have addressed some of these issues (see, e.g., Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017), there has not been a study that has collectively addressed these limitations to create an extensive database of human trafficking incidents that can provide detailed valuable information about the nature of these events. Again, undertaking such a state-of-the-art study is the goal of the current project.

Thus, the purpose of the current study is to expand knowledge about the nature of human trafficking by using content analysis to create a large database to secure detailed information on victims, offenders, and offense characteristics. To facilitate this goal, reports in 32 independent

newspapers that document human trafficking incidents across the United States from January 1, 2000 to December 31, 2016 were recorded and analyzed. By collecting and reviewing articles related to trafficking cases, a database was compiled to provide detailed insights into the nature of sex and labor trafficking. Additionally, supplemental searches for identified trafficking cases generally provided more details regarding the case and outcome. Information was also gathered on how law enforcement agencies responded to this problem and the methods that were used to discover trafficking crimes. The creation of this database is intended to facilitate future research that addresses current gaps in knowledge about the detection and commission of trafficking crimes. It is hoped that these data will inform human trafficking policy and practice and ultimately will make possible the development of evidence-based methods of prevention.

CONCLUSION

Human trafficking is a serious crime that is difficult to track and monitor due to its underground nature. By using a methodology that has been successful at identifying difficult-to-measure offenses not represented in traditional quantitative and qualitative approaches—the content analysis of news reports on victimization incidents—more specific details regarding trafficking in the United States can potentially be uncovered. Through a detailed coding system based on previous work, and then updated with additional variables, detailed patterns of trafficking may be illuminated that have not been previously identified. The current study promises to create a rich database that offers new insights into how victims are identified and exploited, who the offenders are, and any circumstances that could increase trafficking in a specific location. Finally, it is hoped as well that knowledge drawn from the project will prove useful in guiding future policy and practice initiatives. In the chapters to come, the methodology

of this study is outlined in detail, the results of the content analysis are presented, and the methodological, theoretical, and policy implications are discussed.

Chapter 2

METHODS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

The intent of this project is to develop a rich database of human trafficking crimes from a content analysis of news reports and other publicly available sources (e.g., law enforcement press releases, court documents). It is intended to code for information that is currently difficult to ascertain through other methods, including characteristics of the location of cases, offenders and victims involved, mechanisms by which offenses are carried out, and methods by which victimizations are detected. A content analysis that covers a wide range of the United States over the past 17 years has not been undertaken before. While there has been an international content analysis to examine trends (see Denton, 2010), the current focus is limited to the United States so as to develop a clear pattern of trafficking in a restricted geographic area. Therefore, the data compiled could provide a most complete data set and corresponding portrait of human trafficking within the United States. The following sections will describe the database, inclusion/exclusion criteria, coding instrument, sample characteristics, and analyses.

DATABASE

For this study, the database was constructed so that the unit of analysis represented three levels: (1) case; (2) offender; and (3) victim. Each case—defined as one or more offenders working together to exploit the same victim(s)—was identified following a trafficking-related arrest, conviction, or sentencing of an offender that was reported in a news media outlet in the United States. Note that there could be multiple news stories for a single trafficking incident. Therefore, all discovered news stories related to a trafficking event were coded under the same

event in the database so as to compile as much information as possible on each case and to avoid double-counting of cases.

The current database was designed to address limitations from previous content analyses of human trafficking. As such, the time frame, number of sources, and search terms were expanded to be inclusive and capture the maximum number of potentially relevant cases. The elements of the database are described more fully below.

Time Frame

Previous content analyses have used a range of time frames to identify potentially relevant cases (see Table 1.1). Some studies, however, used short time frames with five years of data or less (Albanese et al., 2004; Johnston et al., 2015; Papadouka et al., 2016; Sanford et al., 2016; Tesfaye, 2017; Wilson & Dalton, 2008). To help address this limitation, the current study collected information on potentially relevant cases between January 1, 2000 and December 31, 2016. Any case where a trafficker was arrested, convicted, or sentenced during this time frame was included in the analysis. A start date of 2000 was chosen because that was when the TVPA was initially passed and trafficking was legally recognized as a crime in the United States. To be more inclusive and similar to other scholars (see, e.g., Albanese et al., 2004; Denton, 2010), articles that mentioned arrests for “smuggling” were also examined and, where appropriate, added into the database. Smuggling can actually be part of human trafficking cases if the individual transporting the illegal immigrants changes their conditions or abducts and exploits individuals who might not have anyone to help them.

Newspapers

After the time frame was established, the next step was to determine what newspapers

would be able to provide data from 2000 to 2016. Some prior content analyses used only a limited number of sources to identify trafficking stories (Gulati, 2010; Papadouka et al., 2016; Sanford et al., 2016; Snow, 2017; Sobel, 2016; Ta, 2014; Tesfaye, 2017; Wilson & Dalton, 2008). For example, Ta (2014) only used six newspapers, and Wilson and Dalton (2008) only used two newspapers to code characteristics of trafficking cases. Other researchers do not specify the number of sources used to identify cases, reporting only the number of search engines/databases (see, e.g., Bouche et al., 2016; Denton, 2010; Kotrla & Wommack, 2011). To remedy this issue, newspapers in the current study came from two comprehensive search engines: (1) NewsBank Access World News and (2) ProQuest National Newspapers Premier. NewsBank has access to over 3,000 newspapers, and ProQuest has access to more than 400 newspapers in the United States.

Due to the large number of potential newspaper sources across both search engines, it was not feasible to review every publication. Instead, steps were taken to systematically choose a subset of newspapers that would yield a sizable number of human trafficking cases drawn from diverse geographical areas across the study period (2000 to 2016). A purposive sample of major metropolitan titles was chosen because trafficking cases could be more likely to be reported in large urban areas (see, e.g., Albanese et al., 2004). To identify large urban areas, the 2010 U.S. Census Bureau (2012, p. 141) was used to select the 25 largest cities in the United States. Then, newspapers for these 25 locations were searched in both NewsBank and ProQuest databases. Full text newspapers in the study time frame were available for 22 of the 25 cities: New York, NY; Los Angeles, CA; Chicago, IL; Houston, TX; Philadelphia, PA; San Antonio, TX; San Diego, CA; Dallas, TX; San Jose, CA; Indianapolis, IN; Jacksonville, FL; San Francisco, CA; Austin, TX; Columbus, OH; Fort Worth, TX; Charlotte, NC; Detroit, MI; El Paso, TX;

Memphis, TN; Baltimore, MD; Boston, MA; and Seattle, WA. These cities also represent suspected trafficking locations where high levels of human trafficking have been reported (see Appendices A and B). There were no full text newspapers available for Phoenix, AZ (Rank: #6), Louisville, KY (Rank: #17), or Nashville, TN (Rank: #22) during the study time frame.

Because some large cities have multiple newspapers, at least two major newspapers during the time frame were included for any city with a million or more residents to increase the likelihood of identifying a case. There were eight cities in this category: New York, NY; Los Angeles, CA; Chicago, IL; Houston, TX; Philadelphia, PA; San Antonio, TX; San Diego, CA; Dallas, TX. For cities with less than a million residents, one major newspaper was selected unless a supplemental newspaper identified more than 75 articles in the search. Only two additional newspapers met this criterion and the newspapers were included for review—in Detroit, MI and in Seattle, WA. There were two exceptions to these rules. First, the top three circulated titles in New York were selected to be more representative due to the extremely large population (Cision, 2010; Agility, 2016). Second, only one newspaper was selected for San Diego because two newspapers during the study time frame were not available. In total, 32 newspapers located in the top 22 largest cities in the United States were downloaded for review (see Table 2.1).

A limit to this dissertation is that not every newspaper in every location of the United States is covered. However, available newspapers in large urban areas—locations where trafficking seems to be concentrated—are included for analysis. These newspapers were chosen to provide a wide range of potential cases that can offer insights into the nature of these events over time. Overall, the final sample of newspapers in the current study covers a wide range of geographic areas in the United States including 14 states (see Appendix C).

Table 2.1. List of Newspapers in Current Study

| Newspaper Title | Location | Year Range | Database(s) | Cases |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| 1. <i>Austin American Statesman</i> | Austin, TX | 1989-2016 | NB; PQ | 6 |
| 2. <i>The Baltimore Sun</i> | Baltimore, MD | 1990-2016 | NB; PQ | 15 |
| 3. <i>Boston Globe</i> | Boston, MA | 1997-2016 | PQ | 30 |
| 4. <i>Charlotte Observer</i> | Charlotte, NC | 1985-2016 | NB | 9 |
| 5. <i>Chicago Sun-Times</i> | Chicago, IL | 1986-2016 | NB | 15 |
| 6. <i>Chicago Tribune</i> | Chicago, IL | 1996-2016 | PQ | 9 |
| 7. <i>The Columbus Dispatch</i> | Columbus, OH | 1985-2016 | NB | 9 |
| 8. <i>The Commercial Appeal</i> | Memphis, TN | 1990-2016 | NB | 11 |
| 9. <i>Daily News</i> | Los Angeles, CA | 1995-2016 | NB; PQ | 9 |
| 10. <i>The Dallas Morning News</i> | Dallas, TX | 1984-2016 | NB | 19 |
| 11. <i>Dallas Observer</i> | Dallas, TX | 1994-2016 | NB | 0 ^a |
| 12. <i>Detroit Free Press</i> | Detroit, MI | 1999-2016 | PQ | 5 |
| 13. <i>The Detroit News</i> | Detroit, MI | 1999-2016 | NB; PQ | 7 |
| 14. <i>El Paso Times</i> | El Paso, TX | 1999-2016 | NB; PQ | 12 |
| 15. <i>The Florida Times-Union</i> | Jacksonville, FL | 1996-2016 | NB; PQ | 14 |
| 16. <i>Fort Worth Star-Telegram</i> | Fort Worth, TX | 1990-2016 | NB | 4 |
| 17. <i>Houston Chronicle</i> | Houston, TX | 1985-2016 | NB | 13 |
| 18. <i>Houston Press</i> | Houston, TX | 1993-2016 | NB | 0 ^a |
| 19. <i>Indianapolis Star</i> | Indianapolis, IN | 1991-2016 | PQ | 11 |
| 20. <i>La Prensa</i> | San Antonio, TX | 1991-2016 | PQ | 0 ^a |
| 21. <i>Los Angeles Times</i> | Los Angeles, CA | 1996-2016 | PQ | 26 |
| 22. <i>New York Daily News</i> | New York, NY | 1995-2016 | NB; PQ | 26 |
| 23. <i>The New York Times</i> | New York, NY | 1980-2016 | PQ | 32 |
| 24. <i>Philadelphia Daily News</i> | Philadelphia, PA | 1978-2016 | NB; PQ | 8 |
| 25. <i>The Philadelphia Inquirer</i> | Philadelphia, PA | 1981-2016 | NB; PQ | 10 |
| 26. <i>San Antonio Express-News</i> | San Antonio, TX | 1990-2016 | NB | 17 |
| 27. <i>The San Diego Union-Tribune</i> | San Diego, CA | 1983-2016 | NB | 2 |
| 28. <i>San Francisco Chronicle</i> | San Francisco, CA | 1985-2016 | NB | 12 |
| 29. <i>San Jose Mercury News</i> | San Jose, CA | 1985-2016 | NB; PQ | 17 |
| 30. <i>Seattle Post-Intelligencer</i> | Seattle, WA | 1986-2016 | NB | 8 |
| 31. <i>The Seattle Times</i> | Seattle, WA | 1985-2016 | NB | 3 |
| 32. <i>The Wall Street Journal</i> | New York, NY | 1984-2016 | PQ | 3 |

Note. NB = NewsBank. PQ = ProQuest.

^aSecondary newspaper did not contain any additional cases not identified from primary newspaper.

Search Terms

After the time frame and newspapers were finalized, the search terms were organized. Searches were conducted using standardized search criteria developed from previous literature of human trafficking content analyses and by adding terms to capture likely components of trafficking. Content analyses on trafficking have used a variety of search terms but these are often not exhaustive (see, e.g., Albanese et al., 2004; Bouche et al., 2016; Farrell & Fahy, 2009; Wilson & Dalton, 2008) or they are limited to identify only one form of trafficking (see, e.g., Halter, 2010; Kotrla & Wommack, 2011; Martin et al., 2014; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017; Snow, 2017; Sobel, 2016; Ta, 2014). For example, Albanese et al. (2004) and Martin et al. (2014) used only seven and eight search terms to identify cases, respectively. To expand on previous literature, the search criteria included lead key terms such as human, sex*, labor, organ*, porn*, pimp*, massage*, brothel*, prostitut*, sweatshop, slave*, indentured, person, and debt* that were within six words of traffick*, smuggg*, bondage, or servitude. Additional search terms were added so that any lead key phrase had to be present in combination with any of the following terms: arrest, prosecut*, court*, federal, conspiracy, trial, legal cases, convict*, guilty*, criminal sanctions, criminal investigation, indictment, sting*, warrant, undercover, incarcerat*, jail, or prison*. The search criteria were used to increase the likelihood that a case would be identified and to limit the inclusion of articles on human trafficking in general or other irrelevant information that does not pertain to a case. The asterisks after terms are based on truncated versions to include all possible permutations of the word.

Steps were taken to ensure that searches were as consistent as possible across both databases to limit irrelevant news stories that would not contain details about a human trafficking case. However, the search options do vary for NewsBank and ProQuest. In particular,

NewsBank has an option where key lead phrases must be present in the lead/first paragraph whereas ProQuest can limit searches for key lead phrases to the full bibliographic record on file. Both of these options helped to reduce the number of articles identified by specifying that key phrases needed to be present early in a news story or in the bibliographic record to be included. Still, ProQuest's search options are generally broader in scope and tended to identify more articles as appropriate for inclusion than NewsBank.

INCLUSION/EXCLUSION CRITERIA

Following the search of databases, all news stories on each human trafficking criminal event were identified and then subjected to content analysis (Riffe & Freitag, 1997). Using this strategy, 4,939 potentially relevant news stories were identified. Once the potentially relevant newspaper articles were downloaded, a set of criteria guided the inclusion of cases for final analysis. There were five criteria to ensure cases were included and coded in a systematic way:

- Included arrests, convictions, or sentencing of sex and labor trafficking cases in the United States only; organ trafficking cases were excluded due to the low prevalence in articles.
- Included trafficking cases based on the federal TVPA definition (see Appendix D). By using this definition, cases were included even if there were no charges or convictions related to trafficking when a minor was engaging in commercial sex. Under the federal TVPA, a minor who engages in commercial sex is classified as a trafficking victim regardless of the use of force, fraud, or coercion on the part of the trafficker.
- Included cases with real victims. Cases that involved fake victims (e.g., victims fabricated by police for stings) were excluded.
- Included cases with charges and convictions that were explicitly noted as trafficking (e.g., sex trafficking, forced labor trafficking, human trafficking) and those directly related to trafficking offenses. Related charges or convictions such as child sexual exploitation (where something of value is traded for the sexual abuse of a child), document servitude (e.g., withholding identification or passports), violations of the Mann Act (early trafficking-related legislation), or peonage (a form of debt bondage) are often used to supplement trafficking charges and provide comprehensive coverage of trafficking crimes.

- Excluded buyers of commercial sex—individuals who offered something of value for sex acts—and only coded details related to traffickers who were directly responsible for exploiting individuals and making a profit from the criminal enterprise. Even though the government expanded the TVPA definition to include johns/buyers (i.e., patronizing, soliciting) as traffickers, these are definitional traffickers and not substantive traffickers in the sense that they are not the individuals who initiate trafficking for profit.

Upon the discovery of a story reporting an arrest, conviction, or sentencing through the methods listed above, additional custom searches (i.e., through LexisNexis and Google) were performed to identify collateral stories that provided additional information and filled knowledge gaps that existed in the initial source article (e.g., suspect's race, city of the crime, case outcome). This additional information also helped to ensure that cases were appropriate for inclusion based on the criteria noted above. For example, a case identified in a news story as a sex trafficking crime against an adult female could later be revealed as a crime where no trafficking-related charges were brought against the offender (i.e., the author of the story labeled the offense trafficking). Rather, the offender could have been charged and/or convicted with promoting prostitution only. In this case, the news story would be removed because the offender was not charged or convicted of a trafficking-related offense.

CODING INSTRUMENT

The main purpose of the database search was to identify cases of human trafficking, so that information on case characteristics could be coded and entered into the database for subsequent research and analysis. The coding scheme was designed to capture important variables and characteristics about each case including details about offenders and victims. Coding is based on previous literature examining human trafficking cases through content analysis (e.g., Albanese et al., 2004; Denton, 2010; Gulati, 2010; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017; Wilson & Dalton, 2008) and additional coding categories added newly for the current study (see

also Polaris Project, n.d.). The additional details added to the current content analysis were used to identify information on sex and labor trafficking and to gather as many details about human trafficking cases as possible. These coding categories are reviewed below and presented in the coding instrument located in Appendix D. Assumptions and decision rules for select variables are also discussed.

Coding Categories

The coding scheme was designed to capture case characteristics that can be grouped into seven domains: (1) identifiers; (2) newspaper details; (3) locations of cases; (4) nature of the crime; (5) victim characteristics; (6) offender characteristics; and (7) trial characteristics and offender outcomes.

Identifiers. The first domain organized cases of human trafficking. To ensure that all articles reporting on the same case were coded together, each case was assigned an identification number and all offender names were documented (victim names were also documented when applicable). All articles referencing the same case were coded under one identification number so duplicate stories on the same case were not counted more than once. All noted offender names were recorded to ensure that cases with multiple stories had the same perpetrators and could be coded together. Furthermore, offender names were used for supplemental searches to identify additional details on cases in other search engines (i.e., LexisNexis, Google). For prominent cases without offender names, but where gang or corporation names were listed, specific case details were searched to obtain supplemental information. An example of such a case is an initial news article that identified 29 Somali gang members that were charged with sex trafficking but where no specific suspect names were provided (Eckholm, 2010). Subsequent

searches led to the identification of specific perpetrators charged in this offense and supplemental case details.

Newspaper Details. The second domain captured details about each newspaper story that was coded including the dates of publication, newspaper sources, and the database the articles came from. These details were used to organize sources from multiple newspapers and to keep notes on where information came from for each case.

Location of Case. The third domain was used to record information about where the crime took place for each case. Details included the region, state and city where the offender was arrested and where trafficking took place, whether the victim was supposed to end up in a different city, the number of areas the victim was trafficked in, whether the victim was taken across state lines, the level of the case in court (i.e., state, federal), whether the level of the case changed, and the law enforcement agencies that were involved in the case.

Nature of the Crime. The fourth domain was designed to capture information on the nature of the crime for each case. In particular, the following categories were coded: status of the case (e.g., arrested, convicted, sentenced), the type of crime committed (i.e., sex, labor), details regarding the venue or industry of the crime, the number of clients the victim served a day, amount of debt the victim owed the trafficker, how victims were transported, the source of detection, how victims were delivered/advertised to clients, and how victims were controlled by traffickers. Additional details were recorded to examine the extent of domestic and transnational trafficking and, if transnational, how victims were brought into the United States.

Victim Characteristics. The fifth domain included victim characteristics at the case- and individual-levels. The number of adults, minors, and total victims were coded at the case level. Detailed individual-level information included victim demographics, nationality, relationship

with offender, occupation, family status, country of origin, duration of the exploitation, and where/how the recruitment process was facilitated. Categories were also created to note if the victim was branded, a runaway, involved in foster care or child protective services, homeless, afflicted with a disability, or addicted to substances. Additional items were coded as applicable to determine whether victims had any contact with medical professionals or salons while they were being trafficked—encounters that could create an opportunity for intervention.

Offender Characteristics. The sixth domain focused on the offenders and was similar to the fifth domain because it captured individual-level background characteristics of offenders. This domain was also used to code information regarding previous offenses committed by traffickers, gang membership, and exploitive actions used by traffickers. Case-level details on offenders specified the number of offenders per case and whether they worked with co-offenders.

Trial Characteristics and Offender Outcomes. The seventh domain was used to code individual-level details on the trial and offender outcomes. Categories included charges and convictions against offenders, status of arrests, convictions, and sentencing, sentencing decisions, and whether the offenders had to pay restitution to the victims.

Coding Assumptions

Given the nature of coding publicly available sources to build a database of human trafficking cases, assumptions were used to facilitate data entry for several variables. The select variables where assumptions were used tended to be variables that, when the information was present, it was present across multiple sources. Therefore, these assumptions were based on the absence of details that would indicate alternative information.

Assumed categories were applied to eight variables unless otherwise indicated. First, all cases were assumed to involve domestic trafficking victims unless noted in the sources that

victims were foreign nationals (i.e., not originating from the United States). Second, race/ethnicity was determined by examining photographs and/or the country of origin when it was not specified in the sources. The country of origin was only used to determine race/ethnicity when the source explicitly stated the origin of the victim or offender (e.g., a victim from Mexico was coded as being Hispanic). Third, it was assumed that offenders did not cross state lines with victims for the purpose of trafficking them in multiple states unless otherwise specified. Fourth, victims were coded as not having a debt imposed by a trafficker when the information was not discussed. Fifth, a case was not considered part of an event (e.g., bring victim to city where the Super Bowl is being held) unless it was explicitly stated in the sources. Sixth, drugs were not considered part of an offense when not mentioned across sources. Seventh, victims and offenders were coded as being U.S. citizens and originating from North America/United States unless otherwise indicated that they were foreign nationals. Eighth, offenders were assumed to not have a gang affiliation unless it was noted that they were members. These assumptions were not applied if there was any information that suggested the assumed category might not be accurate (e.g., if sources noted that it was unclear if victims were foreign nationals, then the nationality of the victims was coded as missing).

When details for these variables were specified in the articles (e.g., specified domestic trafficking), then that information was coded as being explicitly noted in the sources. However, all variables where information was specified for the assumed category had sample sizes fewer than 10. Due to the limited sample sizes, meaningful comparisons cannot be made between cases when assumptions were used and cases when the assumed category was specified in the sources (e.g., compare details of cases when domestic trafficking was assumed and cases when domestic trafficking was specified in the source).

Decision Rules

Beyond assumptions that were applied, there were several decision rules that were used for data entry and analysis. These rules were used to help reduce discrepancies and structure the coding of cases. As such, four decision rules were used. First, in the few instances when an offender was charged and convicted with both state and federal charges, only the federal charges, convictions, and sentences were analyzed given the federal TVPA legislation used to define trafficking in the current study. State charges, convictions, and sentencing were only used if the federal sentencing information was incomplete.

Second, sex trafficking cases that involved any minors were coded as not having to prove the means of exploitation (i.e., force, fraud, or coercion). As previously noted, the TVPA does not require the means to be proven when a minor is engaging in commercial sex. Because details on the use of force, fraud, or coercion are not always readily available for each victim, the means of control were coded for each case. Other cases where multiple means were used to exploit adults were aggregated and the most comprehensive category was used (e.g., if force was used by one offender and coercion was used by another offender within the same case, then the case was coded as using force and coercion).

Third, when indictments were available, only the latest superseding indictment charges were included as applicable. For example, if there were three consecutive indictments (i.e., indictment, first superseding indictment, second superseding indictment) for an offender, then only charges for the second superseding indictment were used. The charges do not always differ substantially from one indictment to the next, but the most up-to-date indictment was used when possible (see also Bouche, 2017).

Fourth and finally, victims were only coded when explicitly noted as known victims in sources. Suspected victims or the number of individuals retrieved from a situation were not coded as victims for a case unless there was a reason to do so (e.g., a minor engaging in commercial sex—trafficking under the TVPA). For example, in the case against Aroldo Castillo-Serrano and co-defendants, there were more than 40 Guatemalan workers removed from a trailer park in Marion County, Ohio (Lindstrom, 2016). The individuals worked on egg farms and were tasked with de-beaking and vaccinating chickens, loading crates of chickens, and cleaning coops for up to 12 hours a day. However, only 10 individuals—eight minors and two adults—were specifically labeled as victims in the indictment. While the many individuals removed could also be victims, it is unclear if they worked on the farms on their own volition. Because of this uncertainty, only the 10 identified victims were coded as such in this case.

After accounting for the noted assumptions and decision rules, newspaper stories and supplemental details for relevant trafficking cases were then systematically coded. Duplicate newspapers across databases were coded simultaneously. As the data were analyzed, they were coded and entered into an Access database that matched the format of the coding instrument in Appendix D.

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Using the methods noted above, 362 cases were identified and coded for the final analysis. As previously noted, supplemental searches were conducted after the initial cases were identified from newspapers. During these searches, relevant media and other publicly available information (e.g., press releases, court records) were reviewed as applicable; 32.3% of the cases were coded using data from newspaper sources only, whereas 67.7% of the cases were coded using newspapers and other available sources. The use of all relevant, publicly available sources

enriched case coding. Yet, newspaper sources tended to include information that was not always readily available from other sources (e.g., number of clients served, branding, police discovery).

While these data will be reviewed in-depth by trafficking type in subsequent chapters, a preliminary review of findings offers insights into the identified trafficking cases as a whole. As outlined in Table 2.2, a majority of these cases were first legally addressed (e.g., arrest, charge) in the 2010s. Given the gradual recognition of trafficking as a crime, it is not surprising that fewer cases were identified in the early 2000s (see also Bouche et al., 2016; Farrell & Fahy, 2009; Gulati, 2010; Martin et al., 2014). Additionally, offenders were not always arrested where they exploited individuals (see Table 2.3). While states of arrest tended to overlap with states where trafficking occurs, out-of-state arrests also suggest that offenders tend to flee or move on from their original trafficking location. Furthermore, trafficking tends to be widespread with some operations exploiting individuals across state lines. In addition to the 24 states and the District of Columbia where trafficking occurred, a quarter of cases (24.6%) involved trafficking operations in multiple states.

These cases also offer insights about the types of trafficking that occurred most often in this sample. As outlined in Table 2.4, a majority of cases involved sex trafficking only (83.9%). Within the sex trafficking cases, there were 15 cases that had multiple, separate cases with the same offenders ($n = 11$ cases) and victims ($n = 4$ cases). There were five traffickers who committed two or more offenses in the sample and there were two victims who were trafficked on separate occasions by different traffickers. To ensure that these same offenders and victims did not substantially alter the results, the analyses were estimated with and without the information from the multiple cases. The results remained nearly identical with and without information from the multiple cases. Therefore, all cases were included in the analyses.

Table 2.2. Year of First Legal Action by Case (N = 362)

| Year | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------|------------------|----------------|
| 2000 | 1 | 0.3 |
| 2001 | 1 | 0.3 |
| 2002 | 3 | 0.8 |
| 2003 | 4 | 1.1 |
| 2004 | 8 | 2.2 |
| 2005 | 12 | 3.3 |
| 2006 | 6 | 1.7 |
| 2007 | 17 | 4.7 |
| 2008 | 21 | 5.8 |
| 2009 | 22 | 6.1 |
| 2010 | 28 | 7.7 |
| 2011 | 33 | 9.1 |
| 2012 | 42 | 11.6 |
| 2013 | 65 | 18.0 |
| 2014 | 33 | 9.1 |
| 2015 | 42 | 11.6 |
| 2016 | 24 | 6.6 |

Table 2.3. State of Offender Arrest and Trafficking by Case

| Location | Frequency of Offender Arrest | Percent of Offender Arrest | Frequency of Trafficking | Percent of Trafficking |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Alaska | 1 | 0.3 | 1 | 0.3 |
| California | 55 | 15.3 | 45 | 12.6 |
| Colorado | 1 | 0.3 | -- | -- |
| Florida | 16 | 4.4 | 12 | 3.4 |
| Georgia | 2 | 0.6 | -- | -- |
| Hawaii | 1 | 0.3 | 1 | 0.3 |
| Illinois | 21 | 5.8 | 16 | 4.5 |
| Indiana | 12 | 3.3 | 9 | 2.5 |
| Kansas | 1 | 0.3 | 1 | 0.3 |
| Louisiana | 2 | 0.6 | -- | -- |
| Maine | 1 | 0.3 | 1 | 0.3 |
| Maryland | 18 | 5.0 | 16 | 4.5 |
| Massachusetts | 20 | 5.6 | 14 | 3.9 |
| Michigan | 10 | 2.8 | 8 | 2.2 |
| Missouri | 1 | 0.3 | 1 | 0.3 |
| Nevada | 3 | 0.8 | 1 | 0.3 |
| New Hampshire | 1 | 0.3 | 1 | 0.3 |
| New Jersey | 11 | 3.1 | 9 | 2.5 |
| New Mexico | 2 | 0.6 | -- | -- |
| New York | 45 | 12.5 | 36 | 10.1 |
| North Carolina | 6 | 1.7 | 5 | 1.4 |
| Ohio | 10 | 2.8 | 8 | 2.2 |
| Oregon | 1 | 0.3 | -- | -- |
| Pennsylvania | 13 | 3.6 | 10 | 2.8 |
| Rhode Island | 3 | 0.8 | 1 | 0.3 |
| South Carolina | 1 | 0.3 | -- | -- |
| South Dakota | 2 | 0.6 | 1 | 0.3 |
| Tennessee | 10 | 2.8 | 7 | 2.0 |
| Texas | 59 | 16.4 | 58 | 16.2 |
| Vermont | 1 | 0.3 | -- | -- |
| Washington | 9 | 2.5 | 7 | 2.0 |
| Washington, DC | 1 | 0.3 | 1 | 0.3 |
| Multiple | 19 | 5.3 | 88 | 24.6 |
| Outside United States | 1 | 0.3 | -- | -- |
| Sample Size | 360 | | 358 | |

Table 2.4. Type of Trafficking by Case (n = 361)

| Type | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Sex Trafficking | 303 | 83.9 |
| Labor Trafficking | 39 | 10.8 |
| Sex and Labor Trafficking | 19 | 5.3 |

Unfortunately, the type of trafficking could not be determined for one case. In that case, Romulo Molina was arrested for transporting two victims who were supposed to work off a debt that their families owed (Penner, 2014). It was never specified whether the debt was being repaid by manual labor or commercial sex. Due to the ambiguity of the trafficking type, the total number of incidents was reduced to 361 cases. The remaining cases provided details on labor trafficking (10.8%) and crimes that combined sex and labor trafficking (5.3%).

The number of victims overall also varied considerably. On average, there were approximately six victims per case with large standard deviation ($\bar{x} = 6.1$, $SD = 38.5$, see Table 2.5). The wide range made the mean estimate unreliable, whereas the median of two suggested that there were far fewer victims in 50% of the cases. There were also fewer minors involved, on average, compared to adult victims; a discrepancy also influenced by the wide range in the adult sample. Additionally, there tended to be multiple offenders who worked together to exploit victims with approximately half of all cases involving co-offenders. On average, there were approximately two offenders per case. These findings suggest that trafficking is often a group criminal enterprise that is not limited to one perpetrator.

Ultimately, the current sample offers detailed information on both sex and labor trafficking cases. While there are considerably more sex trafficking cases than labor, the information gathered from media and other publicly available sources allowed for a comprehensive analysis of both offense types.

Table 2.5. Number of Trafficking Victims and Offenders by Case

| Characteristics | n | Mean | Standard Deviation | Median | Minimum | Maximum |
|------------------------|----------|-------------|-------------------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| Victims | 345 | 6.1 | 38.5 | 2 | 1 | 590 |
| Minors | 240 | 1.8 | 1.5 | 1 | 1 | 13 |
| Adults | 157 | 10.2 | 56.8 | 2 | 1 | 590 |
| Offenders | | | | | | |
| Offenders | 362 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 2 | 1 | 30 |
| Co-offenders | 362 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 1 | 0 | 1 |

DATA ANALYSIS

As previously noted, prior trafficking research has identified some preliminary patterns that characterize the nature of these events. For example, traffickers tend to be male (Bouche et al., 2016), whereas females tend to be victims of sex trafficking more often than males (Albanese et al., 2004; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017). However, due to the limitations noted above, the existing literature remains relatively underdeveloped. As a result, it is not used to specify hypotheses to be tested. Still, this prior work was useful in guiding the development of the instrument used to code human trafficking cases. When the results of this dissertation are discussed, an effort was made, where relevant, to incorporate prior research to identify consistent or divergent patterns. As an extension of the previous literature, the current dissertation emphasizes the distinctions between trafficking cases to help inform prevention efforts. Many scholars have focused solely on the analysis of sex trafficking (see, e.g., Halter, 2010; Heilemann & Santhiveeran, 2011; Johnston et al., 2015; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017), which has been useful but ultimately does little to inform the characteristics of labor trafficking cases. For example, how do the geographic distributions of these events vary? Do the characteristics of offenders differ by the type of offense? What tactics do offenders use to recruit and control victims? The details coded in the current analysis allow for a more comprehensive overview of these events. Following previous research, appropriate descriptive statistics were used (e.g., frequency tables, means, percentages) to describe the characteristics of the cases in the data.

These analyses enabled a statistical portrait of human trafficking and legal responses over time. For example, characteristics of the individuals involved in trafficking cases, how such cases were detected and investigated, the types and locations in which recruitment was most likely to occur, and additional characteristics of the events were gathered. Appropriate caution is

taken in noting that the data are based on reports (not absolute numbers of cases that may have occurred but escaped notice) and could be influenced by changes over time in reporting behavior (see, e.g., Bouche et al., 2016; Farrell & Fahy, 2009; Gulati, 2010; Kotrla & Wommack, 2011; Martin et al., 2014).

CONCLUSION

Although the use of content analysis is limited to only identified incidents of human trafficking, it presents a method for systematically searching and coding details on these difficult-to-measure crimes. By building off of the work of previous scholars, many limitations of content analyses have been addressed in this dissertation. More specifically, the time frame, number of sources, search criteria, types of trafficking, and details of events have all been expanded in the current study. It is hoped that these modifications allow for a more comprehensive database of identified trafficking cases to better understand these events and possible points of intervention. The current study presents data on identified newspaper cases and other publicly available information on these events. The findings on sex and labor trafficking cases are presented in Chapters 3 and 4, respectively.

Chapter 3

SEX TRAFFICKING

This chapter assesses identified sex trafficking events to provide a detailed overview of the nature of these offenses. To facilitate this goal, this section evaluates factors at the case-, offender-, and victim-levels of analysis. As previously noted, there were 303 cases of sex trafficking offenses that were coded in the current study. These 303 cases represented 639 sex traffickers and 739 victims. It should be noted that many variables tended to have some missing information that was not available from the original newspaper source or supplemental searches. Thus, the sample sizes at the case-, offender-, and victim-levels of analysis are always presented so missingness can be assessed on a variable-by-variable basis.

This chapter is divided into four parts to illuminate the different phases and stages of sex trafficking events. First, the nature of sex trafficking is reviewed to provide an overview of these cases. Second, the offenders of these crimes are discussed in detail to outline the criminal enterprises that are created to manipulate and control victims. Third, the victims of sex trafficking are discussed including factors that made them especially vulnerable to exploitation. Fourth and finally, the police discovery, legal responses, and outcome status of victims are outlined. Although quantitative data is used to describe sex trafficking cases, qualitative narratives from cases are integrated throughout the chapter to illustrate the true nature of what these offenses entail.

THE NATURE OF SEX TRAFFICKING

Sex trafficking is one of the most widely recognized forms of exploitation and makes up a majority of the cases in the current sample. As an overview of these events, the nature of sex

trafficking is discussed in four sections: (1) identifying sex trafficking; (2) overview of victims and offenders; (3) characteristics of sex trafficking cases; and (4) exploitation of victims. Each section is discussed more fully below and focuses on the case as the unit of analysis.

Identifying Sex Trafficking

While the cases in this study are limited to known events only, they do offer insights into when sex trafficking cases were identified and where they occurred. Upon examination, the first legal action (e.g., arrested, charged) occurred in a majority of sex trafficking offenses in the 2010s (see Table 3.1). Although sex trafficking cases were addressed starting in 2002, the handling of these cases by law enforcement gradually increased each year until 2013 when trafficking cases peaked (62 cases had their first legal action in this year). Legislation and public awareness to address sex trafficking likely influenced the recognition of sex trafficking cases over time (see also Bouche, 2017; Bouche et al., 2016).

When offenders were discovered and arrested, they were not always arrested in the same place where the trafficking occurs. Table 3.2 provides the frequencies of where offenders were actually arrested compared to where trafficking operations were located. In some instances, traffickers were arrested in locations where no trafficking took place for the current sample (e.g., Oregon, Vermont). Still, the top states of arrest tend to coincide with sex trafficking locations; Texas (16.3%), California (11.7%), and New York (9.7%) are among the highest states for both. In total trafficking operations were located in 20 states and in the District of Columbia. A quarter of cases involved sex trafficking victims in multiple states.

Overview of Victims and Offenders

Another important factor of sex trafficking includes the number of victims and offenders

Table 3.1. Year of First Legal Action for Sex Trafficking by Case (N = 303)

| Year | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------|------------------|----------------|
| 2000 | -- | -- |
| 2001 | -- | -- |
| 2002 | 3 | 1.0 |
| 2003 | 2 | 0.7 |
| 2004 | 4 | 1.3 |
| 2005 | 7 | 2.3 |
| 2006 | 6 | 2.0 |
| 2007 | 10 | 3.3 |
| 2008 | 17 | 5.6 |
| 2009 | 17 | 5.6 |
| 2010 | 21 | 6.9 |
| 2011 | 27 | 8.9 |
| 2012 | 39 | 12.9 |
| 2013 | 62 | 20.5 |
| 2014 | 29 | 9.6 |
| 2015 | 37 | 12.2 |
| 2016 | 22 | 7.3 |

Table 3.2. State of Offender Arrest and Sex Trafficking by Case

| Location | Frequency of Offender Arrest | Percent of Offender Arrest^a | Frequency of Sex Trafficking | Percent of Sex Trafficking^a |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|---|
| Alaska | 1 | 0.3 | 1 | 0.3 |
| California | 45 | 15.0 | 35 | 11.7 |
| Colorado | 1 | 0.3 | -- | -- |
| Florida | 13 | 4.3 | 10 | 3.3 |
| Georgia | 2 | 0.7 | -- | -- |
| Illinois | 20 | 6.6 | 15 | 5.0 |
| Indiana | 7 | 2.3 | 6 | 2.0 |
| Louisiana | 1 | 0.3 | -- | -- |
| Maryland | 18 | 6.0 | 16 | 5.3 |
| Massachusetts | 19 | 6.3 | 12 | 4.0 |
| Michigan | 8 | 2.7 | 6 | 2.0 |
| Missouri | -- | -- | 1 | 0.3 |
| Nevada | 2 | 0.7 | 1 | 0.3 |
| New Jersey | 9 | 3.0 | 7 | 2.3 |
| New Mexico | 1 | 0.3 | -- | -- |
| New York | 37 | 12.3 | 29 | 9.7 |
| North Carolina | 6 | 2.0 | 5 | 1.7 |
| Ohio | 7 | 2.3 | 5 | 1.7 |
| Oregon | 1 | 0.3 | -- | -- |
| Pennsylvania | 13 | 4.3 | 10 | 3.3 |
| Rhode Island | 2 | 0.7 | 1 | 0.3 |
| South Carolina | 1 | 0.3 | -- | -- |
| South Dakota | 2 | 0.7 | 1 | 0.3 |
| Tennessee | 10 | 3.3 | 7 | 2.3 |
| Texas | 50 | 16.6 | 49 | 16.3 |
| Vermont | 1 | 0.3 | -- | -- |
| Washington | 8 | 2.7 | 7 | 2.3 |
| Washington, DC | 1 | 0.3 | 1 | 0.3 |
| Multiple states | 14 | 4.7 | 75 | 25.0 |
| Outside United States | 1 | 0.3 | -- | -- |
| Number of cases | 301 | | 300 | |

^aPercentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding.

that are involved in each case. As previously noted, the number of victims is likely underestimated because only known victims were coded in the current study. On average, there were two to three victims per case, with the number ranging from a minimum of 1 to a maximum of 20 ($\bar{x} = 2.6$, see Table 3.3). There were one to two minors per case ($\bar{x} = 1.7$) and two to three adults per case ($\bar{x} = 2.6$), on average.

The mean number of offenders per case was two ($\bar{x} = 2.1$). The median, however, indicated that there was only 1 offender responsible for exploiting victims in half of the cases. Of course, there were some cases that had multiple offenders—one case had as many as 30 offenders working together to exploit at least four victims (Associated Press, 2012).

Characteristics of Sex Trafficking Cases

To examine the complexities of sex trafficking cases, a series of variables were coded to better understand these events. Table 3.4 outlines findings that allow for a comprehensive overview of sex trafficking cases. The results of this analysis are presented in eight subsections: (1) minor versus adult status; (2) smuggling of victims; (3) operation dynamics; (4) nationality of victims; (5) means of exploitation; (6) use of drugs; (7) presence of events; and (8) use of debts.

Minor Versus Adult Status. As seen in Table 3.4, a majority of cases (57.8%) only exploited minors. The remaining cases victimized adults only (23.1%) or both minors and adults (19.0%). This finding suggests that minors are particularly vulnerable to sex trafficking but that adults are not invulnerable to trafficker's exploitive tactics.

Smuggling of Victims. Another vulnerability factor was whether the victims were smuggled into the country and then trafficked or whether they were “only” trafficked. The current sample included 19 cases (6.3%) where victims were first smuggled into the country before they were victimized (see Table 3.4). While this is not a large portion of the cases in this

Table 3.3. Number of Sex Trafficking Victims and Offenders by Case

| Characteristics | n | Mean | Standard Deviation | Median | Minimum | Maximum |
|------------------------|----------|-------------|-------------------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| Victims | 287 | 2.6 | 2.6 | 2 | 1 | 20 |
| Minors | 218 | 1.7 | 1.3 | 1 | 1 | 9 |
| Adults | 113 | 2.6 | 2.5 | 2 | 1 | 13 |
| Offenders | | | | | | |
| Offenders | 303 | 2.1 | 2.3 | 1 | 1 | 30 |
| Co-Offenders | 303 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

Table 3.4. Characteristics of Sex Trafficking Events by Case

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent^a |
|---|------------------|----------------------------|
| Type of Victims (n = 294) ^b | | |
| Minors only | 170 | 57.8 |
| Adults only | 68 | 23.1 |
| Minors and adults | 56 | 19.0 |
| Evidence of Smuggling (n = 303) | | |
| Trafficking only | 284 | 93.7 |
| Smuggling and trafficking | 19 | 6.3 |
| Trafficking Operation Location (n = 281) ^c | | |
| Single location | 150 | 53.4 |
| Multiple locations | 131 | 46.6 |
| Victims Trafficked by Location (n = 282) ^c | | |
| Single location | 152 | 53.9 |
| Multiple locations | 130 | 46.1 |
| Crossed State Lines for Trafficking (n = 300) | | |
| No | 194 | 64.7 |
| Yes | 106 | 35.3 |
| Nation of Victims (n = 302) | | |
| Domestic | 274 | 90.7 |
| Foreign National | 28 | 9.3 |
| Means of Exploitation (n = 56) ^b | | |
| Force | 6 | 10.7 |
| Fraud | 2 | 3.6 |
| Coercion | 8 | 14.3 |
| Force and fraud | 3 | 5.4 |
| Force and coercion | 26 | 46.4 |
| Fraud and coercion | 3 | 5.4 |
| Force, fraud, and coercion | 8 | 14.3 |
| Use of Drugs (n = 303) | | |
| No | 217 | 71.6 |
| Yes | 86 | 28.4 |

Table 3.4. Characteristics of Sex Trafficking Events by Case

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent^a |
|---|------------------|----------------------------|
| Event Associated with Trafficking (n = 303) | | |
| No | 296 | 97.7 |
| Yes | 7 | 2.3 |
| Super Bowl | 2 | 0.7 |
| Democratic National Convention | 1 | 0.3 |
| Detroit Jazz Festival | 1 | 0.3 |
| Indy 500 | 1 | 0.3 |
| Memorial Day Weekend | 1 | 0.3 |
| St. Patrick's Day | 1 | 0.3 |
| Was Victim Given a Debt (n = 303) | | |
| No | 290 | 95.7 |
| Yes | 13 | 4.3 |

^aSome percentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding. ^bCase sample size does not match the sample size for the number of victims by case in Table 3.3 because sometimes the type of victim is known when the number of victims is not. ^cLocations were not always discussed at the same unit of analysis (e.g., city, neighborhood, county, state), but a case was considered to exploit victims in multiple locations when there was more than one geographic area mentioned (i.e., multiple cities, counties, or states); cases where victims were trafficked within the same area (e.g., city, county) were not counted as being exploited in multiple locations.

sample, being smuggled into the country can make individuals uniquely susceptible to isolation and violence. As an example, Gladys Vasquez Valenzuela and her co-conspirators arranged for victims to be smuggled from Guatemala to the United States (Glover, 2009; Krikorian, 2006). Using false promises of a job and a better life, the victims willingly travelled across the border before they were forced into prostitution in Los Angeles, California to repay an ever-growing debt. Being in a new country, victims were repeatedly threatened, assaulted (at times as part of group assaults), and told that they would be cursed with witchcraft if they tried to leave. Without social support or protection, these victims were continually trafficked until they finally confided in a sex buyer who helped them escape and contact police.

Operation Dynamics. One component of the trafficking enterprise includes where the operations are located and whether victims are trafficked across multiple areas. Due to the differences in units of analysis by source (e.g., city, neighborhood, county, state), it is not always possible to examine trafficking at the same level. Therefore, in the analysis, a case was considered to operate or to exploit victims in multiple locations when there was more than one geographic area mentioned (i.e., multiple cities, counties, or states). Cases where victims were trafficked within the same area (e.g., city, county) were not counted as being exploited in multiple locations. For example, Maria Soly Almonte and others forced victims to engage in commercial sex out of apartments in Bronx and Harlem, New York (U.S. Attorney's Office, 2017). In this instance, the operation was coded as both operating and exploiting victims in multiple locations. Based on the sample, almost half of the cases operated (46.6%) and exploited victims (46.1%) across multiple locations. Relatedly, more than one third of victims (35.3%) were taken across state lines for trafficking (see Table 3.4).

Nationality of Victims. When examining the nationality of victims, a majority of cases included domestic citizens (90.7%). As outlined in Table 3.4, only 28 cases (9.3%) included victims that were foreign nationals. Even though trafficking is highlighted as an international concern (see, e.g., Hepburn & Simon, 2013; Shelley, 2010), it is informative to see that, at least in this sample, almost all cases included citizens from the United States.

Means of Exploitation. The means of exploitation (i.e., force, fraud, coercion) were coded using the guidelines outlined by the federal Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA). According to the TVPA, a minor engaging in commercial sex is considered a victim without having to prove means of compulsion. Thus, the means of exploitation are only presented for cases that included adult victims. More details regarding the methods used to control all victims are presented later in this chapter in Table 3.12. To reiterate, force includes physical harm (e.g., restraint, assault), fraud involves misrepresentation of the truth, and coercion entails threats (e.g., threats of harm, threatened abuse of legal system). While traffickers used all tactics, there were 26 cases (46.4%) where traffickers used force and coercion to exploit adult victims (see Table 3.4). The next most frequent tactics used were coercion (14.3%) and force, fraud, and coercion (14.3%), followed by force (10.7%). As an illustrative example, Allen Brown and collaborators employed all three tactics to exploit at least three adult females (Santiago, 2009). Brown would prey on women in public places (e.g., bus stations, train stations, night clubs) and promise them the “good life” (fraud). Once the women went with Brown, he would confiscate their phones and personal identification and then lock some of the women in living quarters (force through physical restraint). If the victims did not earn enough money to meet their quota or if they disobeyed orders when they were released, then they would be threatened and assaulted (coercion and force).

Use of Drugs. The use of drugs to control and exploit victims can make it difficult for victims to escape or seek help. In more than a quarter of cases (28.4%), drugs were intertwined in the cases in some capacity (see Table 3.4). As will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, offenders used drugs in a variety of ways. For example, some traffickers would provide drugs and then exercise control over how much and when victims were allowed to use them to induce withdrawal. This control tactic kept victims under the trafficker's control and made the victims dependent on the supply that was provided. In other cases, victims were forced to take drugs by the trafficker, which generally increased their compliance.

Presence of Events. Another risk factor that is often discussed with reference to trafficking involves the presence of large, public events or holidays that attract crowds (see, e.g., Miller, Kennedy, & Dubrawski, 2016). Trafficking victims could be transported and made available to buyers during large-scale events where there are more individuals to purchase sex. In the current study, there were only seven cases (2.3%) where events were explicitly associated with trafficking (see Table 3.4). Within these events, two cases mentioned the Super Bowl while other cases discussed the Democratic National Convention, Detroit Jazz Festival, Indy 500, Memorial Day weekend, and St. Patrick's Day.

Use of Debts. Some victims were also given a debt as a form of control and to induce compliance. While debts were not prevalent in sex trafficking cases (4.3%), the ability to pay off these debts can seem like an impossible task (see Table 3.4). In the Gladys Vasquez Valenzuela case, the traffickers smuggled victims into the country for \$1,600 per victim (Krikorian, 2006). However, the victims were told that they owed \$10,000 and that they would have to work as prostitutes to pay off their debt before they earned their freedom. For at least one victim, the debt was doubled in a three-month span, which made it nearly impossible to pay off.

Exploitation of Victims

Other components of sex trafficking include the daily exploitation of victims. In particular, the day-to-day operations of events can be difficult to ascertain on a large scale. To remedy this issue, the current study captured several variables to better understand how many clients were served per day, how much it cost to buy a victim, and the number of days and hours victims were forced to work. While missing data are particularly high for these variables, the results offer preliminary insights into sex trafficking cases. The findings are presented in Table 3.5. The results are divided into minimum and maximum estimates because, for several cases, the sources offered ranges for variables. For example, one case indicated that victims served 10 to 20 buyers per day (Jackson, 2012; Rawlyk, 2013). To account for this, both values were coded as the minimum and maximum for the case. Each variable is described below.

Clients Served Per Day. On average, victims served between seven and 10 clients per day (minimum: $\bar{x} = 7.8$, maximum: $\bar{x} = 9.7$, see Table 3.5). The number of clients served varies quite a bit and ranges from 1 client to as many as 60 per day. The maximum of 60 is somewhat high compared to other cases and was removed to estimate an updated minimum and maximum value. Without the maximum of 60 clients per day, victims were forced to serve approximately seven to nine clients per day (minimum: $\bar{x} = 7.1$, maximum: $\bar{x} = 9.0$). Even without the case that included 60 clients per day, some cases indicated that victims were still exploited by as many as 30 or 50 buyers per day. The median ranged from 5 (minimum) to 6 (maximum) and suggests that the number of clients served per day was substantial. The sheer volume of clients buying sex on a daily basis illustrates the public demand for commercial sex. What is less clear is the number of repeat clients per victim, how often they paid for services, and whether they knew the victims were being trafficking—none of these details were available in the public sources.

Table 3.5. Details of Sex Trafficking Events by Case

| Characteristics^a | n | Mean | Standard Deviation | Median | Minimum | Maximum |
|---|----------|-------------|---------------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| Minimums | | | | | | |
| Clients served per day | 70 | 7.8 | 8.8 | 5 | 1 | 60 |
| Clients served per day without 60 max. | 69 | 7.1 | 6.2 | 5 | 1 | 30 |
| Amount sold to clients | 77 | \$117.9 | \$129.9 | \$100 | \$20 | \$1000 |
| Amount sold to clients without \$1000 max. | 76 | \$106.3 | \$81.3 | \$100 | \$20 | \$500 |
| Number of days forced to work | 27 | 6.3 | 1.7 | 7 | 1 | 7 |
| Number of hours forced to work | 8 | 10.5 | 3.5 | 11 | 4 | 15 |
| Maximums | | | | | | |
| Clients served per day | 70 | 9.7 | 10.7 | 6 | 1 | 60 |
| Clients served per day without 60 max. | 69 | 9.0 | 8.8 | 6 | 1 | 50 |
| Amount sold to clients | 77 | \$197.4 | \$313.8 | \$120 | \$20 | \$2500 |
| Amount sold to clients without \$1000+ max. | 75 | \$156.0 | \$137.9 | \$100 | \$20 | \$900 |
| Number of days forced to work | 27 | 6.3 | 1.7 | 7 | 1 | 7 |
| Number of hours forced to work | 8 | 10.8 | 3.3 | 11.5 | 5 | 15 |

^aSome cases offered ranges for each variable; both minimums and maximums are calculated based on lower and upper ranges when applicable.

Amount Sold. When victims were sold to clients for commercial sex, the cost varied considerably from \$20 to \$2,500 (see Table 3.5). On average, victims were sold to buyers for prices between \$117.9 and \$197.4—taking into account minimum and maximum values. The median ranged from \$100 to \$120. However, two cases were substantially higher than the others. The first case included a victim who noted that she made \$1,000 per client (Rosenberg, 2016). The second case ranged from \$140 to \$2,500 per client; the \$2,500 was the price if the client spent an entire weekend with the victim (Herman, 2011). To address these high-end values, the \$1,000 per client case was removed and the upper value from the \$2,500 case was removed. The updated average cost to purchase sex ranged from \$106.3 to \$156.0 with a median of \$100 (minimum and maximum). The new maximum ranged from \$500 to \$900 per sexual encounter. Taking all of these values into account, the cost to purchase sex acts ranged from the price of a DVD (\$20) to a vacation (\$900-\$2,500).

Days Per Week. The number of days that victims were forced to work did not have much variation when the data were available. On average, victims worked six days a week, with the number of days worked ranging from 1 to 7 ($\bar{x} = 6.3$, see Table 3.5). The median of 7 days suggests that victims worked every day for at least half of the cases.

Hours Per Day. There were very few cases that explicitly noted the number of hours victims were forced to work for commercial sex. However, the information available suggests that victims worked, on average, 10 to 11 hours per day (minimum: $\bar{x} = 10.5$, maximum: $\bar{x} = 10.8$, see Table 3.5). The number of hours per day ranged from 4 to 15 with a median of 11 (minimum) and 11.5 (maximum).

TRAFFICKERS AND THE CRIMINAL ENTERPRISE

As noted above, there were 639 identified sex traffickers in the current sample. To gain a better understanding of who engaged in these offenses, the following sections outline details of these offenders' lives and methods. Three components are reviewed: (1) becoming a trafficker; (2) being a trafficker; and (3) controlling victims. The results below are presented at the case- and individual-levels of analysis.

Becoming a Trafficker

Sex traffickers are cunning in the sense that they are able to coerce victims to engage in commercial sex and usually repeatedly. However, there is limited information available about sex traffickers or their backgrounds that may illuminate who is likely to engage in these behaviors. To determine any patterns and characteristics of sex traffickers, a series of variables were coded based on availability in sources. Findings on demographics, offender occupations, criminal and gang involvement, and offender roles are discussed in the following sections at the individual level.

Demographics. All demographic characteristics are presented in Table 3.6. On average, offenders were 31-years-old at the time of arrest, with a range from 17- to 75-years-old. The distribution of ages suggests that many offenders were caught in their early 20s through early 30s (median = 30, mode = 24). A majority of traffickers were male (77.3%) with fewer females (22.7%) contributing to these offenses. When the information was available, race and ethnicity were coded; a majority of traffickers were Black (63.2%) followed by Hispanic (21.4%), White (10.8%), and Asian (4.5%). Additionally, most of the offenders were U.S. citizens (86.6%) with fewer than 12% of offenders being undocumented immigrants (4.4%) or other foreign nationals (7.5%). While most offenders originated from the United States (81.2%), there were also a

Table 3.6. Demographics and Characteristics of Sex Traffickers

| Characteristics | Frequency/Range | Percent/Mean (SD)^a |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Mean Age (n = 593) | 17-75 | 31.0 (9.2) |
| Sex (n = 639) | | |
| Male | 494 | 77.3 |
| Female | 145 | 22.7 |
| Race/Ethnicity (n = 418) | | |
| Black | 264 | 63.2 |
| Hispanic | 90 | 21.4 |
| White | 45 | 10.8 |
| Asian | 19 | 4.5 |
| Nationality (n = 590) | | |
| U.S. citizen | 511 | 86.6 |
| Permanent U.S. resident | 9 | 1.5 |
| Undocumented immigrant | 26 | 4.4 |
| Foreign national—status not specified | 44 | 7.5 |
| Country of Origin (n = 620) | | |
| United States | 505 | 81.2 |
| Mexico | 53 | 8.5 |
| Somalia | 26 | 4.2 |
| Guatemala | 12 | 1.9 |
| China | 7 | 1.1 |
| El Salvador | 5 | 0.8 |
| Azerbaijan | 2 | 0.3 |
| Columbia | 2 | 0.3 |
| Ethiopia | 2 | 0.3 |
| Honduras | 2 | 0.3 |
| Ghana | 1 | 0.2 |
| Panama | 1 | 0.2 |
| Russia | 1 | 0.2 |
| Vietnam | 1 | 0.2 |
| Family Status (n = 145) | | |
| Significant other (not married) | 51 | 35.2 |
| Child/children | 49 | 33.8 |
| Spouse | 19 | 13.1 |
| Significant other and child/children | 18 | 12.4 |
| Spouse and child/children | 7 | 4.8 |
| Divorced | 1 | 0.7 |

Note. SD = standard deviation.

^aSome percentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding.

number of offenders from Mexico (8.5%), Somalia (4.2%), and China (1.1%). With regards to family status, most offenders either had a significant other (35.2%) or children (33.8%) when they committed their crimes. Fewer traffickers had a spouse (13.1%), a significant other and children (12.4%), or a spouse and children (4.8%); only one trafficker was noted as being divorced at the time of the offense. In some cases, it was specified that the offender was in a relationship with other traffickers or had been in a romantic relationship with one or more of the victims. Relatedly, victims and traffickers sometimes had children together.

The pattern of characteristics is similar to previous research on traffickers. For example, a majority of offenders were male and there was a wide age range of individuals who engaged in these offenses (see also Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011; Bouche et al., 2016; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017). The breakdown of racial groupings is also similar to prior research. A majority of offenders were Black, Hispanic, or White (see Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017; Ta, 2014). Finally, most of the offenders also originated from the United States (see Bouché, 2017; Denton, 2010)—suggesting that domestic citizens could contribute to the sex trafficking problem in the United States more so than foreign nationals.

Occupations. The occupation of sex traffickers was coded when the information was present in the sources. Unfortunately, offender occupations were not always available and resulted in quite a bit of missing data. The information that was gathered, however, suggests that traffickers do not have only one type of job. Outlined in Table 3.7 is a list of offender occupations divided by industry. There were a number of offenders who were cab drivers (13.0%), but many offenders had diverse job titles including massage parlor owner (11.1%), rapper (11.1%), police officer (9.3%), assisted living employee (3.7%), military personnel (3.7%), and student (3.7%). The most alarming industries included those where the offender was

Table 3.7. Occupations of Sex Traffickers (n = 54)

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent^a |
|--|------------------|----------------------------|
| Private or Service Industries | | |
| Cab driver | 7 | 13.0 |
| Massage parlor owner | 6 | 11.1 |
| Assisted living facility worker | 2 | 3.7 |
| Barber | 1 | 1.9 |
| Doorman at night club | 1 | 1.9 |
| Former bail bondsman, school counselor, car dealership owner, and bounty hunter | 1 | 1.9 |
| Hairstylist | 1 | 1.9 |
| Real estate agent | 1 | 1.9 |
| Retail employee | 1 | 1.9 |
| Roofing | 1 | 1.9 |
| Stripper | 1 | 1.9 |
| Tour guide | 1 | 1.9 |
| Window washing company owner | 1 | 1.9 |
| Professional | | |
| Airline pilot | 1 | 1.9 |
| Co-director of local business | 1 | 1.9 |
| Dentist | 1 | 1.9 |
| Financial industry | 1 | 1.9 |
| Firefighter | 1 | 1.9 |
| Registered nurse | 1 | 1.9 |
| Secretary | 1 | 1.9 |
| Social worker | 1 | 1.9 |
| Peer mentor | 1 | 1.9 |
| Enforcement | | |
| Police officer | 5 | 9.3 |
| Military | 2 | 3.7 |
| Juvenile probation officer | 1 | 1.9 |
| Music Industry | | |
| Rapper | 6 | 11.1 |
| Radio personality | 1 | 1.9 |
| Other | | |
| No occupation | 2 | 3.7 |
| Student | 2 | 3.7 |
| Former Olympic wrestler | 1 | 1.9 |

^aPercentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding.

in a position of authority over others (e.g., police officer, juvenile probation officer). In the case of the juvenile probation officer, Timothy McCullouch, Jr. had worked with two minor females in a correctional capacity before assisting with their exploitation (Martinez, 2015). The girls had been placed in a correctional academy for high-risk juvenile offenders where they met and worked with McCullouch during at least 10 documented encounters (Martinez, 2014a).

McCullouch, in collaboration with others, was able to use his occupation to meet and facilitate the exploitation of vulnerable minors. Although an offender's occupation was rarely discussed as a means to meet victims, it is revealing that legitimate employment can be used to identify potential vulnerable targets.

Criminal and Gang Involvement. Another variable that was recorded included the trafficker's criminal history and gang affiliation (see Table 3.8). In the current sample, approximately 20% of offenders had a prior criminal record—suggesting that illegal and sometimes violent behavior was part of their past. Past offenses varied for offenders and included crimes such as theft, armed robbery, robbery, drug-related crimes, rape, promoting prostitution, domestic violence, fraud, attempted murder, and assault with a weapon. Fewer offenders were involved with a gang (17.4%). There were 17 types of gang affiliations in the current sample; the most frequent being the Somali Outlaws (26.1%). However, it is important to note that the offenders from this gang were part of the same case and their gang affiliation was brought into question but never officially dismissed (Burke, 2016). Other frequent affiliations included the Bloods (8.1%), Folk Nation-Gangster Disciples (7.2%), Granados Organization (7.2%), Rolling 60s Crips (7.2%), and West Side Street Mobb (7.2%). Although many of the offenders in gangs worked together to exploit victims (e.g., Compton Division, East Coast Crips, Bloods, Folk Nation-Gangster Disciples), other gang members operated alone (e.g., 59 Bounty

Table 3.8. Criminal Involvement of Sex Traffickers

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent |
|---|------------------|----------------|
| Prior Criminal Record (n = 639) | | |
| Not specified | 510 | 79.8 |
| Yes | 130 | 20.2 |
| Gang Membership (n = 638) | | |
| No | 527 | 82.6 |
| Yes | 111 | 17.4 |
| Gang Affiliation (n = 111) | | |
| Somali Outlaws/Somali Mafia/Lady Outlaws ^a | 29 | 26.1 |
| Not specified—but in gang | 12 | 10.8 |
| Bloods | 9 | 8.1 |
| Folk Nation-Gangster Disciples | 8 | 7.2 |
| Granados Organization | 8 | 7.2 |
| Rolling 60s Crips | 8 | 7.2 |
| West Side Street Mobb | 8 | 7.2 |
| Gambino Crime Family | 7 | 6.3 |
| STO | 7 | 6.3 |
| Compton Division | 3 | 2.7 |
| East Coast Crips | 3 | 2.7 |
| Thetford Avenue Buffaloes | 2 | 1.8 |
| Vice Lord | 2 | 1.8 |
| 59 Bounty Hunter Bloods | 1 | 0.9 |
| Crips | 1 | 0.9 |
| Latin Kings | 1 | 0.9 |
| Orejon Gang | 1 | 0.9 |
| Webb Chapel Crips | 1 | 0.9 |

^aAll offenders were part of a single case and gang affiliation was brought into question but never officially dismissed—most charges against these offenders were dismissed.

Hunter Bloods, Latin Kings, Orejon Gang, Webb Chapel Crips). Overall, the percentage of offenders with criminal histories and gang affiliations in the current sample were similar to previous literature (see, e.g., Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017).

Offender Roles in the Enterprise. To determine how offenders fit into a case, the offender's role in the criminal enterprise was divided and coded based on six categories: smuggler, recruiter, middleperson, bottom, complicit beneficiary, and multidimensional (see Denton, 2010). Smugglers were responsible for illegally transporting a victim into the United States, whereas recruiters made contact with potential victims and initiated the trafficking process (Burke & Bruijn, 2018, p. 16). A middleperson was responsible for any day-to-day activities that supported the enterprise (e.g., arrange appointments, transport, profit from enterprise, provide drugs). An individual designated as the bottom was the trafficker's most trusted prostitute and frequently collected profits and assisted with training new females on how to sell sex (Burke & Bruijn, 2018, p. 18). The role of a complicit beneficiary was added new for the current study and was defined as an individual who knew about the trafficking and, at times, benefited from the exploitation. An individual in this role, however, did not recruit or manage the trafficking enterprise. As an example, Todd Barkau groomed and trained a 12-year-old female on how to become a bondage-domination-sadism-masochism (BDSM) sexual dominatrix (Ledford, 2009). The mother, who was living with Barkau at the time, granted him access to her daughter and was aware that he was "training" her for BDSM activities. In particular, the mother witnessed some of the sessions and was aware that Barkau sold her daughter on a website that he created. In exchange for the mother's cooperation and support, Barkau gave her financial benefits from the online and in-person sessions. In this instance, the mother was coded as being a complicit beneficiary—an individual who was aware of the circumstances, benefited from the

activities, and cooperated by remaining silent. Finally, a multidimensional role was assigned to traffickers whose roles comprised any two or more of the variables coded (e.g., trafficker acted as recruiter and middleperson).

The sex traffickers in the current sample were diverse enough to capture each of these roles. However, a majority of traffickers were identified as multidimensional (66.7%) followed by a middleperson (28.3%, see Table 3.9). Relatively few offenders were identified as bottoms (2.9%), recruiters only (1.1%), complicit beneficiaries (0.7%), or smugglers only (0.2%). At least in the current sample, many offenders took on multiple roles in the trafficking operation. For example, Antonio Sibley met a 15-year-old female and started a sexual relationship with her (recruit) (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015; Gray, 2015). Sibley then transported the female from Akron, Ohio to Columbus, Ohio where he took pictures of her, posted advertisements, and rented hotel rooms for sexual encounters (middleperson). Based on the details of this case, Sibley was coded as having a multidimensional role.

A different type of role in the criminal enterprise included the prostitution status of the offender. While an individual designated as a bottom is, by definition, a prostitute, not all offenders who sold sex for money were noted as bottoms. There were 47 offenders (7.4%) who were specifically identified as prostitutes (see Table 3.9). Out of this total, 46 offenders were females and one offender was a male. Ferid Mahalbasic—the only male—told girls that he had prostituted himself through online ads and suggested that they do the same to earn money (Sun-Times Media Wire, 2015). After the girls agreed to post ads for commercial sex, Mahalbasic took the money that they earned and threatened them.

Being a Trafficker

Once an individual commits to being a sex trafficker, there are logistical decisions that

Table 3.9. Trafficker Roles in the Enterprise

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Offender Roles (n = 544) | | |
| Smuggler | 1 | 0.2 |
| Recruiter | 6 | 1.1 |
| Middleperson | 154 | 28.3 |
| Bottom | 16 | 2.9 |
| Complicit beneficiary | 4 | 0.7 |
| Multidimensional ^a | 363 | 66.7 |
| Was Offender a Prostitute (n = 638) | | |
| Not specified | 591 | 92.6 |
| Yes | 47 | 7.4 |

^aMultidimensional roles were assigned to traffickers whose roles comprised any two or more of the variables coded (e.g., trafficker acted as recruiter and middleperson).

need to be made to facilitate commercial sex. In this context, how victims are advertised to potential customers and where the sexual exploitation occurs are reviewed. All variables were coded at the case level.

Advertising Victims. Table 3.10 reviews the different ways that sex trafficking victims were advertised in the current sample. The most common type of advertising occurred online (n = 188) on websites such as Backpage.com (n = 87) and Craigslist.com (n = 32). Since Backpage.com was seized earlier this year by the United States government (Savage & Williams, 2018), it is not yet clear if other websites will take on the notoriety that Backpage.com once had. Other methods that were used to lure clients included street-walking solicitations (n = 46), handing out business cards (n = 6), posting ads in print media such as newspapers, tabloids, and magazines (n = 6), and truck stop solicitations (n = 5).

The frequencies in Table 3.10 reflect the number of cases that used each respective method. Because some cases used more than one method, the sum of the frequencies does not equal the total number of cases. To gain a better understanding of how many advertisement methods each case used, the number of advertisement methods by case was estimated. As outlined in Figure 3.1, a majority of cases (81.1%) only used one advertisement method. Fewer cases used two (16.7%) or three (1.8%) advertising tactics.

Venue. The venue where sex trafficking occurred was documented to account for how these crimes were facilitated. Based on the current sample, victims were trafficked in a variety of locations (see Table 3.11). The most common venues were hotels/motels (n = 154) followed by residential brothels (n = 66), street-level prostitution (n = 51), delivery service (i.e., transport victim to meeting location with buyer; n = 51), and commercial-front brothels (n = 18). Traffickers would exploit victims in any location where there would be potential buyers or where

Table 3.10. Advertisement of Sex Trafficking Events by Case (n = 227)

| Advertisement of Victims | Frequency |
|--|------------------|
| Online | 188 |
| Types of Websites ^a | |
| Backpage.com | 87 |
| Craigslist.com | 32 |
| Other websites (e.g., myRedBook.com, ErosGuide.com, HotEscort.com) | 18 |
| Social media (e.g., Facebook) | 2 |
| Solicitations | |
| Street walking | 46 |
| Truck stops | 5 |
| CB radio | 2 |
| Deliver victims to locations to attract clients (e.g., bar, gaming business) | 2 |
| Gas stations | 1 |
| Hotel bars | 1 |
| Local bars | 1 |
| Strip clubs | 1 |
| Telephone party lines | 1 |
| Print Advertisements | |
| Handed out business cards | 6 |
| Newspapers, tabloids, or magazines | 6 |
| Posted fliers | 2 |
| Distributed bottle openers | 1 |
| Sexually oriented publications | 1 |
| Convenience Clients | |
| Trafficker contacted specific individuals | 5 |
| Informal advertising (word of mouth) | 2 |
| Offered sex to individuals who visited crack den | 1 |
| N/A, victim escaped before advertised | 1 |

Note. Frequencies do not add up to total number of cases because some cases used more than one advertisement method.

^aSpecific websites do not equal total number of cases advertised online because not all sources provided the websites where victims were advertised; some cases used multiple websites.

Figure 3.1. Number of Advertisement Methods by Case

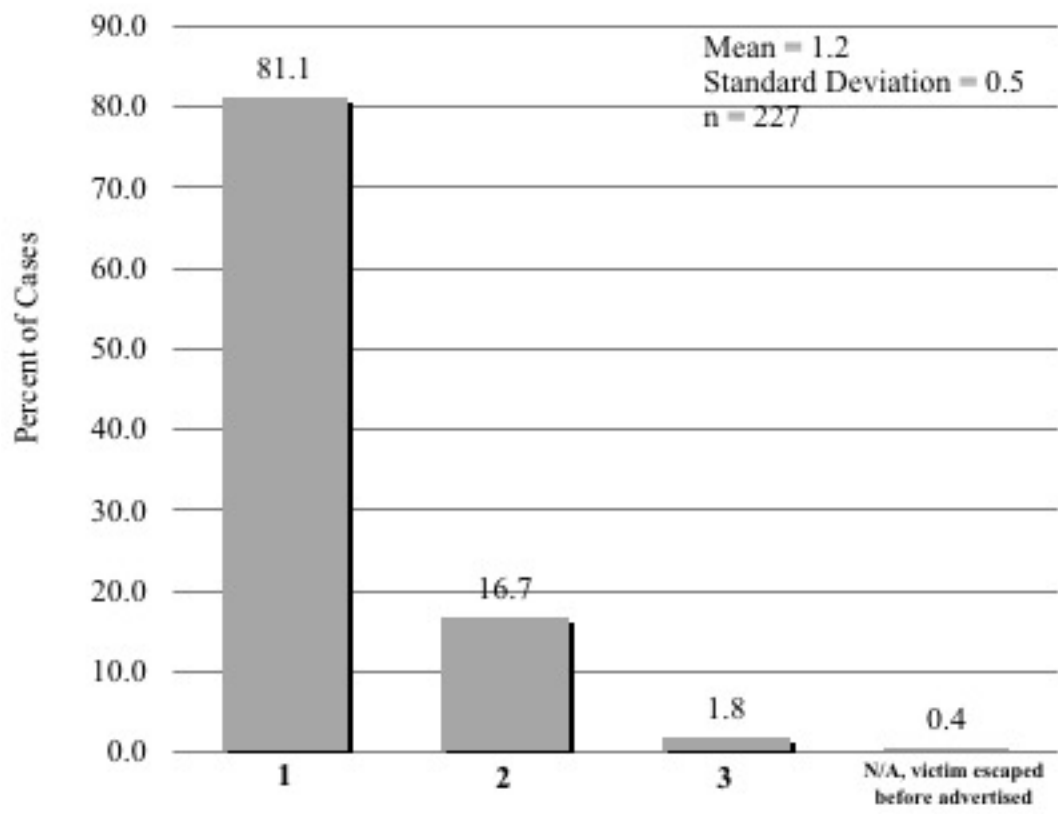


Table 3.11. Sex Trafficking Venues by Case (n = 259)

| Characteristics | Frequency |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| Hotels/Motels | 154 |
| Residential Brothel | 66 |
| Street-Level Prostitution | 51 |
| Delivery Service | 51 |
| Commercial-Front Brothel | 18 |
| Massage Parlor | 11 |
| Health Spas | 2 |
| Modeling Studios | 1 |
| Bikini Bars | 1 |
| Barbershop | 1 |
| Variety Store | 1 |
| Doughnut Shop | 1 |
| Buyers' Residence | 8 |
| Truck Stops | 7 |
| Vehicles | 6 |
| Brothel (not specified) | 4 |
| Bars/Cantinas | 3 |
| Casinos/Gaming Hotels | 2 |
| Elementary School | 1 |
| Gas Stations | 1 |
| High-Stakes Poker Games | 1 |
| Online Web Sessions | 1 |
| Pornography Photo Shoot | 1 |
| Strip Clubs | 1 |
| Tent at Festival | 1 |

Note. Frequencies do not add up to total number of cases because some cases involved more than one venue.

commercial sex could occur away from general public attention. Similar to advertisements, some traffickers used multiple venues per case. The number of venues by case is presented in Figure 3.2. Again, a majority of cases only used one venue for sex trafficking (66.8%). However, almost a quarter of cases (24.3%) used two venues to exploit victims. It was less common for traffickers to use three (6.2%), four (2.3%), or six (0.4%) venues per case.

Controlling Victims

Controlling victims is a vital part of any trafficking organization to ensure compliance. Based on the current sample, traffickers used a wide range of methods to maintain control over victims. These tactics were divided into nine subsections: (1) violence and threats of violence; (2) substance use; (3) providing for victims; (4) psychological and emotional coercion; (5) isolation and confiscating personal items; (6) intimidation; (7) punishments; (8) exploiting vulnerabilities; and the (9) use of relationships. Each of these methods is discussed in more detail below at the case level.

Violence and Threats of Violence. The most common way that traffickers controlled victims was through physical assaults (n = 135) and threats (n = 104, see Table 3.12). Physical assaults generally took the form of being punched, kicked, or choked. More serious forms of violence were separated into their own categories to include physical restraint (n = 19), assault with a weapon (n = 10), and kidnapping (n = 6). Threats came in many forms but were always intended to intimidate victims and illustrate the harm that would come to them or their families if they did not obey traffickers. The extent of these threats is outlined in Table 3.12, but the most common types beyond general threats included threatening victims' families (n = 34), threatening to kill victims (n = 31), and threatening victims with weapons (n = 31). Sexual assault was also a common tactic employed by offenders (n = 64). In some cases, victims were

Figure 3.2. Number of Venues by Case

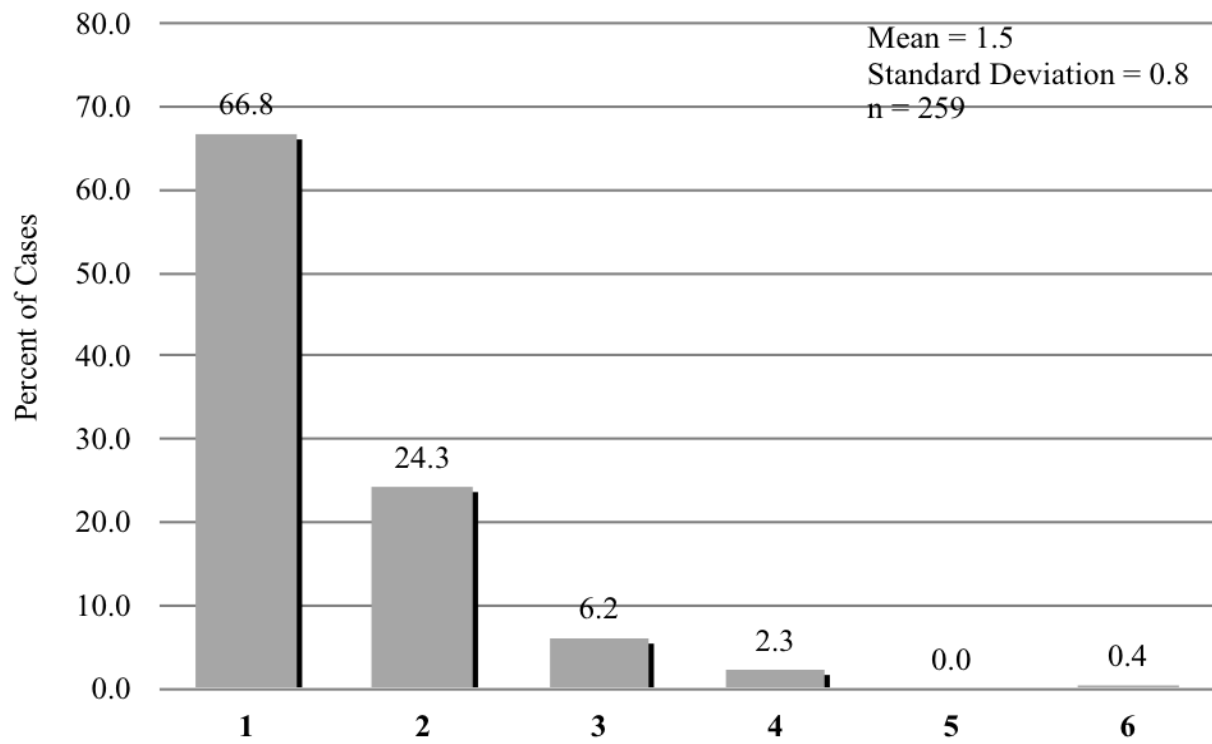


Table 3.12. Methods Used to Control Sex Trafficking Victims by Case (n = 244)

| Characteristics | Frequency |
|---|------------------|
| Assaults and Force | |
| Physical assault | 135 |
| Physical restraint (e.g., chained to pole, tied to bed, locked in building/attic) | 19 |
| Assault with weapon (e.g., razor, golf club, board with nail, iron, pepper spray) | 10 |
| Kidnapped victim | 6 |
| Threats | |
| Threatened (general) | 104 |
| Threatened victims' families | 34 |
| Death threats | 31 |
| Threatened with weapon (e.g., gun, shotgun, knife, chemical fire, acid) | 31 |
| Threatened arrest/deportation | 4 |
| Threatened to "expose" victim | 3 |
| Threatened to curse or persecute victim with rituals (e.g., voodoo) | 2 |
| Threatened with street walking | 1 |
| Tortured animal in front of victim as threat | 1 |
| Sexual violence | |
| Sexual assault | 64 |
| Impregnate victims | 4 |
| Gang rape | 2 |
| Substance use | |
| Provide drugs/alcohol | 42 |
| Provide and control drug use (e.g., induce withdrawal) | 12 |
| Forced drug use (e.g., drugging, give full syringe of heroin) | 5 |
| Provide for Victim | |
| Shelter | 40 |
| Food | 19 |
| Clothing | 13 |
| Other material goods | 4 |
| Security (e.g., offer protection for victim) | 2 |
| Psychological/Emotional Coercion | |
| Branding | 21 |
| Psychological/emotional abuse (e.g., "can't turn a ho into a housewife," have victim call trafficker "master," victim accused of "enjoying" commercial sex) | 20 |
| Isolation | |
| Isolation (general) | 14 |
| Guarded victims and movements (e.g., GPS tracking) | 12 |
| Controlled communications | 6 |
| Change appearance of victim to hide (e.g., wig) | 1 |

Table 3.12. Methods Used to Control Sex Trafficking Victims by Case (n = 244)

| Characteristics | Frequency |
|--|------------------|
| Confiscating Personal Items | |
| Confiscated documents (e.g., driver's license, passport) | 17 |
| Confiscated other personal items (e.g., cell phones, keys) | 5 |
| Take victims' clothes (e.g., when sleeping so will not run) | 3 |
| Intimidation | |
| By assaulting others in front of victims (witnessing violence) | 10 |
| By weapon carrying | 5 |
| Intimidation (general) | 3 |
| By following victim (e.g., showing up unexpectedly) | 1 |
| By gang involvement | 1 |
| By noting high-level connections with law enforcement and drug cartels | 1 |
| Physical size of trafficker | 1 |
| Punishments | |
| Control food intake/sleep schedule/showering | 16 |
| Force victim to take ice cold shower | 1 |
| Handcuffed to shower for a night | 1 |
| Make victim stand in front of air conditioner for 30 minutes | 1 |
| Pour ice on victim | 1 |
| Shave victim's head with butcher knives and clippers | 1 |
| Tie naked victim in desert | 1 |
| Exploit Vulnerabilities | |
| Financial distress and debts (e.g., target poor victims, impose debts, provide bail) | 7 |
| Disability | 7 |
| Victims did not speak English | 1 |
| Use of Relationships | |
| Child under control of a parent-trafficker | 5 |
| Promise of marriage after commercial sex | 1 |
| Victim was married to trafficker | 1 |

Note. Frequencies do not add up to total number of cases because some cases involved more than one method.

also impregnated by offenders (n = 4) or forced to suffer gang rape (n = 2).

Victims of sex trafficking experienced horrific violence at the hands of their traffickers. Perpetrators were willing to cause serious harm to maintain control over victims for their own personal profit. Additionally, some offenders used multiple forms of severe violence. In one case, Darryl Tavares and co-conspirators would kidnap victims from off of the street and threaten to kill them if they did not engage in commercial sex (Murphy, 2007). After one victim expressed that she wanted to “get out of the business,” Tavares covered her head with a plastic bag and secured it with duct tape; the victim went back to work for him after this assault. Other victims were sexually assaulted with objects, scarred with a potato peeler to the face, and kicked in the face with a Timberland™ boot for alleged disobedience of the group’s rules (Murphy, 2007; Saltzman, 2009). In another case, Juan and Bobby Moreno—brothers—abducted a 13-year-old female after she visited their crack den to buy drugs (Kapitan, 2010). Once in the home, the victim was tied to a bed and injected with drugs while the brothers repeatedly raped her. Other men who stopped by the house to buy drugs were given the option of raping her for an extra \$25 while she was still tied to the bed; at least two men took the brothers up on this offer (Kapitan, 2012). The overarching theme of these cases suggests that physical assault, threats, and sexual assault are commonly used by traffickers and, in some cases, in combination. These control methods alone illustrate the destructive and harmful nature of these crimes.

Substance Use. Substances such as drugs and alcohol were often used as a way to lure and then control victims. Traffickers would often supply victims with drugs and alcohol as a way to make contacts and maintain relationships (n = 42, see Table 3.12). Other traffickers would take a more aggressive approach and would control drug use by inducing withdrawal if the victims were engaging in any unwanted behavior (n = 12). Once victims were addicted to

drugs, the traffickers could manipulate and punish victims (e.g., for not bringing in enough money, disobedience) who became dependent on their supply. Some traffickers would also force victims to take drugs (n = 5) as a way to make victims compliant or to exert power over them. For example, Glen Dukes forcefully injected one victim with a full syringe of heroin to discipline her for alleged disobedience (Dukes v. Texas, 2016). In this context, traffickers were often able to leverage drugs and alcohol against victims by exploiting their relationship and/or addiction.

Providing for Victims. A more clandestine tactic to control victims was to provide for them. Traffickers would identify victims who were in need of basic human necessities and exploit their desperation by offering to take care of them. The most common need that victims had was for shelter (n = 40, see Table 3.12). For example, DaJuan Brown enticed women by promising that he would provide them with heroin and shelter (Owen, 2015). These victims were desperate, vulnerable targets who had few options. Other needs that traffickers addressed included food (n = 19), clothing (n = 13), other material goods (n = 4), and security (n = 2).

Psychological and Emotional Coercion. Another method that traffickers used involved psychological and emotional coercion. As one coercive method, traffickers branded victims (n = 21, see Table 3.12). Branding a victim encompasses tattooing insignia that indicates that they are the trafficker's property. Permanently marking people was common practice when slavery was legal and has continued through to the 21st century (Davis, 2006). For example, Lamont Brunson had a 17-year-old victim branded with his street name, L\$, to show his ownership over her (Vance, 2013). A victim from another case was branded with a black panther while the traffickers held a gun in her mouth (Glenn, 2013). Victims are often branded in visible locations (e.g., face, neck, chest, wrist) to remind the victim, and possibly other traffickers that are around, that they belong to someone (Sidner, 2017). This strategy is inherently coercive because it

mentally breaks victims down and serves as a constant reminder that they belong to another person.

Other coercive strategies included psychological and emotional abuse (n = 20, see Table 3.12). Traffickers used a variety of tactics to make victims feel worthless or like they did not have any meaningful life to return to if they escaped. For instance, in addition to branding his victim, Lamont Brunson also made her sign a contract stating that she would stay with him “until death do us part” (Vance, 2013). Another trafficker, Deion Lockhart, forced a victim to engage in commercial sex where men could choose between 30 minute and one-hour sessions (Chavez, 2013). Regardless of the time that they paid for, Lockhart would accuse the victim of “enjoying it” if she spent more than 15 minutes with a buyer. The insinuation by using these strategies was that the victims wanted to be with the traffickers and enjoyed selling sex. Some traffickers were more overt by calling victims “bitches” or “whores” and reminding them that no one would want to be with them after they sold sex for money. Traffickers who used these tactics were generally effective at making victims feel worthless and consigned to “the life.”

Isolation and Confiscating Personal Items. By isolating victims and taking away any resources that could help them escape, traffickers were able to keep victims from seeking help. As outlined in Table 3.12, the most common tactics were isolating victims from others (n = 14), guarding victims and their movements (n = 12), and confiscating personal documents such as passports (n = 17). When victims were allowed to speak to people outside of the enterprise, the trafficker also monitored and controlled what they were allowed to say in some cases (n = 6). Victims were also isolated if the perpetrator confiscated their personal items (e.g., phone, keys)—limiting their unsupervised contact and ability to leave. A particularly degrading method that was used was the confiscation of a victim’s clothes and shoes (n = 3). For example, Ian

Sean Gordon took a victim's clothes away and made her sleep naked to reduce the likelihood that she would run away or seek help (Hunt, 2011). Each of these tactics was implemented to make the victim feel alone and helpless.

Intimidation. When traffickers were not overtly assaulting or threatening victims, they would intimidate victims in other ways. In one case, Jason Guerra would physically assault victims in the presence of other victims as a way to frighten them (Mengers, 2016). This method, making victims witness violence, was the most common intimidation method in the current sample (n = 10, see Table 3.12). Traffickers also used other methods such as carrying weapons around victims (n = 5), showing up unexpectedly (n = 1), using their gang involvement (n = 1), noting legal and drug cartel connections (n = 1), and being physically bigger than the victim (n = 1).

Punishments. Traffickers were especially innovative when they wanted to punish victims for transgressions. To dissuade unwanted behavior, traffickers most often controlled victims' food intake, sleep schedule, or ability to shower (n = 16, see Table 3.12). For example, Mark Wesley Anderson and Jaeleesa Jaemika Smith would deprive victims of food and sleep if they did not return with enough money from selling sex (Coker, 2013). Other traffickers would force victims to take ice cold showers (n = 1), make victims stand in front of an air conditioner for 30 minutes (n = 1), shave the victim's head (n = 1), or tie a naked victim out in the desert (n = 1). The ultimate goal of any of these methods was to prove that victims should do what they are told or to face the consequences.

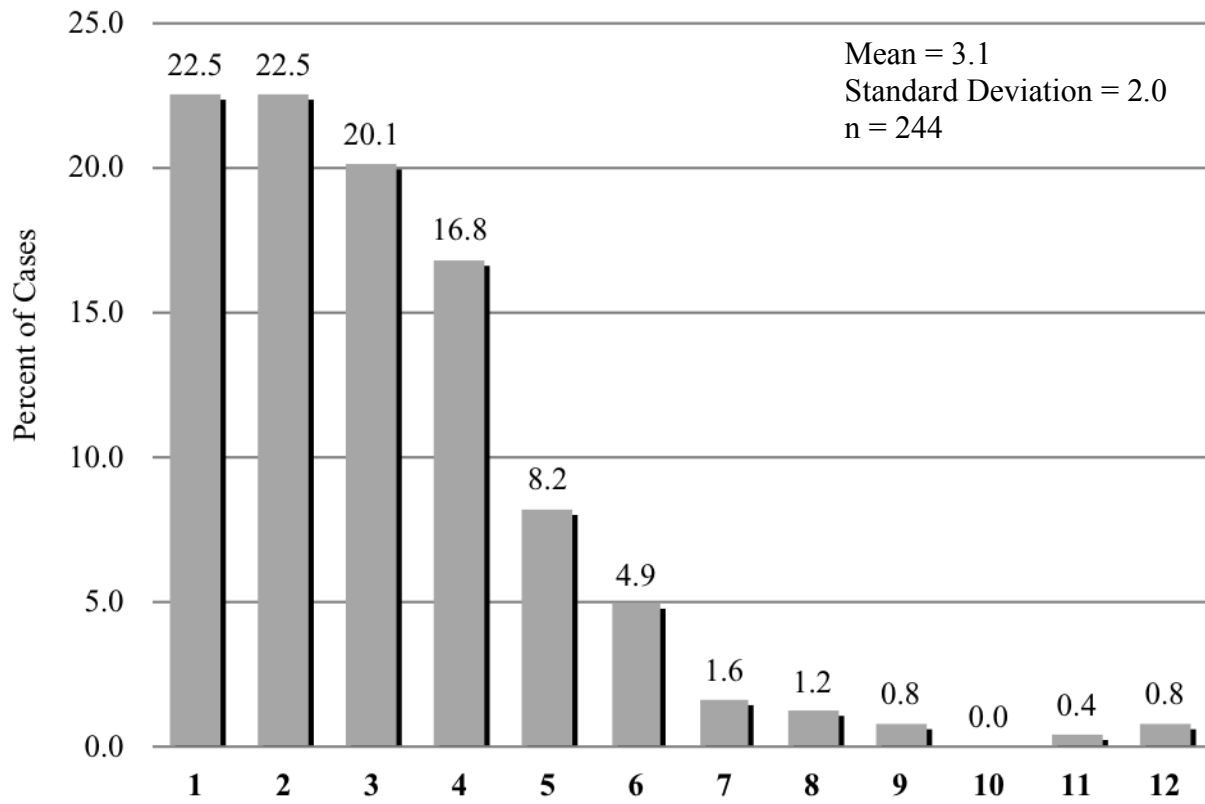
Exploiting Vulnerabilities. It is no surprise that traffickers would target vulnerable victims because they are usually more isolated and desperate. In particular, traffickers would target victims with unstable finances (n = 7, see Table 3.12). As an example, Marcus Choice

Williams and co-conspirators targeted women with troubled backgrounds and exploited the fact that they had little or no money of their own (Crawford, 2010). Due to these circumstances, the victims felt trapped and stayed with Williams even when they had an opportunity to leave. Other traffickers took advantage of victims with disabilities (n = 7) or victims who did not speak English (n = 1). In both instances, the victims were less inclined to seek help because they did not have the wherewithal or ability to communicate what was happening to them.

Use of Relationships. Lastly, some traffickers used personal relationships to keep victims under their control. As outlined in Table 3.12, the most common relationship was between a child and a caregiver (n = 5). Because some of the victims were minors under the control of a parent, the control over the victim is inherent—parents have authority over their children. Romantic relationships were used in the remaining two cases: (1) promise of a marriage after commercial sex (n = 1) and (2) the victim was married to the trafficker (n = 1). In the case of the promised marriage, Duc Luu, a naturalized U.S. citizen from Vietnam, told the victim that she had to prove her love for him if they ever hoped to be together (Chadde, 2014). Her first task was to set up a web cam and “mutilate” herself for him before she could travel from Chicago, Illinois to meet him in Dallas, Texas. Her next task was to undergo a ritual to obtain the “germs” of a thousand men; the number of “germs” she needed increased as she spent more time with Luu. The victim remained compliant on the promise that she would be married to Luu once she slept with enough men. Luu, of course, also confiscated all of the money she earned.

Because traffickers tended to use multiple methods of control, Figure 3.3 graphs the percentage of cases that used different tactics. A majority of cases used one (22.5%), two (22.5%), three (20.1%), or four (16.8%) tactics to control victims. A modest percentage of cases

Figure 3.3. Number of Control Methods by Case



also used five (8.2%) or six (4.9%) methods. Relatively few cases used seven or more methods to control victims. The use of minimal strategies could indicate that traffickers do not need to use a variety of methods to persuade victims to do what they want. As previously noted, many of the cases used violence or threats of violence to control victims. These types of control (i.e., violence, threats) might be enough to make victims compliant for a period of time.

VICTIMS AND VULNERABILITIES

The victims of sex trafficking experience a wide range of harms, but there is limited information available using a large sample of trafficking victims to determine who is likely to be targeted. Therefore, variables were coded to describe who these victims were and the factors that made them especially vulnerable to trafficking. Findings from the 739 sex trafficking victims in the current study are outlined in three parts: (1) characteristics of victims; (2) victim-offender relationship; and (3) recruiting victims. The results below are presented at the individual- and case-levels of analysis.

Characteristics of Victims

Victims of sex trafficking are exploited and controlled through the use of coercion, manipulation, and force. What is less clear, however, are the backgrounds or characteristics of victims that make them susceptible to sex trafficking. In this respect, demographics, duration of trafficking, victim vulnerabilities, and experiences while being trafficked are reviewed below.

All findings are presented at the individual level unless otherwise noted (see Table 3.14).

Demographics. All demographic findings are presented in Table 3.13. On average, trafficking victims were 16.7 years of age and had an age range from 5 to 47. Although the age of sex trafficking victims had a wide range, many victims were relatively young when they were

Table 3.13. Demographics and Characteristics of Sex Trafficking Victims

| Characteristics | Frequency/Range | Percent/Mean (SD)^a |
|---|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Mean Age (n = 374) | 5-47 | 16.7 (4.0) |
| Adult/Minor Status (n = 676) | | |
| Minors | 385 | 57.0 |
| Adults | 291 | 43.0 |
| Sex (n = 736) | | |
| Male | 0 | 0.0 |
| Female | 736 | 100.0 |
| Race/Ethnicity (n = 133) | | |
| Hispanic | 85 | 63.9 |
| Asian | 18 | 13.5 |
| White | 15 | 11.3 |
| Black | 12 | 9.0 |
| Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander | 2 | 1.5 |
| American Indian | 1 | 0.8 |
| Nationality (n = 709) | | |
| U.S. citizen | 597 | 84.2 |
| Undocumented immigrant | 99 | 14.0 |
| Foreign national—status not specified | 13 | 1.8 |
| Country of Origin (n = 709) | | |
| United States | 597 | 84.2 |
| Mexico | 66 | 9.3 |
| China | 20 | 2.8 |
| Guatemala | 13 | 1.8 |
| Honduras | 4 | 0.6 |
| Azerbaijan | 3 | 0.4 |
| Somalia | 2 | 0.3 |
| Germany | 1 | 0.1 |
| Jamaica | 1 | 0.1 |
| Russia | 1 | 0.1 |
| South Korea | 1 | 0.1 |
| Duration of Trafficking in Days ^b | | |
| Mean duration (n = 325) | 1-5,110 | 203.0 (458.2) |
| Mean duration without 5,110 days included (n = 324) | 1-2,920 | 187.9 (368.6) |

Table 3.13. Demographics and Characteristics of Sex Trafficking Victims

| Characteristics | Frequency/Range | Percent/Mean (SD)^a |
|---|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Was Victim a Runaway (n = 739) | | |
| Not specified | 630 | 85.3 |
| Yes | 109 | 14.7 |
| Was Victim Homeless (n = 739) | | |
| Not specified | 721 | 97.6 |
| Yes | 18 | 2.4 |
| Was Victim Using Substances (n = 155) | | |
| No, not using substances | 2 | 1.3 |
| Yes (not further specified) | 86 | 55.5 |
| Yes, voluntarily used but trafficker also used as control | 50 | 32.3 |
| Yes, voluntarily used substances | 12 | 7.7 |
| Yes, forced to use by trafficker | 5 | 3.2 |

Note. SD = standard deviation.

^aSome percentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding. ^bDuration of trafficking is defined as the start of actual sexual exploitation until the escape or rescue of the victim.

first exploited (median = 16, mode = 16). However, the current sample still contained quite a few adult victims (43.0%). All of the identified victims were females, and, when the information was available, more than half were noted as being Hispanic (63.9%). Victims were also noted as being Asian (13.5%), White (11.3%), Black (9.0%), Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander (1.5%), and American Indian (0.8%). Similar to the offender population, most of the victims were U.S. citizens (84.2%). Still, there were a number of undocumented immigrants (14.0%) or other foreign nationals (1.8%) who were exploited. Victims mainly originated from the United States (84.2%), Mexico (9.3%), China (2.8%), and Guatemala (1.8%).

The current sample is similar to prior research where females (e.g., Albanese et al., 2004; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017) and minors (e.g., Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011; Halter, 2010; Kotrla & Wommack, 2011) were the primary sex trafficking victims. However, prior research examining race of minor sex trafficking victims found that many victims were White or Black (see, e.g., Halter, 2010; Martin et al., 2014; Reid, 2016b). By contrast, cross-tabulations in the current sample indicated that the most common racial category for both minors and adults was Hispanic (Hispanic minors = 33; Hispanic adults = 33). Based on this finding, it is important to consider how minority status can disproportionately affect risk of sex trafficking.

Duration of Trafficking. The number of days that victims were trafficked was recorded when the information was available. The duration of trafficking was coded to represent the start of actual sexual exploitation (i.e., start of commercial sex) through when the victim escaped or was rescued. Although efforts were made to capture only the number of days that the victim was actually exploited, it is possible that some start dates could capture the recruitment process that occurred prior to exploitation (e.g., start date noted in an indictment might also capture recruitment depending on legal definitions). Relatedly, if there were discrepancies in duration of

trafficking across sources, then the more conservative number of days was coded to reduce the likelihood of inflated estimates.

On average, victims were trafficked for 203.0 days, with a range from 1 to 5,110 days (see Table 3.13). Due to the comparatively high value of 5,110 days for one minor victim, the duration was estimated again without this case. The mean of the updated duration was 187.9 days, with a range from 1 to 2,920 days. Regardless of the estimate used, the findings suggest that victims were trafficked for approximately six months before they were rescued. This estimate is similar to findings reported by Roe-Sepowitz and colleagues (2017) for minors who experienced sex trafficking.

Victim Vulnerabilities. Other factors related to potential vulnerability of victims were recorded when applicable. In particular, three risk characteristics were coded: (1) runaway status; (2) homelessness; (3) and substance use. Other variables such as foster care status, involvement in child protective services, truancy, and previous victimization are not presented due to the limited frequency of these variables in sources. An analysis of these variables would not be meaningful given the high level of missingness in the data.

The first vulnerability factor was whether the victim was explicitly noted as a runaway. Approximately one in seven victims was a runaway in the current sample (14.7%, see Table 3.13). Individuals who run away from home likely have few resources to support themselves on the street. This exposure can make it easy for traffickers to identify and recruit potential victims. For example, three minors (ages 13, 16, and 17) ran away to a transit depot, but the depot had closed for the evening (Fraley, 2012). A couple of men picked the girls up and drove them to a home in Sacramento where they met Duwan Fields and Claudiens Griffin. The victims were promised money if they wore provocative clothing, had their pictures taken, and appeared on

webcams. It was not until the victims were being driven to their first client that they realized they would be engaging in commercial sex.

The second risk indicator was whether the victim was discussed as being homeless. For similar reasons as noted above, being homeless likely means that individuals have difficulty providing for and protecting themselves. Traffickers like McKenzie Carson would carefully choose vulnerable victims at places such as homeless shelters (Meisner, 2015). Carson would use promises of lucrative modeling careers to lure unsuspecting victims and then he would use violence, fear, and humiliation to exploit them. Although less prevalent in sources, 18 victims (2.4%) were homeless when they were trafficked in the current sample (see Table 3.13).

The third variable was employed to record whether the victim used substances when they were trafficked. As previously noted, traffickers would use substances as a way to lure and then control victims. For example, Diheim Young would get women addicted to drugs and then he would exploit those addictions (Cutts, 2016). Any women who refused to solicit customers via online advertisements or street walking would be deprived of drugs so as to induce withdrawal symptoms. As outlined in Table 3.13, only 2 individuals were explicitly noted as not using substances (1.3%), and a little over half of the victims were using substances without further details (55.5%). There were 50 victims (32.3%) who voluntarily used drugs and where the trafficker controlled their drug use (e.g., induce withdrawal), 12 victims who voluntarily used substances (7.7%), and 5 victims who were forced to use drugs by the trafficker (3.2%). In essence, drugs provided offenders with a means to exploit potential victims either gradually through dependence or forcefully.

Experiences While Trafficked. Another component of trafficking includes victims' experiences during these events. Although these variables were only discussed in a limited way

in the publicly available sources, they do provide preliminary details that are not readily available in other databases. Therefore, the following variables are reviewed in more detail below: (1) whether the victims knew each other before they were trafficked; (2) whether the victim was able to visit a stylist or salon; (3) whether the victim was able to visit a doctor; (4) whether the victim ever tried to unsuccessfully escape; and (5) whether the victim was trafficked more than once.

The first variable was used to record whether the victims knew each other in a given case before they were trafficked together. This variable was coded at the case level. The purpose of including this item was to determine if certain relationships were riskier than others. For example, Willie Curry and Tammy Pollard found two minor victims after they ran away from a residence where they had been placed by a juvenile court (Fournier, 2016). In another case, Deric Willoughby and associates kidnapped, held captive, and exploited two cousins (Erb & de Boer, 2006). In the current sample, there were 21 cases (6.9%) where the victims were familiar with each other prior to being trafficked (see Table 3.14). These relationships were most often through friendships (1.7%), family relations (1.7%), or as another known person who was not specified (1.7%). Additional relationships stemmed from being in a facility together (1.3%) or being friends and relatives (0.6%).

The second and third experiences assessed whether victims were taken to a public place such as a salon or medical clinic where potential interventions could be implemented. Only 10 victims (1.4%) were noted as being able to attend salon appointments whereas only two victims (0.3%) were allowed to see a doctor (see Table 3.14). In fact, it was more often noted that victims—14 (1.9%)—were deliberately denied medical care when they needed treatment. The decision to allow salon visits and withhold medical care seemed to serve different purposes. For

Table 3.14. Experiences of Sex Trafficking Victims

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent^a |
|---|------------------|----------------------------|
| Did Victims Know Each Other Before Trafficking (n = 303 cases) | | |
| N/A, only one victim | 134 | 44.2 |
| Not specified | 148 | 48.8 |
| Yes | 21 | 6.9 |
| Friends | 5 | 1.7 |
| Relatives | 5 | 1.7 |
| Other known or likely known person (not specified) | 5 | 1.7 |
| In treatment/academy/housing facility together | 4 | 1.3 |
| Both friends and relatives | 2 | 0.6 |
| Was Victim Able to Visit a Stylist or Salon (n = 739) | | |
| Not specified | 729 | 98.6 |
| Yes | 10 | 1.4 |
| Was Victim Able to Visit a Doctor (n = 739) | | |
| Not specified | 723 | 97.8 |
| No | 14 | 1.9 |
| Yes | 2 | 0.3 |
| Did Victim Ever Try to Unsuccessfully Escape (n = 739) | | |
| Not specified | 724 | 98.0 |
| Yes | 15 | 2.0 |
| Was Victim Trafficked More Than Once (n = 739) | | |
| Not specified | 717 | 97.0 |
| Yes | 22 | 3.0 |

^aSome percentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding.

example, Marvin Pompilus provided victims with other material goods (e.g., drugs, clothes) or visits to have their hair done as a reward rather than to give them money (Roberts, 2015).

Withholding medical appointments, however, was generally done to prevent detection. In the case involving Marvin Leigh Madkins, the trafficker would not allow a victim to go to the doctor when she was sick because he was afraid that the medical staff would identify her as a victim (Madkins v. United States of America, 2014). Given the personal nature of questions during doctors' visits, traffickers have good reason to be wary of permitting victims to seek treatment (see, e.g., Horner, 2015).

The fourth variable was coded to determine whether victims had unsuccessfully tried to escape from their traffickers. Although all victims included were identified or rescued at some point, the current study attempted to establish the number of victims who were unsuccessful at trying to escape before their liberation. In total, 15 victims (2.0%) tried to leave their trafficker at some point and were caught (see Table 3.14). The violence after victims were caught was substantial. For example, one victim tried to escape but was caught, beaten, and knocked unconscious by DaJuan Brown (McQueeney, 2012). In the case of Deric Willoughby, the two cousins had also tried to escape (Erb & de Boer, 2006). However, Willoughby shoved one victim into a glass table, and he dragged the other victim by her hair to the top of the second floor and threw her down the stairs. Based on this information, it is evident that not all trafficking victims can easily leave a trafficking situation (Withers, 2016).

Finally, whether a victim was trafficked more than once was recorded. Victims were coded as being trafficked more than once if they had been trafficked, escaped for a period of time, and then were re-trafficked again. The repeat trafficking experience could be by the same or different perpetrators, but the victim had to have a period where she was physically free from

the initial trafficker. The value of this item is that it helps illuminate the experiences of victims once they get away from their traffickers. Surprisingly, 22 victims (3.0%) were trafficked more than once (see Table 3.14). Even though there were two separate victims who were known to be trafficked in two cases, this estimate only captures each of those victims once. In other words, there are no known duplicate victims to have been trafficked on multiple occasions for the 22 victims specified.

Victim-Offender Relationship

An important aspect of gaining access to victims involves the victim-offender relationship. Identifying whether traffickers knew victims prior to exploiting them provides insights into interpersonal relationships that could help facilitate these crimes. Thus, information regarding relationships between victims and offenders prior to exploitation was recorded at the individual level.

Strangers. In the current sample, over half (55.9%) of the offenders had no prior relationship with victims when they exploited them (see Table 3.15). For example, Marcus Deshawn Wright first met a 15-year-old victim at a bus stop in downtown San Antonio, Texas (Contreras, 2014). The two continued to interact while they rode the bus together, and, once he gained a bit of trust, he brought her to his co-conspirators, Malcolm Deandre Copeland and Amber Doak. In another case, Osbie Antonio Sea approached a minor in K-Mart, introduced himself, handed her a flyer, and told her to call if she wanted to make some money (Brown, 2015). After the victim ran away from home, she called Sea to come pick her up.

Known Persons. The remaining victims (44.1%) with available information had a prior relationship with their trafficker. Many of the victims in this category were involved in a romantic relationship (16.0%)—or at least thought they were. For example, David Perez lured a

Table 3.15. Relationships Between Victims and Traffickers (n = 281)

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent^a |
|---|------------------|----------------------------|
| Stranger | 157 | 55.9 |
| Other Known Person | | |
| Romantic partner | 45 | 16.0 |
| Other known person not specified | 22 | 7.8 |
| Mutual friend | 20 | 7.1 |
| Classmate | 8 | 2.8 |
| Employer | 2 | 0.7 |
| Husband | 2 | 0.7 |
| Juvenile probation officer | 2 | 0.7 |
| Neighbor | 2 | 0.7 |
| Childhood friend | 1 | 0.4 |
| Client at men's club | 1 | 0.4 |
| Client at clinic where victim worked | 1 | 0.4 |
| Cousin of a romantic partner | 1 | 0.4 |
| Drug dealer | 1 | 0.4 |
| Family friend | 1 | 0.4 |
| Parent of a classmate | 1 | 0.4 |
| Parent of a friend | 1 | 0.4 |
| Parent of a romantic partner | 1 | 0.4 |
| Trafficker introduced to new trafficker | 1 | 0.4 |
| Relative | | |
| Mother | 5 | 1.8 |
| Cousin | 3 | 1.1 |
| Sister | 2 | 0.7 |
| Aunt | 1 | 0.4 |

^aPercentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding.

woman from Mexico into the United States by promising to restart a romantic relationship; the two had previously dated (Weir, 2002). Other common relationships with the perpetrator were known but not specified (7.8%) or they knew the trafficker through a mutual friend (7.1%). Fewer victims knew the offender as a classmate (2.8%), employer (0.7%), husband (0.7%), juvenile probation officer (0.7%), or neighbor (0.7%).

Although less frequent than other relationships, traffickers were also mothers (1.8%), cousins (1.1%), sisters (0.7%), and aunts (0.4%). However, some of the most exploitive relationships occurred when the trafficker was related to the victim. For example, Antoinette Nicole Davis was \$200 in debt to Mario Andrette McNeill when he showed up at her house demanding sex or money as payment (“Mother pleads guilty in Shaniya Davis’ death,” 2013). Rather than pay McNeill or have sex with him herself, Davis gave him her 5-year-old daughter, Shaniya, so he could have sex with her as repayment for the \$200. McNeill took Shaniya, sexually assaulted her, and suffocated her to death.

It is informative that many victims knew their trafficker before they were exploited, but it is also important to recognize that over half of the victims had no prior relationship with their offender. In this respect, traffickers seem to look for vulnerable targets in everyday situations who they can manipulate and coerce into commercial sex for their own profit. Thus, the recruitment locations and methods are especially important to identify potential intervention strategies.

Recruitment of Sex Trafficking Victims

Even after victims encounter traffickers, a recruitment process occurs to get the victim to sell sex for money. This process can be divided into three phases: (1) who recruited the victims;

(2) where recruitment occurred; and (3) how victims were recruited. Each of these phases is discussed in detail below at the individual level.

Who Recruited Victims. The first phase of trafficking another person was to make contact. This role was generally filled by one of three types of people: traffickers, facilitators, or caregivers. Traffickers included the individuals who actually exploited and benefited from victims' sex acts, whereas facilitators were individuals who were instrumental in connecting a potential victim to a trafficker; the involvement of a facilitator ended once the connection was made. Caregivers could also be traffickers or they could be responsible for introducing their child to a trafficker, but they were put in their own category because of the unique nature of exploiting their own child. In the current sample, a majority of victims were recruited by traffickers (87.4%) followed by facilitators (11.6%) and caregivers (1.0%, see Table 3.16).

Where Recruitment Occurred. The next component of understanding the trafficking enterprise was to examine where the recruitment actually occurred. As outlined in Table 3.17, victims were recruited in a variety of locations including public spaces, online, private spaces, over the telephone, while engaging in other sex-related work, via relationships, a job opportunity, and through legal connections. Even though recruitment occurred across many places and situations, several locations were more prevalent than others. The most common locations used to recruit victims included public domains such as on the street (19.8%) and through social media (18.8%). A number of victims were also recruited at bus stops (8.3%) and in public spaces not further specified (6.3%). Comparatively few victims were recruited directly via their telephone (5.2%), at school (4.7%), online (not further specified; 4.7%), through a mutual friend (2.6%), by responding to a job opportunity (1.6%), or while they were soliciting customers for sex (1.0%). Again, the two victims who were recruited through juvenile

Table 3.16. Who Recruited Sex Trafficking Victims (n = 524)

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent |
|--------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Trafficker | 458 | 87.4 |
| Facilitator ^a | 61 | 11.6 |
| Caregiver | 5 | 1.0 |

^aFacilitators refer to individuals who do not directly exploit victims but were instrumental in connecting victims with traffickers.

Table 3.17. Where Did Recruitment of Sex Trafficking Victims Occur (n = 192)

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent |
|---|-----------|---------|
| Public space | | |
| On the street | 38 | 19.8 |
| Bus stop/station | 16 | 8.3 |
| Public space (not specified) | 12 | 6.3 |
| Hotel/motel | 4 | 2.1 |
| Retail shop (e.g., K-Mart, Family Dollar) | 3 | 1.6 |
| Victim's place of employment | 3 | 1.6 |
| Bar/club | 2 | 1.0 |
| Gas station | 2 | 1.0 |
| Lake | 2 | 1.0 |
| Outside of a medical facility | 2 | 1.0 |
| Outside of a veterinary clinic | 2 | 1.0 |
| Casino | 1 | 0.5 |
| Laundry mat | 1 | 0.5 |
| Neighborhood park | 1 | 0.5 |
| Outside of a homeless shelter | 1 | 0.5 |
| Parade | 1 | 0.5 |
| Online | | |
| Social media (e.g., MySpace, Facebook, Instagram) | 36 | 18.8 |
| Online (not specified) | 9 | 4.7 |
| Chat room | 1 | 0.5 |
| Over the Phone | | |
| Via victim's telephone/cellphone (not specified) | 10 | 5.2 |
| Telephone party line | 3 | 1.6 |
| Private Space | | |
| School | 9 | 4.7 |
| At trafficker's or victim's home | 6 | 3.1 |
| Other home (i.e., drug/crack dealer, mutual friend, foster) | 5 | 2.6 |
| Party | 5 | 2.6 |
| Bible study | 1 | 0.5 |
| Relationships | | |
| Through a mutual friend/relative | 5 | 2.6 |
| Friendship/relationship with trafficker | 1 | 0.5 |
| Job Opportunity | | |
| Victim inquired about a job | 3 | 1.6 |
| While Victim Engaging in Other Sex-Related Work | | |
| Strip club where victim worked | 2 | 1.0 |
| While victim was soliciting customers for commercial sex | 2 | 1.0 |
| Victim's "adult" website | 1 | 0.5 |
| Legal Connections | | |
| Juvenile probation | 2 | 1.0 |

probation were the victims of Timothy McCullough, Jr. and associates (Martinez, 2014a, 2015). McCullough was able to use his occupation as a juvenile probation officer to recruit the minors. Overall, the findings suggest that victims were especially vulnerable in public domains where they could come into contact with offenders in person or online.

How Victims Were Recruited. The final phase of recruitment included what traffickers told victims prior to getting them to engage in commercial sex. How traffickers recruited victims is important because it illustrates the beginning stages of gaining control. More specifically, the methods traffickers used to recruit victims is divided into eight subsections: (1) false promises; (2) provided for victims; (3) glamorized sex work; (4) used persuasion; (5) applied force and threats of force; (6) used drugs; (7) conducted bait and switch schemes; (8) and exploited relationships. A detailed description of these tactics is presented in Table 3.18.

False Promises. More than any other tactic, traffickers most often used false promises of a relationship (14.0%) or a job opportunity (15.3%) to recruit victims (see Table 3.18). For example, two brothers, Delfino Jimenez-Calderon and Luis Jimenez-Calderon, would romance and promise to marry minor females from Mexico if they agreed to be smuggled into the United States to earn some money until they could join them (Smothers, 2003). However, once the girls arrived in the United States and were isolated, the men's sisters would beat them and force them into prostitution. In a case involving false job promises, Maricela Uresti Martinez would convince Mexican females to cross illegally into the United States to work at a restaurant in Austin, Texas (Rozemberg, 2004). Although the victims were aware that they would have to pay a smuggling debt of approximately \$1,500, they were only later told that they would repay that through prostitution and not by working at restaurants ("Woman gets 9 years for running brothel," 2003). In either case, the manipulation was used to make the victims believe that they

Table 3.18. How Did Sex Traffickers Recruit Victims (n = 420)

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent^a |
|--|------------------|----------------------------|
| False Promises | | |
| False promise of a relationship | 59 | 14.0 |
| Job promise (not specified) | 36 | 8.6 |
| Job (e.g., model, massage, restaurant, babysitter, escort) | 28 | 6.7 |
| False promise of a better life (e.g., security, stability, money, travel) | 11 | 2.6 |
| False promise to make victim a “star” | 1 | 0.2 |
| False promise to reunite victim with family | 1 | 0.2 |
| Provide for Victims | | |
| Trafficker offered to provide for victim (e.g., shelter, clothing, food, drugs) | 50 | 11.9 |
| Offered shelter, food, family, security, drugs, and/or other material goods in exchange for money made from selling sex | 29 | 6.9 |
| Arrange smuggling in exchange for commercial sex debt repayment | 15 | 3.6 |
| Glamorize Sex Work | | |
| Make a lot of money engaging in prostitution | 33 | 7.9 |
| Hired into prostitution (not further specified) | 5 | 1.2 |
| Make money wearing provocative clothing on webcams | 3 | 0.7 |
| Persuasion | | |
| Trafficker convinced victim to sell sex for their benefit (e.g., pay for hotel, trips) | 14 | 3.3 |
| Persuaded victim (not specified) | 9 | 2.1 |
| Trafficker invited victim to hang out and then escalated into commercial sex | 4 | 1.0 |
| Trafficker taught victim how to post online advertisements for money | 1 | 0.2 |
| Force and Threats of Force | | |
| Victim taken and held captive by trafficker through threats and assault (e.g., after moving in, driving together, hanging out) | 20 | 4.8 |
| Trafficker demanded victim engage in commercial sex through threats and/or assaults | 8 | 1.9 |
| Force (not specified) | 7 | 1.7 |
| Solicited victim and then demanded she work for trafficker | 5 | 1.2 |
| Victim abducted by trafficker at gunpoint | 5 | 1.2 |
| Threatened victim’s family to force victim to engage in commercial sex | 3 | 0.7 |
| Trafficker purchased/was given victim from another trafficker | 3 | 0.7 |
| Sexually assaulted victim before demanding she engage in commercial sex | 1 | 0.2 |
| Trafficker made eye contact with victim while she was soliciting customers and then she “worked” for him (“pimp rules”) | 1 | 0.2 |
| Use of Drugs | | |
| Trafficker lured with drugs/alcohol | 27 | 6.4 |
| Trafficker got victim addicted to drugs/alcohol and then exploited her | 16 | 3.8 |
| Trafficker convinced victim to go along for a trip and then drugged her for compliance | 2 | 0.5 |

Table 3.18. How Did Sex Traffickers Recruit Victims (n = 420)

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent^a |
|---|------------------|----------------------------|
| Bait and Switch | | |
| Transported victim to new location before informing her she would engage in commercial sex | 13 | 3.1 |
| Provided for victim (e.g., clothing, shelter, food, transportation) and then informed her she had to repay cost | 3 | 0.7 |
| Trafficker invited victim to hotel and then took her shopping for outfits for sex work | 1 | 0.2 |
| Exploit Relationships | | |
| Caregiver trafficked or allowed child to be trafficked under her care | 5 | 1.2 |
| Befriended victim (not further specified) | 1 | 0.2 |

^aPercentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding.

would be getting something that they wanted (e.g., relationship, job). Other victims were fed false promises of a better life (2.6%), stardom (0.2%), or being reunited with family (0.2%).

Provide for Victims. The next most common tactic was to provide items such as food, shelter, drugs, and clothing for victims (11.9%, see Table 3.18). Other traffickers would also offer to provide for victims, but they specified that the victims had to give them money that they would have to earn from commercial sex (6.9%). In the latter method, and unlike false promises, victims were aware that they would be selling sex for money in order to have someone take care of them. For example, Akil DeCoteau met a woman at a friend's apartment and told her that he would provide food and shelter for her if she worked for him as a prostitute (U.S. Attorney's Office, 2016). The victim in this case had no place to live when she agreed to work for DeCoteau. In the cases coded, if a victim was seeking someone to provide for them, then it generally meant that they had few resources or social support systems in place to rely on.

Glamorize Sex Work. Another recruitment method that was related to providing for victims was the glamorization of sex work (see Table 3.18). Traffickers would tell victims that they could make a lot of money selling sex and could buy whatever they wanted (7.9%). The victims were aware that they would be selling sex but they would do so to earn the money and keep it for their own profit. Unfortunately, the image of a glamorous life engaging in prostitution was never realized. In the case of Taurean Jackson and Andrea Birdow, the pair recruited a 16-year-old female after showing her a video that they recorded depicting the glamorous life of prostitution (U.S. Attorney's Office, 2015a). In the video, Jackson and Birdow were shown in hotel rooms, riding in a limousine, drinking champagne, and eating a plate full of nachos; it was enough to convince the minor that prostitution could be lucrative. Once the victim started engaging in commercial sex, however, she was threatened, physically assaulted

with an extension cord, and forced to witness violence against Birdow. The victim also had to turn over all or most of the money she earned selling sex. At least in the cases coded for the current study, the glamorous life of prostitution was not readily apparent.

Persuasion. Using a less overt tactic, some traffickers would convince victims that engaging in prostitution would benefit both of them (3.3%, see Table 3.18). The ability to persuade victims to engage in commercial sex can make it seem like their idea and make them more willing participants—at least initially. For example, Stephen Ardrey met a 17-year-old girl online and started having sexual conversations with her (Schworm, 2014). As the relationship intensified, Ardrey began telling the victim that he had escorts who worked for him and that if she made enough money selling sex, then the two of them could run away together. The teen accepted Ardrey’s proposition. Other victims were persuaded generally (2.1%), were gradually groomed (1.0%), or followed the trafficker’s instruction on how to post ads for money (0.2%).

Force and Threats of Force. For some traffickers, brutal force or threats of force were preferred to recruit victims. The most common type of force was taking and keeping a victim captive through threats and/or assaults (4.8%, see Table 3.18). For example, Ricky Wallace, Kemont Bowie, and Raechyl Spooner worked together to exploit at least two females that they recruited on separate occasions from bus stations (Rosen, 2015; U.S. Attorney’s Office, 2015b). One woman accepted an offer for a ride to Cambridge, Massachusetts while she was waiting at a bus station. The other female, a minor, followed Wallace into a car that was being driven by Bowie after he took something from her at a bus station. Once the females got into the car with the traffickers, they were assaulted and forced to sell sex for money. Traffickers in the current sample also made demands that victims engaged in commercial sex (1.9%), solicited victims who were selling sex and then forced them to work for them (1.2%), abducted victims at

gunpoint (1.2%), threatened victims' families if they did not cooperate (0.7%), and purchased a victim from another trafficker (0.7%). Similar to previous discussions above, the use of violence and threats of violence were pervasive across trafficking cases—even at the recruitment phase.

Use of Drugs. As previously reviewed, drugs and alcohol were used to control victims and to recruit them. Some traffickers would act as the provider of substances (6.4%) to become closer to victims (see Table 3.18). Beyond providing drugs and alcohol, traffickers would also get victims addicted to substances and dependent on their supply (3.8%). For example, Keith Williams and accomplices would target vulnerable women who were poor and/or homeless to live with him (Doyle, 2013a). Once the victims moved in, Williams would serve the women heroin and crack cocaine up to two times a day to keep them addicted to drugs; he would give them a third serving if he was in a good mood. When Williams was not in a good mood, however, he would severely beat the women or handcuff them in a room for days while depriving them of food and drugs to make them sick. For at least two victims (0.5%), traffickers would force them to use drugs to increase compliance during recruitment.

Bait and Switch. Traffickers also used bait-and-switch schemes against victims. As outlined in Table 3.18, traffickers would have a victim travel to a new location—isolating her—and then inform her that she must engage in commercial sex (3.1%). For example, Melvin Parker, Jr. paid for a minor to travel from Washington to California after meeting her online (U.S. Attorney's Office, 2007). Once the victim arrived in California, Parker told her that she must work for him as a prostitute or he would hurt her family. Traffickers would also provide for victims and then tell them that they had to repay the debt (0.7%), and at least one trafficker invited a victim to a hotel before taking her shopping for sex work clothes so he could exploit her (0.2%).

Exploit Relationships. The final recruitment method was to exploit relationships. Most of the offenders who exploited relationships were caregivers (1.2%, see Table 3.18). Antoinette Nicole Davis—the mother who traded her 5-year-old daughter for a \$200 debt—is an example of a caregiver exploiting her relationship with her child (“Mother pleads guilty in Shaniya Davis’ death,” 2013). Caregivers exert control over their children, which makes recruitment little more than a child doing as they are told. In one other case (0.2%), a trafficker befriended a victim to exploit her but no other details were specified.

DISCOVERY, LEGAL SANCTIONS, AND OUTCOMES

Given that the sex trafficking cases in the current sample were detected by law enforcement, the next phase in describing the nature of these events is to examine how crimes are detected and the outcomes after offenders are caught. Thus, the following section is divided into four components: (1) police discovery; (2) case outcomes; (3) sentencing of sex traffickers; and (4) status of sex trafficking victims. The details below are presented at the individual- and case-levels of analysis.

Police Discovery

The discovery of a sex trafficking incident occurred in a variety of ways, but cases can be divided into two categories: proactive and reactive discoveries. Only a little over a quarter of the cases (27.1%) were unspecified discoveries (see Table 3.19). Proactive and reactive identification methods are outlined in more detail below at the case level.

Proactive Discoveries. Proactive discoveries encompassed tactics that the police used to search out traffickers and potential victims. In other words, the police were actively trying to identify victims or used other investigative skills to uncover a trafficking event even when it was

Table 3.19. Police Discovery of Sex Trafficking by Case (n = 303)

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent^a |
|---|------------------|----------------------------|
| Proactive Discoveries | | |
| Set up a sting/undercover officer | 37 | 12.2 |
| During a different police investigation for another crime or public disruption | 17 | 5.6 |
| Traffic stop | 9 | 3.0 |
| Suspicious activity observed by police | 5 | 1.7 |
| Police searched and found for reported missing person | 4 | 1.3 |
| Police made contact with victim and subsequently identified trafficker | 2 | 0.7 |
| Police investigated a minor walking alone on the street | 2 | 0.7 |
| Border patrol inquiry | 1 | 0.3 |
| Offender admitted offense during interview with police (not further specified) | 1 | 0.3 |
| Police noticed a young individual in an area known for prostitution | 1 | 0.3 |
| Reactive Discoveries | | |
| Victim(s) asked for help | 54 | 17.8 |
| Received a tip from victim's family member | 23 | 7.6 |
| Received a tip (not further specified) | 17 | 5.6 |
| Identified after arrested victim | 9 | 3.0 |
| Received a tip from victim's school | 5 | 1.7 |
| Received a tip from the National Human Trafficking Hotline | 4 | 1.3 |
| Received a tip from neighbor | 4 | 1.3 |
| Received a tip from hotel worker | 4 | 1.3 |
| Received a tip from the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children | 3 | 1.0 |
| Received an anonymous tip | 2 | 0.7 |
| Received a tip from victim's friend or family friend | 2 | 0.7 |
| An individual flagged down a police cruiser | 1 | 0.3 |
| Confidential informant | 1 | 0.3 |
| Homeless man flagged down passing police officer | 1 | 0.3 |
| Law student doing research tweeted suspicious ad to police | 1 | 0.3 |
| Police continuously arrested the same females so they went after the trafficker | 1 | 0.3 |
| Police received a prostitution complaint from a truck driver | 1 | 0.3 |
| Prior victim provided tip about new trafficking location | 1 | 0.3 |
| Received a tip from cashier at truck stop | 1 | 0.3 |
| Received a tip from the Department of Child Services | 1 | 0.3 |
| Received a tip from hospital staff | 1 | 0.3 |
| Received an identified tip (not further specified) | 1 | 0.3 |
| Reported concern from community | 1 | 0.3 |
| Trafficker unwittingly handed out business card to an informant | 1 | 0.3 |
| Witness to sexual proposition reported incident | 1 | 0.3 |
| Youth advocacy group reported suspicious advertisements | 1 | 0.3 |
| Unspecified Discoveries | 82 | 27.1 |

^aPercentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding.

not originally suspected to be one. The most common proactive discovery occurred during a sting organized by undercover police officers when a potential victim was identified (12.2%, see Table 3.19). For example, Elizabeth Roeder and Shannon Hathaway were arrested after an undercover police officer responded to a prostitution advertisement (Doyle, 2013b). Roeder had brought the girlfriend of her teenage son, a 17-year-old female, with her and made her sell sex for money. Another proactive tactic was when trafficking was uncovered during the investigation of another crime or public disruption (5.6%). In one case, police arrested Marshaun Spencer Jourdan on human trafficking charges after being called to a motel regarding a fight in the area (Daily Journal Staff Report, 2012). Jourdan became violent with a female after he accused her of not being loyal to him; he beat her, grabbed her by the throat, and robbed her. After identifying and talking with the woman, the police were able to determine that she had been brought to California by Jourdan to engage in prostitution for his benefit. Other common types of discoveries transpired during traffic stops (3.0%), inquiries of suspicious activity (1.7%), or while searching for a missing person (1.3%).

Reactive Discoveries. For reactive discoveries, police generally responded to reported trafficking incidents or learned of the events after arresting a victim for a crime. However, many reactive discoveries were made because the victims asked for help (17.8%, see Table 3.19). For example, the victim of Antoine Vernon Mouton reached out to police after she was punched and kicked on her way to school (Chronicle Staff Report, 2006). The victim had run away from Mouton in Las Vegas, Nevada after she was arrested for engaging prostitution. Once he located her, the assault was used to punish her for leaving him. A number of cases were identified because police received a tip from a victim's family member (7.6%) or from some other source that was not specified (5.6%). In some cases, the victim was only identified after police arrested

her (3.0%). For instance, the police arrested two women after arranging to buy sex in a police sting (Melvin, 2013). Although police believed both women were initially selling sex on a voluntary basis, one of the women turned out to be a victim. The woman revealed that she had been living in fear of her trafficker—Angela Gospel—after she was beaten the prior year. Additional trafficking cases were discovered based on tips from different sources including: a victim’s school (1.7%), the National Human Trafficking Hotline (1.3%), a neighbor (1.3%), a hotel worker (1.3%), and the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (1.0%). Less frequently, tips came from sources such as an anonymous informant (0.7%), a victim’s friend (0.7%), truck stop staff (0.3%), hospital staff (0.3%), or a witness to a sexual proposition (0.3%).

Case Outcomes

To be included in the current sample, offenders had to be arrested, convicted, or sentenced for a trafficking-related offense. As previously noted, however, trafficking-specific charges did not have to be present if a minor was engaging in commercial sex because the federal TVPA considers all minors who sell sex for profit to be victims of trafficking. Therefore, all outcomes for offenders were recorded if they had explicit trafficking-related offenses or definitional offenses based on the TVPA. The section below provides more details on the following subsections: (1) final outcomes; (2) prosecution level; (3) charges and bail/bond; and (4) convictions. All results are presented at the individual level unless otherwise noted as being at the case level.

Final Outcomes. Information on the final court outcome for each offender was recorded when discussed in the publicly available information. As outlined in Table 3.20, a majority of offenders were sentenced for their crimes (69.5%). Fewer offenders were only charged or indicted (19.2%), only convicted (6.1%), or had all charges dropped or dismissed (5.1%). The

Table 3.20. Case Outcomes for Sex Traffickers

| Characteristics | Frequency/Range | Percent/Mean (SD) ^a |
|---|------------------|--------------------------------|
| Outcome (n = 639) | | |
| Charged/Indicted | 123 | 19.2 |
| Convicted | 39 | 6.1 |
| Sentenced | 444 | 69.5 |
| Charges dropped/dismissed | 33 | 5.1 |
| Prosecution Level (n = 303 cases) | | |
| State | 146 | 48.2 |
| Federal | 149 | 49.2 |
| State and Federal | 8 | 2.6 |
| Mean Number of Charges (n = 530) | 1-13 | 3.0 (2.1) |
| Types of Trafficking Charges (n = 568) ^b | | |
| No trafficking-related charges | 85 | 15.0 |
| Sex trafficking | 362 | 63.7 |
| Labor trafficking | 3 | 0.5 |
| Human trafficking (general) | 104 | 18.3 |
| Sex and labor trafficking | 10 | 1.8 |
| Sex and human trafficking | 4 | 0.7 |
| Was Bail/Bond Offered (n = 267) | | |
| Not yet arrested | 6 | 2.2 |
| No | 83 | 31.1 |
| Yes | 178 | 66.7 |
| Mean bail/bond amount (n = 167) | \$0-\$12,000,000 | \$632,120 (\$1,512,726) |
| Mean without \$10 million+ bond included (n = 165) | \$0-\$8,500,000 | \$506,449 (\$988,571) |
| Number of Convictions (n = 618) | | |
| Convicted | 461 | 74.6 |
| Mean convictions | 1-9 | 1.8 (1.3) |
| All charges dropped | 33 | 5.3 |
| Not yet convicted | 124 | 20.1 |

Table 3.20. Case Outcomes for Sex Traffickers

| Characteristics | Frequency/Range | Percent/Mean (SD) ^a |
|---|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| Types of Trafficking Convictions (n = 625) ^b | | |
| No trafficking-related convictions | 127 | 20.3 |
| Sex trafficking | 276 | 44.2 |
| Labor trafficking | 5 | 0.8 |
| Human trafficking (general) | 49 | 7.8 |
| Sex and labor trafficking | 4 | 0.6 |
| Sex and human trafficking | 6 | 1.0 |
| Labor and human trafficking | 1 | 0.2 |
| All charges dropped | 33 | 5.3 |
| Not yet convicted | 124 | 19.8 |

Note. SD = standard deviation.

^aSome percentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding. ^bDiscrepancy in sample size—sometimes the type of trafficking charge or conviction is known when the number of charges or convictions is not.

cases where an offender had all charges dropped or dismissed were generally lacking evidence for convictions. For example, Randy L. Stevens was originally accused of kidnapping and robbing a woman before trying to force her into prostitution (Pulkkinen, 2013). However, the prosecution was not able to prove that Stevens was ever part of the offense and later realized that the detective misidentified him as a suspect (Pulkkinen, 2015). For damages caused, Stevens settled with the city for \$35,000. Charges against other traffickers were dismissed without any clear reason. In one case, Monique Brackett was originally arrested with two other defendants on trafficking-related charges, but then she had her charge dismissed without further details (Martinez, 2014b). Although some cases had not progressed far enough or did not have available information to record final outcome details, a sizable number of offenders were punished in the criminal justice system. Information on sentencing is discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

Prosecution Level. Another outcome-related variable that was coded included the level of prosecution. This variable was coded at the case level. While sex trafficking prosecutions tend to carry hefty sentences regardless of the level, federal authorities generally have more resources available to investigate trafficking offenses (Clawson, Dutch, Lopez, & Tiapula, 2008; Farrell et al., 2014). Still, the prosecution of sex trafficking cases was evenly divided at the state (48.2%) and federal (49.2%) levels (see Table 3.20). There were only eight cases where sources noted offenders had to face both state and federal charges (2.6%). These findings suggest that law enforcement is attempting to tackle this crime using local and national resources as applicable.

Charges and Bail/Bond. Traffickers were charged with a number of crimes and these offenses were recorded. On average, offenders were charged with 3.0 offenses and had a range

from 1 to 13 (see Table 3.20). Many of these offenders were charged with sex-related trafficking crimes (63.7%). Other trafficking charges included human trafficking (18.3%), sex and labor trafficking (1.8%), sex and human trafficking (0.7%), and labor trafficking (0.5%). Relatively few offenders were not charged with any trafficking crime (15.0%). These offenders were included for one of two reasons. First, if there were multiple offenders that were part of the same case, then any offender who was charged with a trafficking-related crime for the case made the case appropriate for inclusion. For example, Allen E. Brown, Jr. and associates were arrested for running a human trafficking and prostitution ring in Jersey City, New Jersey (Office of the Attorney General, 2009). Only three of the eight traffickers were specifically charged with human trafficking offenses. The remaining offenders in the case were charged with crimes such as racketeering, promoting prostitution, conspiracy, and money laundering. Considering that not all offenders who worked together were charged with the same crimes, this process provided a greater understanding of the extended criminal enterprise and the types of charges used for exploitive behavior. Second, and as previously noted, if the victim was a minor engaging in commercial sex, then the case was classified as trafficking under the federal TVPA regardless of the charge type. Although some charges were not directly related to sex trafficking, the current sample illustrates that many offenders are, in fact, arrested and charged with trafficking offenses.

After offenders turned themselves in to law enforcement officials or were arrested, they were sometimes offered bail or bond to secure their release. When noted in sources, 178 offenders (66.7%) were given the opportunity to post bail or bond (see Table 3.20). There were 83 offenders (31.1%) who were explicitly denied bail and another six offenders (2.2%) who were still fugitives. Of those who were given the opportunity to post bail or bond, there were detailed amounts provided for 167 offenders. On average, traffickers were given bail or bond in the

amount of \$632,120. The amount of bail ranged from \$0 (released on own recognizance) to \$12,000,000. Due to the high amounts (over \$10,000,000) given to two traffickers, the estimate was recalculated without these two offenders for comparison. Once the two bond amounts were removed, the adjusted mean was \$506,449, with a range from \$0 to \$8,500,000. Overall, bail or bond was quite high for sex traffickers when this information was noted.

Convictions. A majority of traffickers (74.6%) were convicted for their crimes in the current sample (see Table 3.20). The mean number of convictions was 1.8, with a range from 1 to 9. Compared to the average number of charges, traffickers were not convicted of as many offenses. The trafficking-related convictions were also more distributed than the original charges. Many offenders were still convicted of sex trafficking (44.2%) but at a lower percentage (see Table 3.20). Slightly more offenders were also convicted of non-trafficking related crimes (20.3%). The increase in non-trafficking crimes was, in part, due to plea agreements that resulted in reduced offenses. For example, Jevante McCray and Isiah Martin were charged with promoting the commercial sexual abuse of a minor and human trafficking (Green, 2012). However, McCray and Martin were allowed to plead guilty to the reduced charge of promoting prostitution (Hefley, 2013). Other convictions included human trafficking (7.8%), sex and human trafficking (1.0%), labor trafficking (0.8%), sex and labor trafficking (0.6%), and labor and human trafficking (0.2%).

Because trafficking includes a range of other offenses, these crimes violate a variety of laws that use diverse convictions. This results in a variety of outcomes for offenders and a number of trafficking and non-trafficking-related convictions. Given the wide range of convictions, examples from the current sample are provided in Table 3.21. In particular, offenders were convicted of trafficking offenses such as aggravated trafficking in persons,

Table 3.21. Example Sex Trafficking Convictions

Examples of Trafficking-Related Convictions

| | |
|---|--|
| Aggravated trafficking in persons | Human trafficking |
| Attempted trafficking in persons | Involuntary servitude |
| Conspiracy to commit sex trafficking/forced labor | Peonage |
| Child sexual exploitation | Sex trafficking by force, fraud, or coercion |
| Document servitude | Sex trafficking of a minor |
| Forced labor | Violations of the Mann Act |

Other Examples of Non-Trafficking-Related Convictions

| | |
|--|--|
| Aiding and abetting the commission of statutory rape | Deriving financial support from prostitution |
| Aggravated kidnapping | Employing unauthorized aliens |
| Aggravated sexual assault | Enticement of a child under 16 |
| Assault | Harboring illegal aliens |
| Attempted weapon possession | Identity theft |
| Battery | Mail fraud |
| Bringing in illegal aliens for financial gain | Money laundering |
| Child neglect | Obstruction of justice |
| Conspiracy to commit pimping | Promoting prostitution |
| Conspiracy to distribute heroin and crack cocaine | Racketeering |
| Conspiracy to harbor aliens | Sexual exploitation of children |
| Criminal confinement | Wire fraud |

conspiracy to commit sex trafficking, child sexual exploitation, forced labor, human trafficking, involuntary servitude, and sex trafficking of a minor. Non-trafficking-related convictions included offenses such as aggravated kidnapping, assault, battery, child neglect, conspiracy to harbor aliens, employing authorized aliens, mail fraud, obstruction of justice, and racketeering. The volume of offenses that traffickers engaged in illustrates the complex nature of these crimes.

Sentencing of Sex Traffickers

Once convicted, many traffickers were sentenced for their crimes. To capture fully the sentencing outcomes of offenders, three variables were coded. The first variable was the time sentenced for each offender in years. The second item captured whether traffickers were ordered to pay victims restitution and the amount. Finally, the third indicator was used to indicate whether an offender expressed remorse for their crimes. Each variable is discussed in more detail below at the individual level.

Sentencing. There was available sentencing information for 633 offenders. However, some offenders were given sentencing ranges that required minimum and maximum calculations. As outlined in Table 3.22, the mean minimum sentencing was 13.3 years, with a range from 0 to 287 years. Some offenders were given 0 years in prison if they were only given probation. There were 14 offenders in the minimum calculations who were also given life sentences. The mean maximum sentencing estimate was 12.5 years, with a range from 0 to 96. However, 22 offenders were given a life sentence in the maximum category—eight more than in the minimum category. Other offenders were given suspended or deferred sentences (0.2%), sentenced to time served (2.8%), or had all charges dropped (5.2%). The contribution of these findings is that many offenders who were sentenced were incarcerated and that term was substantial—approximately 12 or 13 years in prison.

Table 3.22. Sentencing of Sex Traffickers

| Characteristics | Frequency/Range | Percent/Mean (SD)^a |
|--|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Sentencing (n = 633) ^a | | |
| Minimums | | |
| Mean minimum sentencing in years (n = 407) | 0-287 | 13.3 (19.8) |
| Life in prison | 14 | 2.2 |
| Maximums | | |
| Mean maximum sentencing in years (n = 399) | 0-96 | 12.5 (11.9) |
| Life in prison | 22 | 3.5 |
| Suspended/Deferred sentence | 1 | 0.2 |
| Time served | 18 | 2.8 |
| All charges dropped | 33 | 5.2 |
| Not yet sentenced | 160 | 25.3 |
| Restitution (n = 278) | | |
| No | 22 | 7.9 |
| Yes | 63 | 22.7 |
| Mean victim restitution (n = 61) | \$512-\$3,000,000 | \$190,355 (\$450,295) |
| All charges dropped | 33 | 11.9 |
| Trial not progressed yet | 160 | 57.6 |
| Did Offender Express Remorse (n = 232) | | |
| No | 14 | 6.1 |
| Yes | 25 | 10.8 |
| All charges dropped | 33 | 14.2 |
| Trial not progressed yet | 160 | 69.0 |

^aSome offenders were given sentencing ranges; both minimums and maximums are calculated based on lower and upper ranges when applicable.

Restitution. Although limited, sources did provide some details on whether traffickers were forced to pay restitution to victims and the amount (see Table 3.22). In the current sample and when available, 22.7% of offenders were mandated to pay restitution. The mean restitution amount was \$190,355 and ranged from \$512 to \$3,000,000. Only 7.9% traffickers were explicitly noted as not having to pay restitution. In cases when restitution was required, the price varied but could be a considerable cost for traffickers.

Remorse. Offender remorse was also recorded to determine whether offenders expressed regret for their crimes. When present in sources, 25 offenders (10.8%) were explicitly noted as being sorry for exploiting their victims. For example, Gregory Gollett Hodge, Jr. apologized to his victim when he made his statement to the court (Duvall, 2016). Although Hodge also discussed the mitigating circumstances that resulted in his “career” choice, he ultimately apologized for his behavior when he was sentenced to more than 13 years in prison. Of course, other offenders made a point to maintain their innocence (6.1%). In one case, Jerome Todd said he maintained that he was “not guilty of sex trafficking” and that all of the witnesses against him “lied” (Shukovsky, 2008). He further argued that he was a scapegoat and requested the minimum sentence. The judge, however, felt differently and sentenced Todd to 26 years in prison along with a mandated \$68,500 in restitution awarded to three victims. The limited information on offender remorse in publicly available sources reduces generalizability, but the preliminary results suggest that some offenders do express guilt in court.

Status of Sex Trafficking Victims

The final details gathered on case outcomes were used to assess the status of victims at the time of the published reports. Based on the available information, victims of sex trafficking

were most often receiving support from social service agencies (23.2%) or were returned to their families (21.4%, see Table 3.23). Other common outcomes included placing victims at a safe house (14.3%) or holding victims in protective custody (12.5%). It is also important to note that some victims experienced positive outcomes after their exploitation. Within this category, six victims (5.4%) were completing educational programs, two victims (1.8%) moved to better environmental conditions, one victim (0.9%) was off drugs and employed, and one victim (0.9%) returned to her home country (0.9%). Known adverse outcomes were also present for five victims; three victims (2.7%) were still in the process of applying for a U.S. visa, two victims had died (1.8%), and one victim (0.9%) ran away again after she was rescued. Although the type of outcome varied, a majority of victims received services or were placed in a secure facility. Still, some victims were also kept in police custody, which has been criticized by scholars as a risk factor for trafficking when youths run away from these settings (Hammond & McGlone, 2014).

SUPPLEMENTAL ANALYSES

The purpose of this chapter was to provide a detailed overview of sex trafficking cases. However, it is also important to explore variations in the data. Two types of supplemental analyses were estimated: (1) a comparison between adult and minor victims and (2) a comparison between male and female traffickers. A lot of findings were similar across the respective groups, but the significant findings are discussed below at the individual level.

Adult and Minor Victims

Due to the large sample sizes for adult and minor victims, supplemental analyses were estimated to examine differences between the two groups and key variables of interest. Table

Table 3.23. Status of Sex Trafficking Victims (n = 112)

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent |
|---|------------------|----------------|
| Services and Treatment | | |
| Receiving services/support from social service agencies | 26 | 23.2 |
| Treatment center | 4 | 3.6 |
| Placement | | |
| Returned to family | 24 | 21.4 |
| Safe house | 16 | 14.3 |
| Foster care | 4 | 3.6 |
| Child protective services | 3 | 2.7 |
| Group home | 3 | 2.7 |
| Legal Interventions | | |
| In police/protective custody | 14 | 12.5 |
| Juvenile detention facility | 1 | 0.9 |
| Granted continued presence in United States | 1 | 0.9 |
| Positive Outcomes | | |
| About to complete education program | 6 | 5.4 |
| Moved to a different state to better environmental conditions | 2 | 1.8 |
| Off drugs and employed | 1 | 0.9 |
| Returned to home country | 1 | 0.9 |
| Adverse Outcomes | | |
| Uncertain legal status—in process of applying for U.S. visa | 3 | 2.7 |
| Deceased | 2 | 1.8 |
| Missing—ran away | 1 | 0.9 |

3.24 presents an overview of the findings for two analyses. First, and as would be expected, an independent samples t-test comparing the two groups indicated that there was a significant difference in age for adult victims ($\bar{x} = 22.3$, $SD = 5.8$) and minor victims ($\bar{x} = 15.3$, $SD = 1.5$), $t(74.4) = 10.2$, $p < .001$. Although adult victims were significantly older than minor victims, the substantive difference, on average, was only seven years. Of course, given the potential upper limit of the adult age category, adult victims had a wider age range that increased their overall mean. The point-biserial correlation between age and adult/minor status (adult = 0, minor = 1) also suggests that this relationship is moderate to strong ($r_{pb} = -.69$, $p < .001$).

Second, the duration of sex trafficking was examined for each group. Using an independent samples t-test, the duration of trafficking was not statistically different for adult ($\bar{x} = 272.7$, $SD = 437.1$) and minor ($\bar{x} = 175.1$, $SD = 465.5$) victims, $t(322) = 1.7$, $p > .05$. However, the juvenile-victims category included one case with 5,110. When this outlier case was removed, there was a significant difference in how long adult ($\bar{x} = 272.7$, $SD = 437.1$) and minor ($\bar{x} = 153.5$, $SD = 332.2$) victims were trafficked, $t(139.1) = 2.4$, $p < .05$. The adjusted mean for minor victims was similar to prior literature examining domestic minor sex trafficking (see, e.g., Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2017). The one case with 5,110 days was relatively high compared to experiences for other minor victims. Once that case was removed, minors were trafficked for significantly fewer days compared to adults. Based on a point-biserial correlation, the relationship between duration and adult/minor status is modest ($r_{pb} = -.15$, $p < .01$).

Male and Female Traffickers

The second supplemental analysis examined male and female sex traffickers on two key variables. The findings from these select analyses are presented in Table 3.25. First, an independent samples t-test was calculated to determine if there were significant differences in

Table 3.24. Selected Supplemental Analyses by Adult and Minor Victim Status

| Characteristic | Adult | | | Minor | | | t-test |
|---|--------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|
| | n | Mean | SD | n | Mean | SD | |
| Age (n = 374) | 73 | 22.3 | 5.8 | 301 | 15.3 | 1.5 | 10.2** |
| Duration of Trafficking (n = 324) | 94 | 272.7 | 437.1 | 230 | 175.1 | 465.5 | 1.7 |
| Duration of Trafficking without 5,110 days included (n = 323) | 94 | 272.7 | 437.1 | 229 | 153.5 | 332.2 | 2.4* |

Note. SD = standard deviation.

*p < .05; **p < .001

Table 3.25. Selected Supplemental Analyses by Male and Female Offender Status

| Characteristic | Male | | | Female | | | t-test |
|--|-------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|
| | n | Mean | SD | n | Mean | SD | |
| Age (n = 593) | 462 | 31.0 | 9.0 | 131 | 30.9 | 9.9 | 0.2 |
| Age comparing females only engaging in prostitution to all males (n = 501) | 462 | 31.0 | 9.0 | 39 | 26.6 | 8.0 | 2.9** |
| Prison Minimum Sentence in Years (n = 407) | 333 | 14.4 | 21.2 | 74 | 8.5 | 10.0 | 2.3* |
| Prison Maximum Sentence in Years (n = 399) | 325 | 13.4 | 12.1 | 74 | 8.7 | 10.0 | 3.1** |

Note. SD = standard deviation.

*p < .05; **p < .01

ages between male and female traffickers. The mean age for males ($\bar{x} = 31.0$, $SD = 9.0$) and females ($\bar{x} = 30.9$, $SD = 9.9$) was not significantly different, $t(591) = 0.2$, $p > .05$. As a follow-up analysis, the age of male traffickers was compared to female traffickers who were noted as engaging in prostitution. In this updated estimation, males ($\bar{x} = 31.0$, $SD = 9.0$) were significantly older than females who engaged in prostitution ($\bar{x} = 26.6$, $SD = 8.0$), $t(499) = 2.9$, $p < .01$. The point-biserial correlation indicated a modest relationship between the two variables ($r_{pb} = -.13$, $p < .01$; male = 0, female = 1).

Second, the prison minimums and maximums for male and female traffickers were reviewed. An independent samples t-test found that minimum prison sentences were significantly longer for males ($\bar{x} = 14.4$, $SD = 21.2$) compared to females ($\bar{x} = 8.5$, $SD = 10.0$), $t(405) = 2.3$, $p < .05$. A separate independent samples t-test for maximum prison sentences identified similar trends; males ($\bar{x} = 13.4$, $SD = 12.1$) were given significantly longer sentences than females ($\bar{x} = 8.7$, $SD = 10.0$), $t(397) = 3.1$, $p > .01$. There was a modest relationship between minimum ($r_{pb} = -.12$, $p < .05$) and maximum ($r_{pb} = -.15$, $p < .01$) prison terms for traffickers based on point-biserial correlations.

CONCLUSION

The current chapter provided an inordinate amount of details on the nature of sex trafficking crimes, revealing considerable variation across cases. Despite this complexity, it is possible to illustrate a portrait of the typical trafficker, victim, and case outcome. A summary of results for each of these components is outlined in more detail below.

Typical Trafficker

The typical sex trafficker was male, a minority (i.e., Black or Hispanic), and from the

United States. Sex traffickers had an age range from their mid-20s to early-30s. Thus, these offenders tended to be older than their victims but still toward the beginning stages of adulthood rather than being middle aged or elderly. About half of the cases included co-offenders that helped facilitate these crimes—traffickers often did not work alone. Within these operations, traffickers frequently took on multidimensional roles (e.g., recruit, arrange appointments, and transport) more so than other categories (e.g., recruit only). This finding suggests that sex traffickers are generally part of multiple aspects of the criminal enterprise. Additionally, traffickers only targeted and exploited female victims in the current sample. When controlling victims, most traffickers used some level of force, threats, or sexual assaults to manipulate and coerce victims to sell sex for money. A majority of traffickers exploited victims in hotels/motels, at residential brothels, through street-level prostitution, and by delivery service. Finally, traffickers identified potential clients mainly through online advertising and by forcing victims to walk the streets.

Typical Victim

Victims of sex trafficking were all female and most were Hispanic. Similar to traffickers, most of the victims in the current sample were from the United States. On average, victims tended to be in their teens, with over half of the sample involving minors. Victims were forced to serve between seven and nine clients per day, to work most days during the week, and to work for approximately 10 hours per day, on average. Victims were sold to clients for roughly \$100 to \$200 per sexual encounter. The duration of sex trafficking lasted around five or six months for victims—not an inconsequential amount of time. Additionally, victims tended to have some level of vulnerability that made them more susceptible to traffickers’ tactics such as being a runaway or using substances. Traffickers were often able to identify victims who were in need

even if they did not personally know them; a little over half of the victims did not know their trafficker prior to being exploited. Many victims were first recruited by traffickers in public spaces or online. These settings overlapped with the venues that traffickers used to locate buyers. When victims did meet traffickers, they were frequently lured by false promises, the prospect of someone providing for them, or the assurance of making a lucrative amount of money. These forms of recruitment also illustrated the vulnerable nature of the victims who were specifically targeted by offenders.

Typical Case Outcome

For a majority of sex trafficking cases, the police identified these events through reactive practices. Although proactive discoveries were made, officers commonly received information about a potential trafficking situation and investigated it after a victim came forward or a tip was reported. Once the case was identified, a majority of traffickers were sentenced for their crimes, with many offenders being charged and convicted for trafficking-related offenses. Length of sentences ranged from 12 to 13 years in prison with some offenders also receiving life terms. As illustrated in the supplemental analyses, males were often given harsher sentences than female traffickers. Relatively few offenders had all charges dropped. Victims who were identified by authorities were generally provided with services or placed in a location that was thought to be protective (e.g., family, safe house, foster care).

SUMMARY

In sum, sex trafficking is a complex crime that encompasses a variety of components to identify and exploit individuals. The ability to code details from publicly available sources has allowed for the development of a rich database that provides a representative portrait of these

crimes. By coding multiple sex trafficking cases across the United States, the full extent and nature of these offenses is further illuminated.

Chapter 4

LABOR TRAFFICKING

This chapter reviews identified labor trafficking cases and provides an overview of the nature of these events. Similar to the previous chapter, this section describes elements at the case-, offender-, and victim-levels of analysis. There were 39 labor trafficking cases representing 118 offenders (114 individuals, four corporations) and 1,314 victims. However, two of the cases contained 990 victims. When the victims from these two cases are removed, the sample size is reduced to 324 victims across 37 cases. The results in this chapter include information on all 1,314 victims and the subsample of 324 victims for comparison. Given the limited number of cases, the analysis of labor trafficking will not replicate the analysis of sex trafficking that occurred in the previous chapter. Tables are presented when the number of cases can allow for a meaningful assessment of the data. Additionally, some details were not available from the publicly available sources and this inconsistency resulted in missing data. The sample sizes are presented throughout the results, so missingness can be assessed for each variable.

To parallel the previous chapter, an overview of labor trafficking is discussed in four main parts: (1) the nature of labor trafficking; (2) offenders and the criminal enterprise; (3) victims and vulnerabilities; and (4) discovery, legal sanctions, and outcomes. A supplemental addendum examining a limited number of cases that involved both sex trafficking and labor trafficking is also reviewed. Each of these sections is described in more detail below. In addition to the quantitative data that are presented, qualitative narratives of labor trafficking cases are incorporated where applicable to illuminate the reality of these offenses.

THE NATURE OF LABOR TRAFFICKING

Although labor trafficking is considered a severe form of trafficking according to the federal Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA), there is limited information about the true nature of these crimes (see, e.g., Zhang, 2012a). To provide a better understanding of these events, labor trafficking is reviewed in the following four sections: (1) identifying labor trafficking; (2) overview of victims and offenders; (3) characteristics of labor trafficking cases; and (4) exploitation of victims. Each section is discussed at the case level of analysis.

Identifying Labor Trafficking

Labor trafficking cases were less prevalent than sex trafficking cases in the current sample, which limits the generalizability of the findings. Still, preliminary details recorded for these cases provide insights into the how these events were identified and where these crimes took place. Unlike sex trafficking, labor trafficking cases were mainly identified in the late 2000s and early 2010s (see Table 4.1). The bulk of trafficking cases were first addressed by law enforcement in 2007 with a gradual decline in legal action through 2016. However, legal action for labor trafficking cases was scarce prior to 2007 and likely indicates the limited attention that was initially paid to these crimes (see, e.g., Zhang, 2012b). As labor trafficking has increasingly been recognized as a problem that is worthy of attention, the ability to identify these cases has increased but at a slower rate than sex trafficking.

As outlined in Table 4.2, trafficker arrests and trafficking locations tended to overlap. There were only a few exceptions between where traffickers were arrested and where no trafficking crimes were noted: Louisiana, Nevada, and New Mexico. Otherwise, higher rates of trafficking arrests generally corresponded with trafficking locations. In particular, California (25.6%), Texas (15.4%), and New York (12.8%) had the highest occurrence of labor exploitation

Table 4.1. Year of First Legal Action for Labor Trafficking by Case (N = 39)

| Year | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------|------------------|----------------|
| 2000 | 1 | 2.6 |
| 2001 | -- | -- |
| 2002 | -- | -- |
| 2003 | 2 | 5.1 |
| 2004 | 3 | 7.7 |
| 2005 | 2 | 5.1 |
| 2006 | -- | -- |
| 2007 | 7 | 17.9 |
| 2008 | 3 | 7.7 |
| 2009 | 4 | 10.3 |
| 2010 | 2 | 5.1 |
| 2011 | 4 | 10.3 |
| 2012 | 1 | 2.6 |
| 2013 | 2 | 5.1 |
| 2014 | 3 | 7.7 |
| 2015 | 3 | 7.7 |
| 2016 | 2 | 5.1 |

Table 4.2. State of Offender Arrest and Labor Trafficking by Case

| Location | Frequency of Offender Arrest | Percent of Offender Arrest^a | Frequency of Labor Trafficking | Percent of Labor Trafficking^a |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| California | 10 | 25.6 | 10 | 25.6 |
| Florida | 2 | 5.1 | 1 | 2.6 |
| Hawaii | 1 | 2.6 | 1 | 2.6 |
| Indiana | 2 | 5.1 | 2 | 5.1 |
| Kansas | 1 | 2.6 | 1 | 2.6 |
| Louisiana | 1 | 2.6 | -- | -- |
| Michigan | 2 | 5.1 | 2 | 5.1 |
| Nevada | 1 | 2.6 | -- | -- |
| New Hampshire | 1 | 2.6 | 1 | 2.6 |
| New Jersey | 1 | 2.6 | 1 | 2.6 |
| New Mexico | 1 | 2.6 | -- | -- |
| New York | 6 | 15.4 | 5 | 12.8 |
| Ohio | 2 | 5.1 | 2 | 5.1 |
| Texas | 6 | 15.4 | 6 | 15.4 |
| Multiple states | 2 | 5.1 | 7 | 17.9 |
| Number of cases | 39 | | 39 | |

^aPercentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding.

in the current sample. However, a sizable number of cases involved labor trafficking enterprises that operated across multiple states (17.9%).

Overview of Victims and Offenders

The breakdown of offenders and victims in labor trafficking cases offers further understanding on the nature of these events. Table 4.3 provides an overview of the number of victims and offenders by case. On average, there were 34 to 35 victims per case ($\bar{x} = 34.6$), with a minimum of 1 victim and a maximum of 590 victims. As previously noted, however, two cases included exceptionally high numbers of adult victims—400 and 590 victims. Therefore, the total number of victims was reestimated without these cases to provide a more conservative estimate. Without the two cases, there were nine victims per case, on average, with a range from 1 to 69 victims ($\bar{x} = 9.0$). The median of 2 also indicates that at least half of the cases included multiple victims. When broken down by the number of minors and adults, there were, on average, three to four minors per case ($\bar{x} = 3.8$) and 38 to 39 adults per case ($\bar{x} = 38.5$). Without the two outlier cases mentioned above, there were approximately nine adult victims per case ($\bar{x} = 9.1$) with a reduced range from 1 to 56 victims.

For labor traffickers, there were multiple offenders per case ($\bar{x} = 3.0$), with a range from 1 to 15. The median suggests that there were 2 or more traffickers responsible for exploiting victims in half of the cases. Additionally, a majority of cases included co-offenders ($\bar{x} = 0.8$). Even more so than sex traffickers, labor traffickers generally worked together to exploit multiple victims.

Characteristics of Labor Trafficking Cases

Additional variables were recorded to examine the complexities of labor trafficking cases

Table 4.3. Number of Labor Trafficking Victims and Offenders by Case

| Characteristics | n | Mean | Standard Deviation | Median | Minimum | Maximum |
|------------------------------|----------|-------------|-------------------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| Victims | 38 | 34.6 | 113.2 | 2.5 | 1 | 590 |
| Victims without 400+ victims | 36 | 9.0 | 15.7 | 2 | 1 | 69 |
| Minors | 11 | 3.8 | 4.1 | 1 | 1 | 13 |
| Adults | 33 | 38.5 | 121.0 | 3 | 1 | 590 |
| Adults without 400+ victims | 31 | 9.1 | 15.1 | 3 | 1 | 56 |
| Offenders | | | | | | |
| Offenders | 39 | 3.0 | 2.6 | 2 | 1 | 15 |
| Co-Offenders | 39 | 0.8 | 0.4 | 1 | 0 | 1 |

As outlined in Table 4.4, eight elements were coded as applicable from the publicly available source documents: (1) minor versus adult status; (2) smuggling of victims; (3) operation dynamics; (4) nationality of victims; (5) means of exploitation; (6) use of drugs; (7) presence of events; and (8) use of debts. Each of these variables is outlined in more detail below.

Minor Versus Adult Status. A majority of labor trafficking cases (71.8%) only exploited adults (see Table 4.4). This finding is a deviation from sex trafficking cases where victims were more often minors than adults. The frequencies were similar for the remaining cases that victimized minors only (15.4%) or both minors and adults (12.8%).

Smuggling of Victims. Although a majority of cases included trafficking “only” (56.4%), there were still quite a few cases where victims were smuggled and trafficked (43.6%, see Table 4.4). For example, Estela Aguilar-Lopez and co-conspirators would pay smuggling debts to bring victims from Mexico to the United States (U.S. Attorney’s Office, 2011). Once the victims arrived in the United States, the traffickers would force them to sell pirated compact discs and digital video discs in apartment complexes to pay off their smuggling debt. The unfortunate victims who did not pay off their debt—approximately \$2,500—were subjected to assaults, threats, and intimidating phone calls to their families. By bringing the victims to a new country, the traffickers were able to exploit the victims’ isolation and vulnerability in the absence of external social support (e.g., family back in Mexico).

Operation Dynamics. Upon examining the operation and trafficking locations, relatively few labor enterprises used multiple locations. As previously noted, sources did not always use the same unit of analysis (e.g., city, neighborhood, county, state) when discussing trafficking operations. Therefore, a case was coded as operating or exploiting victims in multiple locations if there was more than one geographic area mentioned (i.e., multiple cities, counties, or states).

Table 4.4. Characteristics of Labor Trafficking Events by Case

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent^a |
|--|------------------|----------------------------|
| Type of Victims (n = 39) ^b | | |
| Minors only | 6 | 15.4 |
| Adults only | 28 | 71.8 |
| Minors and adults | 5 | 12.8 |
| Evidence of Smuggling (n = 39) | | |
| Trafficking only | 22 | 56.4 |
| Smuggling and trafficking | 17 | 43.6 |
| Trafficking Operation Location (n = 38) ^c | | |
| Single location | 26 | 68.4 |
| Multiple locations | 12 | 31.6 |
| Victims Trafficked by Location (n = 38) ^c | | |
| Single location | 29 | 76.3 |
| Multiple locations | 9 | 23.7 |
| Crossed State Lines for Trafficking (n = 39) | | |
| No | 35 | 89.7 |
| Yes | 4 | 10.3 |
| Nation of Victims (n = 39) | | |
| Domestic | 2 | 5.1 |
| Foreign National | 37 | 94.9 |
| Means of Exploitation (n = 37) | | |
| Force | 4 | 10.8 |
| Fraud | 2 | 5.4 |
| Coercion | 1 | 2.7 |
| Force and fraud | 3 | 8.1 |
| Force and coercion | 8 | 21.6 |
| Fraud and coercion | 9 | 24.3 |
| Force, fraud, and coercion | 10 | 27.0 |
| Use of Drugs (n = 39) | | |
| No | 39 | 100.0 |
| Yes | 0 | 0.0 |

Table 4.4. Characteristics of Labor Trafficking Events by Case

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent^a |
|--|------------------|----------------------------|
| Event Associated with Trafficking (n = 39) | | |
| No | 38 | 97.4 |
| Yes | 1 | 2.6 |
| Hurricane Katrina | 1 | 2.6 |
| Was Victim Given a Debt (n = 39) | | |
| No | 24 | 61.5 |
| Yes, debt | 11 | 28.2 |
| Yes, recruitment fee | 4 | 10.3 |

^aSome percentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding. ^bCase sample size does not match the sample size for the number of victims by case in Table 4.3 because sometimes the type of victim is known when the number of victims is not. ^cLocations were not always discussed at the same unit of analysis (e.g., city, neighborhood, county, state), but a case was considered to exploit victims in multiple locations when there was more than one geographic area mentioned (i.e., multiple cities, counties, or states); cases where victims were trafficked within the same area (e.g., city, county) were not counted as being exploited in multiple locations.

In the current sample, most of the cases operated in a single location (68.4%) and trafficked victims in a single location (76.3%, see Table 4.4). For example, Sung Bum Chang and his wife, Hyang, smuggled women into the United States and forced them to work at his karaoke club as hostesses (Hutson, 2006). Because the traffickers in this case did not force victims to work elsewhere, the case was coded as operating and trafficking victims at a single location. Given the frequency of single locations in labor trafficking, it is not surprising that a majority of cases did not transport victims across state lines for exploitive purposes (89.7%, see Table 4.4).

Nationality of Victims. Another common risk factor for trafficking includes the nationality of victims. As outlined in Table 4.4, almost all of the labor trafficking cases involved foreign national victims (94.9%). This finding is in stark contrast to sex trafficking cases where a majority of victims were domestic citizens. In the current sample, being a foreign national came with unique vulnerability factors. For example, Jean-Claude Toviave smuggled four African children from his native country of Togo into the United States by pretending they were his own (Baldas, 2014). The children did not speak the language or have a social support system in the United States to turn to for help when Toviave beat them, threatened them, and exploited them for domestic labor.

Means of Exploitation. As previously noted, the means of exploitation (i.e., force, fraud, coercion) were coded using the guidelines outlined by the federal Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA). Because the TVPA only specifies that the means of exploitation do not need to be proven for minors engaging in commercial sex, all cases were coded for labor trafficking regardless if minors were involved. Traffickers in the current sample used a variety of tactics to exploit victims, but the most common method included force, fraud, and coercion (27.0%). For example, Omelyan Botsvynyuk and his brothers lured Ukrainian immigrants to the United States

with false promises of stable jobs (fraud; Hinkelman, 2012; Roebuck, 2015). Once the workers arrived, however, their documents were confiscated and they were forced to work with little or no pay. The traffickers further controlled the victims through threats and violence. One victim recalled that a trafficker threatened to place her children into prostitution to pay a debt that he said she owed (coercion; Roebuck, 2015). Even though her children were still in Ukraine, she felt that the traffickers—who were also from Ukraine—could carry out their threats. Other victims were forced to endure physical and sexual assaults by the brothers (force). In addition to all three tactics, traffickers commonly used methods such as fraud and coercion (24.3%), force and coercion (21.6%), and force (10.8%) to compel victims to work for them (see Table 4.4).

Use of Drugs. As an illustrative comparison to sex trafficking cases, the use of drugs to facilitate labor trafficking was also recorded. However, there were no cases where drugs were discussed as part of labor trafficking cases (see Table 4.4). Unlike sex trafficking cases where over a quarter of cases involved drugs (see Table 3.4), there was no discussion of drug use for labor cases. While drugs can help increase compliance or lure victims for commercial sex, this tactic does not seem to be particularly prevalent for exploiting labor.

Presence of Events. Only one event was noted as being directly associated with labor trafficking: Hurricane Katrina (2.6%, see Table 4.4). For this case, a company named Signal International hired more than 500 workers from India in 2006 under a temporary guest worker visa program (Preston, 2010). The company needed workers to repair equipment after the hurricane damaged offshore oil-drilling rigs. The workers paid as much as \$20,000 in mandatory recruitment fees (for immigration processing and travel fees) after they were promised that their visas would be converted to green cards. The victims, however, were forced to live in substandard housing by the company where they were charged more than \$1,000 a month in rent

and their green cards were never processed (Meier, 2015). In this context, Hurricane Katrina had global implications where skilled metalworkers were needed on a large scale to repair the damage caused by the natural disaster—creating an opportunity where exploitation could occur.

Use of Debts. As illustrated in the previous sections, debts were also used in labor trafficking cases. These debts were sometimes noted as such (28.2%) or they were labeled as “recruitment fees” (10.3%) where workers were required to pay a certain amount to be considered for a job (see Table 4.4). In addition to the Signal International case noted above, other cases used recruitment fees to lure and exploit victims. For example, Alec and Mike Sou—co-owners of Aloun Farms in Hawaii—were accused of making Thai workers pay a recruitment fee between \$16,000 and \$20,000 to work on their farms (Kobayashi, 2011). The victims were also forced to live in overcrowded living quarters without adequate food, their passports, or the wages that they were promised. The brothers initially pleaded guilty to conspiracy to commit forced labor, but the case was later dismissed after the lead federal attorney made misstatements during the trial (Kobayashi, 2011; U.S. Department of Justice, 2010).

Exploitation of Victims

The day-to-day operations of labor trafficking cases were captured with two variables: (1) the number of days the victims were forced to work per week and (2) the number of hours per day the victims were forced to work. The results are presented in Table 4.5. Although there was missing data from the publicly available sources, the results offer insights into how labor trafficking victims were treated on a regular basis. The results are divided into minimum and maximum amounts because some cases provided ranges of values. For example, Firas Majeed and his wife, Shatha Abbas, forced a woman into domestic servitude between 16 and 18 hours per day (Davis, 2016). Both values were coded to capture the minimum and maximum values

Table 4.5. Details of Labor Trafficking Events by Case

| Characteristics^a | n | Mean | Standard Deviation | Median | Minimum | Maximum |
|------------------------------------|----------|-------------|-------------------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| Minimums | | | | | | |
| Number of days forced to work | 22 | 6.7 | 0.6 | 7 | 5 | 7 |
| Number of hours forced to work | 19 | 14.7 | 4.1 | 15 | 8 | 24 |
| Maximums | | | | | | |
| Number of days forced to work | 22 | 6.9 | 0.2 | 7 | 6 | 7 |
| Number of hours forced to work | 19 | 15.3 | 3.9 | 16 | 9 | 24 |

^aSome cases offered ranges for each variable; both minimums and maximums are calculated based on lower and upper ranges when applicable.

for the case. Information on the number of clients served per day and the amount of money sold to clients was not applicable to labor trafficking cases and was not coded.

Days Per Week. When available, the number of days that victims were forced to work did not have much variation—they were forced to work most of the week. For the minimum average, victims worked six to seven days a week, with the number of days worked ranging from 5 to 7 ($\bar{x} = 6.7$, see Table 4.5). This was similar to the maximum mean of 6.9 days and range from 6 to 7. The median of 7 days for both minimum and maximum values suggests that victims worked every day for at least half of the cases.

Hours Per Day. Labor trafficking victims were also forced to work for extended periods of time. The information available suggests that victims worked, on average, 14 to 15 hours per day (minimum: $\bar{x} = 14.7$, maximum: $\bar{x} = 15.3$, see Table 4.5). The number of hours per day ranged from 8 to 24 with a median of 15 (minimum) and 16 (maximum). These estimates indicate that victims spent a majority of their day—or an entire day—working to benefit their traffickers.

TRAFFICKERS AND THE CRIMINAL ENTERPRISE

As previously noted, there were 118 offenders in the current sample. To better understand who engages in labor trafficking, three subsections are reviewed: (1) becoming a trafficker; (2) being a trafficker; and (3) controlling victims. The results below are presented at the case- and individual-levels of analysis. Given that four of the identified offenders were corporations, analyses at the individual level do not assess these entities. This adjustment reduces the individual sample size to 114 offenders.

Becoming a Trafficker

Labor traffickers require the skills to lure in potential victims and exploit their labor for personal profit. To better understand who these offenders are, background characteristics and other relevant details were recorded from publicly available sources. In particular, demographics, offender occupations, criminal and gang involvement, and offender roles were recorded for each offender. The findings are presented at the individual level below.

Demographics. The demographic characteristics of offenders are presented in Table 4.6. On average, labor traffickers were approximately 41-years-old ($\bar{x} = 41.1$), which is older than the average sex trafficker. The distribution of ages suggests that many offenders were first arrested in their early- to mid-40s (median = 43, mode = 44). Most of the traffickers were male (69.3%) with fewer females (30.7%) committing labor trafficking crimes. When it was indicated in sources, a majority of traffickers were coded as being Hispanic (43.4%), Asian (28.9%), and White (19.7%); fewer labor traffickers were noted as being Black (7.9%). Additionally, offenders were mostly foreign nationals (45.5%) or U.S. citizens (40.0%). Relatively few traffickers were undocumented immigrants (8.9%), permanent U.S. residents (4.4%), or non-citizens with a U.S. visa (1.1%). Almost a quarter of offenders were from the United States (24.7%) followed by Mexico (15.3%). Other notable countries of origin included Uzbekistan (9.4%), Philippines (5.9%), Ukraine (5.9%), India (4.7%), and Togo (4.7%). The diverse origins tend to correspond with the high prevalence of foreign national traffickers. Finally, there were limited details on the family status of labor traffickers. Slightly less than one-third of offenders were noted as having a spouse and children (32.7%) or a spouse (30.8%). Other offenders were noted as having a significant other (21.2%), children (13.5%), or a significant other and children (1.9%).

Table 4.6. Demographics and Characteristics of Labor Traffickers

| Characteristics | Frequency/Range | Percent/Mean (SD)^a |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Mean Age (n = 93) | 20-72 | 41.1 (12.0) |
| Sex (n = 114) | | |
| Male | 79 | 69.3 |
| Female | 35 | 30.7 |
| Race/Ethnicity (n = 76) | | |
| Hispanic | 33 | 43.4 |
| Asian | 22 | 28.9 |
| White | 15 | 19.7 |
| Black | 6 | 7.9 |
| Nationality (n = 90) | | |
| U.S. citizen | 36 | 40.0 |
| Permanent U.S. resident | 4 | 4.4 |
| Non-citizen with U.S. visa | 1 | 1.1 |
| Undocumented immigrant | 8 | 8.9 |
| Foreign national—status not specified | 41 | 45.5 |
| Country of Origin (n = 85) | | |
| United States | 21 | 24.7 |
| Mexico | 13 | 15.3 |
| Uzbekistan | 8 | 9.4 |
| Philippines | 5 | 5.9 |
| Ukraine | 5 | 5.9 |
| India | 4 | 4.7 |
| Togo | 4 | 4.7 |
| China | 3 | 3.5 |
| Guatemala | 3 | 3.5 |
| Spain | 3 | 3.5 |
| Egypt | 2 | 2.4 |
| Iraq | 2 | 2.4 |
| Laos | 2 | 2.4 |
| Moldova | 2 | 2.4 |
| Nigeria | 2 | 2.4 |
| Peru | 2 | 2.4 |
| Indonesia | 1 | 1.2 |
| Israel | 1 | 1.2 |
| Saudi Arabia | 1 | 1.2 |
| South Korea | 1 | 1.2 |

Table 4.6. Demographics and Characteristics of Labor Traffickers

| Characteristics | Frequency/Range | Percent/Mean (SD)^a |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Family Status (n = 52) | | |
| Spouse and child/children | 17 | 32.7 |
| Spouse | 16 | 30.8 |
| Significant other (not married) | 11 | 21.2 |
| Child/children | 7 | 13.5 |
| Significant other and child/children | 1 | 1.9 |

Note. SD = standard deviation.

^aSome percentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding.

Labor traffickers have some similarities that have been noted by previous scholars. For example, a majority of offenders were male and older when they committed their crimes (see, e.g., Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011). The racial breakdown is also similar to prior research with a majority of offenders identified as Hispanic or Asian (see, e.g., Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011). Additionally, many of the offenders did not have citizenship status in the United States (see, e.g., Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011). Unlike sex trafficking where a majority of offenders were from the United States, labor traffickers were more often foreign nationals who originated elsewhere.

Occupations. The occupation of labor traffickers was coded when the information was available. Similar to sex trafficking, offender occupations were not always discussed and resulted in some missing data. Although there was variation in the occupations of labor traffickers, a number of offenders used their own businesses to support and conceal their crimes. For example, Dereck Hounakey and associates owned and operated hair-braiding salons in Newark and East Orange, New Jersey (Ryan, 2009). Hounakey facilitated the smuggling of women from Togo to work at his salons, but he never paid them as promised. The victims were isolated in apartments provided by the traffickers and were forbidden to leave or contact any family without supervision. Because the victims worked in salons that were completely controlled by the traffickers and lived in mandated apartments, they had few opportunities to escape or seek help. In another case, Timothy Bradley and Kate O'Dell hired workers from Jamaica to work at their tree service company (Lundregan, 2004). Once the workers arrived, however, they were paid less than they were promised, had their passports confiscated, and were forced to live on the couple's property. In these contexts, owning or managing a business was especially useful for trafficking individuals for labor because it provided an opportunity to

control all aspects of victims' lives. Other significant professions of traffickers included being a supervisor or director (10.7%), owning a cleaning or labor company (8.9%), or acting as the vice president of a company (7.1%, see Table 4.7). A number of offenders were also salon and restaurant owners (5.4%), troupe bosses (5.4%), employment recruiters (3.6%), farm owners (3.6%), teachers (3.6%), perfume manufacturers (3.6%), or nurses (3.6%).

Criminal and Gang Involvement. The trafficker's criminal history and gang affiliation was also recorded when applicable. Yet, relatively few traffickers were noted as having a prior criminal record ($n = 4$, 3.5%) or being affiliated with a gang ($n = 5$, 4.4%). The four labor traffickers with a criminal history were involved with recruitment fraud, alien smuggling, and assault. All of the offenders in the gang were part of the same case and criminal network that was previously discussed: the Botsvynyuk Organization (see, e.g., Hinkelman, 2012; Roebuck, 2015). Although this finding does not necessarily mean that these offenders do not commit other crimes before they are caught, it is informative that criminal involvement is not as readily apparent for labor traffickers compared to sex traffickers.

Offender Roles in the Enterprise. The offender's role in the criminal enterprise was recorded based on the same six categories previously discussed: smuggler, recruiter, middleperson, bottom, complicit beneficiary, and multidimensional (see Denton, 2010). These roles are presented in Table 4.8. In the current sample, a majority of labor traffickers were classified as having multidimensional roles (69.9%). For example, Esther Narbona-Sanchez, Paulino O'Farrill, and Pedro Barea-Riva were each coded as having a multidimensional role (recruiter and middleperson) based on their activities within the enterprise (Kaplan, 2015). All three of the offenders recruited victims from their home country—Spain—to work in their restaurant and salon businesses (recruit). Once the victims arrived, they were told that they had

Table 4.7. Occupations of Labor Traffickers (n = 56)

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent^a |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| Private or Service Industries | | |
| Cleaning or labor company owner | 5 | 8.9 |
| Hair braiding salon owner | 3 | 5.4 |
| Salon and restaurant owner | 3 | 5.4 |
| Troupe boss | 3 | 5.4 |
| Employment recruiter | 2 | 3.6 |
| Farm owner | 2 | 3.6 |
| Karaoke bar owner | 2 | 3.6 |
| Motel owner | 2 | 3.6 |
| Restaurant manager or owner | 2 | 3.6 |
| Tree cutting business owner | 2 | 3.6 |
| House cleaner | 1 | 1.8 |
| Janitor | 1 | 1.8 |
| Real estate agent | 1 | 1.8 |
| Resort owner | 1 | 1.8 |
| Professional | | |
| Supervisor or director | 6 | 10.7 |
| Vice president | 4 | 7.1 |
| Business owner (not specified) | 2 | 3.6 |
| Middle or high school teacher | 2 | 3.6 |
| Perfume manufacturer | 2 | 3.6 |
| Registered nurse | 2 | 3.6 |
| Attorney | 1 | 1.8 |
| Chief executive officer or president | 1 | 1.8 |
| Financial industry | 1 | 1.8 |
| Foreign diplomat | 1 | 1.8 |
| Orphanage owner | 1 | 1.8 |
| Social worker | 1 | 1.8 |
| Other | | |
| Book author | 1 | 1.8 |
| Princess | 1 | 1.8 |

^aPercentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding.

Table 4.8. Trafficker Roles in the Enterprise (n = 103)

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Offender Roles | | |
| Smuggler | 4 | 3.9 |
| Recruiter | 2 | 1.9 |
| Middleperson | 22 | 21.4 |
| Bottom | -- | -- |
| Complicit beneficiary | 3 | 2.9 |
| Multidimensional ^a | 72 | 69.9 |

^aMultidimensional roles were assigned to traffickers whose roles comprised any two or more of the variables coded (e.g., trafficker acted as recruiter and middleperson).

to pay rent that was supposed to be provided, live in substandard conditions filled with cockroaches, lie and hide from cops, and work long hours at times without food or breaks to make money for the traffickers (middleperson). The traffickers in this case were fundamentally responsible for facilitating the exploitation of these victims and profiting from their labor. The next most common role was as a middleperson (21.4%) followed by smugglers only (3.9%), complicit beneficiaries (2.9%), and recruiters only (1.9%). No labor traffickers were noted as engaging in prostitution or were designated as “bottoms” in the organization.

Being a Trafficker

Offenders who choose to engage in labor trafficking must have a way to exploit victims so they can make a profit. In this respect, advertising labor and having a job lined up are important components of expediting this process. To determine how offenders actually traffic victims, each of these variables was coded at the case level.

Advertising Victims. Unfortunately, very few cases actually discussed the advertising of victims for labor trafficking cases. When this information was discussed, the majority of cases noted that the trafficker exploited victims without involving outside entities (n = 28, 87.5%). In other words, the traffickers profited from the victims by exploiting their labor by themselves and not actually paying someone a fair wage to do the job. For example, Joseph Yannai—a self-published book author—recruited young women from Europe and South America to work as his personal assistants in New York (Marzulli, 2010). When the women arrived, they were forced to work 12-hour days without pay, experienced physical and sexual abuse, and were threatened (“Pound Ridge sex traffic victims file \$100 million lawsuit,” 2012). Additionally, the victims were isolated from the outside world, had their communication monitored, and were forbidden to wear bras around his home (Marzulli, 2010). In this case, Yannai exploited the victims in his

private home without advertising the victims for outside services. Other traffickers would subcontract workers through labor leasing agreements (n = 3, 9.4%) or move victims from city to city for traveling acrobatic performances (n = 1, 3.1%).

Venue. Labor trafficking venues were documented to account for how these crimes were facilitated. In the current sample, victims were trafficked in a variety of locations but many were exploited through domestic work (n = 20, see Table 4.9). Similar to the case noted above, domestic work tended to involve the private exploitation of victims by traffickers. For example, a Saudi Arabian princess, Meshael Alayban, was accused of forcing a Kenyan woman to work in her Irvine, California home (Esquivel, 2013). The victim traveled to the United States with the princess and her family to work for her after being promised reasonable hours (i.e., eight hours a day, five days a week) and a monthly wage of \$1,600 per month—the victim was actually paid about \$220 per month and forced to work 16 hours a day, seven days a week. Additionally, Alayban took the victim’s passport and locked it in a safe where she could not access it and forbade the victim from leaving the house without the family (Esquivel, 2013; Nye, 2013). It should be noted that this case was dismissed due to insufficient evidence (Esquivel & Flores, 2013). However, the other servants in the home informed law enforcement officers that they were interested in being “free” and voluntarily left the home with authorities when they arrived (Nye, 2013). Other common labor venues included agriculture and farm labor (n = 5), restaurant work (n = 5), and cleaning services (n = 4).

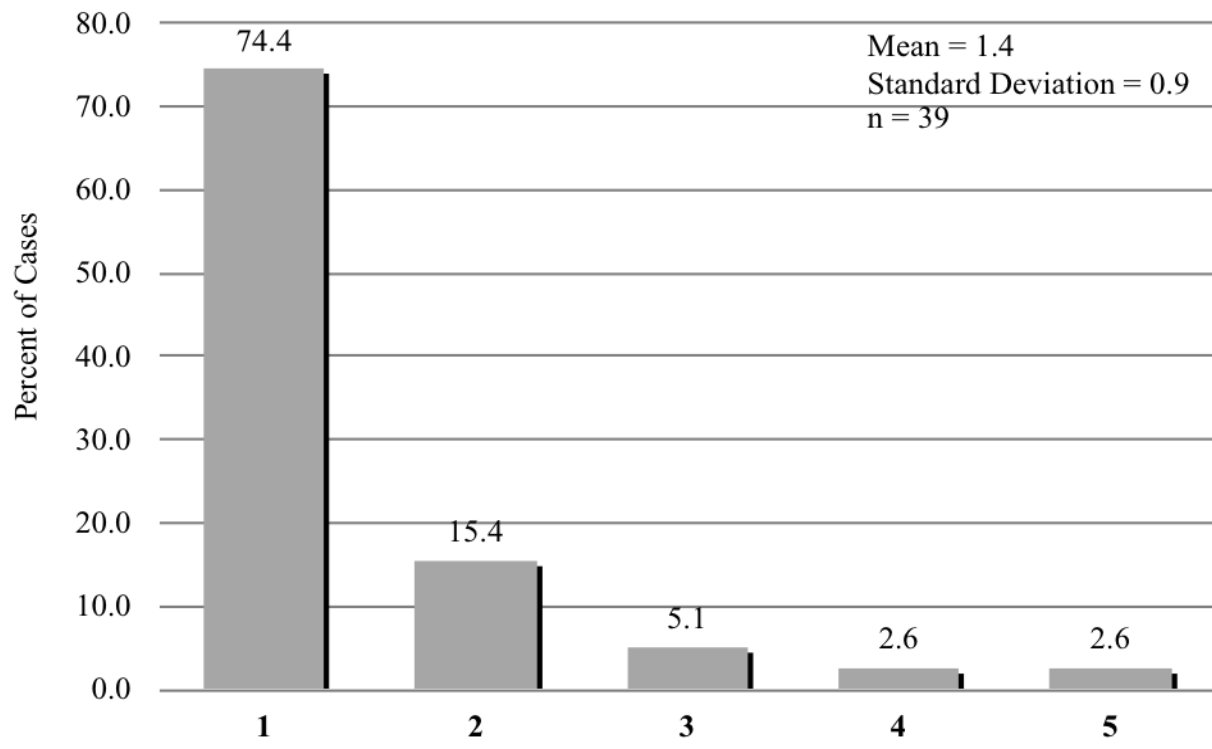
Because some cases used more than one venue, the number of venues by case was also examined. The number of venues by case is presented in Figure 4.1. A majority of cases only used one venue for labor trafficking (74.4%). Relatively few cases employed two (15.4%), three (5.1%), four (2.6%), or five (2.6%) venues to exploit victims.

Table 4.9. Labor Trafficking Venues by Case (n = 39)

| Characteristics | Frequency |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| Domestic work | 20 |
| Agriculture and farm labor | 5 |
| Restaurant | 5 |
| Cleaning service | 4 |
| Child care | 3 |
| Construction | 2 |
| Beauty salon | 1 |
| Casinos | 1 |
| Elderly care facility | 1 |
| Factories | 1 |
| Grocery stores | 1 |
| Hair braiding | 1 |
| Hotels/Resorts | 1 |
| House painting | 1 |
| Karaoke bar | 1 |
| Nail salons | 1 |
| Oil-drilling rigs | 1 |
| Other “outside” jobs (not specified) | 1 |
| Retail | 1 |
| Sales crew | 1 |
| Selling popcorn | 1 |
| Traveling acrobatic troupe | 1 |
| Tree-cutting | 1 |

Note. Frequencies do not add up to total number of cases because some cases involved more than one venue.

Figure 4.1. Number of Venues by Case



Controlling Victims

For labor trafficking ventures to be successful, offenders must find a way to control and repeatedly exploit victims. In the current sample, a variety of methods were used to ensure that victims were compliant. These tactics can be classified into eight subsections: (1) violence and threats of violence; (2) isolation and confiscating personal items; (3) psychological and emotional coercion; (4) punishments; (5) exploiting vulnerabilities; (6) intimidation; (7) providing for victims; and (8) use of relationships. Each of these methods is discussed in more detail below at the case level.

Violence and Threats of Violence. The most common way labor traffickers controlled victims with violence was through physical assaults (n = 20), general threats (n = 17), and threats of arrest or deportation (n = 17, see Table 4.10). Physical assaults generally referred to victims being punched, kicked, choked, or slapped by traffickers. Other extreme forms of assaults or force (e.g., assault with weapon, kidnapping, physical restraint) were rarely mentioned in labor trafficking cases. Threats were used in a variety of ways to coerce victims including threatening to harm victims' families (n = 9), threatening to kill victims (n = 8), threatening victims with weapons (n = 4), and threatening victims through religious persecution or curses (n = 3). Sexual assaults were also used as a way to harm victims (n = 10).

Although these forms of violence were not used for all labor trafficking cases, some traffickers still caused serious harm while maintaining control over victims. For example, Juan Carlos Soto and co-conspirators smuggled willing, undocumented immigrants into the United States (Castillo, 2004). Soto, however, kept four women as prisoners in a safe house where they were forced into domestic servitude; at least one victim was ordered to clean the home at gunpoint. The traffickers were also extorting money from the victims' families while they were

Table 4.10. Methods Used to Control Labor Trafficking Victims by Case (n = 37)

| Characteristics | Frequency |
|--|------------------|
| Assaults and Force | |
| Physical assault | 20 |
| Assault with weapon (e.g., stun gun, knife, boiling water, broom) | 2 |
| Kidnapping | 1 |
| Physical restraint | 1 |
| Threats | |
| Threatened (general) | 17 |
| Threatened arrest/deportation | 17 |
| Threatened victims' families | 9 |
| Death threats | 8 |
| Threatened with weapon (e.g., gun, car, knife) | 4 |
| Threatened with religious persecution or curses (e.g., voodoo, witchcraft) | 3 |
| Threaten serious economic harm | 2 |
| Threats to cancel visa status | 1 |
| Sexual violence | |
| Sexual assault | 10 |
| Isolation | |
| Isolation (general) | 15 |
| Guarded victims and movements | 9 |
| Controlled communications | 7 |
| Make victims live in specific housing | 1 |
| Confiscating Personal Items | |
| Confiscated documents (e.g., passport) | 20 |
| Psychological/Emotional Coercion | |
| Psychological/emotional abuse (e.g., acted as therapists towards victims, call trafficker "master," called victim a "bitch") | 13 |
| Punishments | |
| Control food intake/sleep schedule | 8 |
| Reduced salary or take money | 4 |
| Withheld schooling | 2 |
| Climb stairs | 1 |
| Fined victims for violating "rules" | 1 |
| Forbade females from wearing bras | 1 |
| Humiliate in front of family | 1 |
| Let visas expire | 1 |
| Take clothes away | 1 |
| Take cold showers | 1 |
| Transported to a canal, assaulted, and gang raped | 1 |

Table 4.10. Methods Used to Control Labor Trafficking Victims by Case (n = 37)

| Characteristics | Frequency |
|--|------------------|
| Exploit Vulnerabilities | |
| Victims did not speak English | 7 |
| Financial distress and debts (e.g., give debt, pay exorbitant recruitment fee) | 6 |
| Fail to honor employment contracts once arrived for job | 1 |
| Mental illness | 1 |
| Intimidation | |
| By assaulting others in front of victims (witnessing violence) | 2 |
| By following victim (e.g., showing up unexpectedly) | 1 |
| Provide for Victim | |
| Shelter | 2 |
| Food | 1 |
| Other material goods | 1 |
| Use of Relationships | |
| Arranged marriage | 2 |
| Victim under control of a caregiver | 1 |

Note. Frequencies do not add up to total number of cases because some cases involved more than one method.

being held captive to maximize their profit. During this time, the victims endured regular beatings and sexual assaults by the traffickers. When two victims attempted to ask a neighbor for help, Soto ordered both women to be transported in the trunk of a car to a canal where they were beaten, stripped, gang raped, and dumped off on a roadway. Overall, the use of violence or threats of violence was still an effective strategy for controlling labor trafficking victims and compelling their obedience.

Isolation and Confiscating Personal Items. Another common tactic used in labor trafficking cases involved isolating victims and confiscating their personal items. As outlined in Table 4.10, traffickers took advantage of victims by isolating them (n = 15), guarding their movements (n = 9), and controlling their communications (n = 7). Another method used to isolate and control victims was by taking their personal documents such as passports (n = 20). For example, Darwin A. Padolina and associates were arrested for bringing illegal aliens from the Philippines into the United States and forcing them to work at home care companies (Lariosa, 2009). The victims were willingly brought into the country under the ruse that they were martial arts competitors. The victims were hoping to come to the United States to build a better life. However, once the victims successfully made it across the border, they were told that they had to repay a smuggling debt of approximately \$12,000 by working at elderly care facilities—the traffickers actually paid \$6,000 to smugglers. During this time, the victims had their passports confiscated and were instructed not to speak to neighbors, patients, family members, or law enforcement officers. Given that the victims in this case were foreign nationals and active participants in the smuggling scheme, the isolating tactics were especially effective at dissuading victims from seeking help.

Psychological and Emotional Coercion. Another method that traffickers used involved

psychological and emotional abuse. As outlined in Table 4.10, this form of control occurred in 13 cases. In one illustrative example, Arlan Kaufman and his wife, Linda, were arrested for enslaving mentally ill residents who they forced to work naked on their farm (Hegeman, 2005). Arlan, a social worker, and Linda, a registered nurse, opened a residential treatment center for the mentally ill where they acted as caregivers for their clients (Hegeman, 2006). The couple controlled every aspect of the victims' lives including who was allowed to wear clothes while they worked. In addition to the farm labor, the victims were abused and forced to masturbate, fondle, and shave each other's genitals while the pair videotaped the abuse. The Kaufmans argued that the labor and sexual behavior was for therapeutic purposes that facilitated patient functioning (U.S. Department of Justice, 2005). The position of authority that these traffickers had over their victims was inherently manipulative, especially for individuals who required a greater level of care.

Punishments. Labor traffickers were not above punishing victims for instances of disobedience. Similar to sex traffickers, these offenders would often control victims' food intake and sleep schedule as a way to exert control (n = 8, see Table 4.10). For example, Varsha Sabhnani and her husband, Mahender, were arrested for forcing two Indonesian women to work in their home for 17 hours a day, seven days a week (Konigsberg, 2008). The couple, who owned and operated a successful perfume manufacturing business, would deprive them of food and force the women to sleep in closets of their multi-million-dollar home (Vitello, 2007). If the victims slept in too late or if they were caught stealing food from the trash, they would also be assaulted with brooms, slashed with knives, forced to take cold showers, or made to climb stairs (Eltman, 2008). Other traffickers would reduce victims' salaries or take the money away altogether (n = 4), withhold schooling (n = 2), fine victims for violating "rules" (n = 1), or let

visas expire (n = 1).

Exploiting Vulnerabilities. Targeting vulnerable individuals was another way that traffickers were able to manipulate and control victims. In particular, traffickers would target victims who did not speak English (n = 7) or who were in financial distress (n = 6, see Table 4.10). As an example, Elina Sihombing and her husband, David Girle, recruited two distant cousins from Indonesia to work in their home with promises that they could obtain an education (Gibbs, 2011). The victims were especially reliant on their relatives because they did not speak, write, or understand the English language when they came to the United States (United States of America v. Sihombing and Girle, 2011). Once they arrived, the victims' passports were taken away and they were forced to work in the traffickers' home and hotel without any breaks (Gibbs, 2011). As illustrated in this case, exploiting individuals who are not familiar with the local customs or language makes it easier to manage victims and force them into labor.

Intimidation. Although less frequently used, labor traffickers would also employ intimidation tactics to control victims. Table 4.10 outlines the two noted tactics that were used: making victims witness violence (n = 2) and following victims (n = 1). In the case discussed earlier involving Dereck Hounakey, at least one victim was forced to witness an assault against another victim by his mother, Akouavi Kpade Afolabi (Ryan, 2009; United States of America v. Afolabi, 2013). The assaulted victim was made an example of because she had engaged in behavior that was "prohibited."

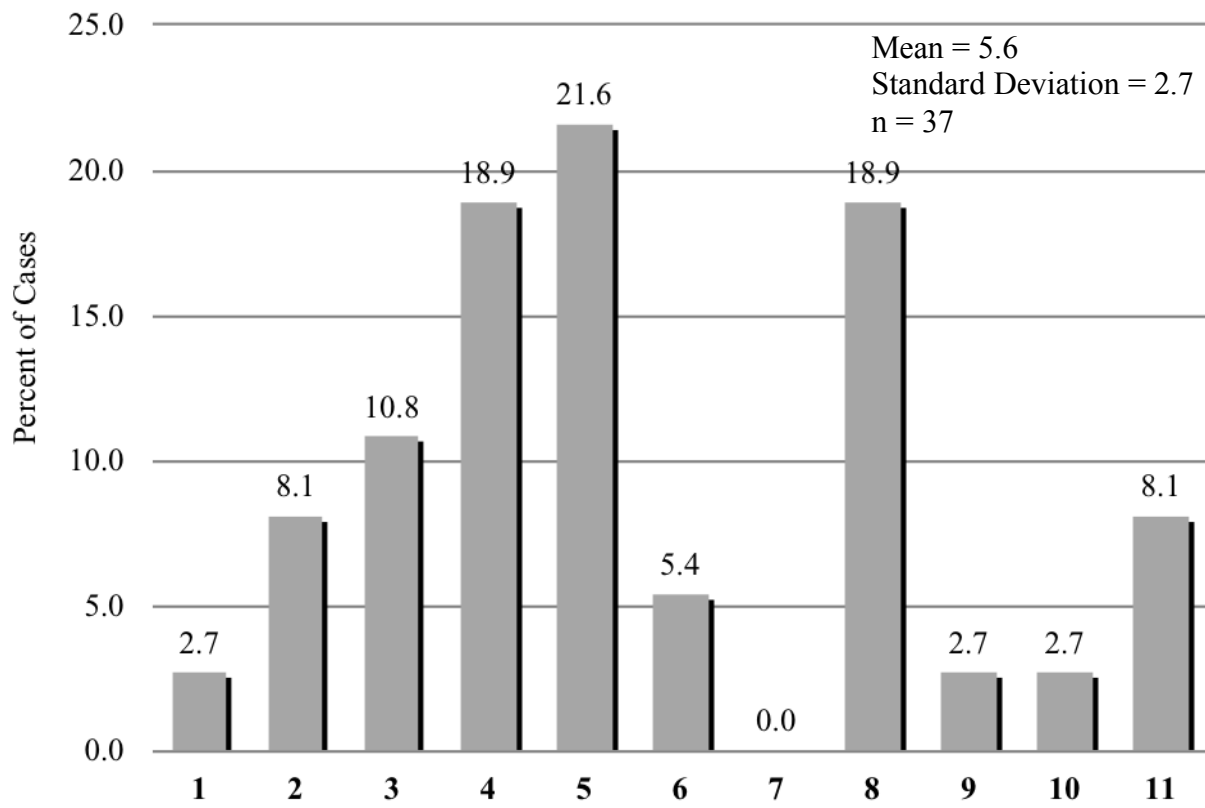
Providing for Victims. Labor traffickers would also, on occasion, offer to provide for victims. This tactic was less prevalent for labor cases compared to sex trafficking cases. In particular, traffickers would make offers to provide shelter to support victims (n = 2, see Table 4.10)—usually as a lure or after arriving to the United States. For example, Emmanuel and

Ngozi Nnaji met a widow while they were in Nigeria and they offered to help support her children financially, give her shelter, and pay her a monthly stipend if she came to Texas with them to be their nanny (Garay, 2009). The woman did not have any family or support system in the United States when she arrived and was wholly dependent on her traffickers for her basic needs. In the current sample, traffickers would also offer to provide food (n = 1) and other material goods (n = 1) to victims.

Use of Relationships. Lastly, a few traffickers also used personal relationships to control victims (see Table 4.10). For example, one victim came from India to Indiana to visit family but was informed that her trip was really to facilitate an arranged marriage (Tuohy & McCleery, 2013). The victim was married off to a particularly violent man. Lakhvir Singh forced the victim into domestic servitude that involved constant household labor in a country where she unable to speak English. When Singh was displeased with her work or if she denied his sexual advances, he would sexually assault, physically abuse, and verbally degrade (e.g., call victim a “bitch”) his new wife. Although Singh was later found not guilty of a human trafficking charge, the victim was able to receive a special visa for trafficking victims so she could remain in the United States. Relationships that furthered labor trafficking were generally intertwined with victim vulnerabilities (e.g., mental illness, not speaking the language) that made them especially susceptible to exploitation.

Traffickers in the current sample tended to use multiple methods to manage victims. As outlined in Figure 4.2, a majority of cases used four (18.9%), five (21.6%), or eight (18.9%) tactics to control victims. A modest percentage of cases used two (8.1%), three (10.8%), or 11 (8.1%) strategies. While less frequent, there were also cases that used as many as six (5.4%), nine (2.7%), or 10 (2.7%) control methods. The need to use multiple strategies could indicate

Figure 4.2. Number of Control Methods by Case



that comprehensive methods were needed to motivate victims to engage in forced labor. Although the use of violence was still part of the control process, many of the labor trafficking victims were foreign nationals who could have been looking to escape the exploitive conditions. In this respect, traffickers likely had to confiscate personal documents, isolate victims from potential rescuers, and exploit the fact that victims were in debt or did not speak English.

VICTIMS AND VULNERABILITIES

Understanding who is at risk for labor trafficking is important to assess what makes someone vulnerable to these crimes. Therefore, variables were coded to describe who these victims were and the factors that made them attractive targets for exploitation. Findings from the 1,314 labor trafficking victims in the current study are outlined in the following three parts: (1) characteristics of victims; (2) victim-offender relationship; and (3) recruiting victims. When there are differences, the results are presented with and without the two outlier cases that had more than 400 victims previously mentioned. The details below are presented at the individual- and case-levels of analysis.

Characteristics of Victims

A series of variables were coded to establish the background characteristics of labor trafficking victims. More specifically, demographics, duration of trafficking, and experiences while being trafficked are reviewed below. Information on vulnerabilities (i.e., runaway status, homelessness, drug use) was not available for any victim in the cases identified. All findings are presented at the individual level unless otherwise noted.

Demographics. All demographic findings are presented in Table 4.11. On average, labor trafficking victims were 24.8 years of age and had an age range from 9 to 58. Although

Table 4.11. Demographics and Characteristics of Labor Trafficking Victims

| Characteristics | All Victims (N = 39 cases) | | | Excluded Cases with 400+ Victims (N = 37 cases) | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|--|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| | n | Frequency/ Range | Percent/ Mean (SD) ^a | n | Frequency/ Range | Percent/ Mean (SD) ^a |
| Mean Age | 34 | 9-58 | 24.8 (13.6) | -- | -- | -- |
| Adult/Minor Status | 1,314 | | | 324 | | |
| Minors | | 45 | 3.4 | | 45 | 13.9 |
| Adults | | 1,269 | 96.6 | | 279 | 86.1 |
| Sex | 191 | | | -- | | |
| Male | | 78 | 40.8 | | -- | -- |
| Female | | 113 | 59.2 | | -- | -- |
| Race/Ethnicity | 1,265 | | | 275 | | |
| Asian | | 1,109 | 87.7 | | 119 | 43.3 |
| Hispanic | | 91 | 7.2 | | 91 | 33.1 |
| Black | | 35 | 2.8 | | 35 | 12.7 |
| White | | 30 | 2.4 | | 30 | 10.9 |
| Nationality | 1,314 | | | 324 | | |
| U.S. citizen | | 24 | 1.8 | | 24 | 7.4 |
| Non-citizen with U.S. visa | | 1,057 | 80.4 | | 67 | 20.7 |
| Undocumented immigrant | | 216 | 16.4 | | 216 | 66.7 |
| Foreign national—status not specified | | 17 | 1.3 | | 17 | 5.2 |
| Country of Origin | 1,309 | | | 319 | | |
| India | | 594 | 45.4 | | 4 | 1.3 |
| Thailand | | 444 | 33.9 | | 44 | 13.8 |
| Peru | | 70 | 5.3 | | 70 | 21.9 |
| South Korea | | 52 | 4.0 | | 52 | 16.3 |
| Ukraine | | 30 | 2.3 | | 30 | 9.4 |
| Togo or Ghana | | 28 | 2.1 | | 28 | 8.8 |
| United States | | 24 | 1.8 | | 24 | 7.5 |
| Mexico | | 16 | 1.2 | | 16 | 5.0 |
| Guatemala | | 12 | 0.9 | | 12 | 3.8 |
| China | | 9 | 0.7 | | 9 | 2.8 |
| Philippines | | 7 | 0.5 | | 7 | 2.2 |
| Spain | | 6 | 0.5 | | 6 | 1.9 |
| Indonesia | | 5 | 0.4 | | 5 | 1.6 |
| Jamaica | | 4 | 0.3 | | 4 | 1.3 |

Table 4.11. Demographics and Characteristics of Labor Trafficking Victims

| Characteristics | All Victims (N = 39 cases) | | | Excluded Cases with 400+ Victims (N = 37 cases) | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|--|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| | n | Frequency/ Range | Percent/ Mean (SD) ^a | n | Frequency/ Range | Percent/ Mean (SD) ^a |
| Country of Origin (continued) | | | | | | |
| El Salvador | | 3 | 0.2 | | 3 | 0.9 |
| Egypt | | 1 | 0.1 | | 1 | 0.3 |
| Haiti | | 1 | 0.1 | | 1 | 0.3 |
| Honduras | | 1 | 0.1 | | 1 | 0.3 |
| Kenya | | 1 | 0.1 | | 1 | 0.3 |
| Nigeria | | 1 | 0.1 | | 1 | 0.3 |
| Duration of Trafficking in Days ^b | | | | | | |
| Mean duration | 60 | 2-4,960 | 812.5 (1,085.6) | -- | -- | -- |
| Mean duration without 4,000+ days included | 58 | 2-3,650 | 675.8 (805.0) | -- | -- | -- |

Note. SD = standard deviation.

^aSome percentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding. ^bDuration of trafficking is defined as the start of actual labor exploitation until the escape or rescue of the victim.

there was a wide age range, many victims were in their late teens and early 20s when they were first exploited for labor (median = 20, mode = 17). Still, a majority of the victims were adults (all victims: 96.6%, excluding two cases: 86.1%). There were slightly more female victims (59.2%) than male victims (40.8%) in the current sample, but males still made up a sizable proportion of victims vulnerable to this form of exploitation. Regardless of the sample used, a majority of victims were Asian (all victims: 87.7%, excluding two cases: 43.3%) followed by Hispanic (all victims: 7.2%, excluding two cases: 33.1%), Black (all cases: 2.8%, excluding two cases: 12.7%), and White (all victims: 2.4%, excluding two cases: 10.9%) racial groups. Similar to the offender population, many of the victims were non-citizens. Although the estimates vary, victims were often non-citizens with U.S. visas (all victims: 80.4%, excluding two cases: 20.7%) or undocumented immigrants (all victims: 16.4%, excluding two cases: 66.7%). The frequency of non-citizens with U.S. visas in the full sample is larger because offenders in the two cases with 400 or more victims legally brought individuals into the United States on special work visa programs. Comparatively few victims were U.S. citizens (all victims: 1.8%, excluding two cases: 7.4%) or foreign nationals without a specified status (all victims: 1.3%, excluding two cases: 5.2%). Labor trafficking victims also tended to come from diverse regions. In the full sample, a majority of victims originated from India (45.4%) and Thailand (33.9%). Other victims were from Peru (5.3%), South Korea (4.0%), Ukraine (2.3%), and Togo or Ghana (2.1%). Relatively few victims came from the United States (1.8%). However, the reduced sample without the two outlier cases suggested that approximately half of all victims came from Peru (21.9%), South Korea (16.3%), and Thailand (13.8%).

Findings from the current sample mirrored preliminary results from prior research. For example, many labor trafficking victims were in their late teens to early 20s when they were first

exploited (see, e.g., Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011). However, there were slightly more female victims than male victims. This ratio is inconsistent with prior findings where males make up a majority of the labor trafficking victims (see, e.g., Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011; Zhang et al., 2014). Prior research also indicates that a majority of identified labor trafficking victims are Hispanic followed by Other, Asian, and Black racial groups (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011). In the current sample, however, a majority of victims were noted as being Asian and Hispanic. Finally, many of the victims were foreign nationals, which is consistent with prior literature (see, e.g., Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011; Zhang, 2012a; Zhang et al., 2014).

Duration of Trafficking. The duration of labor trafficking was recorded when the information was present in the publicly available sources. The purpose of this variable was to capture only the number of days that the victim was actually exploited. Therefore, other processes related to exploitation (e.g., recruitment, breaks in exploitation) were excluded from the total number of days when noted.

On average, victims were trafficked for 812.5 days, with a range from 2 to 4,960 days (see Table 4.11). Due to the high number of days that two victims experienced, estimates greater than 4,000 days were removed for comparison. The updated mean indicated that labor trafficking victims were exploited for 675.8 days, on average. Based on these findings, victims were trafficked for quite a while before they were identified and rescued. Unlike sex trafficking victims who were trafficked for approximately six months, labor trafficking victims in the current sample were trafficked for more than one year—between 22 and 27 months, on average. However, there was quite a bit of variation in this limited sample size as indicated by the large standard deviations with all cases ($SD = 1,085.6$) and without the two outlier estimates that were more than 4,000 days ($SD = 805.0$). Although these findings are limited in generalizability, they

provide preliminary insights into labor trafficking victims' experiences.

Experiences While Trafficked. In a limited way, victims' experiences while being trafficked were discussed for some coded variables. Information was available for victims for the following variables: (1) whether the victims knew each other before they were trafficked; (2) whether the victim was able to visit a doctor; (3) whether the victim ever tried to unsuccessfully escape; and (4) whether any victims were trafficked repeatedly. There was no mention of labor trafficking victims visiting salons or stylists.

The first variable was used to record whether the victims knew each other before they were trafficked together. Information on this variable was coded at the case level. There were only three cases that indicated the victims knew each other before they were exploited. Victims in all three of those cases were relatives. For example, Sook Yeong Park kept two siblings in her Queens, New York apartment (Colangelo & Schapiro, 2016). After Park confiscated the victims' passports, she would physically abuse them, force them to sleep on the floor, make them clean her home, and take the money that they earned from working at grocery stores.

The second variable assessed whether victims were allowed to visit a doctor during the time that they were trafficked. There was only one victim who was allowed to visit a doctor. In the case involving the Saudi Arabain princess, Meshael Alayban, the victim was allowed to receive medical treatment (Esquivel & Flores, 2013). However, no other details were provided about these encounters. Four other victims were explicitly noted as having doctor's visits withheld. For example, Abdel Nasser Eid Youssef Ibrahim and his wife, Amal Ahmed Ewis-Abd Motelib, forced a 10-year-old girl to cook and clean in their home (Willon, 2011). As part of their isolation tactics, she was not allowed to go to school, leave the home, or visit a doctor.

The third variable was used to determine whether victims had unsuccessfully tried to

escape from their traffickers. Although limited, two victims were caught before they were able to escape: the two women who tried to escape Juan Carlos Soto and co-conspirators by asking a neighbor for help (Castillo, 2004). As previously discussed, Soto and associates physically and sexually assaulted the women as retribution.

The fourth variable assessed whether victims had escaped and were trafficked again at a later date. Only one victim was noted as being re-trafficked and it was by his original captors, the Botsvynyuk brothers. The victim had escaped in the fall of 2003, but the brothers tracked him down in the fall of 2004. Once they found him, they forced him to work for them again and made him to sign a paper acknowledging his debt (United States of America v. Botsvynyuk et al., n.d.).

Victim-Offender Relationship

Another important aspect of labor trafficking is how offenders and victims knew each other. Identifying the victim-offender relationship provides insights into how traffickers navigate social relationships to target potential victims. Without access, traffickers would not be able to exploit victims for profit. Details on the victim-offender relationship were coded at the individual level and using information on all available victims.

Strangers. In the current sample, victims and offenders were rarely strangers (9.2%, see Table 4.12). Still, these relationships did exist for a few cases. For example, Maude Paulin, a middle school teacher, and family facilitated the smuggling of a kidnapped, Haitian girl to the United States (McClatchy Newspapers, 2008). Although it was not readily apparent who stole the girl, she had been taken from a remote mountain village when she was 5-years-old and transported to an orphanage that was owned and operated by Paulin's mother, Evelyn Theodore.

Table 4.12. Relationships Between Victims and Traffickers (n = 76)

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent^a |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| Stranger | 7 | 9.2 |
| Other Known Person | | |
| Other known person not specified | 30 | 39.5 |
| Residential caregiver | 21 | 29.6 |
| Employer | 3 | 3.9 |
| Romantic partner | 3 | 3.9 |
| Husband | 2 | 2.6 |
| Relative of victim's prior employer | 2 | 2.6 |
| Basketball coach | 1 | 1.3 |
| Relative | | |
| Other known relative not specified | 4 | 5.3 |
| Cousin | 3 | 4.2 |

^aPercentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding.

The girl was told that she had to pretend to be an orphan even though they knew her family was still alive. When the victim was 14-years-old, the family brought her to the United States by claiming that she was a niece. Once she arrived, the girl was forced to cook, clean, and wash laundry for up to 15 hours per day. The victim was isolated, assaulted, and kept home from school to avoid detection. In this case, there was no indication that the offenders had a relationship with the victim before she had been kidnapped.

Known Persons. When it was reported, a majority of the victims had a prior relationship with their trafficker (see Table 4.12). Most often, victims knew their trafficker in a way that was not specified (39.5%) or as a residential caregiver (29.6%). In a case previously discussed, Arlan and Linda Kaufman used their relationship with patients to exploit them at their residential facility. The residential caregivers brought seriously mentally ill individuals into their facility to physically and sexually abuse them while they billed their families for “treatment” (Hegeman, 2005, 2006). Given the mental state of their victims, the abuse was not immediately identified—it is now believed that their activities and crimes affected many patients that date as early as 1984 (Hegeman, 2005). Other victims knew the offender as an employer (3.9%), romantic partner (3.9%), husband (2.6%), relative of a prior employer (2.6%), or basketball coach (1.3%). In a few cases, victims were also directly related to traffickers as relatives that was not specified (5.3%) or cousins (4.2%). For example, in the case involving Elina Sihombing and David Girle, the offenders recruited distant cousins from Indonesia (Gibbs, 2011). As previously noted, the victims were particularly dependent on their cousins because they were unable to speak English once they arrived. The traffickers took advantage of this dependence and used it to their benefit.

Although there was less information available for labor trafficking victims compared to sex trafficking victims, most of the known relationships suggest that victims knew traffickers in

some capacity. Because many of the victims were foreign nationals, traffickers could use these relationships to facilitate trust and convince victims to come to the United States where they were dependent on their support. The next step would then be to determine exactly how victims were recruited and what methods were used to lure them into exploitation.

Recruitment of Labor Trafficking Victims

A series of variables were coded to determine the recruitment process that was used to exploit victims for their labor. The process is discussed in three phases: (1) who recruited the victims; (2) where recruitment occurred; and (3) how victims were recruited. Each of these phases is discussed at the individual level below.

Who Recruited Victims. The first phase of trafficking was to actually make contact for future exploitation. As previously noted, three types of individuals captured this role: traffickers, facilitators, or caregivers. In the full sample, a majority of victims were recruited by facilitators (91.2%) followed by traffickers (8.7%) and caregivers (0.1%, see Table 4.13). Once victims from the two outlier cases were excluded, the recruitment by traffickers (50.7%) and facilitators (48.8%) was more evenly divided (see Table 4.13).

Where Recruitment Occurred. The next variable that was recorded was used to examine where recruitment actually occurred. However, the location of recruitment could only be determined for six victims. In the current sample, victims were recruited online (n = 8), at a basketball tournament (n = 1), through an employment agency (n = 1), and in a remote mountain village (n = 1). The lack of transparency regarding recruitment locations could be due to the international nature of labor trafficking in the current sample. More specifically, victims were likely recruited in other countries, which could mean that the information was not readily available for publication.

Table 4.13. Who Recruited Labor Trafficking Victims

| Characteristics | All Victims (n = 1,195 victims) | | Excluded Cases with 400+ Victims (n = 205 victims) | |
|--------------------------|--|----------------|---|----------------|
| | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Recruiter | | | | |
| Facilitator ^a | 1,090 | 91.2 | 100 | 48.8 |
| Trafficker | 104 | 8.7 | 104 | 50.7 |
| Caregiver | 1 | 0.1 | 1 | 0.5 |

^aFacilitators refer to individuals who do not directly exploit victims but were instrumental in connecting victims with traffickers.

How Victims Were Recruited. The third phase of recruitment included what traffickers told victims to get them to trust them prior to exploiting them. The recruitment methods in the current sample can be divided into five subsections: (1) false promises; (2) provided for victims; (3) exploited relationships; (4) conducted bait and switch schemes; and (5) applied force. Each of these tactics is presented in Table 4.14 for all victims and from cases without 400 or more victims. Although the percentages vary across the presentation of both results, the only frequencies that differ are located in false job promises that were not specified (all victims: n = 528, excluding two cases: n = 128).

False Promises. Most often, traffickers used false job promises to lure victims into forced labor (all victims: 82.0%, excluding two cases: 52.5%, see Table 4.14). For example, Sung Bum Chang and his wife, Hyang Kyung, used a network to lure South Korean women to the United States with promises of “good jobs” (Wilonsky, 2008). When the women arrived, however, they had their passports confiscated and were forced to work at Chang’s karaoke club as hostesses up to six nights a week. When the victims were not working, they were imprisoned on the top floor of Chang’s home. Other victims were given false promises in general (all victims: 4.3%, excluding two cases: 11.5%), specific job promises (all victims: 3.6%, excluding two cases: 9.4%), promises of a better life (all victims: 1.6%, excluding two cases: 4.1%), or promises to attend school (all victims: 1.4%, excluding two cases: 3.7%). In general, victims of labor trafficking made plans for a better life that usually involved some new employment. Traffickers would take advantage of the opportunity to exploit individuals looking or desperate for a job.

Provide for Victims. The next most common tactic was to provide for victims (see Table 4.14). In the current sample, victims would sometimes arrange to be smuggled into the United

Table 4.14. How Did Labor Traffickers Recruit Victims

| Characteristics | All Victims (n = 644 victims) | | Excluding Cases with 400+ Victims (n = 244 victims) | |
|---|----------------------------------|----------------------|---|----------------------|
| | Frequency | Percent ^a | Frequency | Percent ^a |
| False Promises | | | | |
| Job promise (not specified) | 528 | 82.0 | 128 | 52.5 |
| False promise (not specified) | 28 | 4.3 | 28 | 11.5 |
| Job (e.g., babysitting, cleaning, traveling companion, restaurant, tree cutting) | 23 | 3.6 | 23 | 9.4 |
| False promise of a better life (e.g., security, money, home) | 10 | 1.6 | 10 | 4.1 |
| Attend school | 9 | 1.4 | 9 | 3.7 |
| Provide for Victims | | | | |
| Arranged smuggling in exchange for fee and employment | 7 | 1.1 | 7 | 2.9 |
| Offered visas to travel to United States | 2 | 0.3 | 2 | 0.8 |
| Trafficker offered to provide for child | 2 | 0.3 | 2 | 0.8 |
| Offered to smuggle child into United States | 1 | 0.2 | 1 | 0.4 |
| Exploit Relationships | | | | |
| Placed in residential facility for individuals with severe mental illness | 21 | 3.3 | 21 | 8.6 |
| Arranged marriage | 2 | 0.3 | 2 | 0.8 |
| Caregiver sold child to trafficker | 1 | 0.2 | 1 | 0.4 |
| Bait and Switch | | | | |
| Smuggled and then informed victim that family deed was not enough to cover debt | 5 | 0.8 | 5 | 2.0 |
| Created fake military man profile to lure women with love and then took money from victims' outside jobs and Social Security income | 3 | 0.5 | 3 | 1.2 |
| Force | | | | |
| Victim was abducted and then brought to United States | 2 | 0.3 | 2 | 0.8 |

^aPercentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding.

States in exchange for a fee and employment (all victims: 1.1%, excluding two cases: 2.9%). These cases resulted in forced labor by the individuals who originally smuggled them. For example, Mario Antonio Antunez Sotelo and associates facilitated the smuggling of individuals from Mexico for a fee that could be paid back by arranged employment (United States of America v. Leon-Aldana et al., 2006). Of course, once the victims arrived, they were compelled to work as instructed by the traffickers under threatened and actual violence. In other instances, victims were offered visas to travel to the United States (all victims: 0.3%, excluding two cases: 0.8%), traffickers offered to take care of a child (all victims: 0.3%, excluding two cases: 0.8%), or traffickers offered to smuggle a child into the United States (all victims: 0.2%, excluding two cases: 0.4%). In these cases, providing for a victim usually meant providing some level of passage into the United States—legally or illegally.

Exploit Relationships. Traffickers would also recruit victims through existing relationships. The most common way that traffickers used this tactic was when Arlan and Linda Kaufman’s victims with severe mental illness were placed in a residential facility (all victims: 3.3%, excluding two cases: 8.6%, see Table 4.14). Traffickers would also cause harm to victims through an arranged marriage (all victims: 0.3%, excluding two cases: 0.8%) or, in one instance, after a parent sold a child to a trafficker (all victims: 0.2%, excluding two cases: 0.4%). In the latter case, Abdel Nasser Eid Youssef Ibrahim and Amal Ahmed Ewis-Abd Motelib paid approximately \$30 per month to their victim’s family in exchange for their daughter to be a domestic servant for 10 years (Fox, 2005). The traffickers argued that the girl was not a slave, but part of an Egyptian tradition where wealthier families sponsor and help poorer families. The girl was forced to clean the Irvine, California home and take care of the couple’s children. When this tactic was used, the relationships that traffickers exploited generally involved individuals

who were already vulnerable—individuals with mental illness, foreign wives who were not accustomed to the culture, or a child.

Bait and Switch. Traffickers also used bait-and-switch schemes against victims. As outlined in Table 4.14, traffickers would agree to smuggle a victim into the United States for an agreed amount and then change the terms (all victims: 0.8%, excluding two cases: 2.0%). For example, Aroldo Castillo-Serrano and associates would facilitate the smuggling of individuals from Guatemala to the United States with the promise of education or good jobs (Lindstrom, 2016). As payment, the families of the victims would sign over deeds of properties to the traffickers. Once the victims arrived, they were forced work at egg farms in Marion County, Ohio and turn in their money (Associated Press, 2016). The victims—many of whom were teenagers—were forced to live in dilapidated trailers and work for up to 12 hours per day. The deeds were held by the traffickers to keep the victims and their families under their control. In another case, victims were lured by a fake military profile created by traffickers who then took the victims' money from outside jobs and Social Security (all victims: 0.5%, excluding two cases: 1.2%).

Force. Force in the form of abduction was used to initially obtain access to two victims (all victims: 0.3%, excluding two cases: 0.8%, see Table 4.14). In the first case that was previously discussed, Maude Paulin and family kept an abducted 5-year-old Haitian girl in a local orphanage until they brought her to the United States (McClatchy Newspapers, 2008). In the second case, Jose Tecum abducted a Guatemalan teenager and smuggled her into Florida to work in tomato fields (Bridis, 2002). The victim was forced to turn over all of her earnings and endure sexual assaults by her trafficker. Unlike sex trafficking, labor trafficking victims were not often recruited through the use or threats of force. This tactic seemed to be used more to

control victims than to initially hook them.

DISCOVERY, LEGAL SANCTIONS, AND OUTCOMES

The final phase for the identified trafficking cases is to determine how cases were discovered and how our criminal justice system responded to these events. To facilitate this goal, the following is divided into four sections: (1) police discovery; (2) case outcomes; (3) sentencing of labor traffickers; and (4) status of labor trafficking victims. The findings are presented at the individual- and case-levels of analysis.

Police Discovery

The discovery of labor trafficking cases was coded to determine how authorities became aware of these incidents. In approximately 31% of cases, the type of discovery was not specified (see Table 4.15). For the remaining cases, the findings below are divided into two categories: proactive and reactive discoveries.

Proactive Discoveries. As previously noted, proactive discoveries of trafficking cases included tactics where police actively tried to identify victims. Proactive discoveries were relatively rare and only occurred in three labor trafficking cases. As outlined in Table 4.15, the most common discovery occurred during the investigation of a different crime (5.1%) followed by police investigating suspicious activity (2.6%). An example of the former is illustrated by the case involving Theodore Berry. Berry, a basketball coach, recruited a teenage boy at a basketball tournament in Mexico; he offered to let the boy live with him while he went to school and played basketball in the United States (Robbins, 2011). The boy's family agreed to the deal and paid Berry \$300 a month for the arrangement. When the boy arrived, however, Berry allegedly forced him to sell popcorn for a club that he operated at the expense of his education.

Table 4.15. Police Discovery of Labor Trafficking by Case (n = 39)

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent^a |
|--|------------------|----------------------------|
| Proactive Discoveries | | |
| During a different police investigation for another crime | 2 | 5.1 |
| Suspicious activity observed by police | 1 | 2.6 |
| Reactive Discoveries | | |
| Victim(s) asked for help | 11 | 28.2 |
| Received a tip from neighbor | 3 | 7.7 |
| Received a tip (not further specified) | 2 | 5.1 |
| Received a tip from victim's family member | 2 | 5.1 |
| Received a tip from victim's school | 2 | 5.1 |
| Received a tip from the National Human Trafficking Hotline | 1 | 2.6 |
| Received a tip from victim's friend or family friend | 1 | 2.6 |
| Reported concern from community | 1 | 2.6 |
| Undocumented minors did not attend court trial | 1 | 2.6 |
| Unspecified Discoveries | 12 | 30.8 |

^aSome percentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding.

During an argument, the student poured popcorn all over the coach's apartment and said he did not want to sell popcorn anymore. Berry called the police to file a criminal mischief charge against the student, but law enforcement officials investigating the offense inquired further to learn about the suspected trafficking offense. Police then arrested and charged Berry with human trafficking (Robbins, 2011). Although Berry was later acquitted of the trafficking charge (Associated Press, 2013), the police work involved to investigate this case went beyond the initial call for criminal mischief. In other words, the police could have just filed charges against the youth and never intervened further.

Reactive Discoveries. For reactive discoveries, police generally responded to victims asking for help or investigated suspected incidents that were reported by the public. The most common type of reactive discovery involved victims asking for help (28.2%, see Table 4.15). For example, a Chinese national woman escaped from a house where she was being held and contacted the local police department (U.S. Department of Justice, 2007). According to the report, there were multiple victims who were part of a traveling acrobatic troupe that were being held captive by You Zhi Li, Yang Shen, and Jun Hu. The traffickers confiscated passports, made threats, rationed meals, and monitored individuals in the home; all of these factors made seeking help difficult before the woman was able to escape (Associated Press, 2007). The charges against the defendants were ultimately dismissed due to a lack of sufficient evidence, but the victims that were identified were given social support services to help ensure their safety. Other cases were identified because police received a tip from neighbors (7.7%), from some other source not specified (5.1%), from a victim's family member (5.1%), or from the victim's school (5.1%). Although less common, some discoveries occurred because of a tip from the National Human Trafficking Hotline (2.6%), a report from a victim's friend or family friend (2.6%),

concern from the community (2.6%), or when undocumented minors did not show up for court (2.6%).

Case Outcomes

For a case to be included in the current sample, the offenders had to be arrested, convicted, or sentenced for a trafficking-related offense. As such, all relevant outcomes for labor trafficking cases and offenders were recorded. The following outlines these outcomes in four subsections: (1) final outcomes; (2) prosecution level; (3) charges and bail/bond; and (4) convictions. All results are presented at the individual level unless otherwise noted as being at the case level.

Final Outcomes. When the information was noted in the publicly available sources, the final outcome for each offender was coded. Table 4.16 outlines each type of outcome. Similar to sex trafficking cases, a majority of offenders were sentenced for their crimes (70.5%). It was less common for offenders to be charged or indicted (9.8%), convicted (3.6%), or have their charges dropped or dismissed (15.3%) as the most up-to-date outcome status. Offenders who had charges against them dismissed were often involved in cases where there was not enough evidence or where the prosecution bungled the trial. For example, the employees from Global Horizons Manpower were originally charged with forced labor conspiracy for their part in forcing 400 individuals from Thailand to work on farms (“Forced labor,” 2010). The charges were later dismissed for all offenders because of “missteps” by the prosecutors (Davidson, 2012). In another case, the charges against Pardeep Kumar, a restaurant owner, were dismissed after the district attorney declined to pursue a trial (“DA declines charges against Valencia restaurateur accused of human trafficking,” 2015). Additional details regarding how this

Table 4.16. Case Outcomes for Labor Traffickers

| Characteristics | Frequency/Range | Percent/Mean (SD)^a |
|---|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Outcome (n = 112) | | |
| Charged/Indicted | 11 | 9.8 |
| Convicted | 4 | 3.6 |
| Sentenced | 79 | 70.5 |
| Charges dropped/dismissed | 18 | 15.3 |
| Prosecution Level (n = 39 cases) | | |
| State | 11 | 28.2 |
| Federal | 26 | 66.7 |
| State and Federal | 2 | 5.1 |
| Mean Number of Charges (n = 98) | 1-16 | 3.5 (2.7) |
| Types of Trafficking Charges (n = 102) ^b | | |
| No trafficking-related charges | 23 | 22.5 |
| Sex trafficking | -- | -- |
| Labor trafficking | 56 | 54.9 |
| Human trafficking (general) | 11 | 10.8 |
| Sex and labor trafficking | -- | -- |
| Sex and human trafficking | -- | -- |
| Labor and human trafficking | 12 | 11.8 |
| Was Bail/Bond Offered (n = 51) | | |
| Not yet arrested | 5 | 9.8 |
| No | 11 | 21.6 |
| Yes | 35 | 68.6 |
| Mean bail/bond amount (n = 32) | \$10,000-\$5,000,000 | \$431,406 (\$974,802) |
| Number of Convictions (n = 110) | | |
| Convicted | 81 | 73.6 |
| Mean convictions | 1-8 | 2.5 (2.0) |
| All charges dropped | 18 | 16.4 |
| Not yet convicted | 11 | 10.0 |

Table 4.16. Case Outcomes for Labor Traffickers

| Characteristics | Frequency/Range | Percent/Mean (SD) ^a |
|--|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| Types of Trafficking Convictions (n = 110) | | |
| No trafficking-related convictions | 37 | 33.6 |
| Sex trafficking | -- | -- |
| Labor trafficking | 31 | 28.2 |
| Human trafficking (general) | 3 | 2.7 |
| Sex and labor trafficking | -- | -- |
| Sex and human trafficking | -- | -- |
| Labor and human trafficking | 10 | 9.1 |
| All charges dropped | 18 | 16.4 |
| Not yet convicted | 11 | 10.0 |

Note. SD = standard deviation. ^aSome percentages do not equal to 100% due to rounding. ^bDiscrepancy in sample size—sometimes the type of trafficking charge or conviction is known when the number of charges or convictions is not.

decision was made were not readily available. Kumar was originally accused of forcing an employee to work at his restaurant for three years without pay and physically assaulting him when he made mistakes. Even though some offenders had all of their charges dropped, most of the traffickers in the current sample were still sentenced for their crimes.

Prosecution Level. The level of prosecution provides insights into who is punishing offenders for their crimes: the state or federal government. The level of prosecution was coded at the case level. Unlike sex trafficking cases that were evenly divided, a majority of labor trafficking cases were prosecuted at the federal level (66.7%, see Table 4.16). A little more than a quarter of cases (28.2%) were prosecuted at the state level, and only two cases (5.1%) had offenders where state and federal charges were used. Given the large number of victims that were sometimes affected (see Global Horizons Manpower case above) and the international nature of labor trafficking, the federal government likely has more resources to process and punish these offenses.

Charges and Bail/Bond. Labor traffickers were charged with a variety of crimes related to and deviating from trafficking offenses. On average, traffickers were charged with three or four offenses ($\bar{x} = 3.5$), with a range from 1 to 16 (see Table 4.16). Most of the offenders were charged with a labor-related offense (54.9%) followed by labor and human trafficking (11.8%) and human trafficking (11.8%). No offenders were charged with an offense related to sex trafficking. Offenders without any trafficking-related charges (22.5%) were included for two reasons. First, and as was noted for sex trafficking, multiple offenders that were part of the same case were included even if only one offender was charged with a trafficking offense. For example, Abrorkhodja Askarkhodjaev, 11 other associates, and three corporations owned by the associates were implicated in a crime to fulfill labor contracts with undocumented labor (U.S.

Department of Justice, 2009). The victims were forced to work for specific assignments, were threatened with deportation, and were given numerous fees to keep them in debt and compliant. Even though there were multiple individuals and entities facilitating these crimes, only seven of the offenders were charged with forced labor trafficking in addition to other offenses. The remaining five offenders and three corporations were not charged with any trafficking-related crimes. However, all offenders for this case were included because they worked together to facilitate their crime. Second, a case where the offender was not charged with a trafficking crime was included because the victim was granted continued presence in the United States (Kannan, 2013). Devyani Khobragade, a foreign diplomat from India, was accused of withholding promised pay from a domestic worker that she brought to the United States. This offense was attributed to class systems in India where certain segments of the population routinely exploit others (Bhattacharyya, 2013). Because Khobragade was a foreign official, she was granted immunity and left the country (Burke & Roberts, 2014). The visa fraud and false statement charges were dismissed. The last known status of Khobragade's victim was that she was granted permission to remain in the United States as a federally-recognized trafficking victim (Kannan, 2013). Although not all offenders were charged with a trafficking crime, a majority of traffickers were recognized and charged as such.

Once offenders were arrested by law enforcement officials, it was sometimes noted whether they were offered bail or bond in the available sources. As outlined in Table 4.16, 35 offenders (68.6%) were given the opportunity to post bail or bond compared to the 11 offenders (21.6%) who were not. Of the offenders allowed to post bail or bond, information was available for 32 traffickers regarding the amount. On average, labor traffickers were given bail or bond in

the amount of \$431,406, with a range from \$10,000 to \$5,000,000. This finding suggests that labor traffickers were forced to pay quite a bit of money to be released from jail for their crimes.

Convictions. The average number of convictions for labor traffickers was 2.5, with a range from 1 to 8 convictions (see Table 4.16). Similar to sex trafficking, the average number of convictions for labor traffickers was less than the average number of charges. The frequency of non-trafficking related crimes also increased from the charge to the conviction stage for labor traffickers (22.5% v. 33.6%). This discrepancy could indicate that deals were used to ensure cases were prosecuted. For example, Estrada Melvin Sandoval and his girlfriend, Dora Alicia Valle, were each charged with human trafficking and slavery for forcing a 9-year-old, undocumented girl to work in their home and in a restaurant that Valle managed (City News Service, 2017). Valle pleaded guilty to both charges (City News Service, 2018), but the more serious charges against Sandoval were dismissed after a preliminary hearing. Instead, Sandoval pleaded no contest to false imprisonment and battery in a deal negotiated with prosecutors (City News Service, 2017). Other traffickers were still convicted of crimes related to labor trafficking (28.2%), labor and human trafficking (9.1%), or human trafficking (2.7%). Again, no labor traffickers were convicted of any crimes related to sex trafficking.

Labor traffickers were also convicted of a diverse set of crimes. To illustrate the nature of these offenses and the laws they violate, Table 4.17 outlines example convictions that were present in the current sample. Trafficking-related crimes included attempted forced labor, conspiracy to commit forced labor, document servitude, forced labor, human trafficking, and involuntary servitude. Other, non-trafficking-related convictions included offenses such as aggravated sexual abuse, battery, bringing in illegal aliens, extortion, false imprisonment, harboring illegal aliens, health care fraud, identity theft, obstruction, rape, and visa fraud. Given

Table 4.17. Example Labor Trafficking Convictions

Examples of Trafficking-Related Convictions

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Attempted forced labor | Forced labor |
| Conspiracy to commit forced labor | Human trafficking |
| Document servitude | Involuntary servitude |

Other Examples of Non-Trafficking-Related Convictions

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Aggravated sexual abuse | Harboring illegal aliens |
| Attempted criminal deviate conduct | Health care fraud |
| Battery | Identity theft |
| Bringing in illegal aliens | Mail fraud |
| Conspiracy to transport illegal aliens | Obstruction |
| Criminal confinement | Racketeering |
| Employing unauthorized aliens | Rape |
| Extortion | Sexual battery |
| False imprisonment | Visa fraud |
| Grand theft | Wire fraud |

the wide variation in offenses, labor trafficking is similar to sex trafficking in the sense that the complex nature of these crimes violates a variety of laws.

Sentencing of Labor Traffickers

The final step in a trafficker's outcome is sentencing. To illuminate the nature of sentencing, three variables were recorded when the information was present in the publicly available sources: (1) sentencing in years; (2) restitution; and (3) remorse. Each variable is discussed below at the individual level.

Sentencing. Sentencing information was available for 107 offenders. Unlike sex trafficking, there were no minimum and maximum ranges given to labor traffickers in the current sample. As outlined in Table 4.18, offenders were sentenced to approximately 7 years in prison, with a range from 0 to 30 years ($\bar{x} = 7.2$). Offenders received 0 years in prison if they were given probation or community service. There was only one labor trafficker who was sentenced to life in prison; Omelyan Botsvynyuk was the ringleader of the violent Botsvynyuk Organization that lured victims to the United States under false promises of better opportunities (Moran, 2012). Some labor traffickers were sentenced to time served (3.7%), whereas others had all of their charges dropped or dismissed (16.8%). Overall, labor traffickers were sentenced to less prison time compared to sex traffickers, on average (labor: $\bar{x} = 7.2$, sex: $\bar{x} = 13.3$).

Restitution. Sources also provided some details about restitution and the amount owed to victims. After accounting for offenders who had their charges dropped (24.3%) and those who had not yet been sentenced (21.6%), there were 36 offenders (48.6%) who were ordered to pay restitution (see Table 4.18). The average restitution amount was \$435,767, with a range from \$568 to \$3,949,140. This estimate is considerably larger than the average sex trafficking restitution amount (sex trafficking restitution: $\bar{x} = \$190,355$). The available sources only noted

Table 4.18. Sentencing of Labor Traffickers

| Characteristics | Frequency/Range | Percent/Mean (SD)^a |
|--|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Sentencing (n = 107) | | |
| Mean sentencing in years (n = 68) | 0-30 | 7.2 (7.5) |
| Life in prison | 1 | 0.8 |
| Suspended/Deferred sentence | -- | -- |
| Time served | 4 | 3.7 |
| All charges dropped | 18 | 16.8 |
| Not yet sentenced | 16 | 15.0 |
| Restitution (n = 72) | | |
| No | 4 | 5.4 |
| Yes | 36 | 48.6 |
| Mean victim restitution (n = 36) | \$568-\$3,949,140 | \$435,767 (\$905,642) |
| All charges dropped | 18 | 24.3 |
| Trial not progressed yet | 16 | 21.6 |
| Did Offender Express Remorse (n = 45) | | |
| No | 3 | 6.7 |
| Yes | 8 | 17.8 |
| All charges dropped | 18 | 40.0 |
| Trial not progressed yet | 16 | 35.6 |

that four offenders (5.4%) were not required to pay any restitution to victims. The high restitution amount suggests that labor traffickers are expected to repair part of the damage they caused by giving victims money back—usually from wages that they were originally owed.

Remorse. The final sentencing variable assessed whether offenders expressed any remorse for their offenses. Very few sources indicated whether labor traffickers regretted their actions. Still, there were eight offenders (17.8%) who noted remorse (see Table 4.18). For example, Maude Paulin apologized for mistreating the 14-year-old Haitian girl that she helped smuggle into the United States (McClatchy Newspapers, 2008). Paulin made the following statement at her sentencing hearing: “I love Simone [the victim] with all of my heart. I regret it and blame myself.” Other offenders were explicit in their desire to maintain their innocence (6.7%). In the case involving Dora Alicia Valle, the offender was noted by the prosecutor as being “completely remorseless” for exploiting a 9-year-old girl (City News Service, 2016). Information brought into her sentencing hearing indicated that she thought she was doing “God’s work” when she forced the girl to be her personal slave. These preliminary findings give some insights into labor traffickers’ feelings about the crimes that they commit and the techniques of neutralization they employ (e.g., “God’s work”).

Status of Labor Trafficking Victims

The status of labor trafficking victims was coded to determine outcomes for those most affected by these crimes. Based on the information from publicly available sources, many of the victims were noted as receiving services and support from agencies (46.9%, see Table 4.19). A number of victims were also sent to foster care (10.2%) or they were granted continued presence in the United States (10.2%). Relatively few victims were sent to family members (6.1%), safe houses (4.1%), or friends (2.0%). While most of the outcomes were positive, some victims were

Table 4.19. Status of Labor Trafficking Victims (n = 49)

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percent |
|---|------------------|----------------|
| Services and Treatment | | |
| Receiving services/support from social service agencies | 23 | 46.9 |
| Placement | | |
| Foster care | 5 | 10.2 |
| Returned to family | 3 | 6.1 |
| Safe house | 2 | 4.1 |
| Friend | 1 | 2.0 |
| Adverse Outcomes | | |
| Uncertain legal status—eligible or in process of applying for U.S. visa | 10 | 20.4 |
| Legal Interventions | | |
| Granted continued presence in United States | 5 | 10.2 |

left in legal limbo at the time of the published report because of their uncertain legal status (20.4%). Victims in these situations had either applied to remain in the United States or they were eligible to apply; the available sources did not have further information about the outcomes in these cases.

ADDENDUM: SEX-AND-LABOR TRAFFICKING

A subcategory of trafficking that was identified in the current sample requires further discussion. In several instances, the offenders engaged in crimes that could be classified as both sex *and* labor trafficking. For example, Chris Smiley and accomplices abducted the 18-year-old daughter of a man's girlfriend. The man owed Smiley money for crack cocaine and the daughter was taken to pay off the debt (Tuohy, 2010). The victim was first forced to work at a strip club and turn all of her money over to Smiley. When she was fired for having a black eye, Smiley forced her to sell sex for money in motels. This case was coded as both forms of trafficking because it included components of forced labor (i.e., stripping) and commercial sex. Because there were only 19 cases where offenders engaged in both types of trafficking, it is difficult to draw conclusions regarding the implications of these events. Thus, the following discussion provides a broad overview of these cases and of the basic characteristics of traffickers and victims. As will be seen, cases that involved both types of trafficking were more consistent with sex trafficking profiles than labor trafficking profiles. The findings are presented at the case- and individual-levels of analysis.

Overview of Cases

The 19 sex-and-labor trafficking cases made up 5.2% of the total sample, with a majority of the cases coming to the attention of law enforcement officials in the 2010s. Cases were

prosecuted at the state level (n = 9, 47.4%) and federal level (n = 10, 52.6%) at similar rates; no case had offenders prosecuted at both state and federal levels. Over half of the cases involved domestic trafficking (n = 11, 57.9%) and events without smuggling (n = 16, 84.2%). The victim breakdown of these cases included slightly more adults only (n = 8, 42.1%) compared to minors only (n = 7, 36.8%); four cases included minor and adult victims (21.1%). On average, there were three to four victims per case ($\bar{x} = 3.4$, $SD = 3.6$), with a range from 1 to 12 victims (median = 2, mode = 1). There were approximately three offenders per case ($\bar{x} = 3.1$, $SD = 2.5$), with some cases having as many as 10 offenders (median = 2, mode = 1). Over half of the cases included co-offenders (n = 12, 63.2%). Common venues for commercial sex included hotels/motels (n = 5), bars (n = 3), massage parlors (n = 3), street-level solicitations (n = 3), delivery service to buyers (n = 2), and residential brothels (n = 2); frequent labor venues included strip clubs (n = 6), bars/restaurants (n = 3), domestic work (n = 3), and massage parlors (n = 3).

The traffickers in the identified cases would control victims through a number of methods including physical assaults (n = 12), sexual assaults (n = 6), threats (n = 5), assaults with weapons (n = 5), and the confiscation of documents (n = 4). Although a level of violence was relatively common in sex and labor trafficking offenses, there were two cases with particularly cruel offenders. In the first case, Terrence Yarbrough lured young females into his life with false promises of love and a better life (Warren, 2012a, b). Once he hooked his victims, he profited by forcing them to dance at strip clubs and sell sex for money. Yarbrough used violent tactics, which he searched online to find, to control and manipulate the women. More specifically, he physically assaulted them, assaulted them with weapons (e.g., metal chain, lamp, crow bar, coat hanger, iron, boiling water, bleach), branded them, confiscated their documents, and locked them in a dog cage. He also made women sell sex while they were pregnant with his children and

tortured a dog in front of at least one victim. Yarbrough, who had fallen asleep and laughed at victims throughout trial, was sentenced to more than 44 years in prison (Warren, 2012c, 2013). Needless to say, he did not express any remorse for his actions.

In the second case, Linda Weston persuaded mentally and physically disabled individuals to come live with her by using false promises of romantic relationships or comfortable living quarters (Gammage, 2015). Once the victims were moved in, Weston and her co-conspirators would convince them to designate Weston as their caretaker so she could collect their benefits (FBI, 2013b). In addition to stealing from victims, the traffickers would force them to take care of the house chores (e.g., cook, clean, wash clothes, babysit) without any compensation. Weston also forced some females—one being her niece—to sell sex for money. Beyond the forced labor and commercial sex, Weston and her associates engaged in remarkably brutal behavior against their victims. In particular, the victims were physically restrained in locked areas (e.g., basement, closets, attics), drugged, starved, physically assaulted, and assaulted with weapons (e.g., knife, bat, hammer). The victims were also reduced to eating their own and other people's waste and showering in the same bucket where they urinated (Gammage, 2015; Hoye, 2013). In addition, Weston would force her victims to have sexual intercourse so they would have more children and thus more benefits (Hanson & Duncan, 2013). Although Weston was apprehended, it was not before two of her victims died from neglect and lack of medical care. The severity of this case resulted in an equally harsh punishment; Weston was sentenced to life in prison, plus 80 years.

Traffickers

There were 58 sex-and-labor traffickers in the current sample, with slightly more males (n = 31, 53.4%) than females (n = 27, 46.6%) committing these crimes. On average, traffickers

were 36-years-old, with an age range from 20 to 57 ($\bar{x} = 36.2$, $SD = 10.5$). The distribution of ages suggests that many of these offenders were in their late 20s and early 30s when they were arrested (median = 34.5, mode = 27). When reported in sources, a majority of the traffickers were noted as Black ($n = 10$, 45.5%) or Asian ($n = 9$, 40.9%); only three of the offenders were coded as White (13.6%). Most of the offenders originated from the United States ($n = 32$, 64.0%) followed by Honduras ($n = 8$, 16.0%), China ($n = 3$, 6.0%), El Salvador ($n = 3$, 6.0%), Mexico ($n = 2$, 4.0%), Dominican Republic ($n = 1$, 2.0%), and India ($n = 1$, 2.0%).

Victims

There were 63 sex-and-labor trafficking victims identified in the cases. A majority of the victims were females ($n = 59$, 93.7%); the four male victims were exploited by Linda Weston and her associates discussed above. The victims were, on average, 19-years-old, with an age range from 13 to 60 ($\bar{x} = 19.2$, $SD = 10.9$). Many of the victims were relatively young and in their teens as indicated by the median (15) and mode (14). Similar to offenders, the victims were often minorities: Hispanic ($n = 14$, 43.8%), Asian ($n = 11$, 34.4%), White ($n = 6$, 18.8%), and Black ($n = 1$, 3.1%). More than half of the victims originated from the United States ($n = 33$, 53.2%) followed by Honduras ($n = 13$, 21.0%), China ($n = 8$, 12.9%), Ukraine ($n = 3$, 4.8%), South Korea ($n = 2$, 3.2%), Belarus ($n = 1$, 1.6%), India ($n = 1$, 1.6%), and Mexico ($n = 1$, 1.6%).

The recruitment methods used to lure victims in sex and labor trafficking cases were broadly divided into two tactics: a job promise ($n = 29$) and a promise of a romantic relationship ($n = 17$). Other tactics included providing shelter ($n = 4$), offering lots of money ($n = 3$), and kidnapping victims ($n = 3$). When victims were trafficked, it was for approximately 408 days ($\bar{x} = 407.5$, $SD = 628.2$)—or a little more than one year. Exploitation lasted anywhere from three days to 2,190 days in the current sample.

Summary

The preliminary findings discussed suggest that the basic profile of sex-and-labor trafficking cases, offenders, and victims resembles sex trafficking cases more than labor trafficking cases. It would appear that sex and labor offenses predominantly affected domestic victims and females—key characteristics of sex trafficking in the current study. Furthermore, the current sample included a reduced number of victims per case, relatively young victims, early- to middle-aged offenders, and extreme use of violence as a means of control. These features more closely align with sex trafficking than labor trafficking. The recruitment methods, however, bridge both types of trafficking. In particular, more so than other tactics, victims were lured by promises of job opportunities. Although not able to be established definitively given the current sample of 19 cases, the offenders who engaged in both crimes seemed to focus their efforts to benefit from commercial sex. The labor offenses tended to be in the process of engaging in commercial sex (e.g., a massage before sex) or as a tangential way to make money (e.g., stripping, work at bars to identify sex buyers). In this respect, offenders who engaged in both offenses could be involved in a variety of exploitive behaviors to maximize their client base and profit.

Again, given the limited number of cases, it is possible to present only tentative conclusions regarding the nature of sex-and-labor trafficking. Still, it is important to consider that the line between these two forms of trafficking is not always clear and that they can be part of the same enterprise. In the future, scholars should remain aware of this possibility. More generally, it is clear that offenders who commit sex *and* labor trafficking need to be studied in more detail to illuminate the true nature of how these crimes are facilitated together.

CONCLUSION

The current chapter provided preliminary insights into the nature of labor trafficking crimes. As a crime that is often relegated to second place after sex trafficking, the findings from the current study illustrate the diversity and complexity of these offenses. In this respect, the patterns and trends that characterize these crimes are outlined in three sections: (1) typical trafficker; (2) typical victim; and (3) typical case outcome. Each of these sections is described in more detail below.

Typical Trafficker

The typical labor trafficker was male, a minority (i.e., Hispanic or Asian), and from a country outside of the United States. Labor traffickers were first arrested for their crimes in their early- to mid-40s, which suggests that these offenders were middle-aged adults when they committed their offenses. It is possible that being older would be beneficial to commit these crimes because offenders could be better equipped to navigate potential obstacles such as immigration interviews or convincing others that they have a legitimate job opportunity. More than half of the cases included co-offenders, with a mean number of three offenders working together. Traffickers often took on multidimensional roles (e.g., recruit, arrange job, and profit from exploits) within the criminal enterprise rather than a single role (e.g., smuggler only). Additionally, traffickers tended to target foreign national victims who were, at times, from the same country of origin. This homophily between offenders and victims was partly responsible for creating a sense of trust that was later used to manipulate and control victims (see, e.g., the Botsvynyuk Organization; Roebuck, 2015). Labor traffickers often controlled victims through physical assaults, threats, isolation, and the confiscation of their personal documents. Victims

were forced to work in different venues including domestic settings, agricultural sites or farms, and restaurants.

Typical Victim

The victims of labor trafficking were roughly evenly divided by male and female status, with slightly more females targeted. A majority of the victims were minorities (i.e., Asian or Hispanic) and from another country, which is similar to the offender population. Victims tended to be in their late teens to early 20s when they were first exploited, with a majority of victims being adults. Offenders forced victims to work for six or seven days per week and for 14 or 15 hours per day, on average. Once victims were under control of their traffickers, they were held captive and exploited for an average of 22 or 27 months. A majority of victims had a prior relationship with their trafficker before they were exploited. This familiar relationship status suggests that labor traffickers used existing networks to facilitate their crimes. When victims were recruited, they were mainly lured by false promises of jobs, a better life, or education. Based on these techniques and the largely foreign national population, traffickers were adept at targeting individuals who were looking to leave their current situation and start somewhere new. In this respect, the desire to build a better life made victims vulnerable to traffickers' schemes.

Typical Case Outcome

Almost all of the labor trafficking cases were identified by reactive strategies when victims asked for help or when a tip was received. Once a labor trafficking case was identified, a majority of the offenders were convicted and sentenced for their crimes. Relatively few offenders had all of their charges dismissed. Offenders were sentenced to approximately seven years in prison with at least one offender receiving a life term. A number of labor traffickers

were also ordered to pay restitution to victims. The amount that traffickers had to pay varied, but the cost was usually substantial. Victims who were identified by officials were usually provided with some level of social support and service.

SUMMARY

In conclusion, labor trafficking is a multifaceted offense that involves targeting, recruiting, and exploiting individuals for profit. The cases coded in the current study provided preliminary insights into the nature of these difficult-to-identify crimes by using information from publicly available sources. Furthermore, the current chapter has allowed for some comparisons with identified sex trafficking cases that were discussed in the previous chapter. By coding various details at the case-, offender-, and victim-levels of analysis, the current study has further illuminated important aspects of these offenses and how they are facilitated.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION: AN OPPORTUNITY PERSPECTIVE ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING

As outlined in the previous chapters, there was quite a bit of variation in the sex and labor trafficking cases that were identified in the current sample. Still, certain trends emerged that illuminated the nature of these crimes. As a brief overview, Table 5.1 outlines several key variables that illustrate the unique characteristics of sex and labor trafficking events at the case-, offender-, and victim-levels of analysis. In particular, sex trafficking cases tended to involve trafficking only, domestic victims, and relatively few victims per case. Reports about sex traffickers suggested that they were in their early adulthood when they were first arrested for their crimes. A majority of sex traffickers were also Black or Hispanic and U.S. citizens. The victims of sex trafficking were relatively young and often Hispanic; most were also U.S. citizens. The duration of sex trafficking lasted approximately six months. Labor trafficking, however, tended to involve smuggling, foreign national victims, and a large number of victims per case. Labor traffickers were generally older and in their early 40s when they were arrested. These offenders were frequently Hispanic or Asian and foreign nationals. The victims of labor trafficking tended to be adults in their 20s, Asian, and non-citizens; they were also trafficked for more than two years.

Although these descriptive findings are informative, they lack a theoretical framework that contextualizes these events. Thus, this chapter will integrate the findings with existing opportunity models. More specifically, the lifestyle-routine activities theory, known by its acronym “L-RAT” (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Cohen, Kluegel, & Land, 1981; Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978), and target congruence theory (Finkelhor & Asdigian, 1996) are

Table 5.1. Sex and Labor Trafficking Characteristics

| | Sex Cases | Labor Cases | Sex Traffickers | Labor Traffickers | Sex Victims | Labor Victims |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Characteristics | Percent/ Mean (SD) | Percent/ Mean (SD) | Percent/ Mean (SD) | Percent/ Mean (SD) | Percent/ Mean (SD) | Percent/ Mean (SD) |
| Evidence of Smuggling | | | | | | |
| Trafficking only | 93.7 | 56.4 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Smuggling and trafficking | 6.3 | 43.6 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Nation of Victims | | | | | | |
| Domestic | 90.7 | 5.1 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Foreign national | 9.3 | 94.9 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Number of Victims | | | | | | |
| Mean total victims | 2.6 (2.6) | 34.6 (113.2) | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Mean offenders | 2.1 (2.3) | 3.0 (2.6) | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Mean age | -- | -- | 31.0 (9.2) | 41.1 (12.0) | 16.7 (4.0) | 24.8 (13.6) |
| Race/Ethnicity | | | | | | |
| Asian | -- | -- | 4.5 | 28.9 | 13.5 | 87.7 |
| Black | -- | -- | 63.2 | 7.9 | 9.0 | 2.8 |
| Hispanic | -- | -- | 21.4 | 43.4 | 63.9 | 7.2 |
| White | -- | -- | 10.8 | 19.7 | 11.3 | 2.4 |
| Other | -- | -- | -- | -- | 2.3 | -- |
| Nationality | | | | | | |
| U.S. citizen | -- | -- | 86.6 | 40.0 | 84.2 | 1.8 |
| Permanent U.S. resident | -- | -- | 1.5 | 4.4 | -- | -- |
| Non-citizen with U.S. visa | -- | -- | -- | 1.1 | -- | 80.4 |
| Undocumented immigrant | -- | -- | 4.4 | 8.9 | 14.0 | 16.4 |
| Foreign national—not specified | -- | -- | 7.5 | 45.5 | 1.8 | 1.3 |
| Mean duration of trafficking (days) | -- | -- | -- | -- | 203.0 (458.2) | 812.5 (1,085.6) |

Note. SD = standard deviation. Sample sizes vary by group and are located in the original presentation of findings located in Chapters 3 and 4.

used to frame these events.

L-RAT is an integrated theory that was developed out of two similar opportunity perspectives: routine activity theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979) and lifestyle-exposure theory (Hindelang et al., 1978). Routine activity theory was initially created by Cohen and Felson (1979) as a macro-level explanation of crime rates. This perspective focuses on three components: motivated offenders, suitable targets, and lack of capable guardians (Cohen & Felson, 1979). According to routine activity theory, a crime event takes place when a motivated offender and suitable target converge in time and space during a person's everyday routines in the absence of capable guardianship. In other words, offenders need to have access and opportunity to commit their crime. If any of the components are missing or interrupted, however, crime cannot occur. This perspective pays particular attention to the everyday routines of individuals that put them in contact with potential motivated offenders. For example, just leaving home to go to work could place individuals at risk for victimization because they could be exposed to a motivated offender without any guardianship.

Lifestyle-exposure theory was originally developed by Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo (1978) to explain individual-level victimization. In their model, although daily routines of individuals were still considered an important component for being targeted, more emphasis was placed on the *types* of routines that individuals pursued. Not all routines are created equally. Thus, they hypothesized that individuals would be at greatest risk for victimization when exposed to "high risk times, places, and people" (Hindelang et al., 1978, p. 245). They argued that role expectations and social structural factors (e.g., economic, family) imposed certain constraints on individuals based on their demographic characteristics. These societal factors ultimately shaped how individuals adapted to these limitations and expectations. The social

adaptation to these factors were believed to develop into daily routines or lifestyle patterns that subsequently influenced associations and exposure to situations with a high victimization risk. In other words, some individuals engage in risky lifestyles, and these activities increase the probability of personal victimization.

Due to the similarities of both perspectives, routine activity theory and lifestyle-exposure theory were later integrated to create L-RAT. The modified theory contains four components: (1) exposure to motivated offenders (i.e., visibility and accessibility to target); (2) proximity to motivated offenders (i.e., physical distance between areas where targets reside and areas where large populations of offenders are found); (3) presence of attractive targets (i.e., material or symbolic desirability of a target); and (4) lack of capable guardianship (i.e., effectiveness of persons or objects to prevent violations) (Cohen et al., 1981). Each of these components can be altered depending on the specific crime being committed. Accordingly, a crime occurs when an offender converges in time and space with an attractive target in the absence of capable guardianship. The likelihood of convergence and victimization, however, are affected by the type of activities in which victims are engaging. More specifically, individuals who participate in “risky” lifestyles (e.g., substance use, criminal behavior) are generally more likely to be victimized than individuals who do not engage in these behaviors (see, e.g., Pratt & Turanovic, 2016; Schreck, Wright, & Miller, 2002; Wilcox, Tillyer, & Fisher, 2009). As the dominant opportunity framework, L-RAT may be useful in helping to explain what makes individuals vulnerable to trafficking. Again, this possibility is explored in the sections that follow.

The target congruence theory was initially developed by Finkelhor and Asdigian (1996) to explain youth victimization beyond risky lifestyles. This exception was created because some individuals who are victimized are not engaged in any delinquent activities or their potential

guardians (e.g., family members) are actually the offenders (Finkelhor, 2007; Finkelhor & Asdigian, 1996). Therefore, this perspective is used to identify victim characteristics that “have some *congruence with the needs, motives or reactivities* of offenders” (Finkelhor & Asdigian, 1996, p. 6, emphasis in original). In other words, these characteristics create unique opportunities for victimization that are not captured by the daily routines of victims. There are three components in the target congruence model: (1) target vulnerability (i.e., victim characteristics that compromise a victim’s capacity to resist or deter victimization); (2) target gratifiability (i.e., victim characteristics that an offender wants to obtain, use, or manipulate); and (3) target antagonism (i.e., victim characteristics that arouse the offender’s destructive tendencies). Depending on the type of crime being examined, the target congruence measures should be adjusted to match suspected needs, motives, or reactivities of offenders for that crime type. For example, researchers studying sexual assault would classify female gender as a measure of target gratifiability. The designation for gratifiability could be changed to represent valuable possessions if the type of victimization being studied was theft. The flexibility of this theory allows for modifications to fit the crime type within a framework that considers factors beyond a victim’s behavior.

In the current chapter, the components of L-RAT are used to frame and structure the theoretical discussion below. The role of motivated offenders and opportunity (i.e., attractive targets, lack of guardianship) are reviewed in more detail. Because L-RAT alone does not account for all trafficking experiences, the target congruence perspective is integrated where applicable to further explain these events. The focus of this chapter will be on sex trafficking cases because they made up a majority of the identified events. However, elaborations on labor trafficking cases will be discussed as appropriate.

MOTIVATED OFFENDERS

Within the L-RAT framework, motivated offenders are believed to exist in the world and are not described in any great detail. Rather, offenders could be anyone who might be willing to commit a crime (Felson & Boba, 2010). However, it is still important to examine specific details related to who the traffickers are and how they commit their crimes. Crime-specific analysis is central to environmental criminology. Like many types of offenses, there is an order or process in which motivated offenders commit trafficking crimes (see, e.g., Clarke & Cornish, 1985; Cornish & Clarke, 2011). Thus, the following discussion is divided into five stages to expand on the role of motivated offenders beyond the L-RAT perspective: (1) choosing trafficking; (2) learning the trade; (3) networking; (4) callousness of traffickers; and (5) lack of fear of detection. An additional observation regarding offenders' age as a possible asset is discussed based on data from the current sample. Each of these sections is discussed in more detail below.

Choosing Trafficking

Trafficking is not a crime that someone stumbles into. These offenses require a certain level of motivation to recruit, abuse, and continuously exploit others. In other words, offenders *choose* to commit this specific crime (Clarke & Cornish, 1985). The decision to engage in trafficking, however, takes more than a desire to be a trafficker. Similar to other types of offenders—whether they are jack rollers (Shaw, 1930), armed robbers (Wright & Decker, 1997), or terrorists (Haner, 2018)—traffickers must have access to opportunities or illegitimate means to commit their crimes (see, e.g., Cloward, 1959). More specifically, traffickers require traits conducive to exploiting victims, access to vulnerable targets that they can manipulate, and buyers who are willing to pay for services. Some offenders also rely on the assistance of a social network to traffic victims. Thus, not everyone can be a trafficker even if they wanted to.

Learning the Trade

Once offenders decide that they want to engage in trafficking and that they have the means to do so, they still have to actually learn how to traffic another person. Traffickers have to learn how to choose targets, recruit or outsource the recruitment of targets, maintain control over victims, advertise and exploit victims, and avoid detection by authorities (see also Ken & Hunter, 2007). In other words, traffickers are not just impulsively committing these crimes without much thought as might be the case for many offenders (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990, p. 89). An inordinate amount of planning and skill is needed for enterprises to exist and persist. As an example, “successful” trafficking operations in the current study were able to prosper for over a decade without being detected by law enforcement officials.

Networking

Although detailed information was not present in the publicly available sources, traffickers often worked with co-offenders or broader social networks to commit their crimes. It is not clear how or why traffickers decided to collaborate, but this collective effort allowed for a division of responsibilities within the criminal enterprise (e.g., smuggling, guard victims, transport, share money). At least in some operations, offenders would work together as a way to recruit or refer victims and to share knowledge (see, e.g., Ken & Hunter, 2007; Shively, Smith, Jalbert, & Drucker, 2017).

Callousness of Traffickers

One of the most common themes across trafficking cases in the current study involved the use of violence to control victims. The level of callousness and cruelty bestowed on victims was pervasive. Although false promises of romance or other caring sentiments (e.g., provide for

victim's need for food and housing) were initially used to recruit some victims, this show of concern vanished once the victim was isolated and under the trafficker's control. Then, traffickers tended to treat victims as property (e.g., branding) and less than human (e.g., place in dog cages). Traffickers would need to have cognitions or perhaps "techniques of neutralization" that would allow them to dehumanize and use people in such violent ways (see Sykes & Matza, 1957). The personality traits of traffickers would also have to be conducive to support the manipulation and psychological coercion used to gain the victims' compliance on a regular basis (see, e.g., Antonopoulos & Winterdyk, 2005; Copley, 2014).

Lack of Fear of Being Detected

In order to commit their crimes, traffickers would have to operate in a way that allowed them to function without constant worry about being arrested. Although these details were not available in the public sources, interviews with traffickers suggest that the fear of being caught is considered an inherent risk of the crime (Shively et al., 2017). However, traffickers do worry about victims running away and seeking help from the police because it could interrupt profits for the criminal organization (Troshynski & Blank, n.d.). In fact, they take steps to control or otherwise intimidate victims to prevent them from disclosing their trafficking. Another consideration is that, although they range across traffickers, the profits that traffickers make can be substantial (Dank et al., 2014). Ultimately, given the immediacy of these profits and the reality that they can traffic with impunity for years, existing legal sanctions are not sufficiently certain or harsh to prevent individuals from engaging in trafficking offenses (Bouché & Shady, 2017; see also Cullen & Jonson, 2017).

Age as an Asset

Traffickers in the current sample tended to be adults when they were arrested for their crimes. On average, labor traffickers were even older, by approximately 10 years, than sex traffickers (see Table 5.1). While many offenders stop committing crimes by their mid-20s (Loeber & Farrington, 2014), traffickers continued into their early- to mid-adulthood. In this respect, traffickers were more like career criminals than adolescence-limited offenders (Moffitt, 1993). Although speculative, it is also possible that adult traffickers had more resources that could be used to gain control over their younger victims. For example, many sex traffickers provided for vulnerable victims (e.g., shelter, food, clothing) as a way to initially recruit them. For this strategy to appear convincing, traffickers would have to possess some level of resources to initially deliver on their promise. In this context, being an adult might mean that traffickers had—or at least appeared to have—enough resources to persuade desperate targets. Relatedly, being older could have also helped labor traffickers facilitate their crimes. In particular, as they aged, traffickers could have secured the resources and established the networks needed to obtain fraudulent victim documents and to smuggle victims across the border.

OPPORTUNITY

Motivated offenders are an important component of crime events, but they are not the only necessary ingredient outlined by the L-RAT perspective. As previously noted, traffickers cannot commit crimes without sufficient means or opportunities (see, e.g., Cloward, 1959). Thus, offenders need to converge with attractive targets who lack capable guardians that could protect them. What makes an individual an attractive target or a capable guardian helps inform potential risk and protective factors for trafficking offenses. These roles are reviewed below.

Attractive Targets

As outlined in the L-RAT framework, an attractive target could be anything—a person, place, or object—that draws an offender toward a crime (Cohen et al., 1981; Felson & Boba, 2010). For trafficking offenses, offenders specifically target people that can be exploited. The motivations behind a trafficker’s target selection can be instrumental (i.e., means of acquiring something one desires) or expressive (i.e., act of harming the person is the reward) (Cohen et al., 1981). Although some traffickers have expressive motivations (e.g., some offenders also sexually assault victims), all traffickers have instrumental motivations. In other words, traffickers target victims because they want to exploit them for profit or personal servitude—the goal is always to acquire something from them (i.e., instrumental motivation).

The L-RAT perspective provides insights into what makes some individuals attractive to traffickers. As previously discussed, this framework pays particular attention to risky routines of individuals that elevate their likelihood of victimization. In the current sample, some victims engaged in risky behaviors when they were recruited by traffickers. For example, traffickers converged with victims while the victims were participating in high-risk sex-related work such as soliciting customers for prostitution. For many of the labor trafficking cases, victims were also searching for individuals to smuggle them into the United States. These criminal behaviors placed victims at greater risk because it exposed them to potential offenders (i.e., buyers of sex, individuals who would facilitate smuggling) with minimal guardianship.

Of course, not all of the victims were engaging in risky activities. Many of the victims in the current sample were approached while they were out in public or they were contacted online. Other victims were recruited in traditionally private spaces such as their school or home. These locations suggest that traffickers were connecting with victims for reasons other than risky

behavior. Additional factors that make someone an attractive target can be gleaned by incorporating the target congruence perspective where characteristics of victims are considered. As previously discussed, target congruence theory has three components: (1) target vulnerability; (2) target gratifiability; and (3) target antagonism (Finkelhor & Asdigian, 1996). All three categories can be applied to victims of human trafficking.

First, many victims were vulnerable because they came from backgrounds with little social support or few resources (target vulnerability). Victims in the current sample were impoverished, homeless, addicted to substances, afflicted with disabilities, running away from home, or lacking basic necessities (e.g., food, clothing). These vulnerabilities put victims in a position where they were not able to refuse help easily when it was offered. Thus, traffickers were able to prey upon victims' needs and desperation to lure and then control them. Given that many of the sex trafficking victims were young, they were likely not capable of providing for themselves—making them all the more vulnerable. Labor trafficking victims were also vulnerable populations. In these cases, traffickers would target mostly foreign national victims who were searching for a better life in a new country where they had few resources.

In an important caveat, not all of the sex trafficking victims were deceived about their expected role in commercial sex acts. In some of the cases, the victims were aware that they would be selling sex in exchange for items such as food or shelter. However, they did not know that their “choice” was actually a trap that would result in pervasive levels of violence and manipulation. The needs of these victims were so great that they initially agreed to sell sex for money at the prospect of having someone take care of them.

Second, all of the sex trafficking victims in the current study were young females. Because most buyers purchase sex from females (see, e.g., Banks & Kyckellhahn, 2011;

Malarek, 2009, 2011; Nichols, 2016), being female placed individuals at greater risk of being targeted by traffickers due to their very fact of their gender (target gratifiability). Some victims were also had severe mental or physical disabilities that traffickers exploited. Although disabilities made victims more vulnerable by reducing their ability to resist or deter traffickers, traffickers would select victims with disabilities to obtain their checks from the government. In this way, traffickers wanted access to victims with deficits so they could manipulate and have access to the benefits that they received.

Third, some victims could have been targeted because of qualities that aroused anger or other destructive impulses of traffickers (target antagonism). For example, women who had families that organized arranged marriages were often beaten and dehumanized by their new spouses. Although speculative, the abusive husband-traffickers could have been displeased with the arrangement and become angry with the victims. The very presence of the victim could have been enough for the offender to feel justified in inflicting harm on her.

Lack of Guardianship

In L-RAT, guardians represent protection over some potential target to prevent or interrupt victimization (Cohen et al., 1981). Therefore, guardianship is an extremely important component in disrupting a criminal event. Guardianship can be social (e.g., individual who could intervene) or physical (e.g., door locks, security alarm) (Felson & Boba, 2010; Madero-Hernandez & Fisher, 2013). However, because trafficking offenders target individuals, social guardianship is more pertinent to protecting potential victims.

Victims in the current sample were not adequately protected by guardians and were thus exploited. However, some victims had guardians that were, for one reason or another (e.g., drugs, family problems), inadequate. In some of these cases, the traffickers were also the

caregivers. In these instances, the victims were often young children who could do little about their circumstances because their guardians had complete control over them and their activities. Without outside support systems capable of recognizing trafficking warning signs (e.g., school officials, extended family, neighbors), the children had little recourse for protection.

In other cases, the victims were escaping their current guardians (e.g., running away). Once victims were away from any potential sources of protection, traffickers would prey upon these victims by initially acting as guardians (e.g., provide food, clothing, money, shelter). Some traffickers would also act as romantic partners that would care for and support the victims. These “relationships” were never affectionate for long. After the victims were isolated and dependent on the traffickers for assistance, the offenders would exploit them for profit. In these scenarios, the desire or need for a provider and protector made victims especially vulnerable. Without a strong social network to identify these manipulative tactics and intervene, the traffickers were able to masquerade as guardians to the detriment of their victims.

Summary

In sum, the L-RAT perspective, in combination with target congruence theory, can be used to explain trafficking offenses. The roles of motivated offenders, suitable targets, and capable guardians illustrate important components that allow or disrupt these criminal events. However, the characteristics of potential victims (i.e., target congruence theory) can be especially important when considering how targets are selected by traffickers. By understanding the circumstances or opportunities that facilitate these crimes, intervention efforts can be maximized. Thus, the next step is to review potential strategies that can be used to prevent these events from happening.

PREVENTION

As previously discussed, trafficking offenses can be partially explained by using theories of opportunity. Informed by the opportunity perspective, the prevention of human trafficking involves implementing strategies that impede offenders' ability to commit these crimes and that identify existing victims so they can be rescued. However, and as will be reviewed, more than an opportunity framework is needed to address human trafficking offenses at various stages of the offense. Five strategies to prevent and control trafficking crimes are discussed in more detail below: (1) situational crime prevention; (2) place-based efforts; (3) deterrence; (4) demand reduction; and (5) specialty courts and training opportunities.

Situational Crime Prevention

Situational crime prevention corresponds with the opportunity framework to control crime. More specifically, this approach focuses on altering an immediate environment in particular ways to reduce specific criminal opportunities (Clarke, 1997; Cornish & Clarke, 2003; Smith & Clarke, 2012). In other words, the space or context is fundamental in understanding criminal choice—opportunities must be available in the environment for offenders to exploit them. If traffickers are not able to access or recruit potential victims, then trafficking offenses cannot occur. Thus, situational crime prevention is most useful when trying to prevent interactions between traffickers and would-be victims. If traffickers already have control of victims, then efforts can be made to thwart the actual exploitation stage of the crime (e.g., commercial sex). This strategy can be applied by using techniques that (1) increase the effort to commit the offense, (2) increase the risk of detection, (3) reduce any rewards associated with the offense, (4) reduce situational provocations for the offense, and (5) make it more difficult to excuse the offense (Cornish & Clarke, 2003).

Increase the Effort. In the current sample, traffickers used the Internet as one way to advertise victims once they had them under their control. The website Backpage.com was a common outlet where traffickers found buyers of commercial sex. Recently, the United States government seized the Internet domain as part of an ongoing investigation (Savage & Williams, 2018). By controlling a common tool used to locate buyers, law enforcement officials are increasing the effort needed for traffickers to sell victims. However, there are concerns that closing down this website may make it more difficult to locate victims because traffickers will have to resort to other tactics to sell sex for money (e.g., street walking, various websites) (Mehlman-Orozco, 2018). The level of displacement—or if there is any—has yet to be examined in depth.

Increase the Risks. Likely one of the most useful ways to identify and prevent trafficking crimes is by increasing the risk of detection. In particular, programs have been created to extend guardianship as a way to identify potential trafficking cases (Cornish & Clarke, 2003). Cosmetologists (Borchers, 2016), flight attendants (Reed, 2018), truckers (Burgess, 2018), transit workers (Lam, 2018), and hotel employees (Freeman, 2018) have all received training on the signs of human trafficking because they are likely to interact with potential victims. Although these trainings are focused on identifying existing victims, individuals in these roles could disrupt ongoing cases of exploitation if they recognize the signs of trafficking. To identify warning signs of traffickers at the recruitment phase, additional training could be mandated for staff at locations where traffickers search for vulnerable victims (e.g., homeless shelters, foster care). Relatedly, the National Human Trafficking Hotline (NHTH, n.d.) posts advertisements and publishes reports to raise public awareness about human trafficking. Citizens and victims of trafficking are encouraged to report tips to the hotline via telephone or text. By

sensitizing citizens to the importance of recognizing and reporting suspicious activity, trafficking victims might be more likely to be identified.

Another way to increase risks is by utilizing place managers (Cornish & Clarke, 2003). Place managers—a relatively recent addition to the opportunity framework (Eck, 1994; Madensen & Eck, 2013)—can influence whether a place facilitates or inhibits criminal behavior. For example, many victims in the current sample were trafficked at hotels or motels. Place managers at these locations could mandate staff training on trafficking, hire security guards, or encourage patrons to report any suspicious activity related to trafficking (see also Eck & Madensen, 2018). Or managers could implement policies that rooms cannot be rented by the hour to reduce quick meet-ups between potential victims and sex buyers. Some organizations have also started targeting high-risk places such as motels to provide them with soap and training materials (Rosenblatt, 2017). The soaps contain the number to the NHTH and are supposed to be left in one of the rare locations victims are allowed to be alone—the bathroom. Without approval from place managers, however, the soaps cannot be distributed or made available to potential victims. Ultimately, the place managers of known trafficking recruitment locations (e.g., bus stations, retail stores, casinos, laundry mats) have a lot of authority over how their businesses operate and can influence whether anti-trafficking efforts are implemented.

Reduce the Rewards. By reducing the rewards associated with human trafficking, offenders will be less likely to engage in these crimes. More specifically, removing targets means that traffickers would not have access to potential victims or the corresponding profit (Cornish & Clarke, 2003). In the current sample, victims were often recruited by strangers and in public spaces. Although individuals cannot be taken off of the streets or isolated from traffickers entirely, vulnerable victims (e.g., poor, homeless) can be taken to appropriate shelters

so they are not visible on the streets where traffickers engage in quite a bit of recruiting. Of course, this tactic does not prevent crimes outside of shelters where traffickers sometimes lurk and look for victims—additional guardianship would still be needed in these locations.

Disrupting trafficking markets is another way to reduce the rewards associated with these offenses (Cornish & Clarke, 2003). As previously noted, law enforcement officials have taken control of Backpage.com as a way to knife off connections between traffickers and buyers (Savage & Williams, 2018). While that website is out of commission, traffickers are losing money because they can no longer easily, or anonymously, find buyers.

Reduce Provocations. A technique to reduce provocations is by neutralizing peer pressure to buy sex (Cornish & Clarke, 2003). As a way to discourage the exploitation of victims, Ashton Kutcher and Demi Moore started the “Real Men Don’t Buy Girls” campaign (Hebblethwaite, 2014). Kutcher and Moore created images and videos of other celebrities holding up signs with the campaign’s slogan to bring awareness to sex trafficking and to dissuade men from purchasing sex. The goal was to stop the demand for commercial sex, which in turn would stop the need for traffickers to supply victims.

Remove Excuses. The final techniques involve posting instructions and alerting consciences so as to remove any excuses suggesting that trafficking offenses are not a crime (Cornish & Clarke, 2003). Related to place managers, relevant businesses (e.g., hotels, bus stations, retail stores, casinos, laundry mats) could post instructions at the entrance indicating that trafficking will not be tolerated on the premises. These signs could also let traffickers know that the employees of the business have received training in trafficking and thus that this location is unsuitable to recruit or exploit victims. In another public display of awareness, some cities sponsor billboards or radio ads that alert all members of the community how traffickers recruit

victims (see, e.g., Figueroa, 2018; Hoffman, 2018). These efforts accomplish two goals: (1) make the public aware that trafficking occurs and (2) reinforce the criminal aspect of these actions. In this respect, traffickers cannot plead ignorance that they did not know what they were doing was illegal.

Place-Based Efforts

Related to the opportunity framework and place managers, the role of specific places is an important aspect for understanding crime patterns (Eck & Weisburd, 1995; Sherman, Gartin, & Buerger, 1989; Weisburd et al., 2016). There is evidence that crime is concentrated at places (e.g., Eck, Clarke, & Guerette, 2007; Sherman et al., 1989; Spelman, 1995) and that this pattern is generally stable (e.g., Andreson & Malleson, 2011; Groff, Weisburd, & Yang, 2010; Weisburd, 2015; Weisburd, Bushway, Lum, & Yang, 2004). Places that are identified as having high concentrations of crime—or hot spots—can be targeted for intervention to reduce these events (Madensen & Eck, 2008).

Human trafficking offenses also tend to concentrate in certain regions of the United States (see Appendices A and B). However, intervening at specific places requires knowledge of trafficking events on a local level. In this respect, local law enforcement officials could document locations of recruitment and exploitation across a city to map “hot spots” for trafficking-related offenses. Once the specific places (e.g., hotels/motels, bars) for an area are identified, then appropriate situational crime prevention techniques can be applied to these locations based on their unique needs to disrupt these events. The place managers of hot spots can also be contacted by local authorities to implement appropriate crime prevention techniques (see also Eck & Madensen, 2018). These practices could be applied to public spaces (e.g., sidewalk on a certain street) where traffickers might approach victims. If a city finds that there

are certain streets or corners where victims are approached, then the city could implement interventions to prevent traffickers from using those locations (e.g., increase formal surveillance, control access, deflect offenders). Although these events would only be stopped after exploitation was identified, future trafficking crimes could potentially be disrupted if places for recruitment and exploitation are no longer accessible.

Deterrence

To address the motivations of offenders, deterrence could be used to reduce the likelihood that they engage in these crimes. The theory of deterrence is based on the principle that people seek out pleasure and try to avoid pain (Cullen & Jonson, 2017; Nagin, 1998). Accordingly, offenders who believe that punishment will be certain and severe will be less likely to commit crime. Using this perspective, punishing offenders could have general (i.e., other people will not commit the crime) or specific (i.e., the person will not commit the same crime again) deterrent effects. As a prevention measure for trafficking, however, deterrence may not work.

Despite the creation of trafficking legislation to punish offenders for their crimes, there seems to be no shortage of cases where victims are exploited for sex or labor. The decision to commit these offenses could be related to the substantial profits that traffickers can make (Dank et al., 2014). Thus, the severe penalties for committing these crimes do not seem to outweigh the benefits for two reasons. First, the nature of trafficking makes it unlikely that offenders will initially be caught for their crimes. In other words, traffickers make a profit by repeatedly exploiting individuals. Although possible, it is unlikely that law enforcement officials are going to be able to identify an initial trafficking event and capture offenders. This inability of police to

detect exploitation immediately or, in some cases, even after a decade, means that offenders are not destined for prison. The hidden nature of these offenses reduces the certainty of punishment.

Second, traffickers' ongoing exploitive behavior could be due, in part, to offenders being convicted of lesser crimes that correspond with reduced punishments (see, e.g., Farrell et al., 2012). Traffickers are not always convicted of trafficking. In the current sample, some prosecutors would have to rely on reduced charges from plea agreements to ensure that offenders were still convicted for their crimes. Or sometimes traffickers were convicted of trafficking, but the punishment was less severe due to a restricted sentencing ranges in state legislation. Although some offenders were given particularly harsh sentences (e.g., 40 years, life in prison), other traffickers were sentenced to probation or time served. If all traffickers were certain to be convicted of trafficking crimes at the federal level, then harsher penalties would be more widespread. However, the severity of punishment is not guaranteed and likely not much of a deterrent.

Demand Reduction

Another common approach to preventing trafficking crimes is to address the demand for commercial sex specifically by targeting the buyers. As previously discussed, there is a campaign to encourage men not to purchase sex (Hebblethwaite, 2014), but there are also programs to educate men about the harms of commercial sex after they are caught by law enforcement officials. Buyers of sex, otherwise known as "johns," can be arrested for trying to purchase sex from an actual individual or as part of a police sting with a fictional victim. To address these offenses, "john schools" were developed as education or treatment programs to dissuade identified buyers from engaging in commercial sex again (Shively, Kliorys, Wheeler, & Hunt, 2012). The programs are often composed of a single session with a wide range in fees (\$0

to \$1,500). Due to few formal evaluations of “john schools,” the effectiveness of these programs to reduce recidivism has yet to be established (Shively et al., 2012).

It is important to note that not all scholars agree with reducing demand for sex (see, e.g., Agustín, 2007; Almodovar, 1993; Bass, 2015; Doezma, 2010; Kempadoo, Sanghera, & Pattanaik, 2012; Pheterson, 1989; Showden & Majic, 2014). There are two main, competing theoretical frameworks on this topic: (1) neo-abolitionists and (2) sex positivists (Gerassi, 2015). The neo-abolitionist group believes that any commercial sex—voluntary or involuntary—is oppressive against women and should be prohibited. This theoretical camp questions the validity of any female engaging in voluntary sex acts because of the exploitive nature of these acts. The sex positivists believe that sex work can be a legitimate form of employment that women can choose. Accordingly, the demand by buyers is vital for the survival of the profession. It is likely that both perspectives can be true, to an extent, depending on the individual who is engaging in sex work. Some individuals are trafficking victims who are compelled through force, fraud, or coercion, whereas others are voluntarily engaging in commercial sex acts. Given the vulnerability of sex workers (e.g., Deering et al., 2014), it is also possible that some voluntary sex workers are also trafficked at a later date, or vice versa. The goal then would be to determine who is being trafficked and/or who wants to leave sex work so appropriate services can be delivered.

Specialty Courts and Training Opportunities

Once victims are rescued from traffickers, special efforts are also made to prevent repeat victimizations and other unfavorable outcomes (e.g., homelessness, substance use). There are two types of programs that have been created to address these issues: (1) specialty courts and (2) training opportunities. Each of these programs is described in more detail below.

Specialty Courts. Victims of human trafficking are compelled to engage in a variety of behaviors that violate criminal laws (e.g., prostitution, theft) during their exploitation. To address this victim-offender dynamic, specialty courts were designed to account for the unique circumstances of trafficking victims who are identified by the court (Office of Justice Programs, n.d.). When charges indicate trafficking red flags (e.g., prostitution, truancy), the courts investigate these cases further to determine if a diversion program is appropriate. Individuals who are sent to a specialty courts are supposed to receive trauma-informed care, services, compliance monitoring, and evaluations (Office of Justice Programs, n.d.). The goal of this diversion initiative is to ensure that victims receive the necessary services and support to lead successful lives. Ultimately, the courts are trying to reduce the number of targets that are vulnerable to trafficker's tactics by helping victims rebuild their lives.

Training Opportunities. Grassroots trafficking organizations have also been created to provide trafficking victims with training opportunities and support. For example, some sex trafficking victims learn to care for bees and harvest their honey to help them learn and heal after their exploitation (Holley, 2018). Another organization, Thistle Farms, provides victims of trafficking with shelter, counseling, and employment making scented lotions and soaps (Garrison, 2017). The goal of many direct service providers of trafficking victims is to address the issues that made victims vulnerable to trafficking in the first place and to instill the skills needed to be successful.

Summary

Although the opportunity perspective is useful for explaining trafficking events, it is not the only approach that is needed to prevent and control these crimes. More specifically, it is difficult to apply situational crime prevention to multiple aspects of this crime because

traffickers can recruit victims across various public spaces, target vulnerable people who might already be isolated, and trap people in settings which are not visible to anyone but the buyers. Situational crime prevention is useful in some respects (e.g., extending guardianship, utilizing place managers), but it is difficult to apply these techniques when the crime is an ongoing, exploitive event in which people are acquired and then kept under control. Thus, additional approaches (e.g., place-based efforts, specialty courts) can be used to tackle these crimes—sometimes only after the offense has been committed. More generally, preventing trafficking effectively will depend on developing greater knowledge about the motivations of offenders, vulnerability of victims, and impulses of buyers. Building such knowledge, however, will require sustained and innovative research on human trafficking.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Although there has been increasing attention to human trafficking through exposés and media stories, there has not been extensive scholarly research in the area. Thus, the contribution of the current study provided statistical information on the offenders, victims, and nature of the crime. This research also presents an opportunity to identify future research. As such, there are five main lines of future inquiry.

First, with few exceptions (e.g., Antonopoulos & Winterdyk, 2005; Bouché, 2017; Bouché & Shady, 2017; Busch-Armendariz, Nsonwu, & Heffron, 2009; Gotch, 2016; Serie, Krumeich, van Dijke, de Ruiter, Terpstra, & de Ruiter, 2018; Shively et al., 2017; Troshynski & Blank, n.d., 2008), the role of motivated offenders has largely been ignored in trafficking research. In particular, more details on the origins of traffickers and their decision to engage in this crime are needed. Additionally, more research is needed to examine the traffickers' techniques of neutralization to justify the brutal violence used against victims. Similar to other

criminal narratives (see, e.g., Haner, 2018; Shaw, 1930; Wright & Decker, 1997), in-depth interviews with traffickers could illuminate how these individuals became traffickers, the factors associated with this decision, and how traffickers felt about their actions.

Second, more comprehensive tracking systems are needed to establish local trafficking hot spots. As previously discussed, crime tends to concentrate at places and this phenomenon also likely applies to trafficking events (Eck et al., 2007; Sherman et al., 1989; Spelman, 1995; Weisburd, 2015). More details on recruitment and exploitation locations could provide law enforcement officials with the means to focus on places where trafficking is most prevalent. If trafficking offenses cluster in certain areas for different stages of the offense (e.g., recruitment, exploitation, isolation), then police might be able to dedicate resources to high recruitment areas to prevent initial victimizations.

Third, more information on the buyers or clients of traffickers is needed to prevent the exploitation of victims. Although buyers of sex in particular are criticized for fueling demand, there are instances where buyers assist victims escape their trafficker once they find out that they are not there willingly (e.g., Villani, 2016). Future research should further evaluate whether buyers of sex can be used to identify potential victims. Additionally, more research should be conducted to establish whether demand reduction techniques with buyers (e.g., “john schools”) are actually effective at reducing sex trafficking and buyer recidivism.

Fourth, the vulnerabilities of victims should be evaluated to determine any individual characteristics or traits that put them at risk for trafficking. For example, are there certain personality traits that make victims more susceptible to traffickers’ tactics? Although prior research often highlights risk factors associated with trafficking victims, such as prior abuse, being impoverished, and substance addiction (Estes & Weiner, 2001; Fedina et al., 2016), limited

information exists about personality dimensions that might elevate risk. Relatedly, what are the victim characteristics that are protective of individuals who share risk factors with trafficking victims but who are never trafficked (e.g., resiliency)? For example, history of abuse is noted as a risk factor for sexual exploitation (Greenbaum et al., 2015), but many individuals who were abused are likely not trafficked. In this context, it is important to understand other indicators, in addition to known risk factors, that place individuals at risk for trafficking (more broadly, see Kulig, Cullen, Wilcox, & Chouhy, 2018; Wilcox, Sullivan, Jones, & van Gelder, 2014).

Fifth, and related to victims, more research is needed to determine the long-term outcomes for victims of trafficking. For instance, how many victims are re-trafficked once they escape? This information was only available in a limited way in the current study, but additional research could explore this topic using longitudinal data methods. Furthermore, are victims able to have successful outcomes (e.g., employment, sobriety) years after their abuse? If so, what are the most important factors that helped victims achieve their goals? The next phase of victim-related research will need to evaluate outcomes over time to illuminate the struggles that victims face once they are rescued.

CONCLUSION

The increased attention to human trafficking has allowed for a more comprehensive examination of these events by scholars, police, and other professionals in the field. However, the recognition that trafficking is a crime did not transpire quickly. Rather, these behaviors had to be socially constructed as a crime that was worthy of a collective response. This dissertation is part of this growing movement to illuminate the nature of these offenses. And while scientific inquiries are important for its own sake, science is also a tool that can be used for the greater good of humanity (Cullen, 2005). In the case of human trafficking, as researchers, we have a

duty to ensure our compassion for those ensnared within this enterprise is not lost. Our ideas have consequences that, for better or worse, influence people's lives. It is our honor and responsibility never to forget this reality.

When reviewing the results in this dissertation, it is easy to focus on the estimates and lose sight of the human tragedy that this form of victimization causes. In particular, the narratives that were integrated into the text captured the enduring callousness and unimaginable cruelty that victims of sex and labor trafficking experienced. At best, these victims were psychologically and emotionally coerced. At worst, they were brutalized. Many victims experienced both. Victims were forced to work six or seven days a week for long hours without any reprieve. Once they were under the control of a trafficker, the exploitation lasted anywhere from six months to two years. Even when victims were not being exploited for profit, they were being punished, isolated, starved, assaulted, raped, humiliated, and drugged. The human aspect of these experiences should not be overshadowed by the statistics provided. As Paul Brodeur reminds us, "statistics are human beings with the tears wiped off." Indeed, every single human trafficking case merits our concern and risks being a human tragedy. The study of this criminal enterprise thus remains critically important. Human trafficking is a form of crime whose existence must not only be acknowledged—as has recently occurred—but also be truly understood and ultimately eradicated.

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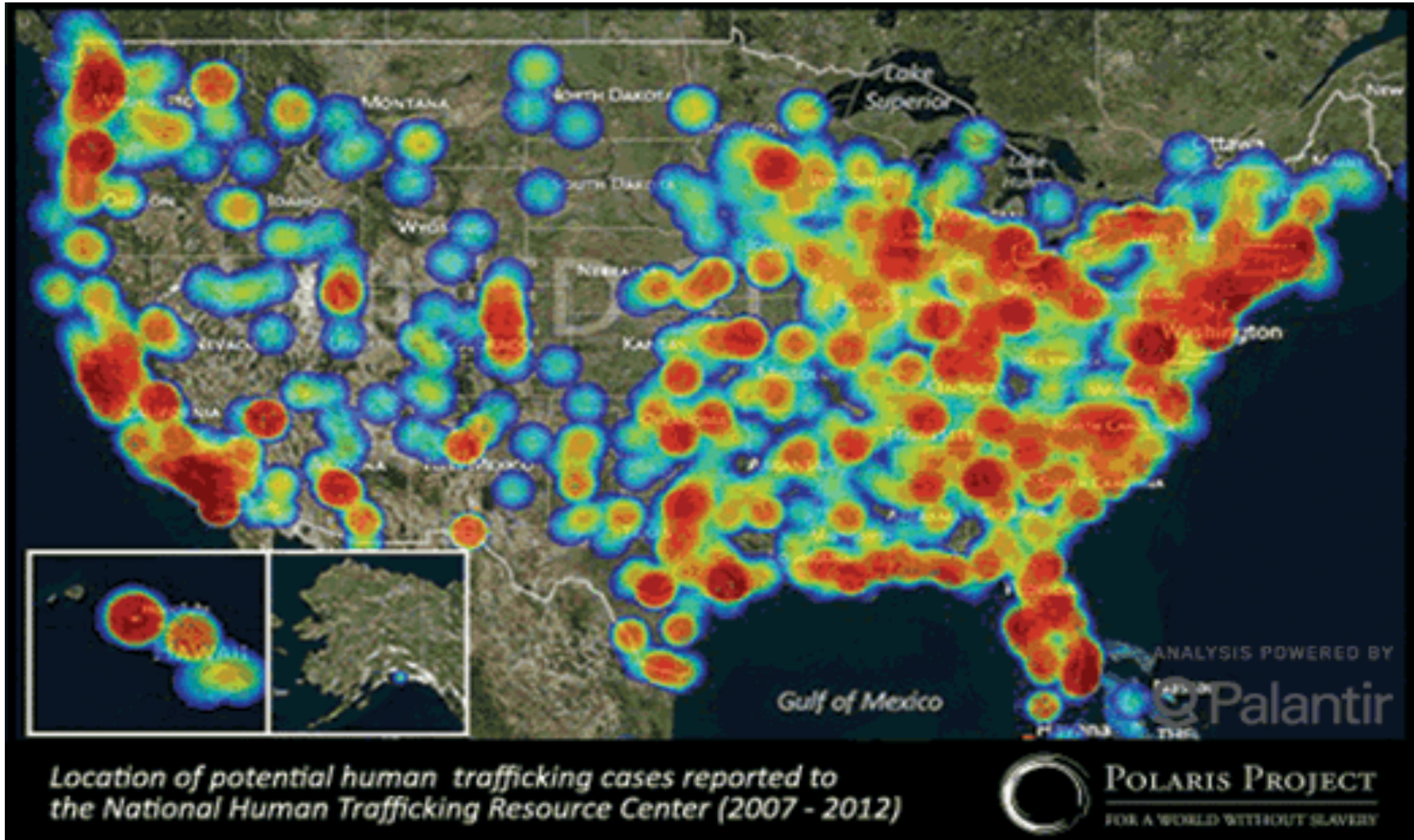
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APPENDIX A

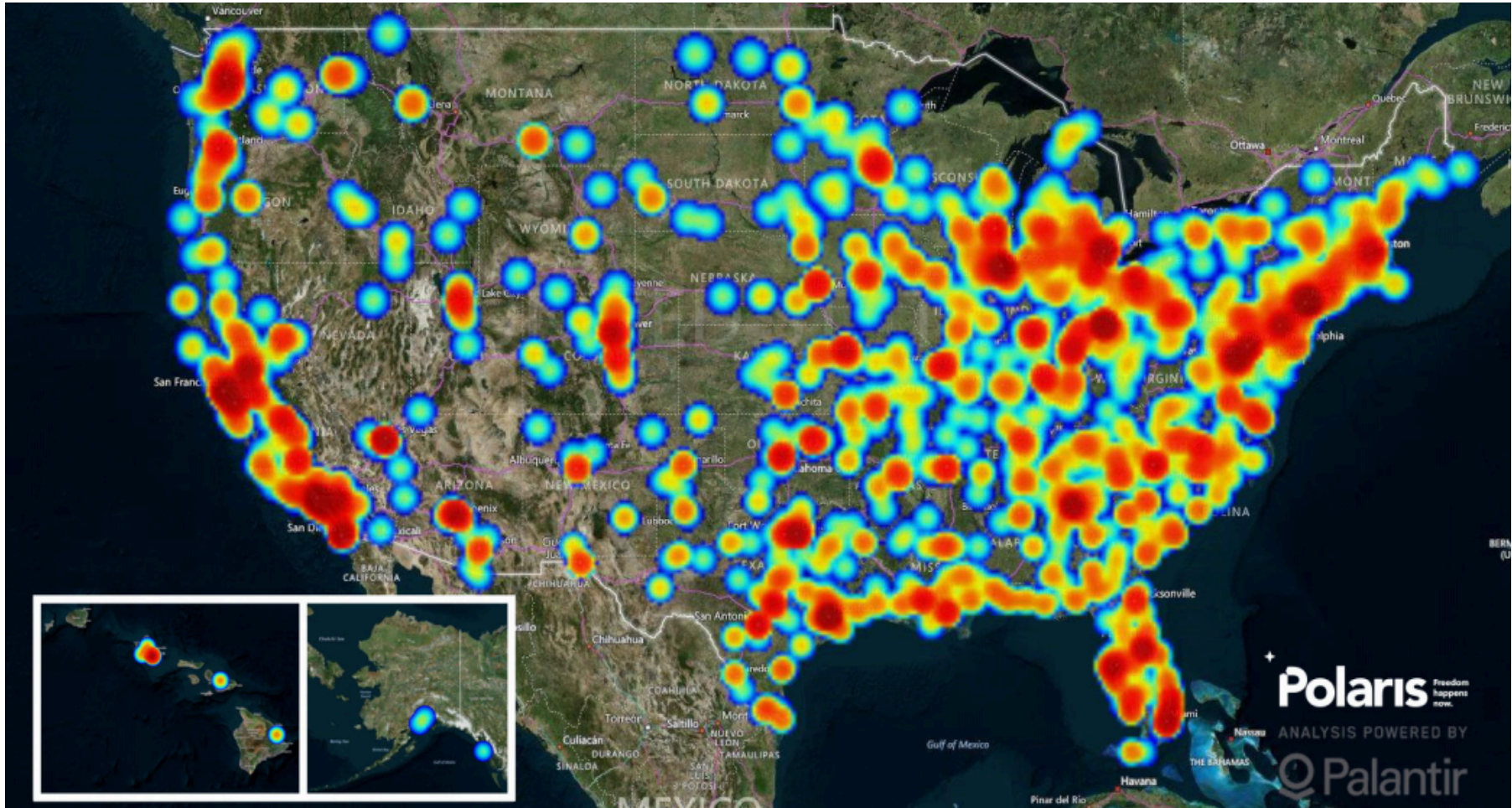
TRENDS OF SUSPECTED TRAFFICKING CASES: 2007-2012



Polaris Project (n.d.)

APPENDIX B

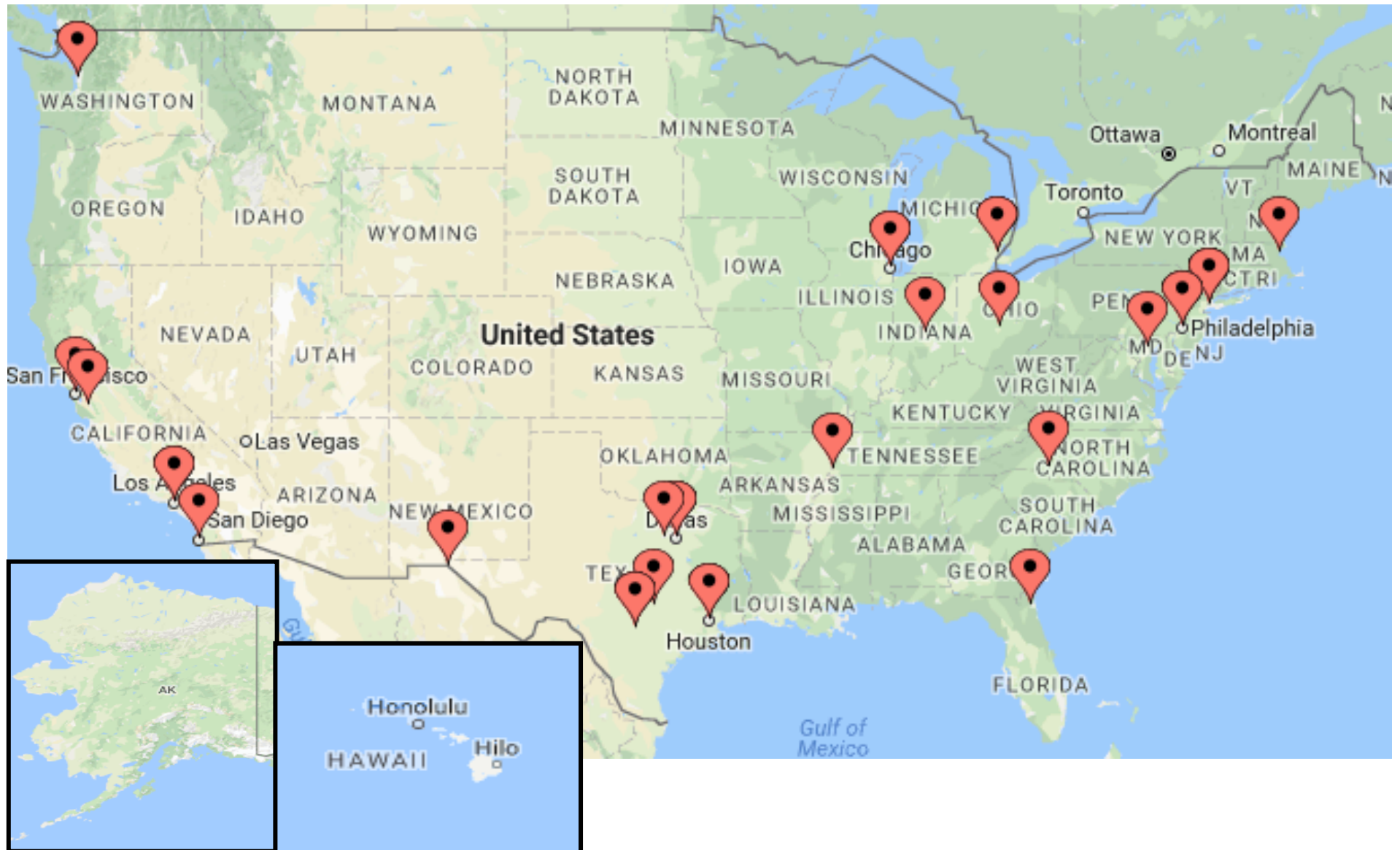
TRENDS OF SUSPECTED TRAFFICKING CASES: 2016



Polaris Project (2017b)

APPENDIX C

MAP OF NEWSPAPER LOCATIONS IN 22 LARGEST CITIES (N = 32 newspapers)



APPENDIX D
CODING INSTRUMENT

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Identifier</i> | | |
| ID | Code for each case (e.g., 1, 2, 3, 4)—multiple articles on the same case will be coded under the same ID number | Open response |
| <i>Case-Level Details</i> | | |
| <i>Newspaper Details</i> | | |
| NO SOURCES | Number of sources that contributed information to the case | Open response |
| SOURCE | List original newspaper source where I first found case | Open response |
| SO TYPE | Where did sources come from | 0 = newspapers only 1 = newspapers and other non-media sources (e.g., court records, government bulletins, government press releases, US Fed News) |
| DATABASE | Database where the original newspaper article(s) from initial search was located | 1 = ProQuest 2 = NewsBank 3 = Newspaper case in both databases |
| <i>Locations of Case</i> | | |
| REGION ARR | Region in United States where the offender was arrested (Based on US Census regions) | 1 = West 2 = Midwest 3 = Northeast 4 = South 5 = Multiple 6 = Abroad -999 = missing, not listed |
| | West = WA, OR, CA, NV, ID, MT, WY, UT, CO, AZ, NM, AK, HI Midwest = ND, SD, NE, KS, MN, IA, MO, WI, IL, IN, MI, OH Northeast = PA, NJ, NY, VT, NH, ME, MA, CT, RI South = TX, OK, AR, LA, MS, AL, TN, KY, WV, GA, FL, SC, NC, VA, DC, MD, DE | |
| STATE ARR | State where the offender was arrested | 1 = Alabama 2 = Alaska 3 = Arizona 4 = Arkansas 5 = California 6 = Colorado 7 = Connecticut 8 = Delaware 9 = Florida 10 = Georgia 11 = Hawaii 12 = Idaho |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|---|---|
| | | 13 = Illinois 14 = Indiana 15 = Iowa 16 = Kansas 17 = Kentucky 18 = Louisiana 19 = Maine 20 = Maryland 21 = Massachusetts 22 = Michigan 23 = Minnesota 24 = Mississippi 25 = Missouri 26 = Montana 27 = Nebraska 28 = Nevada 29 = New Hampshire 30 = New Jersey 31 = New Mexico 32 = New York 33 = North Carolina 34 = North Dakota 35 = Ohio 36 = Oklahoma 37 = Oregon 38 = Pennsylvania 39 = Rhode Island 40 = South Carolina 41 = South Dakota 42 = Tennessee 43 = Texas 44 = Utah 45 = Vermont 46 = Virginia 47 = Washington 48 = West Virginia 49 = Wisconsin 50 = Wyoming 51 = Multiple 52 = N/A, arrested outside U.S. 53 = District of Columbia -999 = missing, not listed |
| CITY ARR | City of offender(s) arrest | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| CIT END | Was the victim(s) being transported to final destination when they were identified (i.e., victim was en route to final destination but never made it because they were rescued) | 0 = no (specified in article) 1 = no (assumed by coder) 2 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|--|--|
| CIT NAME | Name of city where the victim(s) was supposed to end up if different from city of arrest (i.e., victim was en route to final destination but never made it) | 0 = N/A, not being transported Open response (and list names separated by semi-colon) -999 = missing, not listed |
| LOC MULT | Was trafficking operation located/occurring in multiple places (not necessarily same as to whether victims were being trafficked in multiple cities/areas) | 0 = no 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC MULT | Was there any indication that the same victim(s) were trafficked in multiple cities/areas (i.e., victim moved to multiple locations) | 0 = no 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| AREA TRAF | Number of reported cities/areas where trafficking operation was occurring [<i>NOTE: UNIT OF ANALYSIS VARIES</i> —not always on same unit of analysis if reports list cities and then states without specifics—each separate area/city is noted as a counted location] | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| LIST TRAF | List cities/areas victim(s) trafficked in (might be redundant with STATE CROSS variable at times) | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| STATE TRAF | State where the victim(s) trafficked | 1 = Alabama 2 = Alaska 3 = Arizona 4 = Arkansas 5 = California 6 = Colorado 7 = Connecticut 8 = Delaware 9 = Florida 10 = Georgia 11 = Hawaii 12 = Idaho 13 = Illinois 14 = Indiana 15 = Iowa 16 = Kansas 17 = Kentucky 18 = Louisiana 19 = Maine 20 = Maryland 21 = Massachusetts 22 = Michigan 23 = Minnesota 24 = Mississippi 25 = Missouri 26 = Montana |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|--|---|
| | | 27 = Nebraska 28 = Nevada 29 = New Hampshire 30 = New Jersey 31 = New Mexico 32 = New York 33 = North Carolina 34 = North Dakota 35 = Ohio 36 = Oklahoma 37 = Oregon 38 = Pennsylvania 39 = Rhode Island 40 = South Carolina 41 = South Dakota 42 = Tennessee 43 = Texas 44 = Utah 45 = Vermont 46 = Virginia 47 = Washington 48 = West Virginia 49 = Wisconsin 50 = Wyoming 51 = Multiple 52 = rescued before trafficked 53 = District of Columbia -999 = missing, not listed |
| CROSS | Did the trafficker cross state lines with the victim(s) for the purposes of trafficking them in multiple locations | 0 = no (specified in article) 1 = no (assumed by coder) 2 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| STATE CROSS | List states the trafficker took victims to throughout duration of trafficking for the purposes of trafficking them in multiple locations | -555 = N/A, did not cross state lines Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| LEVEL | Level of case in court | 0 = state 1 = federal 2 = state and federal charges (defaulted to federal for sentencing if complete—review notes) -999 = missing, not listed |
| LEV CHANGE | Did the case level change after the arrest was filed | 0 = no 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| LAW AGE | List law enforcement agencies and any prosecuting attorneys involved in the case, can list multiple | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|----------------------------|--|--|
| <i>Nature of the Crime</i> | | |
| OVERVIEW | Brief overview of the case itself | Open response |
| CASE | Select the most up-to-date status of the case (if multiple offenders, choose the furthest along status—sentenced is furthest along unless all charges dismissed/not guilty) | 0 = under investigation 1 = arrest(s) made 2 = charges filed/indictment 3 = convicted 4 = sentenced 5 = dropped/dismissed 6 = found not guilty -999 = missing, not listed |
| TRAF DATE | Date trafficking suspected/known to begin (mm/dd/yyyy; format as best as possible if any components missing; use 99 or 9999 if missing) | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| INV DATE | Date investigation began (mm/dd/yyyy; format as best as possible if any components missing; use 99 or 9999 if missing) | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| YEAR ACT | Year first legal action took place in case (i.e., arrest, indictment) | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| TYPE | Type of trafficking in case even if not explicitly charged/convicted (<i>see definitions below to code based on TVPA</i>) | 1 = sex 2 = labor/involuntary servitude 3 = sex and labor/involuntary servitude -999 = missing, not listed |
| EVIDENCE | Evidence of trafficking or smuggling | 1 = trafficking only 2 = trafficking and smuggling -999 = missing, not listed |
| SMUGG | Was there any indication that the victim(s) were smuggled immediately before being trafficked or that smugglers were the direct cause of trafficking | 0 = no 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| SEX | If sex trafficking , indicate venue or industry (Examples include: street-level prostitution, commercial-front brothel, escort service/delivery service, pornography, residential brothel, hotel/motel, hostess/strip club, bar/club/cantina, sex tourism, international marriage broker, religious institution/organization, club) | 0 = N/A, not sex trafficking Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| LABOR | If labor trafficking or debt bondage , indicate venue or industry (Examples include: domestic servitude/ work, restaurant/food service, peddling ring, traveling sales crew, other small business, agriculture, construction, begging ring, factory, health and beauty services, housekeeping/cleaning service, carnival, traveling acrobatic troupe) | 0 = N/A, not labor trafficking Open response -999 = missing, not listed |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|----------------------|---|--|
| CLIENTS | If sex trafficking, how many clients did victim(s) serve a day | -555 = N/A, not sex trafficking -333 = multiple, but not specified Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| DEBT | Was the victim(s) explicitly told they had to pay off a debt to the trafficker | 0 = no (specified in article) 1 = no (assumed by coder) 2 = yes 3 = recruitment fee (or other related fee) -999 = missing, not listed |
| DEBT OWED | If victim(s) working to pay off debt, what was amount | -555 = N/A, not debt bondage Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| SOLD | How much was victim(s) sold to clients | -555 = N/A, never actually sold Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| DAYS | How many days was the victim(s) forced to work a week (e.g., sex or labor) | -555 = N/A, never actually worked Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| HOURS | How many hours was the victim(s) forced to work a day (e.g., sex or labor) | -555 = N/A, never actually worked Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| RANGE | Date range that trafficking occurred (months and years) | -555 = N/A, never completed trafficking Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| MONEY | Amount of money trafficker made by exploiting victims. Specify context of money (e.g., total made in a year/month/week) | -555 = N/A, no money made Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| DRUGS ANY | Were drugs mentioned at all as part of the trafficking offense | 0 = no 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| DRUGS ANY DET | Provide description of mention of drugs | -555 = N/A, no drugs mentioned Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| EVENT | Was there a convention or major event related to this trafficking crime | 0 = no (specified in article) 1 = no (assumed by coder) 2 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| EVENT DET | What was the event that was related to this trafficking crime | 0 = N/A, no event related to trafficking Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| NATION | Type of trafficking - nation of victim | 0 = domestic (specified in article) 1 = domestic (assumed by coder) 2 = transnational/international 3 = domestic and transnational//international -999 = missing, not listed |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|---|---|
| LURE | If transnational/international trafficking, lure used to get victim into the United States | 0 = N/A, domestic trafficking 1 = become reunited with family 2 = promise of job/money 3 = promise of marriage 4 = mail-order bride 5 = promise of education 6 = false promises (general) 7 = break victim down by trafficking them in another country before bringing them to United States 8 = promise of jobs and green cards 9 = promise of marriage and better life 10 = promise of better/safe home 11 = promise of romance 12 = promise of marriage or use of forcible rape to gain compliance 13 = false promises of romance and false promises of reuniting with family 14 = monthly payments to keep daughter that were sent to parents 15 = promise of job and to sponsor victim's family/bring them to United States 16 = compelled to come to United States 17 = promise of stable job, legal immigration, and free room and board 18 = promise of schooling and/or good jobs 19 = promise of education and basketball 20 = arranged marriage 21 = promise of a better life in a large home with good job 22 = kidnapped and threatened to cooperate 888 = N/A, trafficker not responsible for bringing victim into country -999 = missing, not listed |
| ENTR | Geographic location of entrance into the United States if transnational/international trafficking | 0 = N/A, domestic trafficking 1 = West coast 2 = East coast 3 = Southeast 4 = Mexico 5 = Canada 6 = Multiple 888 = N/A, trafficker not responsible for bringing victim into country -999 = missing, not listed |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|--|---|
| ENTRY VIC | Entry route of victims if transnational/international trafficking (i.e., how they crossed border) | 0 = N/A, domestic trafficking 1 = air 2 = foot 3 = land (drive) 4 = water (boat) 5 = water & land 6 = air & land 7 = foot & land 888 = N/A, trafficker not responsible for bringing victim into country -999 = missing, not listed |
| GROUP | Type of group facilitating entry into the United States if transnational/international trafficking | 0 = N/A, domestic trafficking 1 = corrupt government officials (e.g., police officers, border patrol) 2 = established crime groups (previously active in other crimes) 3 = family members 4 = foreign nationals 5 = non-established crime groups 6 = coyote/smuggler 7 = [add if needed] 8 = legitimate corporation/business 9 = foreign diplomat 10 = trafficker 888 = N/A, trafficker not responsible for bringing victim into country -999 = missing, not listed |
| TRANS | What type of transportation did the offender use to transport victims after they entered country (i.e., once they crossed over border) | 0 = N/A, domestic trafficking 1 = auto 2 = bus 3 = trucks 4 = airplanes 5 = trains 6 = bus or plane 888 = N/A, trafficker not responsible for bringing victim into country -999 = missing, not listed |
| POL DISC | How police found out about the offense | 1 = anonymous tip 2 = identified tip 3 = traffic accident 4 = a checkpoint 5 = set up a sting/undercover officer 6 = service provider 7 = victim(s) asked for help 8 = tip reported from NHTH 9 = wiretapping phones 10 = found by local citizens 11 = suspicious activity observed by |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|------------------------|--|
| | | <p>police</p> <p>12 = border patrol inquiry</p> <p>13 = during a different police investigation for another crime</p> <p>14 = customs agent inspection</p> <p>15 = received a tip (not specified)</p> <p>16 = concern from community (general)</p> <p>17 = received tip from victim's family member</p> <p>18 = received tip from school</p> <p>19 = investigation by authorities (not further specified)</p> <p>20 = received a tip—unclear whether by victims or someone inside crime organization that reported first</p> <p>21 = tip reported to NHTH by healthcare workers after victim slipped them note asking for help</p> <p>22 = received a tip from neighbor</p> <p>23 = identified after initially arrested victim for prostitution</p> <p>24 = traffic stop</p> <p>25 = police made contact with victim (did not arrest) and subsequently identified trafficker</p> <p>26 = received tip from friend or family friend</p> <p>27 = undocumented minors did not attend court trial</p> <p>28 = hotel worker called police</p> <p>29 = law student doing research tweeted ad to police</p> <p>30 = police called for dispute between trafficking victims</p> <p>31 = trafficker filed complaint against victim</p> <p>32 = witness to sexual proposition reported incident</p> <p>33 = youth advocacy group reported suspicious advertisements</p> <p>34 = victim told juvenile custody officials she was coerced into prostitution</p> <p>35 = identified after arrested victim</p> <p>36 = victim informed her probation officer</p> <p>37 = landlord reported to police</p> <p>38 = received a tip that someone was</p> |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|------------------------|---|
| | | stealing motel televisions at gunpoint 39 = identified after initially arrested victim on a runaway charge 40 = identified when police responded to disturbance between trafficker/victim at hotel 41 = relative reported to NHTH 42 = police noticed young victim in an area known for prostitution 43 = received tip about a fight 44 = Department of Child Services called 45 = responded to disturbance call involving trafficker 46 = victim reported a different crime 47 = offender reported during interview with police (unclear why interviewed) 48 = homeless man flagged down passing police officer 49 = police found missing victim (reported missing) on prostitution track 50 = individuals at children’s school noticed, befriended victim to learn details, and contacted a nonprofit immigration group that contacted officials 51 = cashier at truck stop called 52 = victim was reported missing and police searched 53 = prior victim provided tip about new trafficking location 54 = domestic violence complaint from trafficking victim 55 = tip reported from NCMEC 56 = victim’s mother (another trafficker) tipped off women’s center that her daughter was kidnapped—center called police 57 = police investigated minor walking on street alone and identified her as a victim 58 = victim went to school nurse who then reported it to school counselor who reported to police 59 = hospital staff learned victim’s true identity and notified police 60 = drunk driving traffic stop 61 = received tip from school after |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|---|---|
| | | victim(s) reported to them 62 = an individual (not specified) flagged down a police cruiser 63 = confidential informant 64 = mother tried to set up a “date” with daughter being trafficked to rescue her 65 = police proactively investigated backpage advertisement 66 = police investigating assault of 14-year-old (victim) 67 = victim arrested for shoplifting and then told police 68 = victim eventually told justice officials after she was detained once she ran away 69 = trafficker unwittingly handed out business card to an informant 70 = would-be victim reported to authorities when she sensed something was wrong 71 = victim was hospitalized after escaping traffickers 72 = police continuously arrested the same females so they went after trafficker 73 = police received a prostitution complaint from a truck driver 74 = runaway was found and admitted to being a prostitute -999 = missing, not listed |
| ADV | How traffickers advertised, marketed, and delivered their victims | 0 = N/A, not advertised for services (e.g., hired workers and then exploited their labor) 1 = advertising in pornographic magazines 2 = advertising online (e.g., backpage.com) 3 = establish matchmaking web sites to advertise victims 4 = deliver to farm labor, sweat shops; domestic service agencies 5 = mail order brides and matchmaking camps 6 = move victims from city to city for performances 7 = street prostitution 8 = storefront employment agency for smuggling and/or illegal immigrant |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|------------------------|--|
| | | <p>employment</p> <p>9 = deliver to clubs to attract clients</p> <p>10 = during other drug sales</p> <p>11 = handing out business cards</p> <p>12 = informal advertising (word of mouth)</p> <p>13 = solicit services at hotel bars/strip clubs and distribute business cards</p> <p>14 = for-profit pay-per-view website and blog (posting videos/photos)</p> <p>15 = cards and bottle openers</p> <p>16 = labor leasing contracts or subcontracting with businesses</p> <p>17 = advertise in daily Spanish newspaper and handed out VIP business cards</p> <p>18 = newspapers and online</p> <p>19 = deliver to bars/cantinas to attract clients</p> <p>20 = fliers</p> <p>21 = find clients by having victim work at a strip club too</p> <p>22 = offered sex to individuals who visited crack den</p> <p>23 = sexually oriented publications and online</p> <p>24 = advertised online and by sending text messages to potential customers</p> <p>25 = contacted specific individuals</p> <p>26 = truck stop solicitation</p> <p>27 = street-level and online advertisements</p> <p>28 = <i>Spectator</i> magazine and online advertisements</p> <p>29 = solicit johns at gas station</p> <p>30 = informal advertising (e.g., word of mouth) and business cards</p> <p>31 = iPhone app and Facebook</p> <p>32 = escort ads placed in local tabloids (e.g., Metro Times) and street prostitution</p> <p>33 = online advertisements, social media, and flyers</p> <p>34 = take victims to solicitation locations (i.e., apartment complex, gaming business)</p> <p>35 = contacted males willing to pay via text messages/photos</p> |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|--|--|
| | | 36 = street prostitution, telephone party lines, and online advertisements 37 = online advertisements and clients from strip club 38 = advertised online, sending text messages to potential customers, and solicitations at gas stations 39 = truck stop solicitation and CB radio advertisements 40 = online advertisements, street prostitution, truck stop solicitation 41 = trafficker would solicit customers in a local bar 42 = online advertisements and in the Boston Phoenix and Extreme Magazine 43 = online advertisements and truck stops 44 = Extreme Magazine, Portland Phoenix, Boston Phoenix, and street prostitution 45 = newspaper ads and business cards 46 = Boston Phoenix and online advertisements 47 = street prostitution and newspaper ads -999 = missing, not listed |
| TECH | Was technology used to exploit or advertise victims | 0 = no 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| SITES | Were any websites noted as used to exploit victims | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC KNOW | Did any of the victims know each other before they were trafficked | 0 = no (or only one victim) 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC DES | Explain how any of the victims knew each other prior to the trafficking experience | 0 = N/A, victims did not know each other or only one victim Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| CONTROL | How did traffickers implicitly/explicitly maintain control over victims (e.g., for not making enough money, to keep from running away; Examples could include: psychological, sexual, physical, drugs, firearms, torture, violence with/without weapons) | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|---|--|
| VIC HELD | How were victims held (<i>definitions given below</i>) | 1 = force 2 = fraud 3 = coercion 4 = force & fraud 5 = force & coercion 6 = fraud & coercion 7 = force, fraud, & coercion 8 = minor(s) (force, fraud, & coercion do not need to be proven for sex trafficking) -999 = missing, not listed |
| LOC | Physical location of victim(s) when discovered or where they were kept a majority of the time | 1 = victim's apartment/residence 2 = offender's apartment/residence 3 = hotel/motel 4 = massage parlor 6 = truck stop 7 = highway welcome center 8 = carnival 9 = strip club 10 = vehicle 11 = drop house 12 = street-based 13 = restaurant 14 = begging ring 15 = agriculture/farm 16 = retail 17 = foreclosed home 18 = apartments/residences owned by offender 19 = labor camp 20 = buyer's apartment/residence 21 = brothel 22 = with acquaintances of offender 23 = elderly care facilities 24 = hotel/motel and offender's apartment/residence 25 = offender's residence or placed in separate apartments 26 = residential facility for mentally ill 27 = trailer park 28 = apartments/residences rented by offender (not necessarily where they live) 29 = hotel, residential home, and office building 30 = duplex (not specified who owned) 31 = residence(s)/apartment(s) (not specified who owned) |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|--|---|---|
| | | 32 = vehicle (traffic stop) 33 = hotels/motels and rented residences 34 = travel trailer 35 = massage parlor or apartment leased by trafficker 36 = moved frequently 37 = relative of offender's residence -999 = missing, not listed |
| <i>Victim Case Characteristics</i> | | |
| NMBR VIC | Number of victims | -333 = multiple, but not specified Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| NMBR MINORS | Number of minors | -333 = multiple, but not specified Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| NMBR ADULTS | Number of adults | -333 = multiple, but not specified Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC DET | How are victim details presented | 0 = combined (COM variables only) 1 = separated 2 = combined and separated mix 3 = no details on victims provided |
| <i>Details if Victims Combined (i.e., not presented individually)—leave blank if use individual categories alone</i> | | |
| COM SEX VICS | Sex of victims | 0 = males only 1 = females only 2 = males and females -999 = missing, not listed |
| COM AGE VICS | Age range of victims at time of first exploitation | 0 = unknown, but under 18 Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| COM RACE VICS | Race of the victims | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| COM ETH VICS | Ethnicity of the victims | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| COM NAT VICS | Nationality of victims | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| COM REG VICS | Region of origin of victims | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| COM COU VICS | Country of origin of victim | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| COM STAT VICS | Current status of victims at time of report | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| COM DURATION | Duration of trafficking for victims (if same for all victims) | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| COM RECRUIT | <p>Who is recruiting victims? Caregivers, trafficker/pimp, bottom, facilitator, other</p> <p>PIMP - the sex industry term for the primary trafficker who is profiting from the sexual exploitation of the victim</p> <p>BOTTOM - a term created by pimps for the person who a pimp directs to recruit and manage other women/girls in his "stable." Typically, they are also victims of violence and abuse by the pimp.</p> <p>FACILITATOR - an individuals or third party who plays a role in introducing the victim to a pimp/trafficker</p> | <p>Open response</p> <p>-999 = missing, not listed</p> |
| COM REC OCCUR | <p>Where does recruitment occur (i.e., how was connection made between victim and offender) (Examples include: social, public place, online, residence/shelter, bar/club, relatives (through family relations), previous relationship, gas station)</p> | <p>Open response</p> <p>-999 = missing, not listed</p> |
| COM REC METHOD | <p>What methods were used to recruit victim (Examples include: showing romantic interest, posing as benefactor [offering necessities such as food, lodging, financial support], prior friendship, kidnapping, use social media to glamorize prostitution, offered drugs/shelter/transportation/money, glamorize prostitution, use promises of love and family, used friendship, promises of money and wealth, threaten victim, false job offer)</p> | <p>Open response</p> <p>-999 = missing, not listed</p> |
| COM OTH NOTES | <p>Other important notes about combined victims</p> | <p>Open response</p> |
| <i>Offender Case Characteristics</i> | | |
| NMBR OFF | <p>Number of offenders/buyers</p> | <p>Open response</p> <p>-999 = missing, not listed</p> |
| CO OFF | <p>Co-offenders (was there more than one offender facilitating the crime)</p> | <p>0 = no</p> <p>1 = yes</p> <p>-999 = missing, not listed</p> |
| OFF TYPE | <p>What type of offender committed crime</p> | <p>0 = individual(s)</p> <p>1 = corporation</p> <p>2 = individuals and corporations</p> |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|--|---|---|
| <i>Corporate offender</i> —leave blank if individual offenders | | |
| CORP ACT | What exploitive actions did corporation take (Examples could include: take money, recruit, transport, post ads, rent rooms, photograph, physically/sexually assault, threaten, provide drugs/alcohol, arrange appointments, provide shelter, supervise, teach, dictate prices, provide security, set quota) | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| CORP CHARGE TRAF | What charges/indictments against corporation related to trafficking | 0 = no trafficking-related charge 1 = sex trafficking 2 = labor trafficking/involuntary servitude 3 = organ trafficking 4 = human trafficking (general) -999 = missing, not listed |
| CORP CHARGE OTH | What charges/indictments against corporation other than trafficking | 0 = no other charges Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| CORP CONVICT | What was the corporation actually found guilty of | 0 = not yet convicted Open response -222 = N/A, all charges dropped -999 = missing, not listed |
| CORP SENT DATE | Sentencing date of corporation (mm/dd/yyyy; format as best as possible if any components missing; use 99 or 9999 if missing) | 0 = not yet sentenced Open response -222 = N/A, all charges dropped -999 = missing, not listed |
| CORP SENT | Sentence given to corporation | 0 = not yet sentenced Open response -222 = N/A, all charges dropped -999 = missing, not listed |
| CORP BANK | Did corporation file for bankruptcy after the sentence | 0 = no 1 = yes -222 = N/A, all charges dropped -999 = missing, not listed |
| SEARCH | Stop search date for case details (i.e., LexisNexis, Google) | Open response |
| ASSUMP | Note any variables where assumptions were made and what those assumptions were | Open response |
| LIM DETAILS | Was this a case where there are limited details—possibly want to go back at the end and see if any updates (i.e., later cases might have updates towards end of coding) | 0 = no 1 = yes |
| TRAF CASE | Was this a case where no one was charge with a trafficking offense at arrest--read notes as to why included | 0 = no 1 = yes |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---|--|--|
| COURT REC | Was an indictment, docket, or other court document available to determine charges/convictions for offenders | 0 = no, none 1 = yes, for charges only 2 = yes, for convictions only 3 = yes, for charges and convictions |
| ADD VIC | Were any victims added to case that were not originally included in trial (e.g., another minor victim not listed as a victim in case) OR are there any “victims” that it is not clear that they are victims that were included in case | 0 = no 1 = yes |
| MULT CASES | Are there multiple cases with the same perpetrators or victims | 0 = no 1 = yes |
| DISMISSED | Were trafficking charges dismissed for all offenders (i.e., most charges dropped/found not guilty) | 0 = no 1 = yes |
| DISMISS REASON | Reason trafficking charges were dismissed/not guilty for offenders | Open response |
| NOTES | Add any notes as necessary | Open response |
| <i>Victim-Level Details</i> | | |
| <i>Details by Each Victim</i> —leave blank if use combined categories alone | | |
| VIC DET | How are victim details presented | 0 = combined (COM variables only) 1 = separated 2 = combined and separated mix |
| VIC TYPE TRAF | Type of trafficking in case even if not explicitly charged/convicted (<i>see definitions below to code based on TVPA</i>) | 1 = sex 2 = labor/involuntary servitude 3 = sex and labor/involuntary servitude -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC NAME | Victim name if applicable | Open response |
| VIC SEX | Sex of victim | 0 = male 1 = female 2 = trans (male-to-female) 3 = trans (female-to-male) 4 = trans (not specified) -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC AGE | Age of victims at start time of trafficking (i.e., when first exploited) | 0 = unknown but under 18 Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC RACE1 | Race of the victim | 1 = White 2 = Black/African American 3 = American Indian/Alaska Native 4 = Asian 5 = Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander 6 = Two or more races -999 = missing, not listed |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|---|---|
| VIC RACE2 | If victim race is “two or more races” provide details | 0 = race is not two or more Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC RACE ID | Was race officially stated in article | 0 = no 1 = yes |
| VIC ETH | Ethnicity of the victim | 0 = non-Hispanic 1 = Hispanic -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC ETH ID | Was ethnicity officially stated in article | 0 = no 1 = yes |
| VIC NAT | Nationality of victim | 0 = U.S. citizen (specified in article) 1 = U.S. citizen (assumed by coder) 2 = permanent U.S. resident 3 = non-citizen with U.S. visa 4 = undocumented immigrant 5 = foreign national—status unclear -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC REG | Region of origin of victim | 1 = Asia/Russia 2 = Mexico/Central America 3 = South America 4 = Europe 5 = Africa 6 = North America (specified in article) 7 = North America (assumed by coder) 8 = Middle East 9 = Caribbean Islands -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC COU | Country of origin of victim (specify if assumed by coder) | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC CITY | City of residence prior to trafficking (e.g., news stories sometimes indicate cities victims are from—unclear if this is their city of origin) | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC REL | Relationship of victim to the offender(s)—who is offender to victim—when first trafficked/at time of trafficking (if multiple traffickers—focus on main victim-trafficker relationship that is responsible for exploitation) | 1 = biological mother 2 = step-mother 3 = biological father 4 = step-father 5 = grandmother 6 = grandfather 7 = aunt 8 = uncle 9 = family friend 10 = brother 11 = sister 12 = stranger (no indication of prior relationship; e.g., met on street, online) 13 = teacher |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|--|--|
| | | 14 = other known relative not specified 15 = other known person not specified 16 = employer 17 = husband 18 = romantic partner/ex-partner 19 = cousin 20 = neighbor 21 = classmate 22 = father of a schoolmate 23 = residential caregiver 24 = mutual friend/friend-of-a-friend 25 = child's friend 26 = child's romantic partner 27 = basketball coach 28 = sister of prior caregiver 29 = relative of victim's prior employer 30 = husband from arranged marriage 31 = mother's boyfriend's drug dealer 32 = prior employer 33 = client at men's club 34 = client at clinic where victim worked 35 = known person from neighborhood 36 = acquaintance 37 = Internet relationship 38 = boyfriend's cousin 39 = trafficker introduced her to new trafficker 40 = juvenile probation officer 41 = childhood friend 42 = drug dealer -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC DUR | Duration of trafficking for victim in estimated days (i.e., from the start of actual exploitation to rescue—include breaks if they escaped or if other known intermissions of exploitation are known) | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC MINOR | Was the victim listed as being under 18 years old | 0 = no, victim not a minor 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC MD | Was it reported that the victim was ever taken to a medical professional (i.e., ER, doctor visit) while being trafficked | 0 = no, never taken to medical 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC STYLE | Was it reported that the victim was ever taken to a stylist or to a salon (i.e., tanning, hair, or nail salons) while under control of offender | 0 = no, never taken to salon 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|----------------------|--|---|
| VIC BRAND | Was it reported that the victim was branded by tattoos or burns by their trafficker | 0 = no, never branded 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC RUNAWAY | Was the victim categorized as a runaway | 0 = no 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC FOSTER | Was the victim categorized as being in foster care | 0 = no 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC CPS | Was there any indication that CPS knew about the victim prior to/during trafficking | 0 = N/A, adult victim 1 = no 2 = yes, with CPS when trafficked 3 = yes, not with CPS when trafficked -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC TRUANCY | Was there a record of the youth being truant from school | 0 = N/A, adult victim 1 = no 2 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| VICT HOMELESS | Was there any indication that the victim was ever homeless | 0 = no 1 = yes, homeless when trafficked 2 = yes, but not when trafficked -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC DISABILITY | Did victim have a disability | 0 = no 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC DIS TYPE | If have a disability, what is it | 0 = N/A, no disability Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC JJS INV | Was there any indication that the victim had any juvenile justice involvement (JJS; e.g., arrested, detained, placed in residential facility, probation) | 0 = N/A, victim not a minor 1 = no 2 = yes, previously involved with JJS before trafficked 3 = yes, currently involved with JJS during/after trafficking experience 4 = contact with JJS at both times (before and after found as a trafficking victim) -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC JJS TYPE | If yes to JJS involvement, what type of involvement did they have | 0 = N/A, not involved 1 = arrested 2 = detained 3 = placed in residential facility 4 = probation 5 = placed in detention center 6 = probation and detention center 7 = house arrest |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|---|---|
| | | 8 = placed in treatment academy for high-risk juvenile offenders -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC DRUGS | Was it reported that the victim was using any drugs/substances | 0 = no, not using any substances 1 = yes, forced to use substances by trafficker 2 = yes, voluntarily used substances 3 = voluntarily used substances, but trafficker also used as a means of control 4 = yes, but unclear if forced or voluntary use -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC ESCAPE | Was it reported that the victim ever tried to escape but was not successful (e.g., they were caught before getting out) | 0 = no, never tried to escape 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC REPEAT | Was it reported that the victim was trafficked more than once (i.e., after escaping) | 0 = no, not repeatedly trafficked 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC PROST | Was it reported that the victim ever voluntarily engaged in prostitution or traded sexual favors for goods/money | 0 = no 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC PROST DET | Describe victim details in relation to prostitution and specify when these events occurred | 0 = N/A, victim was never engaged in voluntary prostitution Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC PREV | Was it reported that the victim was previously victimized in any capacity (e.g., history of family abuse, trafficking) | 0 = no, never victimized 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC DES | Describe the type of previous victimization | 0 = N/A, no prior victimization Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC OCC | Occupation of victim prior to trafficking—legitimate employment only | 0 = no occupation Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC EMP | Employment status of victim prior to trafficking (legitimate employment only) | 1 = working, occasionally 2 = working, don't know status 3 = working, full time 4 = not working -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC FAM | Family status of the victim at time of report | 0 = no known family 1 = significant other (not married) 2 = spouse 3 = child/children 4 = significant other & child/children 5 = spouse & child/children 6 = minor (parents/guardians) |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|---|---|
| | | 7 = minor (foster child) 8 = both parents in prison -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC LIVE | Where did the victim live prior to being trafficked | 0 = home 1 = group home 2 = foster care 3 = homeless 4 = juvenile detention 5 = with trafficker 6 = orphanage 7 = crack house 8 = shelter 9 = protective placement home 10 = relatives 11 = homeless (kick out of home) 12 = with a friend 13 = substance treatment facility 14 = juvenile placement (not specified) 15 = with grandmother -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC STAT | Current status of victim at time of report | 1 = police custody 2 = safe house/shelter/location 3 = deported (or in hearing for deportation) 4 = uncertain legal status (in process of applying for visa to remain in U.S.) 5 = U.S. citizen 6 = temporary work permit 7 = married U.S. citizen 8 = naturalized citizen 9 = treatment facility 10 = deceased 11 = placed in foster care 12 = foster care and/or reunited with family 13 = granted continued presence in United States 14 = returned to family 15 = group home 16 = placed with Department of Children and Family Services 17 = treatment for abused juveniles 18 = protective custody 19 = granted temporary presence in the United States (1 year or less) 20 = returned to home country 21 = eligible to apply for visa to stay in United States |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|---|---|
| | | 22 = receiving services/support from social service agencies 23 = about to graduate and go to college 24 = remain in United States and receive services during trial 25 = received social work services and returned to home state 26 = moved out of state and to better environments 27 = off drugs and employed 28 = child protective services 29 = receiving services/support from social service agencies and immigration guidance 30 = received a T-visa 31 = placed with friend 32 = placed with grandparents and receiving services 33 = completed or almost completed school program 34 = sent to juvenile detention facility 35 = foster care and working towards green card 36 = receiving counseling and trying to regain custody of children 37 = received services and about to graduate college 38 = graduated from high school 39 = returned to father 40 = missing again 41 = in college -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC RECRUIT | Who is recruiting victims? Caregivers, trafficker/pimp, bottom, facilitator, other TRAFFICKER (PIMP) - the sex industry term for the primary trafficker who is profiting from the sexual exploitation of the victim BOTTOM - a term created by pimps for the prostitute a pimp directs to recruit and manage other women/girls in his “stable.” (Burke, 2018). Typically, they are also victims of violence and abuse by the pimp. FACILITATOR - an individuals or third party who plays a role in introducing the victim to a pimp | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---|--|--|
| VIC REC OCCUR | Where does recruitment occur (i.e., how was connection made between victim and offender) (Examples include: social, public place, online, residence/shelter, bar/club, relatives (through family relations), previous relationship, gas station) | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| VIC REC METH | What methods were used to recruit victim (Examples include: Prior romantic relationship, prior friendship, kidnapping, parent/caregiver, use social media to glamorize prostitution, offered drugs/shelter/transportation/money, glamorize prostitution, use promises of love and family, threaten victim, job position) | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| Offender-Level Details | | |
| <i>Individual offenders</i> —leave blank if corporation committed crime | | |
| OFF TYPE | What type of offender committed crime | 0 = individual(s) 1 = corporation |
| OFF TYPE TRAF | Type of trafficking in case even if not explicitly charged/convicted (<i>see definitions below to code based on TVPA</i>) | 1 = sex 2 = labor/involuntary servitude 3 = sex and labor/involuntary servitude -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF NAME | Full name of the offender (nicknames in parentheses) | Open response |
| OFF ROLE | Sub-type or role of offenders—Multidimensional roles assigned to traffickers whose roles comprised any two or more of the variables coded (i.e., trafficker acted as recruiter, middleman, end user). Bottom includes trusted prostitute in stable of trafficker. | 0 = smuggler 1 = recruiter 2 = end user (commercial sex) 3 = end user (domestic work) 4 = end user (labor-related) 5 = middleman/woman (e.g., transportation, set up sale) 6 = multidimensional 7 = bottom 8 = complicit beneficiary -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF SEX | Sex of offender | 0 = male 1 = female 2 = trans (male-to-female) 3 = trans (female-to-male) 4 = trans (not specified) -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF AGE | Age of offender at time of arrest | 0 = unknown, but under 18 Open response -999 = missing, not listed |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|--|---|
| OFF RACE1 | Race of offender | 1 = White 2 = Black/African American 3 = American Indian/Alaska Native 4 = Asian 5 = Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander 6 = Two or more races -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF RACE2 | If offender race is “two or more races” provide details | 0 = race is not two or more Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF RACE ID | Was race officially stated in article | 0 = no 1 = yes |
| OFF ETH | Ethnicity of the offenders | 0 = non-Hispanic 1 = Hispanic -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF ETH ID | Was ethnicity officially stated in article | 0 = no 1 = yes |
| OFF NAT | Nationality of offender | 0 = U.S. citizen (specified in article) 1 = U.S. citizen (assumed by coder) 2 = permanent U.S. resident/green card 3 = non-citizen with U.S. visa 4 = undocumented immigrant 5 = foreign national—status unclear 6 = foreign national—legal U.S. status but specifics unknown 7 = foreign national—granted asylum status -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF REG | Region of origin of offender | 1 = Asia/Russia 2 = Mexico/Central America 3 = South America 4 = Europe 5 = Africa 6 = North America (specified in article) 7 = North America (assumed by coder) 8 = Middle East 9 = Caribbean Islands -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF COU | Country of origin of offender (specify if assumed by coder) | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF CITY | City of residence of offender at time of offense (e.g., news stories sometimes indicate cities offenders are from—unclear if this is their city of origin) | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|--|--|---|
| OFF PROST | Was the offender noted as being a prostitute/selling sex as part of the trafficking operation | 0 = no (specified in article) 1 = no (assumed by coder) 2 = yes |
| OFF OCC | Occupation of offender—legitimate employment only | 0 = no occupation Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF FAM | Family status of the offender | 0 = no known family 1 = significant other (not married) 2 = spouse 3 = child/children 4 = significant other & child/children 5 = spouse & child/children 6 = more than one spouse 7 = divorced -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF EMP | Employment status of offender (aside from trafficking) at time of arrest (legitimate employment status only—not how much time they spent on criminal enterprises) | 0 = not working 1 = working, part time 2 = working, don't know status 3 = working, full time -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF PREV | Previous offenses committed by offender aside from current charge | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF GANG | Was the offender affiliated with a gang | 0 = no (specified in article) 1 = no (assumed by coder) 2 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF GANG NAME | If offender part of a gang, what is the gang's name | 0 = N/A, not part of gang Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF ACTION | What exploitive/harmful actions did trafficker take (Examples could include: take money, recruit, transport, post ads, rent rooms, photograph, physically/sexually assault, threaten, provide drugs/alcohol, arrange appointments, provide shelter, supervise, teach, dictate prices, provide security, set quota) | Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| <i>Trial Characteristics and Offender Outcomes</i> | | |
| OFF OUT | List the most recent action taken by the criminal justice system against the offender—what is the outcome | 0 = N/A, still under investigation 1 = arrested 2 = charged/indicted 3 = convicted 4 = sentenced 5 = dropped/dismissed 6 = found not guilty—all dropped 7 = wanted for arrest—at large |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|-----------------------|--|---|
| | | -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF CHRГ NO | How many types of charges brought against offender (#)—count any given charge once regardless of number of counts for that charge (e.g., if multiple counts for the same charge) | -111 = N/A, not charged Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF CHRГ TRAF TYPE | What charges/indictments against offender related to trafficking—list type (general—includes document servitude) | -111 = N/A, not charged 0 = no trafficking-related charge 1 = sex trafficking 2 = labor trafficking/involuntary servitude/forced labor 3 = organ trafficking 4 = human trafficking (general) 5 = sex and labor trafficking 6 = sex and general trafficking 7 = labor and general trafficking -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF CHARGE TRAF | What charges/indictments against offender related to trafficking | -111 = N/A, not charged 0 = no trafficking charges Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF CHRГ OTHER | What charges/indictments against offender other than trafficking | -111 = N/A, not charged 0 = no other charges Open response -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF CONVICT NO | How many types of charges offender actually convicted of (#)—count any given charge once regardless of number of counts for that charge (e.g., if multiple counts for the same charge) | -111 = N/A, not yet convicted Open response -222 = N/A, all charges dropped -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF CONVICT | What was the offender actually convicted of | 0 = N/A, not yet convicted Open response -222 = N/A, all charges dropped -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF CONVICT TRAF TYPE | What convictions against offender related to trafficking—list type (general—includes document servitude) | -111 = N/A, not convicted -222 = N/A, all charges dropped 0 = no trafficking-related charge 1 = sex trafficking 2 = labor trafficking/involuntary servitude/forced labor 3 = organ trafficking 4 = human trafficking (general) 5 = sex and labor trafficking 6 = sex and general trafficking 7 = labor and general trafficking -999 = missing, not listed |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|---|--|
| OFF ARR DATE | Was offender arrested | 0 = not yet arrested 1 = yes -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF BOND | Was trafficker offered bail or bond | -111 = N/A, not yet arrested 0 = no 1 = yes -222 = N/A, all charges dropped -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF BOND AMNT | If offered bail or bond, how much | -111 = N/A, not yet arrested -555 = N/A, not offered Open response -222 = N/A, all charges dropped -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF CON DATE | Was offender convicted | 0 = not yet convicted 1 = yes -222 = N/A, all charges dropped -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF SEN DATE | Was offender sentenced | 0 = not yet sentenced 1 = yes -222 = N/A, all charges dropped -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF SEN | Sentence given to offender | 0 = not yet sentenced Open response -222 = N/A, all charges dropped -999 = missing, not listed |
| PRISON MIN | Minimum prison term sentence in years | 0 = no prison time -111 = not yet sentenced -333 = time served -444 = suspended/deferred sentence 99999 = life in prison Open response -222 = N/A, all charges dropped -999 = missing, not listed |
| PRISON MAX | Maximum prison term sentence in years | 0 = no prison time -111 = not yet sentenced -333 = time served -444 = suspended/deferred sentence 99999 = life in prison Open response -222 = N/A, all charges dropped -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF REST | Did the offender have to pay the victim restitution | -111 = N/A, trial not progressed yet 0 = no 1 = yes -222 = N/A, all charges dropped -999 = missing, not listed |

| Variable Name | Operational Definition | Coding |
|---------------|--|---|
| OFF REST AMNT | If the offender had to pay restitution, how much | -111 = N/A, trial not progressed yet -555 = N/A, did not pay restitution Open response -222 = N/A, all charges dropped -999 = missing, not listed |
| OFF REMO | Did the offenders express remorse in their court trial | -111 = N/A, trial not progressed yet 0 = no 1 = yes -222 = N/A, all charges dropped -999 = missing, not listed |

Coding Instrument Definitions:

- Definition of HUMAN TRAFFICKING: **sex and labor trafficking** will be taken from the 2000 Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) – federal definition (22 U.S.C. §§ 7101-7110):
 - (8) SEVERE FORMS OF TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS- The term `severe forms of trafficking in persons' means--
 - (A) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or
 - (3) COMMERCIAL SEX ACT.—The term “commercial sex act” means any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person.
 - (B) the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery.
- Definition of **force** will be taken from the 2000 Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA):
 - Physical restraint or causing serious harm
 - Examples:
 - Kidnapping, battering, kicking, pushing, denial of food or water, denial of medical care, forced use of drugs or denial of drugs once a victim is addicted, forced to lie to friends and family about their whereabouts, being held in locked rooms or bound (examples taken from the Ohio Human Trafficking Screening Tool, 2013)
- Definition of **coercion** will be taken from the 2000 Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA):
 - (2) COERCION- The term `coercion' means—
 - (A) threats of serious harm to or physical restraint against any person;
 - (B) any scheme, plan, or pattern intended to cause a person to believe that failure to perform an act would result in serious harm to or physical restraint against any person; or
 - (C) the abuse or threatened abuse of the legal process.
 - Examples:
 - Debt bondage, threats against family members, photographing or videotaping the victim in compromising or illegal situations, then threatening to turn over the video to authorities or loved ones, punishment of another victim in front of another person to instill fear, all money is controlled by the trafficker, all identity or immigration papers are controlled by the trafficker, threats of deportation or psychological abuse that intimidates and frightens the victim (examples taken from the Ohio Human Trafficking Screening Tool, 2013)

- Definition of **fraud** by common usage:
 - Knowingly misrepresenting the truth or concealing an actual fact for the purpose of inducing another person to act to his/her detriment
 - Examples:
 - False promises for specific employment, being promised a certain amount of money that is never paid, working conditions are not as promised, being told she or he would receive legitimate immigration papers or a green card to work but the documents are not obtained (examples taken from the Ohio Human Trafficking Screening Tool, 2013)

- Definition of **debt bondage** will be taken from the 2000 Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA):
 - (4) DEBT BONDAGE.—The term “debt bondage” means the status or condition of a debtor arising from a pledge by the debtor of his or her personal services or of those of a person under his or her control as a security for debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied toward the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined.

- Definition of **involuntary servitude** will be taken from the 2000 Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA):
 - (5) INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE.—The term “involuntary servitude” includes a condition of servitude induced by means of—
 - (A) any scheme, plan, or pattern intended to cause a person to believe that, if the person did not enter into or continue in such condition, that person or another person would suffer serious harm or physical restraint; or
 - (B) the abuse or threatened abuse of the legal process.

[Race categories based on the U.S. Census \(retrieved from https://www.census.gov/topics/population/race/about.html\)](https://www.census.gov/topics/population/race/about.html)

- U.S. Census Race categories:
 - **White.** A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa. It includes people who indicate their race as "White" or report entries such as Irish, German, Italian, Lebanese, Arab, Moroccan, or Caucasian.
 - **Black or African American.** A person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa. It includes people who indicate their race as "Black, African Am., or Negro"; or report entries such as African American, Kenyan, Nigerian, or Haitian.
 - **American Indian and Alaska Native.** A person having origins in any of the original peoples of North and South America (including Central America) and who maintains tribal affiliation or community attachment. This category includes people who indicate their race as "American Indian or Alaska Native" or report entries such as Navajo, Blackfeet, Inupiat, Yup'ik, or Central American Indian groups or South American Indian groups.

- **Asian.** A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam. It includes people who indicate their race as "Asian Indian," "Chinese," "Filipino," "Korean," "Japanese," "Vietnamese," and "Other Asian" or provide other detailed Asian responses.
- **Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander.** A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands. It includes people who indicate their race as "Native Hawaiian," "Guamanian or Chamorro," "Samoan," and "Other Pacific Islander" or provide other detailed Pacific Islander responses.
- **Two or more races.** People may have chosen to provide two or more races either by checking two or more race response check boxes, by providing multiple responses, or by some combination of check boxes and other responses.

In accordance with the Office of Management and Budget definition of ethnicity, the Census Bureau provides data for the basic categories in the OMB standards: Hispanic or Latino and Not Hispanic or Latino. In general, the Census Bureau defines ethnicity or origin as the heritage, nationality group, lineage, or country of birth of the person or the person's parents or ancestors before their arrival in the United States. People who identify their origin as Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino may be of any race.